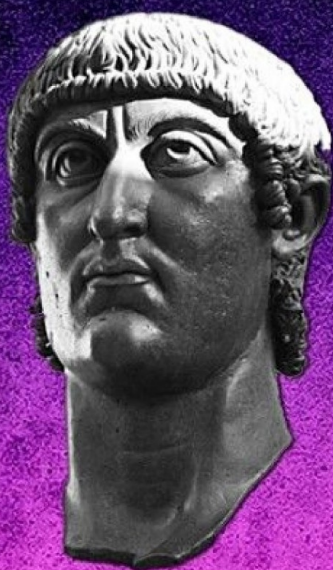




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EUSEBIUS

(AD 260/265–339/340)



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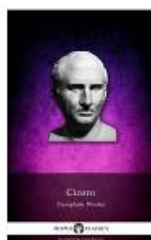
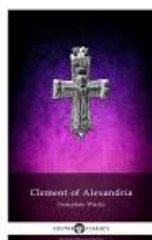
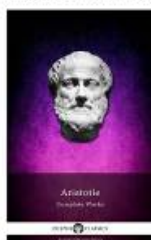
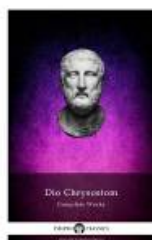
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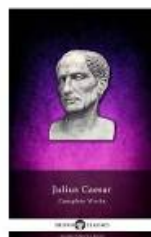
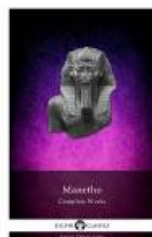
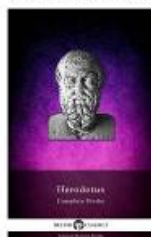
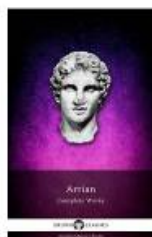
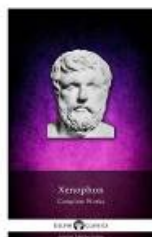
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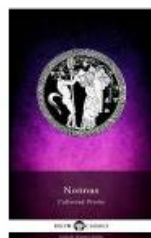
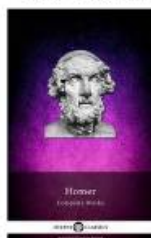
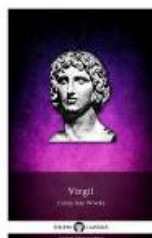
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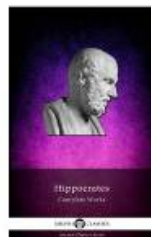
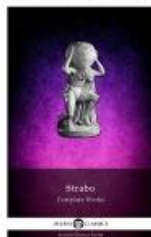
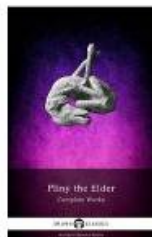
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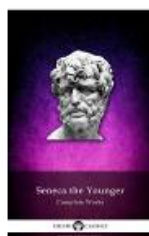
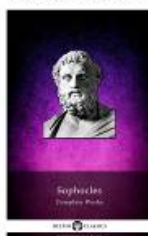
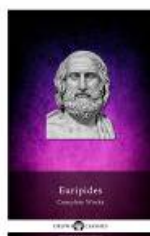
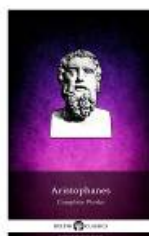
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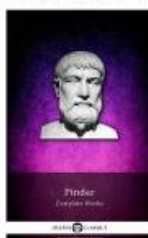
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The Translations



The ruins of Caesarea Maritima, an ancient city in the Sharon plain on the coast of the Mediterranean, now included in an Israeli national park — assumed to be Eusebius' birthplace



Remains of the ancient Roman aqueduct at Caesarea Maritima

Chronicle



Translated by Andrew Smith

In c. 290, Eusebius began work on his *Chronicon*, a universal calendar of events from the Creation until the vicennalia of Constantine I in A.D. 325. Composed of two books, the original Greek text is lost, although substantial quotations exist in later chronographers. Book I contained sets of extracts from earlier writers, detailing a summary of universal history from the sources, arranged according to nations. The second Book provides a technically innovative list of dates and events in tabular format — the equivalent of a parallel timeline, where each line is a year. It is the longest preserved list of Olympic victors, providing the stadion (running race) winners from 776 B.C. to A.D. 217. Both books are mostly preserved in an Armenian translation and Book II is entirely preserved in the Latin translation by Jerome. Portions also exist in quotation in later Syriac writers such as the fragments by James of Edessa and, following him, Michael the Syrian.

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BOOK I. TRANSLATION FROM PETERMANN'S MODERN LATIN TRANSLATION

[p1] I have searched through the various books of ancient history; [I have read] what the Chaldaeans and Assyrians have recorded, what the Egyptians have written in detail, and what the Greek have related as accurately as possible. They include the dates of their kings and the Olympiads, which are athletic contests, and they contain the outstanding exploits of both the Greeks and the barbarians, of both the brave and the decadent. They also mention the remarkable victories of these nations, their generals, scholars, heroes, poets, historians and philosophers.

I think it is fitting, or rather a useful and necessary task, to summarise all this, and to write down the ancient history and chronology of the Hebrews, taken from the Holy Scriptures, alongside the things which I have just mentioned. From that we can tell how long Moses, and the prophets who came after him, lived before the appearance on earth of our saviour, about which they prophesied through the holy spirit; and we can easily recognise in which [reigns] of Greek or barbarian [rulers] the famous men of each race were alive; and at what time, from the beginning, the outstanding prophets existed amongst the Hebrews, together with all their rulers, one after another.

I warn and advise everyone from the start, that no-one should ever pretend that he can be completely certain about matters of chronology. It will help if first we remember the advice of our true master, [p3] who told his companions [Acts, 1'7]: "It is not for you to know the hours and seasons which the Father has set under his own authority." He, as our Lord and God, uttered this saying not only about the end of the world, but also, in my opinion, about all dates, to dissuade men from such pointless investigations.

Indeed, my own words here will confirm this saying of our master, [by showing] that it is not possible to gain an accurate knowledge of the whole chronology of the world from the Greeks, or from any others, not even from the Hebrews themselves. But it is possible to hope for this only: that what is said by us in this present treatise will help us to recognise two things. Firstly, no-one, like some have done, should believe that he is calculating dates with full accuracy, and be deceived in that way. But he should realise that this has been brought up for discussion, only so that he can know the means and

manner of the proposed investigation, and so that he should not remain in doubt.

There is no reason to be surprised that the Greeks do not appear in the most ancient times. They have fallen into various fatal errors, and for a long time before the generation of Cadmus they were completely ignorant of writing. They say that Cadmus was the first to bring them the alphabet, from the land of the Phoenicians. And so the Egyptian in Plato's book [*Timaeus*, 22'B] rightly despises Solon; "O Solon," he says, "you Greeks are always children. An old Greek man is never to be found, and no-one can learn from you about ancient times." But many improbable stories have been told by the Egyptians and Chaldaeans. For instance, the Chaldaeans calculate that their recorded history has lasted for more than 400,000 years. [p5] The Egyptians make up myths about gods and demi-gods, and also about some shades; and they tell many crazy myths about other mortal kings.

Yet what forces me to examine such matters in detail now, when I value the truth above all else? Even amongst my beloved Hebrews one can find inconsistencies, which I will mention at the appropriate time. But I have said this much in reproach of those chroniclers who are eager for such hollow glory.

In accordance with these objectives, I will scrutinise the books of the ancient writers.

First I will put in writing the chronology of the Chaldaeans; and then the chronology of the Assyrians; next the kings of the Medes; and then the kings of the Lydians and Persians. Then I will go on to a different topic, and set out all the chronology of the Hebrews in sequence. After the Hebrews, in the third section [I will set out] the dates of the Egyptian dynasties. I will add to them the dynasty of the Ptolemaei, who reigned after Alexander the Macedonian in Egypt and Alexandria. Then I will start on another [topic], and describe one after another what the Greeks have told about their history: first the rulers of Sicyon, and then [the rulers] of the land of the Argives, and of the city of the Athenians, from the first to the last; next, the kings of Lacedaemon and Corinth; and lastly, those who in any region held control of the sea. To these I will add a list of the Olympiads, which are recorded by the Greeks. After I have set out all the Olympiads in sequence, I will write down the first kings of the Macedonians and Thessalians, and then the leaders of the

Syrians and Asians, who came after Alexander, one by one. Next I will set out in their turn all the individual rulers of the Latins, who were later called Romans, starting from Aeneias after the capture of Troy. Then [I will set out] in sequence [the kings], starting from Romulus, who founded the city of Rome; the succession of emperors, starting from Julius Caesar and Augustus; and the consuls for each year.

After collecting material from all these sources, I will move on to the chronological canons of time. Resuming from the beginning with those who ruled in each nation, I will divide their dates into separate series; [p7] and next to them I will place in sequence the numbers of their [regnal] years, so that it can easily and quickly be seen, at which time each of them lived. I will briefly mention the outstanding events of each reign, as recorded by every nation, in the context of that reign.

But the second book is a task for the future. Now, in the following section, let us investigate the chronology of the Chaldaeans, and what they have recorded about their ancestors.

[THE CHALDAEANS]

How the Chaldaeans record their chronology, from [the writings of] Alexander Polyhistor; about the books of the Chaldaeans, and their first kings

That is what Berossus relates in his first book, and in the second book he lists the kings, one after another. He says that Nabonassar was king at that time. He merely lists the names of the kings, and says very little about their achievements; or perhaps he thinks that they are not worth mentioning, when he has already stated the number of kings. He begins to write as follows: “Apollodorus says that the first king was Alorus, who was a Chaldaean from Babylon, and he reigned for 10 *sars*.” He divides a *sar* into 3,600 years, and adds two other [measures of time]: a *ner* and a *soxx*. He says that a *ner* is 600 years, and a *soxx* is 60 years. He counts the years in this way, following some ancient form of calculation. After saying this, he proceeds to list ten kings of the Assyrians, one after the other in [chronological] order; from Alorus, the first king, until Xisuthrus, in whose reign the first great flood occurred, the flood which Moses mentions.

He says that the total length of the reigns of the [ten] kings was 120 *sars*,

which is the equivalent of 432,000 years. He writes about the individual kings as follows:

- [p9] When Alorus died, his son Alaparus became king for 3 *sars*.
 - After Alaparus, Amelon, a Chaldaean from the city of Pautibiblon, became king for 13 *sars*.
 - After Amelon, Ammenon, a Chaldaean from (?) Parmibiblon, became king for 12 *sars*.
 - In his reign, the monster Annedotus, whose form was a mixture between a man and a fish, appeared out of the Red Sea.
 - Megalarus, from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 18 *sars*.
 - The shepherd Daonus, from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 10 *sars*.
 - In this reign, again four monsters appeared out of the Red Sea, who [like Annedotus] were a mixture between a man and a fish.
 - Euedorachus, from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 18 *sars*.
 - In this reign, another monster appeared out of the Red Sea, which also was a mixture between a man and a fish, and its name was Odacon. All these [monsters] explained in detail what Oannes had stated briefly.
 - Amempsinus, a Chaldaean from Larancha, reigned for 10 *sars*.
 - Otiartes, a Chaldaean from Larancha, reigned for 8 *sars*.
 - When Otiartes died, his son Xisuthrus became king, for 18 *sars*.
 - In his reign, the great flood occurred.

The reigns of all these kings, added together, make 120 *sars*. They are calculated in this way:

- Alorus, for 10 *sars*
- Alaparus, for 3 *sars*

- Amelon, for 13 *sars*
- Ammenon, for 12 *sars*
- Megalarus, for 18 *sars*
- Daonus, for 10 *sars*
- Euedorachus, for 18 *sars*
- Amempsinus, for 10 *sars*
- Otiartes, for 8 *sars*
- Xisuthrus, for 18 *sars*

In total, 10 kings and 120 *sars*. ^[p11] And they say that 120 *sars* are the equivalent of 432,000 years, because one *sar* is the equivalent of 3,600 years.

That is what Alexander Polyhistor says in his book. But if anyone thinks that what is contained in that book is a true history, and that [those kings] really ruled for so many myriads of years, then he should also believe in all the other similar things in that book, which are equally incredible. Now will tell what Berossus wrote in the first book of his history, and first I will add another quotation from the same book of Polyhistor, as follows.

Another unreliable account of Chaldaean history, from the same book of Alexander Polyhistor about the Chaldaeans

Berossus, in the first book of his Babylonian History, says that he lived at the time of Alexander the son of Philippos, and that he transcribed the writings of many authors, which had been carefully preserved at Babylon, containing the records of (?) over 150,000 years. These writings contain the history of heaven and the sea, of creation, and of the kings and their deeds.

Firstly, he says that the land of Babylonia lies between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. Wild wheat, barley, lentils and sesame grow on the land; and the marshes produce roots, called *gonges*, which are as nutritious as barley. There are dates, apples, ^[p13] and other fruits and fish, as well as birds in the woods and marshes. The parts lying towards Arabia are dry and barren, but the parts on the opposite side from Arabia are mountainous and fertile. A large number

of foreigners dwell in Chaldaea; they live in Babylon in a disorderly way, like wild animals.

In the first year, a horrible beast appeared out of the Red Sea in the region near Babylonia. Its name was Oannes, according to Apollodorus. It had the complete body of a fish, but underneath its head there grew another head, beneath the fish's head; and in the same way the feet of a man grew of the tail of the fish. It had the voice of a man, and its likeness has been preserved even down to the present day. He says that this beast spent the day with men, taking no food, but instructing them about writing and science and all kinds of crafts. It taught them about founding cities and establishing temples, about introducing laws and about geometry. It showed them how to sow seed and gather fruit; and in general it gave men all the skills they needed for a civilised life. Since that time, nothing additional has been discovered.

But when the sun set, this beast called Oannes went back into the sea, and spent the night in the water, because it was amphibious. Afterwards other similar beasts appeared, which he says he will mention in the list of kings. But he says that Oannes wrote about creation and about the government of states, and he passed on this message on to mankind.

There was once a time, in which everything was darkness and water. [p15] In those times, monstrous beasts were born, with strange appearances. There were men with two wings, and some with four wings and two faces. They had one body, but two heads, of a man and a woman, and two sets of genitals, male and female. Other men had the legs and horns of a goat, or the hooves of a horse, or the rear end of a horse and the front of a man, like centaurs. Other beasts were born, such as bulls with human heads; dogs with four bodies and fish tails protruding from their rear end; horses with dogs' heads; humans and other animals with the head and body of a horse, but the tail of a fish; and other beasts with the form of all kinds of wild animals. As well as these [beasts], there were fish and reptiles and snakes and many other strange creatures, each of which had a different appearance. Representations of them were set up in the temple of Belus. A woman called Omorca ruled over all these [creatures]; she is called Thalath in the Chaldaean language, which is translated into Greek as *thalassa* ("the sea").

When everything was joined together in this way, Belus came along and split the woman in half. Half of her he made the heavens, and the other half he

made the earth; and he destroyed all the creatures on her. He says that this story is an allegory about nature; for when everything was wet and creatures were born in it, this god cut off his own head. The other gods took the blood that flowed from him and by mixing it with earth they created men. Therefore men are intelligent and have a share of divine reason.

[p17] Belus, which is translated as Zeus in Greek, cut the darkness in half. He separated the earth and the heavens from each other, and he arranged the universe. But because the creatures could not bear the power of the light, they were destroyed. When Belus saw that the land was empty and fertile, he ordered one of the gods to cut off his own head, and by mixing the blood which flowed from him with earth, to create men and wild beasts who could endure the air. Belus created the stars, the sun, the moon and the five planets.

That, according to Alexander Polyhistor, is what Berossus says in his first book. In the second book he lists the kings, one after another, and he says that the time of the ten kings, which we mentioned above, lasted for longer than 400,000 years. Anyone who believes that these writers are telling the truth about such a huge number of years should believe all the other improbable stories that they tell. Such a length of time is clearly supernatural, and is not worthy of belief, even if it is explained in a different way. And even if someone thinks that this number of years is possible, they still should not accept the statement about the dates without some further questions. If the number of rulers was sufficient to explain all these thousands of years, which are produced by their chronology, or if the writers reported the events and actions which would be expected to occur over such a length of time, then one might perhaps agree that there is some likelihood of their account being true. But as they claim that so many myriads of years were taken up by the rule of only ten men, who can doubt that these stories are merely ravings and myths?

Perhaps these so-called *sars* were originally measured not in years, but in some very small period of time. For instance, the ancient Egyptians talked about lunar years, [p19] that is a month of days or years containing 30 days. Other people consider the seasons to be periods of three months; in other words, they reckon each changing period of three months as a single year, and count the years in that way. Similarly, it is likely that the so-called *sar* of the Chaldaean indicated some such [period of time].

So they count only ten generations from Alorus, who was the first to be

called king [of the Chaldaeans], up until Xisuthrus, in whose reign the great flood occurred. In the Hebrew scriptures also, Moses declares that there were ten generations before the flood; for the Hebrews mention that number of generations, one by one, from the first man in their account up until the flood. But Hebrew history assigns about 2,000 years to these ten generations. Assyrian [history] lists the same number of generations as the book of Moses, but produces a very different total of years. It says that the ten generations lasted for 120 *sars*, which is the equivalent of (?) 430,000 years.

The reader who is keen to know the truth can easily understand, from what we have already said, that Xisuthrus is the same as the man who is called Noah by the Hebrews, in whose time the great flood occurred. The book of Polyhistor also mentions him, and writes about him as follows.

From the same book of Alexander Polyhistor, about the flood

When Otiartes died, his son Xisuthrus became king, for 18 *sars*. In his reign, the great flood occurred. This is how the story is told.

Cronus (whom they call the father of Zeus, while others call him Chronus ["time"]) approached him in his sleep, and said that on the 15th day of the month of Daesius the human race would be destroyed by a flood. [p21] Cronos ordered him to bury the beginnings, the middles and the ends of all writings in Heliopolis, the city of the Sippareni; to build a boat and embark on it with his close friends; to load the boat with food and drink, and to put on board every kind of bird and four-footed creature; and then, when all the preparations were complete, to sail away. When he asked where he should sail, Cronus replied, "To the gods, to pray that good things may happen to men." Xisuthrus did as he had been told. He built a boat which was 15 stades long, and 2 stades wide. After completing everything as instructed, he sent his wife, his children and his close friends onto the boat.

When the flood had come, and soon afterwards stopped, Xisuthrus sent out some of the birds. But they could not find any food or anywhere to rest, and so they returned to the boat. A few days later, Xisuthrus sent out the birds again, and this time they returned to the boat with mud on their feet. The third time that he sent out the birds, they no longer returned to the boat. Xisuthrus realised that some land had appeared. He removed part of the sides of the boat, and saw that it had come to rest on a mountain. He disembarked with his wife and daughter and the helmsman, and kissed the ground. After he had set

up an altar and had sacrificed to the gods, he disappeared from sight, along with the others who had left the boat with him. When Xisuthrus and his companions did not return, the remainder of those who were on the boat disembarked and searched for him, calling out his name. They could not see Xisuthrus anywhere, but a voice came out of the sky telling them that they should honour the gods, and that Xisuthrus had gone to live with the gods, because of the honour he showed them; his wife, his daughter and the helmsman had received the same reward. The voice told them to return to Babylon; they were destined to dig up the writings which had been hidden in the city of the Sippareni, [p23] and distribute them amongst men. They were told that they were now in the land of Armenia.

When they heard all of this, they sacrificed to the gods and went by foot to Babylon. A small part of the boat, which came to rest in Armenia, can still be found in the mountains of the Cordyaei in Armenia. Some people scrape off the asphalt, which covers the boat, and use it to ward off diseases, like an amulet. When they arrived back in Babylon, they dug up the writings in the city of the Sippareni. They founded many cities, and re-founded Babylon, constructing many temples.

Afterwards Polyhistor gives an account of the building of the tower, which agrees with the books of Moses, in exactly these words.

[From the writings] of Alexander Polyhistor, about the building of the tower

The Sibyl says: “When men all spoke the same language, they built a very tall tower, so that they could climb up to heaven. However god blew a wind at them and overturned the tower. Then he gave each of them their own language, and so the city was called Babylon. After the flood there came Titan and Prometheus, in whose time Titan made war against Cronus.”

That is what Polyhistor says about the building of the tower. He continues with the following details.

- After the flood, (?) Euechius ruled the land of the Chaldaeans, for 4 *ners*
- Then his son Chomasbelus became king, for 4 *ners* and 5 *sosses*
- From Xisuthrus and the flood until the capture of Babylon by the

Medes, [p25] Polyhistor lists 86 kings in all, and names each of them, copying their names from the book of Berossus. These kings reigned in total for 33,091 years. But when the city had become so firmly established, the Medes unexpectedly led their forces against Babylon and captured it. Then they set up their own kings as rulers there.

- He names 8 kings of the Medes, who reigned for 224 years
- Then again 11 kings, for years
- Then 49 kings of the Chaldaeans, for 458 years
- Then 9 kings of the Arabs, for 245 years
- After that time (he says) Semiramis was ruler of the Assyrians
- Then he lists individually the names of 45 kings, and allocates 526 years to them
- After them, Phulus became king of the Chaldaeans
 - The Hebrew scriptures [2 Kings 15'19] call this king Pul, and say that he invaded the land of the Hebrews.
- After him, Polyhistor says that Sennacherib became king

The Hebrew scriptures say that Sennacherib was king at the time of king Hezekiah and the prophet Isaiah. To be exact, Holy Scripture says [2 Kings 18'13]: "It happened in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah that Sennacherib the king of the Assyrians marched against the fortified cities of Judah, and captured them." And after telling the whole story, it continues [2 Kings 19'37]: "And his son Esarhaddon reigned in his place." Later on again, it adds [2 Kings 20'1]: "It happened at that time that Hezekiah fell ill", and [2 Kings 20'12] " at that time Merodach Baladan sent envoys with letters and gifts to Hezekiah.". That is what the Hebrew scriptures say.

But Sennacherib and his son Esarhaddon [*Asordanus*] and Merodach Baladan, along with Nebuchadnezzar, are mentioned by the historian of the Chaldaeans, who speaks about them as follows.

[p27] **[From the writings] of the same Alexander, about Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, their exploits and their virtues**

After the reign of the brother of Sennacherib, when Achises had been king for less than thirty days, he was killed by Merodach Baladan. Merodach Baladan seized the throne, but after ruling for six months he was killed by someone called Elibus, who became king in his place. In the third year of his reign, Sennacherib the king of the Assyrians led an army against the Babylonians and defeated them in battle. He captured Elibus, and ordered him to be taken with his friends to the land of the Assyrians. After bringing the Babylonians under his control, he appointed his son Asordanus to be their king. Then he returned to the land of the Assyrians.

When Sennacherib heard that the Greeks had arrived in Cilicia with the intention of fighting, he set out for Cilicia and met them in battle. Although many men from his own army were killed, he defeated the enemy, and as a monument of his victory he set up a statue of himself in that place. He ordered it to be inscribed with Chaldaean letters, which recorded his bravery and greatness for future generations. And he founded the city of Tarsus, on the same model as Babylon, and gave it the name of Tharsis.

Then, after relating the other achievements of Sennacherib, he adds: “After remaining [in power] for 18 years, he died as a result of a plot which was formed against him by his son Ardumuzan.” That is what Polyhistor says [about Sennacherib].

These dates agree with what is said in Holy Scripture. For in the time of Hezekiah, as Polyhistor states:

- Sennacherib was king, for 18 years
- Then his son, for 8 years
- Then Sammuges, for 21 years
- His brother, for 21 years
- Then Nabopolassar for 20 years
- Then Nebuchadnezzar for 43 years

- In total, from Sennacherib until Nebuchadnezzar, there are 88 years.
- A careful investigation of the Hebrew scriptures will come to a similar conclusion. [p29] After Hezekiah, the kings who reigned over the remaining Jews were:
 - Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, for 55 years
 - Then Amon, for (?) 2 years
 - Then Josiah, for 31 years
 - Then (?) Jehoiachin
 - At the beginning of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and took Jewish captives back to Babylon.

In total, from Hezekiah until Nebuchadnezzar, there are 88 years, which is the same number of years as was calculated by Polyhistor in his history of the Chaldaeans.

After this, Polyhistor relates some other deeds and exploits of Sennacherib. He speaks about his son in the same way as the Hebrew scriptures, and gives a detailed account of all that happened. He says that the philosopher Pythagoras lived at the same time as these kings. After Sammuges, Sardanapallus was king of the Chaldaeans for 21 years.

Sardanapallus sent an army to the assistance of Astyages, the satrap of the Medes, and accepted Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages, as the bride of his son Nebuchadnezzar. Then Nebuchadnezzar became king for 43 years. After gathering an army, he attacked the Jews, Phoenicians and Syrians, whom he took away as captives. I do not need to give a long explanation to prove that Polyhistor agrees with the Hebrew scriptures in this matter also.

After Nebuchadnezzar, his son Amilmarudoch became king for 12 years. He is called Evilmerodach in the Hebrew histories. Polyhistor says that after him, Neglissar ruled the Chaldaeans for 4 years, and then Nabonidus for 17 years. In his reign, Cyrus the son of Cambyses led an army against the land of the Babylonians. Nabonidus met him [in battle], but was defeated and put to flight.

- Then Cyrus became king of Babylon, for 9 years

- After Cyrus died in another battle on the (?) plain of the Dahae, Cambyses became king, for 8 years
- Then Dareius, for 36 years
- After Dareius came Xerxes and the other Persian kings

Just as Berossus gives a brief account of each of the Chaldaean kings, so Polyhistor describes them in the same manner. From what he says, it is clear that Nebuchadnezzar led an army against the Jews and conquered them. From Nebuchadnezzar until Cyrus the king of the Persians, there is period of 70 years. [p31] The Hebrew histories agree with this, and state that the Jews were in captivity for 70 years, calculating from the first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar up until Cyrus the king of the Persians.

Abydenus, whose account is similar to Polyhistor (?) in most respects, writes as follows in his History of the Chaldaeans.

[From the writings] of Abydenus, about the first kings of the Chaldaeans

So much about the wisdom of the Chaldaeans.

- The first king of the region, so they say, was Alorus.
 - He spread a report about himself that he had been chosen by god to be the shepherd of the people, and he reigned [over them] for ten *sars* (a *sar* is 3,600 years; a *ner* is 600 years; and a *soos* is 60 years).
- Next, Alaparus
- Amillarus, from the city of Pautibiblon
 - In his reign, a second Annedotus, a kind of demi-god, similar in appearance to Oannes, rose out of the sea.
- Ammenon
- Magalanus
- The shepherd Daōs
 - In his reign, bi-formed creatures came out of the sea onto the

land, and their names were: Euedocus, Eneugamus, Eneubulus and Anementus.

- Euedoreschus
 - In his reign, Anodaphus [came out of the sea].
- After him, there were other rulers, and finally Sisuthrus
- After agreeing with Polyhistor in such matters, this historian then writes about the flood in the same way.

[From the writings] of Abydenus, about the flood

After him, there were other kings, including Sisuthrus, to whom Cronus foretold that there would be a great torrent of rain on the fifteenth day of the month of Daesius. Cronus ordered him to conceal all the books which were kept in Heliopolis, the city of the Sippareni. Sisuthrus did as instructed, and then he sailed away to Armenia. Immediately it began to happen as the god had foretold. [p33] On the third day, when the rain eased, Sisuthrus sent out some birds, to test if they could see any land rising up out of the sea. But they found nothing except a gaping wide sea, and, having nowhere to rest, they flew back to Sisuthrus. The same thing happened when [he sent] some other birds. But he achieved success with the third set of birds, who came back with mud splattered on the bottom of their feet, and then the gods removed him from the sight of men. The inhabitants of Armenia made wooden amulets out of his ship, as a protection against poisons.

I think that it will be obvious to everyone that what Abydenus says about the flood is similar to the story of the Hebrews, and uses the same form of words. That these historians, whether they are Greeks or Chaldaeans, give Noah a different name, and call him Sisuthrus, is hardly surprising. Nor is it surprising that, as is their custom, they refer to gods rather than God, and talk about birds in general without mentioning a dove.

That then is what Abydenus says about the flood in this History of the Chaldaeans. He also writes about the building of the tower, in a way which is similar to the account of Moses, as follows.

[From the writings] of Abydenus, about the building of the tower

They say that the first men at that time were puffed up with pride because of

their strength and height, and in their arrogance they thought that they were better than the gods. They built a huge tower where Babylon now is, and it was already close up to heaven. But the winds came to the aid of the gods, and threw down the structure around them. The remains of the tower were called Babylon. Up to that time they had shared a common language but then they received a great variety of different speech from the gods. Afterwards a war arose between Cronus and Titan.

[p35] The same author writes about Sennacherib, as follows.

[From the writings] of Abydenus, about Sennacherib

At this time, Sennacherib became the 25th of the [Assyrian] kings. He conquered Babylon and brought it under his control. He defeated a fleet of Greek ships in a naval battle off the coast of Cilicia. He established a temple of the Athenians, and erected bronze columns on which he inscribed in writing his mighty achievements. He built Tarsus with a design which was similar to Babylon, so that the river Cydnus flows through the middle of Tarsus, just as the Euphrates flows through the middle of Babylon.

After him Nergilus became king, but he was killed by his son Adramelus. Then Adramelus was killed by Axerdis, his half-brother (by the same father, but a different mother). Axerdis gathered an army and sent it against the city of Byzantium. He was the first king to seek help from mercenaries, and one of these was Pythagoras, who became a student of Chaldaean wisdom. Axerdis conquered Egypt and parts of lower Syria. Then Sardanapallus was [king].

Then Saracus became king of the Assyrians, [p37] and when he was informed that an army like a swarm of locusts had invaded by sea, he immediately sent his general Nabopolassar [*Busalossorus*] to Babylon. But this general started to plot rebellion, and betrothed his son Nebuchadnezzar [*Nabuchodonosor*] to Amytis the daughter of Astyages, the king of the Medes. And then he immediately set off to attack the city of Nineveh. When king Saracus learned of the attack, he burnt down the palace with himself inside it. Nebuchadnezzar took over power as king, and put up a strong wall around Babylon.

After saying this, Abydenus gives an account of Nebuchadnezzar, which agrees with the writings of the Hebrews, as follows.

[From the writings] of Abydenus, about Nebuchadnezzar

When Nebuchadnezzar came to power, he fortified Babylon with a three-fold circuit of walls in about fifteen days. He made a channel for the river Narmalacis, a branch of the Euphrates, [(?) and the Acracanus]. [p39] He dug a reservoir above the city of the Sippareni, which was 40 parasangs in circumference, and 20 fathoms deep; and he constructed gates, which could be opened to irrigate the whole plain. They call these gates *ochetognomones*. He protected [the shore] against flooding by the Red Sea, and he built the city of Teredon [to guard] against the raids of the Arabs. He adorned the palace with new kinds of plants, and called it “The Hanging Gardens”.

Then he gives a detailed description of this Hanging Garden. He says that the Greeks regard it as one of the so-called seven wonders of the world.

And in another place the same author writes as follows: “It is said that in the beginning everything was water, which was called the sea. But Belus restrained [the sea] and assigned a region to each person. He surrounded Babylon with a wall, and at the appointed time he disappeared from sight. Later Nebuchadnezzar gave Babylon new walls, with gates of bronze, which lasted until the time of the Macedonians.”

The words of Daniel are in accordance with everything that Abydenus says. In his book [Dan4’30] he relates how Nebuchadnezzar, becoming arrogant and puffed up with pride, declared; “Is this not the great Babylon I have built as the royal residence, by my mighty power and for the glory of my majesty?”

That Nebuchadnezzar regarded his power as proof of his good fortune, is made clear the words of the prophet Daniel. And Abydenus declares that he was “mightier than Heracles”, when he writes as follows: [p41] “Megasthenes says that Nebuchadnezzar, who was mightier than Heracles, let his armies as far as Libya and Iberia. He conquered these countries, and settled some of their inhabitants on the right-hand shore of the Euxine Sea. But the Chaldaeans say that afterwards, when he went up to the palace, he was possessed by some god, and uttered these words: ‘O Babylonians, I Nebuchadnezzar predict that a great disaster will befall you.’”

After adding some more details about this, the historian continues: “When he had (?) uttered this prediction, he immediately vanished from sight, and his son Amilmarudocus became king in his place. But Amilmarudocus was killed by his kinsman Niglisares, leaving a son called Labassoarascus. When he too

died a violent death, they proclaimed Nabannidochus as king, although he had no right to assume royal power. When Cyrus captured Babylon, he made Nabannidochus the governor of Carmania; but king Dareius took some of the territory away from him.

All this is in accordance with what is said in the Hebrew scriptures. [p43] The book of Daniel tells how and in what way Nebuchadnezzar was afflicted in his mind. The Greek historians and the Chaldaeans turn his suffering to good account, by calling the madness a god who entered into him, or some demon which came to him. But this is not surprising, because it is their custom to attribute all such occurrences to a god, and to call the demons gods. All this is related by Abydenus.

Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian, gives a similar account in the first book of his *Antiquities* [*Ap1* '128-160], as follows:

**From the first book of the Antiquities of Josephus, about
Nebuchadnezzar**

I will now relate what has been written about us in the Chaldaean histories, which closely agree with our scriptures on various points. Berossus shall be witness to what I say: he was by birth a Chaldaean, well known by the learned, on account of his publication for Greek readers of books on Chaldaean astronomy and philosophy. This Berossus, therefore, following the most ancient records of that nation, describes in the same way as Moses the flood, and the destruction of mankind which it caused. He also gives us an account of the ark in which Noah, the forefather of our race, was preserved, when it was brought to the highest part of the Armenian mountains. Then he gives us a list of the descendants of Noah, with their dates; and at length comes down to Nabopolassar, who was king of Babylon, and of the Chaldaeans. And in his narrative of the acts of this king, he describes how he sent his son Nebuchadnezzar against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, when he was informed that they had revolted from him. [p45] After he had subdued them all, and destroyed our temple at Jerusalem by fire, he removed our people entirely out of their own country, and transported them to Babylon. Then our city was deserted for a period of seventy years, until the days of Cyrus king of Persia. He adds that this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phoenicia, and Arabia, and exceeded in his exploits all the kings who had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldaea.

I will set down Berossus' own words, which are as follows: "Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt, and over the regions of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him. Because he was not able to bear the hardships of a campaign, he committed part of his army to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was then a young man, and sent him against the rebel. Nebuchadnezzar joined battle with the rebel, and conquered him, and forced the country to submit to him again. Meanwhile it happened that his father Nabopolassar fell ill, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-one years. When Nebuchadnezzar heard, soon afterwards, that his father Nabopolassar was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order. He committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phoenicians, and Syrians, and inhabitants of Egypt, ^[p47] to some of his friends, that they might conduct them with his heavy-armed forces troops, and the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia. He himself went in haste, having only a few companions with him, over the desert to Babylon. When he arrived there, he found that the public affairs were being managed by the Chaldaeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly, he then took over complete control of his father's dominions.

"He ordered the captives to be placed in colonies in the most suitable places of Babylonia; but as for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, in a magnificent manner, out of the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside. He restored Babylon in such a way, that no-one who should besiege it afterwards might be able to divert the course of river, in order to force an entrance into it. He achieved this by building three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer city. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. So when he had fortified the city on this grand scale, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to the one which his father had dwelt in. It was close by it, but was superior in its height, and also in its great splendour. It would require too long a narration, to describe it all in detail. However, as prodigiously large and magnificent as the palace was, it was finished in only fifteen days. In this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a Hanging Garden, and adorning it with all sorts of trees, he gave it the appearance of a

mountainous country. This he did to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of mountainous scenery.”

This is what Berossus says about Nebuchadnezzar, and he relates many other things about him in the third book of his Chaldaean History, in which he censures the Greek writers because they suppose, without any foundation, that Babylon was built by Semiramis, queen of Assyria, and they wrongly claim that those wonderful buildings were created by her. [p49] On this subject, the account in the Chaldaean History must surely be accepted. Moreover, we find confirmation of what Berossus says in the archives of the Phoenicians, concerning this king Nebuchadnezzar, that he conquered all of Syria and Phoenicia. Philostratus is in agreement on these matters in his History, where he mentions the siege of Tyre; as is Megasthenes, in the fourth book of his Indian History, in which he tries to prove that this king of the Babylonians was superior to Heracles in strength and the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered most of Libya and Iberia.

I have said before that the temple at Jerusalem was attacked by the Babylonians, and burnt down by them, but it was restored after Cyrus had taken control of Asia. This is proved by what Berossus adds on the subject; for in his third book he says as follows: “Nebuchadnezzar, after he had begun to build the wall which I mentioned, fell sick and died, when he had reigned forty-three years. His son Evilmerodach became king, but he governed public affairs in an illegal and dishonest manner, and after he had reigned for only two years, Neriglissar, his sister’s husband, plotted against him and killed him. After his death, Neriglissar, the man who had plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned for four years; his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a child, and kept it for nine months; but because of the depraved disposition which he showed, a plot was laid against him also, and he was beaten to death by his friends.

After his death, the conspirators met together, and by common consent entrusted the kingdom to Nabonidus [*Nabonnedus*], a Babylonian who had joined in the plot. In his reign the walls of the city of Babylon were built magnificently with burnt brick and bitumen; but when he had reached the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus advanced from Persia with a great army; and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, he marched against Babylonia. [p51] When Nabonidus heard that Cyrus was coming to attack him,

he met him with his forces, but was defeated in battle. He fled away with a few of his troops, and was shut up in the city of Borsippa. Cyrus captured Babylon, and gave orders that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very formidable, and was difficult to capture. He then marched away to Borsippa, to besiege Nabonidus, who immediately surrendered without waiting for a siege. Nabonidus was at first kindly treated by Cyrus, who sent him away from Babylonia and gave him Carmania, as a place to inhabit. Accordingly Nabonidus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there he died.”

This account is true, and agrees with our scriptures; for in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar, in the eighteenth year of his reign, destroyed our temple, and so it lay in ruins for fifty years; but in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid, and it was completed again in the second year of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phoenicians, because I ought to give the reader abundant proof on this occasion. These records list the lengths of the reigns of their kings as follows:

- Ithobal
 - During his reign, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre for thirteen years.
- Baal, ten years
- After him judges were appointed, and held office:
- Ecnebalus, the son of Baslechus, two months
- Chelbes, the son of Abdaeus, ten months
- Abbar, the high priest, three months
- Myttynus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelimus, six years
- After them, Balatorus was king for one year
- After his death they summoned Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years
- After his death they sent for his brother Hirom, [p53] who reigned

twenty years

- In his reign Cyrus became king of Persia.

So the whole period is fifty-four years and three months; for Nebuchadnezzar began to besiege Tyre in the seventh year of his reign , and Cyrus the Persian came to power in the fourteenth year of Hirom. Therefore the records of the Chaldaeans and the Tyrians agree with our writings about this temple.

That is what Josephus says about these matters. Later on, Abydenus includes another account of the kings of the Chaldaeans, which is similar to Polyhistor. Then he lists the kings of the Assyrians in [chronological] order, as follows.

[THE ASSYRIANS]

[From the writings] of Abydenus, about the kingdom of the Assyrians

“That is the account which the Chaldaeans give of the kings of their country, but they do not mention Ninus or Semiramis.” After saying this, he immediately begins the history [of the Assyrians]: “Ninus was the son of Arbelus, the son of Anebus, the son of Babus, the son of Belus, king of the Assyrians.”

Then he lists [the kings of the Assyrians] from Ninus and Semiramis up until Sardanapallus, who was the last of all the kings; and from Sardanapallus until the first Olympiad, there are 67 years. That is the account which Abydenus gives about each of the Assyrian kings. But he is not the only writer [to mention them]: Castor, in the first book of the Summary of his Chronicle, speaks about the kingdom of the Assyrians in the following words.

From the Summary of Castor, about the kingdom of the Assyrians

“Belus was the king of the Assyrians. During his reign, the Cyclopes brought lightning and thunder to assist Zeus during his battle against the Titans. At the same time, the kings of the Titans were in their prime - including king Ogygus.” And shortly afterwards he says: “The giants attacked the gods, [p55] and were killed, after Heracles and Dionysus, who were descended from the Titans, came to the aid of the gods. Belus, whom we mentioned before, came to the end of his life, and was regarded as a god. After him, Ninus ruled the Assyrians for 52 years. His wife was Semiramis. After Ninus, Semiramis

ruled the Assyrians for 42 years. Then Zames, who was also called Ninyas, [was king].”

Then he lists each of the subsequent kings of the Assyrians in order, up until Sardanapallus. He mentions all of them by name; and we also will write down their names, together with the length of each of their reigns, a little later on.

Castor writes about the Assyrians again in his Canons, in these words: “First we have listed the kings of the Assyrians, starting with Belus; but because the length of his reign is not stated for certain, we have only mentioned his name. We have started the list in this chronicle with Ninus, and ended with another Ninus, who succeeded Sardanapallus as king. In this way, the total duration of the kingdom can be clearly shown, as well as the length of each of the individual reigns. And it shows that the kingdom lasted for 1,280 years.”

That is what Castor says. And Diodorus Siculus, who wrote the [Historical] Library, gives a similar account, in the following words.

From the writings of Diodorus, about the kingdom of the Assyrians

“No noteworthy deeds or even names have been recorded of the native kings who ruled in Asia in the most ancient times. Ninus of Assyria is the first king who is recorded in history. His achievements were great, and we will give a detailed account of him.” And then a little later he says: “[Ninus] had a son by Semiramis, who was called Ninyas. But when Ninus died, Semiramis became queen, and she buried Ninus in the palace.” And again, a little later he says: “[Semiramis] ruled over all of Asia, except for the Indians; [p57] and she died in the manner which we have described, when she had lived for 62 years and had reigned for 42 years.” And he states separately that: “After she died, Ninyas the son of Ninus and Semiramis became king, and he remained at peace. He did not attempt to imitate the exploits of his mother, who had been eager for war and struggle.”

And again, a little later he says: “And in a similar way the other kings ruled for 35 generations, handing down the kingdom from father to son, until the time of Sardanapallus. When he was king, the empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the Medes, after lasting for over 1,300 years, as Ctesias of Cnidus says in his second book. There is no need to write down the names of these kings, or the lengths of their reigns, because they achieved nothing

worthy of mention. The only event which is recorded is that the Trojans received assistance from the Assyrians, led by Memnon the son of Tithonus. They say that when the Greeks sailed with Agamemnon against Troy, Asia was ruled by Teutamus, who was the twenty-sixth king from Ninyas the son of Semiramis; and the empire of the Assyrians in Asia had already lasted for over a thousand years. Priamus the king of the Trojans, worn out by the pressure of war, submitted to the king of the Assyrians, and sent an embassy to ask the Assyrians to send aid and reinforcements. The king of the Assyrians gave him ten thousand men from the land of the Ethiopians, and a similar number of Susians, with two hundred chariots; and he sent Memnon the son of Tithonus to be their leader.” And again he says: “The barbarians say that the splendid achievements of Memnon are reported in the royal books.”

“Sardanapallus was the 35th king from Ninus, who established their empire. He was the last king of the Assyrians, and he outstripped all his predecessors in luxury and indolence.” And a little later he says: “He was so shameless, that he not only ruined his own life by his perversions, but also destroyed the entire empire of the Assyrians, which had lasted for longer than any other recorded empire. [p59] Arbaces, one of the Medes who was renowned for his bravery and his outstanding spirit, was the leader of the Medes who were sent every year to the city of Ninus [*Nineveh*]. While leading his army, he became acquainted with the general of the Babylonians, who urged him to overthrow the empire of the Assyrians.” This is what Diodorus says in the second book of his Historical Library [*chapters 1-24*].

Cephalion is another writer who mentions the empire of the Assyrians, and this is what he says.

[From the writings] of the historian Cephalion, about the kingdom of the Assyrians

“I begin my account with what the other writers have mentioned: firstly Hellanicus of Lesbos and Ctesias of Cnidus, and then Herodotus of Halicarnassus. In ancient times, the Assyrians ruled over Asia, and Ninus the son of Belus was their king. In his reign, many great events occurred.” Then he writes about the birth of Semiramis, Zoroaster the magus, the war with the king of the Bactrians and the disaster [suffered] by Semiramis; and about the death of Ninus, after a reign of 52 years. After Ninus, Semiramis became queen. She built the walls around Babylon, in the manner which has been

described by many writers, such as Ctesias, Zenon [(?) *or* Dinon], Herodotus, and later authors. Then he tells of her expedition into the land of the Indians, how she was defeated and fled; and how she killed her own sons, but was herself put to death by Ninyas, another of her sons, when she had reigned for 42 years. After her, Ninyas became king, but Cephalion says that he achieved nothing worthy of mention. [p61] Then he passes over all the other [kings]; “they ruled in total for a thousand years, handing down the kingdom from father to son; and none of them reigned for less than twenty years. Their unwarlike, unadventurous and effeminate character kept them safe. Because they were inactive and remained indoors, no-one had access to them except for their concubines and effeminate men. If anyone wishes to know, I think that Ctesias lists the names of 23 of these kings. But what pleasure or benefit would I provide, if I wrote down the names of barbarian kings, who achieved nothing, but were cowardly, weak and degenerate?”

And again he adds: “After about 640 years had passed, Belimus was king of the Assyrians; and in his reign, Perseus the son of Danaë, who was escaping from Dionysus the son of Semele, arrived in the country with 100 ships.” Then, after describing the defeat of Perseus by Dionysus, he adds: “In a later generation, when Pannias was king of the Assyrians, the expedition of the Argonauts sailed to the river Phasis, and to (?) Medeia of Colchis. They say that Heracles left the ship because of his love for Hylas, and wandered amongst the Cappadocians.” And again he says; “A thousand years after Semiramis, when Mitraeus was king [of the Assyrians], Medeia of Colchis left king Aegeus; her son was Medus, [p63] who gave his name to the Medes and the country of Media.”

Then he says: “Teutamus became king after Mitraeus, and he too lived according to the customs and laws of the Assyrians. Nothing else happened in his reign, but [at this time] Agamemnon and Menelaus the Mycenaeans sailed with the Argives and other Achaeans against the city of Troy, when Priamus governed Phrygia. [Priamus wrote to Teutamus:] ‘The Greeks have invaded your territory and attacked me; we have met them in battle, and sometimes we have been victorious, but sometimes we have been defeated. Now even my son Hector has been killed, along with many others of my brave children. Therefore send a force to come to our relief, and appoint a valiant general to lead them.’ “ Then [Cephalion] describes in detail, how Teutamus sent

assistance to him, and appointed Memnon the son of Tithonus to be the leader of the army; but the Thessalians killed Memnon in an ambush.

Then in another place, he says: “In the 1,013th year, Sardanapallus became king of the Assyrians.” Later, he describes the downfall of Sardanapallus. “After the death of Sardanapallus, Arbaces the Mede destroyed the kingdom of the Assyrians and transferred their empire to the Medes.” All this is what Cephalion says.

The kings of the Assyrians, as recorded by the most reliable of the writers, are as follows.

The kings of the Assyrians

1. Ninus, for 52 years.

They say that Ninus was the first to rule over all the inhabitants of Asia, except for the Indians. It can be shown that Abraham, the patriarch of the Hebrew nation, lived during his reign.

2. Semiramis, for 42 years.

3. Zames, also called Ninyas, for 38 years.

4. Arius, for 30 years.

5. Aralius, also called Amyrus, for 40 years.

6. Xerxes, also called Balaeus, for 30 years.

7. Armamithres, for 38 years.

8. Belochus, for 35 years.

9. Balaeas, for 12 years.

10. Aladas, for 32 years.

11. ^[p65] Mamythus, for 30 years.

12. Machchalaesus, for 30 years.

13. Spherus, for 22 years.

14. Mamylus, for 30 years.

15. Sparethus, for 40 years.

16. Ascatades, for 40 years.

Moses, the law-giver of the Jews, lived during his reign.

17. Amyntas, for 45 years.

18. Belochus, for 45 years.

His daughter Tratres, who was also called (?) Achurard, ruled for 17 years.

Dionysus and Perseus lived at this time.

19. Balatores, for 30 years.

20. Lamprides, for 32 years.

21. Sosmares, for 8 years.

22. Lampares, for 30 years.

23. Pannias, for 42 years.

The expedition of the Argonauts and Heracles happened during his reign.

24. Sosarmus, for 19 years.

25. Mithraeus, for 27 years.

26. Teutamus, for 32 years.

Troy was captured during his reign.

27. Teutaeus, for 40 years.

28. Theneus, for 30 years.

29. Derusus, for 40 years.

30. Eupalmes, for 38 years.

[David], the famous king of the Hebrews, lived during his reign. Solomon, the son [of David], built the temple at Jerusalem.

31. Laosthenes, for 45 years.
32. Peritiades, for 30 years.
33. Ophrataeus, for 21 years.
34. Ophatanes, for 50 years.
35. [p67] Acrazanes, for 42 years

36. Sardanapallus, for 20 years.

In his reign, Lycurgus established laws for the Lacedaemonians. The empire of the kings of the Assyrians lasted until this time, when Thespheus the son of Ariphron was archon of the Athenians. According to some writers, the whole empire of the Assyrians lasted for 1,240 years; according to others, it lasted for 1,300 years. Thonnos Konkoleros, who is called Sardanapallus in Greek, was defeated by Arbaces and Belesius, and burnt himself to death. From Sardanapallus until the first Olympiad, there are 40 years.

After destroying the empire of Sardanapallus and the Assyrians, Arbaces appointed Belesius to be governor of Babylon. He transferred the empire of the Assyrians to the Medes, and the duration of their empire was as follows.

THE MEDES

The kings of the Medes

1. Arbaces, for 28 years.
2. Maudaces, for 20 years.
3. Sosarmus, for 30 years.
4. Artycas, for 30 years.
5. Deioces, for 54 years.
6. Phraortes, for 24 years.
7. Cyaxares, for 32 years.
8. Ashdahak [Astyages], for 38 years.

In his time, Cyrus was king of the Persians. He deposed Ashdahak and destroyed the empire of the Medes, which had lasted for 298 years. Others writers have given a different list of the kings of the Medes.

THE LYDIANS

The kings of the Lydians

1. Ardys the son of Alyattes, for 36 years.
2. Alyattes, for 14 years.
3. ^[p69] Meles, for 12 years.
4. Candaules, for 17 years.
5. Gyges, for 35 years.
6. Ardys, for 37 years.
7. Sadyattes, for 5 years.
8. Odyartes, for 49 years.
9. Croesus, for 15 years. Cyrus killed Croesus, and destroyed the empire of the Lydians.

THE PERSIANS

The kings of the Persians

1. Cyrus, for 31 years.
 2. Cambyses, for 8 years.
 3. Smerdes the magus, for 7 months.
1. Darius the son of Hystaspes, for 36 years.
In his reign, the temple at Jerusalem was rebuilt, after the first [temple] had been burnt down by the Babylonians.
2. Xerxes the son of Darius, for 20 years.
 3. Artaxerxes, who was called Longimanus [Macrocheir], for 41 years.
In his reign, Ezra and Nehemiah were the leaders of the Hebrews.
 4. Darius, for 7 years.
 5. Artaxerxes, for 40 years.
 6. Ochus, for 26 years.
 7. Arses, for 4 years.
 8. Darius, for 6 years. Alexander the son of Philippos killed Darius, and ruled over the empire of the Persians and Assyrians for 12 years.

After Alexander, there were Macedonian kings for 295 years, until the death of queen Cleopatra, who reigned in about the 187th Olympiad [32-29 B.C.]. In her time, Augustus was emperor of the Romans, who was called Sebastos in Greek. [p71] [Cleopatra died] in the 15th year of Augustus' reign. From then until the 202nd Olympiad [29-32 A.D.], and the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, there are 52 years. And from then until the 20th anniversary of Constantinus, there are 300 years.

We will now proceed to the chronology of the Hebrews.

[p71] THE HEBREWS

How the Hebrews have recorded their chronology

We will set down here the chronology of the Hebrews, taken from the writings of Moses and later Hebrew writers; from the *Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus; and from the chronicle of Africanus.

How the Hebrews describe the [most ancient] times

The dates and kings of the Chaldaeans and Assyrians, and of the Medes and Persians, have been described in the previous section. And it is clearly shown that the ancestors of the Hebrew race were Chaldaeans, because Abraham was a Chaldaean and his forefathers are said to have lived in the land of the Chaldaeans, as Moses says in these words [Genesis, 11'31]: "Terah took his son Abraham, his grandson Lot son of Haran, and his daughter-in-law Sarah, the wife of his son Abraham, and he led them out of the land of the Chaldaeans."

Therefore it is fitting, after our account of the Chaldaeans, next to relate the history of the ancient Hebrews. The description of the flood, which is recorded by the Hebrews, is very different from the stories of the Greeks, which they tell about the flood at the time of Deucalion. [The Hebrew flood] happened a long time before Ogyges and the equally large flood, which is said by the Greeks to have happened in the time of Ogyges. In all, the flood which is described by the Hebrews happened 1,200 years before the time of Ogyges, which in its turn happened 250 years before Deucalion's flood.

But there is considerable agreement between the Hebrew scriptures and the accounts of the Assyrians, and the story which is told by them about the flood. They relate that before the flood, there were [p73] ten successive generations.

After the flood, the human race throughout the whole world was derived

from three men. Japheth was the ancestor of the inhabitants of Europe, from Mount Amanus to the western ocean. Ham was [the ancestor of the inhabitants] of Egypt, Libya and all the regions to the west in that direction. And Shem, who was the eldest brother, [was the ancestor] of the Assyrians, and all the peoples of the east.

The Hebrew scriptures state that Nimrod was the first man to build the city of Babylon. These are the words of the scriptures [Genesis, 10'8-11]: "Cush was the father of Nimrod" (Cush was an Ethiopian, who they believe was the father of Nimrod). Then Scripture says about Nimrod: "He grew to be a mighty [warrior] on the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord, that is why it is said, 'Like Nimrod, a mighty [hunter] before the Lord.' The first centres of his kingdom were Babylon, Erech, Akkad and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. From that land he went to [Assyria], where he built Nineveh." Nineveh is the city which is called Ninus [by the Greeks]; it was the first royal city of the Assyrians, which was founded by Asshur. Asshur was one of the sons of Shem, who, as we said, took possession of all the regions of the east.

They say that the sons of Shem were Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Aram and Lud. Elam was the ancestor of the Elymaeans, the most ancient tribe of the Persians, who founded the city of Elymais. Asshur was the ancestor of the Assyrians; he founded the city of Nineveh, which was later restored by Ninus the king of the Assyrians, who renamed it Ninus after his own name. Arphaxad was the ancestor of the Arphaxaeans, who were also called Chaldaeans. Aram was the ancestor of the Aramaeans, who were also called Syrians. Lud was the ancestor of the Lydians. Arphaxad was the father of Shelah, and Shelah was the father of Eber, from whom the name and nation of the Hebrews was derived. The sixth in succession from Eber was Abraham, the patriarch of the Jewish nation, in the tenth generation after the flood. That is sufficient to show in brief the close relationship between the Hebrews and the Chaldaeans and Assyrians. [p75] Therefore it is fitting after [the Assyrians] to start on the chronology of the Hebrews.

At the very start of their account of history, [the Hebrews] tell the ancient story of the fall of the human race from their blissful state, and the first patriarch Adam, who was the forefather of the whole human race (Adam in the Hebrew language means all men in general). The rest of the life [of Adam] after he was cast out of paradise is described by the Holy Spirit, through

Moses. And then [Genesis, 5'1-32] he lists the names of Adam's descendants and successors, and the length of each of their lives, so that from this point onwards we can calculate the chronology of the Hebrews, and write it down in order.

No-one could calculate the length of their stay in the so-called paradise of God. The admirable Moses, inspired by the Holy Spirit, seems to be suggesting another kind of era, greater than our own, a thrice-blessed and god-loving way of life, which he calls paradise - the dwelling place of the first race of men. When Moses describes the blissful life of Adam in paradise, he is referring to the whole race [of men].

But this present chronicle will not include an account of that stay [in paradise], nor [will it start] from the creation of heaven, the earth and the universe, as some have done, but [it will start] from the establishment of our human race, and our era, beginning with the forefather of our race, called Adam, who was the one who fell from paradise and was cast out from the blissful life. Taking the information from the scriptures of the Hebrews, as the book of Moses relates, I will set down the number of the years of the doomed and mortal life [of Adam], ^[p77] and what follows; which is where the historical accounts of the Hebrews begin. At this point, the book of Moses says [Genesis, 3'23]: "The Lord banished him" (that is, the first man) "from paradise to work the ground from which he had been taken. And he drove Adam out, and made him dwell outside the region of paradise." Then it adds [Genesis, 4'1]: "Adam lay with his wife Eve, and she conceived and gave birth to Cain." Our present chronicle will start from this point; but it will not include the first part of history, which cannot be calculated and must be left separate from the subsequent times.

There is much disagreement amongst the Hebrews about the dates which they have recorded. Therefore it is best to look at the different accounts which they have given, and by comparing and considering them all, to decide where the truth lies. The five books of Moses tell the story of the creation of the world, and of life before the flood, and the history of the most ancient men after the flood, and the successive generations after the flood, and Moses' departure from this life. But the books of the law are written down differently by the Jews, and by the Samaritans, who were foreigners who came to live among the Jews.

The characters, which are used by the Jews to represent the Hebrew letters, are different from those used by the Samaritans; and even the descendants of the Jews agree that the Samaritans use the original and true forms of the characters. The two races had no disagreement [about the texts] until the characters were changed. But now there is a great difference between them on matters of chronology, which will become immediately obvious when we compare them in the discussion which follows.

The Greek translation also differs significantly from the Jewish version in some respects, but it does not differ much from the Hebrew version of the Samaritans. There are some differences in the period up to the flood; but from then onwards until the time of Abraham, the two versions are in agreement.

The text which we use was translated by seventy Hebrew men, out of their native language into Greek. [p79] They produced the translation in complete harmony during the reign of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, and placed it in the library at Alexandria.

Now we will down write each version of Scripture in turn, so that it will be easy to spot the differences between them. First of all, we will see how the Septuagint [the translation of the seventy men] records the chronology of the period from Adam until the birth of Abraham.

The Septuagint

- Adam, the first man, became the father of Seth when he was 230 years old, and lived for another 700 years, until the 135th year of Mahalalel.
- Seth became the father of Enosh when he was 205 years old, and lived for another 707 years, until the 20th year of Enoch.
- Enosh became the father of Kenan when he was 190 years old, and lived for another 715 years, until the 53rd year of Methuselah.
- Kenan became the father of Mahalalel when he was 170 years old, and lived for another 740 years, until the 81st year of Lamech.
- Mahalalel became the father of Jared when he was 165 years old, and lived for another 730 years, until the 48th year of Noah.
- Jared became the father of Enoch when he was 162 years old, and

lived for another 800 years, until the 280th year of Noah.

- Enoch became the father of Methuselah when he was 165 years old, and lived for another 200 years, until he was taken away in the 33rd year of Lamech.
- Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 167 years old, and lived for another 802 years. The number of years assigned to Methuselah [by the Septuagint] suggests that he survived for (?) 22 years after the time of the flood; but we know that in some copies of the text, it is stated that he lived for another 782 years [after the birth of Lamech], and died at the time of the flood.
- [p81] Lamech became the father of Noah when he was 188 years old, and lived for another 535 years. Lamech died before his father Methuselah, in the 535th year of Noah.
- Noah became the father of Shem, Ham and Japheth when he was 500 years old, 100 years before the time of the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah, and he lived for another 350 years after the flood, until the 83rd year of Eber.
- In total, 2,242 years, according to the Septuagint version.

The Hebrew version, of the Jews

- Adam became the father of Seth when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 800 years, until the 56th year of Lamech.
- Seth became the father of Enosh when he was 105 years old, and lived for another 807 years, until the 168th year of Lamech.
- Enosh became the father of Kenan when he was 90 years old, and lived for another 815 years, until the 84th year of Noah.
- Kenan became the father of Mahalalel when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 840 years, until the 179th year of Noah.
- Mahalalel became the father of Jared when he was 65 years old, and

lived for another 830 years, until the 234th year of Noah.

- Jared became the father of Enoch when he was 162 years old, and lived for another 800 years, until the 366th year of Noah.
- Enoch became the father of Methuselah when he was 65 years old, and lived for another 300 years, until he was taken away in the 113th year of Lamech.
- Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 187 years old, and lived for another 782 years, up until the time of the flood.
- Lamech became the father of Noah when he was 182 years old, and lived for another 595 years. He died five years before the flood.
- [p83] Noah became the father of Shem, Ham and Japheth when he was 500 years old, 100 years before the time of the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year of Noah, and he lived for another 350 years after the flood, until the 58th year of Abraham.
- In total, 1,656 years.

This version differs from the Septuagint by a total of 586 years. This is the difference from the Septuagint in the number of years for which each of them lived before their sons were born; apart from Jared, Methuselah and Lamech, who are given the same number of years in both versions. From the agreement with respect to these three, we can deduce that the version which we use is more reliable, because the longer length of years which is assigned to Jared and his descendants in the Hebrew version makes it clear that the years of their predecessors should also be the same as in the Septuagint version. If the later and more recent generations are found, with the addition of the hundred years, to be assigned the same number of years in both the Hebrew and the Septuagint versions, how much likely is it that the previous generations, their forefathers, lived to be older than their descendants? For in the summary of each man's life, the number of years before his son was born, and the number of year that he lived afterwards, added together gives the same total of years in the Hebrew version and the Septuagint translation. It is only the numbers of years before their sons were born which are shorter in the account preserved

in the Jewish copies. Therefore we suspect that this was something which the Jews did: that they ventured to compress and shorten the time before these sons were born, in order to encourage early marriages. For if these most ancient of men, who lived such long lives, came quite soon to marriage and fatherhood, as their account declares, who would not want to imitate them and marry early?

The Hebrew version, of the Samaritans

- Adam, the first man, became the father of Seth when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 800 years, until the 223rd year of Noah.
- [p85] Seth became the father of Enosh when he was 105 years old, and lived for another 807 years, until the 335th year of Noah.
- Enosh became the father of Kenan when he was 90 years old, and lived for another 815 years, until the 433rd year of Noah.
- Kenan became the father of Mahalalel when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 840 years, until the 528th year of Noah.
- Mahalalel became the father of Jared when he was 65 years old, and lived for another 830 years, until the 583rd year of Noah.
- Jared became the father of Enoch when he was 62 years old, and lived for another 785 years, up until the time of the flood.
- Enoch became the father of Methuselah when he was 65 years old, and lived for another 300 years, until he was taken away in the 180th year of Noah.
- Methuselah became the father of Lamech when he was 67 years old, and lived for another 653 years, up until the time of the flood.
- Lamech became the father of Noah when he was 53 years old, and lived for another 600 years, up until the time of the flood.
- Noah became the father of Shem when he was 500 years old, 100 years before the time of the flood. The flood occurred in the 600th year

of Noah, and he lived for another 350 years after the flood, until the 83rd year of Eber.

- In total, 1,307 years.

[The Samaritan version] differs from the Jewish version by 349 years; and it differs from the Septuagint translation by 935 years. That is the end of our discussion of the period before the flood.

Let us now proceed to the times after the flood. First, let us note that the books of the Chaldaeans contain a very similar account to what is told by the Hebrews about the flood and about the ark which was built by Noah. But because I have already written down the account which was recorded by the Chaldaeans in the appropriate place, I think it is pointless to repeat the same words here.

[p87] Some proof that the flood rose above the highest mountains was given a long time afterwards to us, as we wrote this [chronicle]. We observed that, in our own times, fish had been found on top of the highest peaks of the Libanus mountains. Some men, who had gone there to cut out stones from the mountains for building, found various kinds of sea-fish, compacted into the mud in the hollows of the mountains. The fish had survived until the present time, as if they had been artificially preserved, and the sight of them provided evidence to us that the ancient story was true. Let our readers believe this as they wish - but we will now proceed to the following period of time.

After the flood, according to the Septuagint translation

- In the second year [after the flood], Shem the son of Noah became the father of Arphaxad, and lived for another 500 years, until the 101st year of Peleg.
- Arphaxad became the father of Shelah when he was 135 years old, and lived for another 403 years, until the 9th year of Reu.
- Shelah became the father of Eber when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 406 years, until the 7th year of Serug.
- Eber became the father of Peleg when he was 134 years old, and lived for another 433 years, until the 38th year of Nahor.

- Peleg became the father of Reu when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 209 years, until the 75th year of Serug.

In the days of Peleg, the land was divided up, and therefore the name Peleg means “division” in the Hebrew language. Peleg [was the second man who] died before his father. In his time, the tower [of Babel] was built; men began to speak many different languages, instead of the common language which they had used before; and each nation had its own language, as the Holy Scriptures say [Genesis, 11’5-9]. ^[p89]

Gentile writers also tell the same story; Alexander Polyhistor mentions it in his book about the Chaldaeans, and Abydenus also gives a similar account. I have already recorded what they say in my account of the Chaldaeans.

- After Peleg, Reu became the father of Serug when he was 135 years old, and lived for another 207 years, until the 77th year of Nahor.
- Serug became the father of Nahor when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 200 years, until the 51st year of Abraham.
- Nahor became the father of Terah when he was 79 years old, and lived for another 119 years, until the 49th year of Serug.
- Terah became the father of Abraham when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 135 years, until the 35th year of Isaac.
- The first year of Abraham, who was the forefather of the Jewish nation. In his time, Ninus and Semiramis ruled over Assyria and the whole of Asia.

From the flood up until the first year of Abraham, there are 942 years. From Adam up until the flood, 2,242 years. In total, 3,184 years.

After the flood, according to the Hebrew version of the Jews

- In the second year after the flood, Shem the son of Noah became the father of Arphaxad, and lived for another 500 years, until the 50th year of Jacob.
- Arphaxad became the father of Shelah when he was 35 years old, and

lived for another 403 years, until the 48th year of Isaac.

- Shelah became the father of Eber when he was 30 years old, and lived for another 403 years, until the 18th year of Jacob.
- Eber became the father of Peleg when he was 34 years old, and lived for another 430 years, until the 79th year of Jacob.
- Peleg became the father of Reu when he was 30 years old, and lived for another 209 years, until the 48th year of Jacob.
- Reu became the father of Serug when he was 32 years old, and lived for another 207 years, until the 78th year of Abraham.
- [p91] Serug became the father of Nahor when he was 30 years old, and lived for another 200 years, until the first year of Isaac.
- Nahor became the father of Terah when he was 29 years old, and lived for another 119 years, until the 49th year of Abraham.
- Terah became the father of Abraham when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 135 years, until the 35th year of Isaac.
- The first year of Abraham.
- From the flood up until the first year of Abraham, there are 292 years. In total, 1,948 years from Adam. This differs from the Septuagint translation by 1,235 years.

After the flood, according to the Hebrew version of the Samaritans

- In the second year after the flood, Shem the son of Noah became the father of Arphaxad, and lived for another 500 years, until the 101st year of Peleg.
- Arphaxad became the father of Shelah when he was 135 years old, and lived for another 303 years, until the 39th year of Peleg.
- Shelah became the father of Eber when he was 130 years old,

and lived for another 303 years, until the 39th year of Reu.

- Eber became the father of Peleg when he was 134 years old, and lived for another 270 years, until the 140th year of Reu.
- Peleg became the father of Reu when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 109 years, until the 109th year of Reu.
- Reu became the father of Serug when he was 132 years old, and lived for another 207 years, until the 77th year of Nahor.
- Serug became the father of Nahor when he was 130 years old, and lived for another 100 years, until the 21st year of Terah.
- Nahor became the father of Terah when he was 79 years old, and lived for another 69 years, until the 69th year of Terah.
- Terah became the father of Abraham when he was 70 years old, and lived for another 75 years, until the 75th year of Abraham.
- [p93] The first year of Abraham, who was the forefather of the Jewish nation.

From the flood up until the first year of Abraham, there are 942 years. This is the same total as in the Septuagint translation.

Therefore, the Hebrew version of the Samaritans agrees with our version in the number of years which it assigns to each of these men, before his son was born; but it differs from the Hebrew version of the Jews by 650 years. For according to the Jewish version, there were 292 years from the flood up until the first year of Abraham.

It is clear from the oldest version of the Hebrew scriptures, which is preserved by the Samaritans, and which is in agreement with the Septuagint translation, that these men, from the flood down to Abraham, did not have sons until they were over a hundred years old. So who could suppose that their ancestors, who lived for much longer, had fathered children more quickly, rather than after the length of time which is recorded in the Septuagint [translation]? That is what any rational study would suggest; and

so we must agree that [the numbers of years in] the Jewish version are incorrect for the whole period from Adam until Abraham, except for the three generations starting with Jared; and the Samaritan version is also incorrect, but only in the period from Adam until the flood, because in the period from the flood until Abraham, it records the same numbers of years as the Septuagint translation.

Indeed, it is absolutely clear that [the dates in] the Hebrew version of the Jews are incorrect. It even suggests that Noah and Abraham were alive at the same time - which is something that is not mentioned in any history. For if, according to the Jewish scriptures, there were 292 years from the flood until Abraham, and Noah lived for another 350 years after the flood, it is obvious that Noah was alive until the 58th year of Abraham. And it is possible to show that the Jewish version is untrustworthy in another way: because it says that the generations before Abraham were about 30 years old when their sons were born, but the generations after Abraham are said to have been much older when they fathered their children.

[p95] Therefore, because it has been definitely established that the Septuagint version was translated from the original, unadulterated Hebrew scriptures, it is reasonable for us to use that version for this chronicle - especially since it is the only version that is approved by the church of Christ, which has spread throughout the whole world, and it is the version that was handed down to us from the beginning by the apostles and disciples of Christ.

According to the Septuagint [version], from Adam until the flood, there are 2,242 years. From the flood until the first year of Abraham, 942 years. In total, 3,184 years.

According to the Hebrew [version] of the Jews, from Adam until the flood, there are 1,656 years. From the flood until the first year of Abraham, 292 years. In total, 1,948 years.

According to the Hebrew [version] of the Samaritans, from Adam until the flood, there are 1,307 years. From the flood until the first year of Abraham, 942 years. In total, 2,249 years.

All the versions agree that from Abraham up until Moses and the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, there are 505 years, which are calculated in the following way. In the 75th year of Abraham, God appeared to him and said that he would give the promised land to his offspring. It is written [Genesis,

12'4-7]: "Abraham was seventy-five years old when he set out from Haran. He took his wife Sarah, and his nephew Lot." And a little later, Scripture adds: "The Lord appeared to Abraham, and said, 'To your offspring I give this land.'" " So from the first year of Abraham [until this promise made by God], there are 75 years; and from the 75th year of Abraham until the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, there are 430 years. The Apostle Paul bears witness to this, when he says [Galatians, 3'17-18]: "The law, introduced 430 years later, does not set aside the covenant previously established by God and thus do away with the promise." And shortly afterwards, he adds: "God in his grace gave it to Abraham through a promise." Abraham's son Isaac was born in Abraham's 100th year, 25 years after the promise which God made to him. From then until the exodus from Egypt there are 405 years, so that the total time from the promise until [the exodus] is 430 years.

[p97] But God, who had appeared to Abraham, appeared to him again and said [Genesis, 15'13]: "Know for certain that your descendants will be strangers in a country not their own, and they will be enslaved and ill-treated for four hundred years." The word "descendants" is used deliberately; and to show that we should not allocate the [whole] time to Isaac, the period of 430 years is mentioned at the time of the exodus of the children of Israel from the land of the Egyptians. Scripture says [Exodus, 12'40-41]: "Now the length of time which they and their forefathers lived in Egypt and the land of Canaan, was 430 years. At the end of the 430 years, all the Lord's divisions left Egypt by night." Because the length of time, from when the promise was made by God (in the 75th year of Abraham), is 430 years, it is clear that from the first year of Abraham until Moses and the exodus from Egypt, there are 505 years.

Some writers calculate the years in detail, as follows:

- Abraham became the father of Isaac, when he was 100 years old
- Isaac became the father of Jacob, when he was 60 years old
- Jacob became the father of Levi, when he was 86 years old
- Levi became the father of Kohath, when he was 46 years old
- Kohath became the father of Amram, when he was 63 years old
- Amram became the father of Moses, when he was 70 years old
- Moses led the people out of Egypt, when he was 80 years old

So the total length of time, from the first year of Abraham until the exodus from Egypt, is 505 years.

In total, from Adam until the exodus from Egypt, according to the Septuagint version, there are 3,689 years; according to the Jews, 2,453 years; according to the Samaritans, 2,753 years.

The period from the death of Moses until Solomon and the building of the temple is described in one way by the book of Judges, with which the holy Apostle agrees in the Acts of the Apostles; but in a different way by the book of Kings and the Hebrew tradition. It will be best to report both accounts, and then to choose the one which is more truthful.

Firstly, it must be mentioned that Africanus, who compiled a Chronography in five books, seems to me to have been greatly mistaken in these matters. [p99] By his reckoning, there were 741 years from the exodus of Moses until Solomon and the building of the temple at Jerusalem, but he provides no evidence for most of this. He is wrong, not only because what he says is contrary to the account of the Holy Scriptures, but also because he audaciously adds a total of 100 years on his own authority. He assigns an additional 30 years to the elders after Joshua; and then after Samson, he places 40 years of anarchy, and another 30 years of peace. By inserting these additional years without any proof, he carelessly produces an inflated total of over 740 years in his calculation of the time between Moses and king Solomon.

By observing how many generations had elapsed, we can see that his account is improbable. There were 14 generations from Abraham until David, and the ninth generation had already come to an end at the time of Moses, when Nahshon the son of Aminadab was leader of the tribe of Judah. Nahshon died in the desert after leaving Egypt, and he was present when the people were first numbered. It is clear that there were five generations after Nahshon until David: David was the son of Jesse, who was the son of Obed, who was the son of Boaz, who was the son of Salmon, who was the son of Nahshon. So how can it be claimed that these five generations after Moses lasted for a total of more than 700 years? If the years are evenly distributed between the men in each generation, we will find that each of them lived for over 140 years before his son was born; and no-one in their senses would consider that possible. Moses himself died at the age of 120 years, and his successor Joshua died at

the age of 110 years. Before their time, Joseph lived in all for 110 years, and earlier still Jacob, who was also called Israel, the patriarch of all the Jews, lived for 147 years.

[p101] So how can it be supposed that in later times, after Moses, anyone could have lived for as long as we have said? Africanus is clearly wrong in this matter. However, Clemens reckoned that there were 674 years from Joshua the successor of Moses until the building of the temple, as can be found in the first book of his Miscellany [Stromata, 1'21]. The holy Apostle Paul, in his speech to the Jews in the Acts of the Apostles, says as follows [13'19-22]: "Joshua destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, and he divided the land [amongst the Jews] for 450 years, and after that he gave them judges until the time of Samuel the prophet. Then they asked for a king, and God gave them Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, who reigned for 40 years. After that, God removed Saul and gave them David in his place."

That is what the Apostle says. According to him, there were 534 years after Joshua. As well as the 450 years, which he assigns to the judges until Samuel, there must be added 40 years for Saul, another 40 years for David, and the four years of Solomon's reign before the building of the temple, which makes a total of 534 years from Joshua the successor of Moses until Solomon. If you add the 40 years of Moses in the wilderness, and the 27 years of Joshua the son of Nun, then the total for the whole period will be 600 years, according to the Apostle. The book of Judges is in agreement with his account, and assigns 450 years to the judges until Samuel, which are divided up as follows:

According to the book of Judges

- After Joshua, rule by foreigners - 8 years
- Othniel - 40 years
- *foreigners* - 18 years
- Ehud and Shamgar - 80 years
- *foreigners* - 20 years
- Barak and Deborah - 40 years

- ^[p103]*foreigners* - 7 years
- Gideon - 40 years
- Abimelech - 3 years
- Tola - 23 years
- Jair - 22 years
- *foreigners* - 18 years
- Jephthah - 6 years
- Ibzan - 7 years
- Elon - 10 years
- Abdon - 8 years
- *foreigners* - 40 years
- Samson - 20 years
- Eli, in whose time Samuel was born - 40 years

The total for all the judges until Samuel is 450 years.

The total is consistent with the words of the holy Apostle, but it does not include the years of Moses, or of Joshua the successor of Moses, or of Samuel, or of Saul. The number of years for Samuel and Saul, and also for Joshua, may be uncertain; but as the Apostle suggests, the 40 years of Saul should be added to the 450 years of the judges, and if the 40 years of David and the 4 years of Solomon are joined to this, they make a total of 534 years, the same as in the account of the Apostle. If we also add the 40 years of Moses in the wilderness, and the 27 years of Joshua the son of Nun, according to the tradition of the Hebrews, the total for the whole period is 600 years.

If this total is compared with the five generations between Nahshon and David, which were mentioned previously, and the years are divided equally between the generations, it follows that the men in each generation lived for more than 115 years before their sons were born. It is scarcely credible that,

when Moses lived in all for 120 years, his descendants should reach almost the same age, before their sons were born. Therefore there is nothing left but to move on at this point to the account in the book of Kings.

The book of Kings clearly states that, from the exodus of the children of Israel until Solomon and the building of the temple, there was a total of 440 years; according to the Hebrew version, it was 480 years. ^[p105] The third book of Kings says as follows [1 Kings, 6'1]: "It happened in the 440th year after the exodus out of Egypt, that Solomon began to build the house of the Lord." In the Hebrew version, it says "It happened in the 480th year" because the Jewish teachers, by a careful calculation, decided that the total came to 480 years. They did not count separately the years in which the foreigners are said to have ruled over the people [of Israel], but counted just the time that the judges ruled them, and included within this the periods of foreign domination. And this must be how it is done, because it is the only way that the total can be made to be 480 years. I believe that when the holy Apostle stated the number of years, which was mentioned before, he was not speaking in the manner of a chronographer, or of someone who was making an exact calculation. It would have been superfluous to introduce a discussion of chronology into his declaration of the message of salvation, and so he followed the common interpretation of the book of Judges.

The book of Kings expressly states that there were 440 (or 480) years from the exodus until Solomon. But if we look at the dates of each of the judges, and also count separately the times of foreign rule which are mentioned in the book of Judges, there is a total of 600 years between Moses and Solomon. This total of 600 years is divided up as follows:

- Moses in the wilderness - 40 years
- Joshua - 27 years
- Judges and foreigners - 450 years
(as the Apostle states, in accordance with the book of Judges)
- Samuel and Saul - 40 years
- David - 40 years

- Solomon (until the building of the temple) - 4 years

Therefore the men in each of the five generations, which we mentioned previously, must have lived for 120 years before their sons were born; which is wholly incredible.

However, if we follow the account in the book of Kings, we will have a total of 480 years, because the 120 years, during which the Hebrews were ruled by foreigners, have been removed. [p107] Instead, the years of their enslavement will have been combined with the years of their freedom in a single total, which is how the Hebrews themselves count it. That is how we will calculate the dates here, by assuming that the times of foreign rule are included in the number of years assigned to each of the judges. We have been particularly persuaded to use this method of calculation, by considering how long is allowed for the five generations from Nahshon to David. If we subtract the 40 years of Moses in the wilderness and the four years of Solomon from the total of 480 years, there are 436 years left, up until the death of David. If these years are divided equally between the five generations, there are 87 years for each generation. If anyone investigates this, he will find that it is a plausible account, starting from the birth of David. David was the eighth son of Jesse, and was born after his seven elder brothers when his father was an old man; and so we can reckon that something similar may have happened to his ancestors.

Therefore we will follow here the account in the book of Kings, that there were 480 years from the exodus out of Egypt until Solomon and the building of the temple. We will include the periods of foreign rule in the number of years assigned to each of the judges who ruled in succession.

The book of Judges supports this decision in another way, by the words of Jephthah, who was one of the judges of the people. When the Ammonites, who lived on the other side of the river Jordan, made war on Jephthah, he sent an embassy to the enemy, with this message [Judges, 11'25-26]: "Are you better than Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever quarrel with Israel, or fight with them? For three hundred years Israel occupied Heshbon, Aroer, the surrounding settlements and all the towns along the Jordan. Why did he not retake them during that time?" His message tells them that Moses and Balaam the son of Beor lived 300 years before their own time. [p109] The only way to produce this total of 300 years is to reckon that the periods when

foreigners ruled [the people of Israel] are included in the number of years assigned to the judges who ruled them. If anyone counts the periods of the people's enslavement, when they were ruled by foreigners, separately [from the judges], he will produce a total which far exceeds the 300 years. But if he counts only the years which are assigned to the judges who ruled the people, he will find that there are 300 years from Moses until Jephthah, as Jephthah's message stated.

Therefore, the chronology which we use for this period will be as follows:

From Moses to Solomon

- Moses - 40 years
- Joshua - 27 years
- *foreigners and* Othniel the judge - 40 years
- *foreigners and* Ehud the judge - 80 years
- *foreigners and* Deborah and Barak - 40 years
- *foreigners and* Gideon - 40 years
- Abimelech - 3 years
- Tola - 23 years
- Jair - 22 years
- *foreigners and* Jephthah the judge - 6 years
- Ibzan - 7 years
- Abdon - 8 years
- *foreigners and* Samson - 20 years

In his time, the Trojan war was fought.

- Eli - 40 years
- Samuel and Saul - 40 years

- David - 40 years
- Solomon (until the building of the temple) - 4 years

In total, from Moses and the exodus out of Egypt until the building of the temple, 480 years.

About Joshua, the book which bears his name tells us nothing more than that [p111] he died at the age of 110 years. But the Hebrews say that he was leader for 27 years; and so he was 43 years old when Moses went out of Egypt.

About Samuel, because Scripture does not explicitly assign a number of years to him, I think that the length of Saul's reign which is mentioned by the holy Apostle should belong jointly to Saul and to Samuel. It is clear that Samuel was leader of the people for many years; but Scripture states that Saul reigned for just two years. In the first book of Kings, it says [1 Samuel, 13'1]: "Saul was the son of a year in his reigning; and he ruled over Israel for two years". Symmachus makes this clearer in his translation: "Saul was like a year-old child in his reigning", meaning that Saul was pure and faultless at the beginning of his reign. He kept that nature for two years, but when he turned to evil ways, he was rejected by God and suffered divine punishment. Therefore the remaining years have been assigned to Samuel, and 40 years is the joint total for Saul and Samuel. It is clear that Saul [or Samuel] ruled for this length of time, not only from the evidence of the Apostle, but also from a careful investigation of Scripture, which says [2 Samuel, 2'10] that after the death of Saul, "Ish-Bostheth son of Saul was 40 years old when he became king over Israel, and he reigned two years. The house of Judah, however, followed David." Ish-Bostheth must have been born after Saul became king, because Scripture [1 Samuel, 14'49], when talking of the beginning of Saul's reign, mentions three sons of Saul, but not this one. Therefore we think that Ish-Bosheth was born later, and the length of Saul's reign was about the same as the age of his son after his death.

In summary, the third book of Kings [1 Kings, 6'1] says that there were 480 years from the exodus out of Egypt until Solomon and the building of the temple; there were 505 years from Abraham until Moses and the exodus; [p113] there were 942 years from the flood until the first year of Abraham; and there were 2,242 years from Adam until the flood. Altogether there were 4,170

years from Adam until Solomon and the building of the temple.

The historian Josephus, in the first book of his Jewish Antiquities, produced some Phoenicians as witnesses to the date of Solomon and to his building of the temple, and the evidence of the men whom he mentions seems useful to me. In that book, he writes as follows [Against Apion, 1'106(17)]:

**The evidence of the Phoenicians about the temple at Jerusalem, from
Josephus**

I will now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those that belong to the Phoenicians, and concern our nation, and shall produce proof of what I have said out of them. There are then records among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and these are public writings, and are kept with great exactness, and include accounts of the facts done among them, and such as concern their transactions with other nations also, those I mean which were worth remembering. Therein it was recorded that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, one hundred forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage.

In their annals the building of our temple is related; for Hirom, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, and had such friendship transmitted down to him from his forefathers. He thereupon was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon, and made him a present of one hundred and twenty talent talents of gold. ^[p115] He also cut down the most excellent timber out of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent it to him for adorning its roof. Solomon also not only made him many other presents, by way of requital, but gave him a country in Galilee also, that was called Chabulon. But there was another passion, a philosophic inclination of theirs, which cemented the friendship that was between them; for they sent mutual problems to one another, with a desire to have them resolved by each other; wherein Solomon was superior to Hirom, as he was wiser than he in other respects: and many of the letters that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, that this may not depend on my bare word, I will produce for a witness Dios, one that is believed to have written the Phoenician History after an accurate manner. This Dios, therefore, writes thus, in his Histories of the Phoenicians:

“Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom. This king raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged it; he also joined the

temple of Olympian Zeus, which stood before in an island by itself, to the city, by raising a causeway between them, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had timber cut down for the building of temples. They say further, that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent problems to Hirom to be solved, and desired he would send others back for him to solve, and that he who could not solve the problems proposed to him should pay money to him that solved them. And when Hirom had agreed to the proposals, but was not able to solve the problems, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money, as a penalty for the same. As also they relate, that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, did solve the problems, and propose others which Solomon could not solve, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hirom.”

These things are attested to by Dios, and confirm what we have said upon the same subjects before. ^[p117] And now I shall add Menander the Ephesian, as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the Acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians, under every one of the Tyrian kings, and had taken much pains to learn their history out of their own records. Now when he was writing about those kings that had reigned at Tyre, he came to Hirom, and says thus:

“Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom took the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He raised a bank on that called the Broad Place, and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Zeus’ temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones; besides this, he consecrated the temples of Heracles and of Astarte. He first built Heracles’ temple in the month Peritius, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityans [(?) inhabitants of Utica], who would not pay him their tribute; and when he had brought them under his control, he returned home. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon, who mastered the problems which Solomon king of Jerusalem had recommended to be solved.” Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is thus calculated.

“Upon the death of Hirom, Baalbazerus his son took the kingdom; he lived forty-three years, and reigned seventeen years: after him succeeded his son Abdastartus; he lived thirty-nine years, and reigned nine years. Now four sons

of his nurse plotted against him and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years: after them came Astartus, the son of Eleastartus; he lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve years: after him came his brother Astharymus; he lived fifty-eight years, and reigned nine years: he was slain by his brother Phelles, who took the kingdom and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years: he was slain by Eithobalus, the (?) son of king Astartus, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived forty-eight years: [p119] he was succeeded by his son Balezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned eight years: he was succeeded by Metenus his son; he lived thirty-two years, and reigned twenty-nine years: Physmalion succeeded him; he lived fifty-eight years, and reigned forty-seven years. Now in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fled away from him, and built the city Carthage in Libya. So the whole time from the reign of Hirom, till the building of Carthage, amounts to the sum of one hundred fifty-five years and eight months.”

Since then the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hirom, there were from the building of the temple, until the building of Carthage, one hundred forty-three years and eight months. Therefore, what occasion is there for quoting any more evidence out of the Phoenician histories [on the behalf of our nation], since what I have said is so thoroughly confirmed already? To be sure, our ancestors came into this country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had gained possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. And this is the point that I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

That is what Josephus says.

The list of times [of reigns] which is shown here covers 432 years, from the building of the temple, in the fourth year of Solomon, until the destruction [of the temple] by the Babylonians. They are reckoned as follows:

1. Solomon - for 37 years
(The rest of his reign except for the first three years)
2. Rehoboam - for 16 years
3. Abijah - for 3 years
4. Asaph - for 41 years

5. Jehoshaphat - for 25 years

6. Jehoram - for 8 years

7. Ahaziah - for 1 year

8. Athaliah his mother - for 7 years

9. Joash - for 40 years

10. ^[p121] Amaziah - for 28 years

11. Uzziah - for 52 years

In his reign the Greeks established the first Olympic games ^[776 B.C.].

12. Jotham - for 16 years

13. Ahaz - for 16 years

14. Hezekiah - for 29 years

15. Manasseh - for 55 years

16. Amon - for 2 years

17. Josiah - for 31 years

18. Jehoahaz - for 3 months

19. Jehoiakim - for 11 years

20. Jehoiachin, also called Jekhoniah, his son - for 3 months

21. Mattaniah, also called Zedekiah - for 11 years

In total, 432 years.

After this, the Babylonian captivity of the Jews and the abandonment of their country lasted for 70 years, which came to an end in the 65th Olympiad ^[520-517 B.C.], in the second year of Darius the king of the Persians, as the Holy Scriptures say.

Clemens agrees with our account, when he writes in the first book of his

Miscellany as follows [Stromata, 1'21]: "The captivity lasted for seventy years, and ended in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, who had become king of the Persians, Assyrians, and Egyptians; in whose reign, as I said above, Haggai and Zechariah and the angel of the twelve [Malachi] prophesied. And the high priest was Joshua the son of Josedec." That is what Clemens says.

More evidence that there was a period of 70 years from the destruction of the temple until the second year of Dareius is provided by the prophet Zechariah, who said in the second year of Dareius [1'12] : "Almighty Lord, how long will you not pity Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, which you have despised? This is the seventieth year."

But the acute observer may say: "But why is it said at the beginning of the book of Ezra [1'1], that in the first year of Cyrus the king of the Persians, to fulfil the word of God which was spoken through the prophet Jeremiah, the Lord aroused the spirit of Cyrus the king of the Persians, and he gave an order throughout his kingdom in a written decree." And then, adding what follows in that book, ^[p123] he will show that it refers to the release of the Jews, and how Cyrus ordered the temple to be rebuilt. From this you would assume that the 70 years of the captivity came to an end in the reign of Cyrus, and not in the reign of Dareius.

To this I reply, that the words of the prophets refer to two different periods of 70 years. The one is reckoned from the destruction of the temple, and came to an end in the second year of Dareius, as the statement of Zechariah makes clear. The second is from the enslavement of the Jews, up until the capture of Babylon and the destruction of the kingdom of the Chaldaeans. This is reckoned from the time of the prophecy, and came to an end in the reign of Cyrus, and not in the reign of the Dareius, in accordance with the word of Jeremiah, in which he foretells what will happen [29'10]: "Thus says the Lord. When the 70th year has been completed, I will come to you, and I will fulfil my promise to you, that I will lead you back to this place." And again, he prophesies as follows [25'11-12]: "All this land will be deserted and ruined, and they will serve the king of the Babylonians amongst the foreigners; and the Lord says about that nation, and about the land of the Chaldaeans, that I will bring them to ruin."

All this was fulfilled in the reign of Cyrus, by counting the years, not from

the destruction of the temple, but earlier, from the second year of Jehoiakim, king of the Jews, because it was in this year that Nebuchadnezzar the king of the Babylonians first enslaved the Jews; or even earlier, from when the prophet Jeremiah first began to prophesy. From that time, there were 40 years until the siege of Jerusalem and the burning of the temple, and 70 years until the first year of the reign of Cyrus. The one period of 70 years lasted from the beginning of Jeremiah's prophecy until the reign of Cyrus; but there were 30 years from the destruction of the temple until the reign of Cyrus, and [the other period of] 70 years was completed in the second year of the reign of Darius. The temple was restored in the eighth year of Darius.

From that time onwards, the Jews remained without their own kings. They had their own high priests as leaders, but were subject first to the kings of the Assyrians, then to the kings of the Persians, and after them to the Macedonians who ruled after Alexander, up until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who as king of Syria forced the Jews to adopt Greek customs. At that time, Mattathias the son of Asamonaeus, who was a priest at Jerusalem, his son Judas, who ^[p125] was surnamed Maccabaeus, and their successors re-established the Jewish state, and ruled it continuously until the time of Augustus.

In Augustus' time, Herodes was the first foreigner to become king of the Jews, with the support of the Romans; during his reign, our Saviour Jesus Christ was born. This was the fulfilment of the prophecy spoken by Moses [Genesis, 49'10]: "The sceptre will not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until he comes to whom it belongs and the obedience of the nations is his". These are the words of the prophecy.

But the total length of time, from Solomon and the first building of the temple until the second year of Darius and the rebuilding of the temple, is 502 years. And from Moses and the exodus from Egypt until Solomon and the first building of the temple, is 480 years. And from the first year of Abraham until the exodus, is 505 years. And from the flood until the first year of Abraham, is 942 years. And from Adam to the flood, is 2242 years. So the overall total, from Adam until the second year of Darius and the second building of [the temple in] Jerusalem, is 4680 years. And from the second year of Darius which was the first year of the 65th Olympiad ^[520 B.C.] [until the ministry of Christ], is 137 Olympiads and 548 years.

To show this in more detail, the kings of the Persians are listed here, along with the lengths of their reigns:

- Cyrus reigned for 30 years
- Then Cambyses - for 6 years
- Darius reigned for 36 years

In Darius' second year, the temple in Jerusalem was restored. Darius reigned for a further 34 years.

- Then Xerxes the son of Darius - for 20 years
In his reign, the story of Esther took place.
- Artabanus - for 6 months

- Artaxerxes "Macrocheir" - for 41 years

In his reign lived Ezra, the sacred scribe of the Hebrews, who is said to have memorised the whole of Holy Scripture, and who transmitted it to the Jews in the new Hebrew script, because they were living in enemy lands. Nehemiah the head cupbearer also lived at this time; with the approval of the king, he returned to Judaea [p127] and rebuilt Jerusalem, and surrounded the city with a wall; for up until then the city had been deserted, except for the temple which was rebuilt under Darius. After Artaxerxes there were the following kings of the Persians:

- Xerxes the second - for 2 months
- Sogdianus - for 6 months
- Darius "Nothus" - for 19 years
- Artaxerxes "Mnemon" - for 40 years
- Artaxerxes, also called Ochus - for 26 years
- Arsaces the son of Ochus - for 4 years
- Darius the son of Arsames - for 6 years

- Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, killed Dareius and ruled over the Persian empire for 6 years; he had ruled over the land for 6 years before killing Dareius.

The empire of the Persians lasted for 234 years. Beginning in the 55th Olympiad [560-557 B.C.], it ended in the 113th Olympiad [328-325 B.C.]. And from the second year of Dareius until the death of Alexander, who died in the first year of the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.], is 197 years.

After the death of Alexander, there were the following kings of Egypt and Alexandria:

- 1. Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus - for 40 years
- 2. Ptolemaeus Philadelphus - for 38 years
- 3. Ptolemaeus Euergetes - for 24 years
- 4. Ptolemaeus Philopator - for 21 years
- 5. Ptolemaeus Epiphanes - for 22 years
- 6. Ptolemaeus Philometor - for 34 years

In his time, Antiochus Epiphanes was king of Syria; and in Antiochus' reign occurred the events which [are related] in the books of Maccabees. These books tell how Antiochus tried to convert the Jews to Greek customs; he defiled the temple by putting up sacred images there, and carried off the sacred vessels of the temple in the 151st Olympiad [176-173 B.C.].

So from the death of Alexander of Macedonia to the first year of Antiochus Epiphanes, is 150 years. And from the second year of Dareius until Antiochus, is 347 years.

In the reign of Antiochus, Mattathias the son of Asamonaeus [p129] showed great devotion to his country's religion, and became leader of the Jews. After his death, his son Judas Maccabaeus [became leader]; and after him, his brother Jonathan [was leader]; and after him, his brother Simon [was leader].

The account of the book of Maccabees ends in the reign of Simon; it covers a period of 40 years, up until the end of the 161st Olympiad [136-133 B.C.]. And from this time until Augustus the Roman emperor, is 88 years.

After Simon, according to Africanus and Josephus, Jonathan, also called Hyrcanus, was leader of the Jews for 26 years. After him, Aristobulus [was leader] for one year. Aristobulus was the first to wear the royal diadem, acting as king and high priest of the Jewish race; this was 484 years after the Babylonian captivity. After him, Alexander, also called Jannaeus, was king for 25 years. After him, his widow Alexandra, also called Sallina, [was queen] for 9 years. And after her, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus [were kings]. In their reign, Pompeius the Roman general forced the Jews to pay tribute to the Romans. He set up Hyrcanus as their king, but led off Aristobulus as a prisoner to Rome.

In Hyrcanus' reign, in the (?) 184th Olympiad [44 B.C.], Julius Caesar became emperor of the Romans, for 4 years and 7 months. And after him, Augustus (Sebastos in Greek) was emperor for 56 years and 6 months. In his reign, Herodes was the first foreigner to be made king of the Jews by the Romans; his family came from Ascalon, and he had no right to the throne. In Herodes' reign, Christ the Son of God was born in Bethlehem of Judaea.

After Augustus, Tiberius became emperor. In his 15th year, the fourth year of the 201st Olympiad [28 A.D.], our Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ the Son of God, appeared amongst men.

So from Antiochus Epiphanes until the 15th year of Tiberius, is 201 years. And from Alexander of Macedonia until the same year of Tiberius, is 352 years. And from the second year of Dareius [until the same year of Tiberius], is 548 years. [p131] And from the 15th year of Tiberius until the final siege of Jerusalem in the second year of Vespasianus, is 42 years.

From Adam until the second year of Dareius, is 4680 years. And from the second year of Dareius until the 15th year of Tiberius, is 548 years. So the total, from Adam until the 15th year of Tiberius, is 5228 years.

From the 15th year of Tiberius until the 20th anniversary of Constantinus Victor Augustus, is 300 years. So the overall total, according to the Hebrews in the Septuagint version, is (?) 5518 years. According to the Jews' Hebrew text, it is 1237 years less; and according to the Samaritans' Hebrew text, it is 935 years less.

This is the way in which the numbers of years are calculated, according to the Hebrews.

- How [the history of] the Ethiopians is included in the chronology of the Egyptians, and [the times when] the Ptolemaei ruled over Egypt and Alexandria.
- How the Egyptians have kept records of their dates.

After the chronology of the Chaldaeans, the Assyrians and the Hebrews, it is time to move on to the records of the Egyptians.

Diodorus, in the first book of his historical library [1.44], writes as follows: “Some of them tell the story that the first rulers in Egypt were gods and heroes, who ruled for slightly less than sixteen thousand years; the last of the gods who ruled there was Horus the son of Isis. Then men became kings of the country, in the time of Myris, and have continued for slightly less than five thousand years, until the 180th Olympiad [60-57 B.C.], when I visited Egypt, in the reign of Ptolemaeus, who was called the New Dionysus.

[p133] “For the great majority of that time, the country has been ruled by native kings; but for short periods it was ruled by Ethiopians, by Persians and by Macedonians. There were only four Ethiopian kings, and they did not rule in a single sequence, but at separate times; in total, they ruled for slightly less than 36 years. During the supremacy of the Persians, which was established when Cambyses conquered the [Egyptian] people by force, and which lasted for 135 years, the Egyptians rose in revolt, because they could not endure the harsh government and the impiety [of the Persians] towards the native gods. Then the Macedonians and their descendants became kings, for 276 years. For the whole of the rest of the time, [Egypt] was governed by native rulers, who consisted of 470 kings and 5 queens.

“Records about all of these rulers have been kept by the priests in their sacred books, which have been continuously handed down from one [generation] to another, since the most ancient times. These books tell about the character of each king, their virtue and their bravery, their spirit and their nobility, as well as the achievements of each of them in their reigns. However it is unnecessary, and moreover worthless, for us to write down the deeds of each of them; especially since many of them were judged to be insignificant even in their own times.” That is what Diodorus says.

And now it is right and fitting for us to add to this Manetho’s account of the Egyptians, which seems to be a reliable history.

From the Egyptian records of Manetho, who composed in three books

commentaries about the gods, demi-gods, spirits, and the mortal kings who ruled over the Egyptians, up until the time of Darcus the king of the Persians.

The first man amongst the Egyptians was Hephaestus, who discovered fire for them; he was the father of Sol [*the Sun*]. After him came [(?)Agathodaemon; then] Cronus; then Osiris; then Typhon the brother of Osiris; and then Horus the son of Osiris and Isis. These were the first rulers of the Egyptians. [p135] After them, one king succeeded another until the time of Bidis, for a total of 13,900 years - calculated by lunar years, which lasted for 30 days. That is the period which we now call a month, but the men of that time called it a year.

After the gods, a race of demi-gods ruled for 1,255 years. After them, other kings ruled [the country] for 1,817 years. After them, 30 kings from Memphis [ruled] for 1,790 years; and then another ten kings from Thinis ruled for 350 years. And then the shades and demi-gods were kings, for 5,813 years. The total for all of these is 11,000 years - which are lunar years, or months.

The total time, which the Egyptians assign to the gods and demi-gods and spirits is 24,900 lunar years - which is the equivalent of 2,206 solar years. If you compare this figure with the chronology of the Hebrews, you will find almost the same number of years. For Aegyptus is called Mizraim by the Hebrews; and he was born many years after the time of the flood. It was after the time of the flood that Ham the son of Noah became the father of Mizraim, who was also called Aegyptus; and when the nations were scattered around the earth, Mizraim set off for Egypt to live there. According to the Hebrews, there were 2,242 years in all from Adam until the flood.

So let the Egyptians boast of their antiquity, in the ancient times which preceded the flood. They say that they had some gods, demi-gods and shades. If the years which are recorded by the Hebrews are converted to months, the total is over 20,000 lunar years, so that there are about the same number of months as are contained in the years recorded by the Hebrews, when we count the years from the first-born man up until Mizraim. Mizraim was the patriarch of the Egyptians, and the first dynasty of the Egyptians was descended from him.

But if, even so, the number of years is found to be too large, then we must investigate the reason for this. Perhaps it happened that there were many kings in Egypt at the same time. They say that some of them were kings of Thinis,

some of Memphis, some of Sais, and some of Ethiopia; and there were yet others in other places. [p137] And as it seems that these dynasties ruled each in its own (?) nome, it is very unlikely that they ruled in succession to each other. Rather, some of them ruled in one place, and others in another place. Therefore the increase in the number of years can be explained in that way. But we will leave this matter, and proceed to the details of the chronology of the Egyptians.

After the demi-gods and spirits, they reckon that the first dynasty consisted of 8 kings. The first of these kings was Menes, who was an outstanding ruler. Starting from him, we will list the rulers of each generation. The succession of rulers was as follows.

1st Dynasty. Menes and his seven descendants:

- Menes of Thinis, whom Herodotus [2.4] calls Min, ruled for (?) 60 years.
 - He led his armies beyond the borders of his kingdom, and he was held in high esteem. He was seized by a hippopotamus.
- His son Athotis ruled for 27 years.
 - He built a palace in the city of Memphis. He was skilled in medicine, and wrote books about anatomy.
- His son Cenchenes, 39 years
- Venephes, 42 years
 - In his reign there was a severe famine. He built the pyramids near Cocome.
- Usaphais, 20 years
- Niebais, 26 years
- Semempses, 18 years
 - In his reign there were many prodigies, and a great pestilence.
- Ubienthis, 26 years.
 - In total: 252 years

2nd Dynasty. 9 kings:

- Firstly, Bochas, in whose reign a chasm appeared in the ground at Bubastis, and many were killed.
- Then Caechōus, in whose reign Apis and Mnevis and the goat of Mendes were honoured as gods.
- [p139] Biophis, in whose reign it was decided that women too could reign as monarchs.
- After him, there were three other kings, but nothing significant happened in their reigns.
- In the reign of the seventh king, there is a legend that the river Nile flowed for eleven days with honey mixed in its water.
- Then Sesochris [ruled] for 48 years. He is said to have been 5 cubits and 3 palms tall.
- Nothing worthy of mention happened in the reign of the ninth king.

In total: 297 years

3rd Dynasty. 8 kings of Memphis:

- Necherochis
 - In his reign the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but when the moon unexpectedly grew in size, they were moved by fear and surrendered again.
- Sesorthus
 - He was called Asclepius by the Egyptians because of his skill in medicine. He discovered how to make buildings out of hewn stone, and also gave some attention to writing.
- The other six kings achieved nothing worthy of mention.

In total: 197 years

4th Dynasty. 17 kings of Memphis, from another family:

- The third king was Suphis
 - He built the largest pyramid, which Herodotus [2.124] says was built by Cheops. He was disdainful towards the gods, but later he repented and wrote the sacred book, which the Egyptians hold in the highest regard.
- Nothing worthy of mention is recorded about the other kings.
In total: 448 years

5th Dynasty. 31 kings of Elephantine:

- The first king was Othoēs, who was assassinated by his bodyguards.
- The fourth king was Phiops, who became king at the age of six, and reigned until 100 years [old].
[*Eusebius does not give a total number of years for this dynasty*]

6th Dynasty.

- Queen Nitocris, who was the noblest and most beautiful woman of her time, with a fair complexion. She is said to have built the third pyramid.
In total: [they ruled for] 203 years

[p141] **7th Dynasty.** 5 kings of Memphis, who ruled for 75 (?) days.

8th Dynasty. 5 kings of Memphis, who ruled for 100 years.

9th Dynasty. 4 kings of Heracleopolis, who ruled for 100 years.

- The first king was Achthoēs, who was the most terrible of all the kings up to his time. He cruelly maltreated the inhabitants throughout Egypt, but later he fell into madness and was killed by a crocodile.

10th Dynasty. 19 kings of Heracleopolis, who ruled for 185 years.

11th Dynasty. 16 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 43 years.

- After them, Ammenemes reigned for 16 years.

At this point, Manetho finishes his first book, which contains 192 kings who reigned in total for 2,300 years [and 75 days].

From the second book of Manetho:

12th Dynasty. 7 kings of Diospolis:

- Firstly, Sesonchosis the son of Ammenemes, for 46 years
- Ammanemes, for 38 years
 - He was killed by his own eunuchs.
- Sesostris, for 48 years
 - He is said to have been 4 cubits, 3 palms and 2 digits tall. He conquered the whole of Asia in nine years, as well as Europe as far as Thrace. Everywhere he erected monuments to show his control over the nations; he depicted men's genitals on the columns for brave nations, and women's genitals for cowardly nations. Therefore the Egyptians gave him the first place of honour after Osiris.
- Lamares, for 8 years
 - He built the labyrinth in the Arsinoite [nome], as his own tomb.
- [p143] His successors ruled for 42 years.
In total: they ruled for 245 years

13th Dynasty. 60 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 453 years.

14th Dynasty. 76 kings of Xoïs, who ruled for 484 years.

15th Dynasty. [? 17] kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 250 years.

16th Dynasty. 5 kings of Thebes, who ruled for 190 years.

17th Dynasty. Shepherds. Phoenician brothers and foreign kings, who captured Memphis:

- Firstly, Saïtes, for 19 years
 - The Saïte nome was named after him. They established a city in the Sethroïte nome, and from there they advanced and conquered the Egyptians.
- Secondly, Bnon, for 40 years
- Archles, for 30 years
- Apophis, for 14 years

In total: 103 years. Joseph seems to have (?) lived at the time of these kings.

18th Dynasty. 14 kings of Diospolis:

- Amosis, 25 years
- Chebron, 13 years
- Ammenophis, 21 years
- Mispheres, 12 years
- Misphegmuthosis, 26 years
- [p145] Tuthmosis, 9 years
- Amenophis, 31 years
 - He is the one who is thought to be Memnon, the “singing” statue.
- Orus, 38 years
- Achencheres, 16 years
 - In his reign, Moses led the exodus of the Jews out of Egypt.
- Acherres, 8 years
- Cherres, 15 years
- Armaïs, who was also [called] Danaus, 5 years

- After 5 years he was expelled from Egypt, and fled from his brother Aegyptus to Greece, where he captured Argos and became the king of the Argives.

- Rhameses, who was also called Aegyptus, 68 years
 - Amenophis, 40 years
- In total: 348 years

19th Dynasty. 5 kings of Diospolis:

- Sethos, 55 years
 - Rhampses, 66 years
 - Amenephthis, (?) 40 years
 - Ammenemes, 26 years
 - Thuōris, 7 years
- Homer [Od4'126] calls him Polybus, the husband of Alcandra, and in his reign Troy was captured.
- In total: 194 years

This is [the end] of the second book of Manetho, which contains (?) 92 kings who reigned in total for 2,121 years.

From the third book of Manetho:

20th Dynasty. 12 kings of Diospolis, who ruled for 172 years.

21st Dynasty. 7 kings of Tanis:

- Smendis, 26 years
- Psusennes, 41 years
- Nephhercheres, 4 years
- Amenophthis, 9 years
- [p147] Osochor, 6 years

- Psinaches, 9 years
 - Psusennes, 35 years
- In total : 130 years

22nd Dynasty. 3 kings of Bubastis:

- Sesonchosis, 21 years
 - Osorthon, 15 years
 - Tacelothis, 13 years
- In total : 49 years

23rd Dynasty. 3 kings of Tanis:

- Petubastis, 25 years
 - Osorthon, whom the Egyptians called Heracles, 9 years
 - Psammūs, 10 years
- In total : 44 years

24th Dynasty. Bocchoris of Sais, 44 years. In his reign, a lamb spoke.

25th Dynasty. 3 Ethiopian kings:

- Sabacon, who captured Bocchoris and burnt him alive, ruled for 12 years
 - Sebichos, his son, 12 years
 - Taracus, 20 years
- In total : 44 years

26th Dynasty. 9 kings of Sais:

- Ammeres the Ethiopian, (?) 12 years
 - Stephinathis, 7 years
 - Nechepsos, 6 years
 - Nechao, 8 years
 - Psammetichus, 44 years
 - Nechao II, 6 years
 - He captured Jerusalem, and took king Jehoahaz back as a prisoner to Egypt.
 - Psammuthes (Psammetichus) II, 17 years
 - Vaphres, 25 years
 - The remaining Jews fled to him after Jerusalem had been captured by the Assyrians.
 - Amosis, 42 years
- In total : 167 years

27th Dynasty. 8 Persian kings:

- [p149] Cambyses, in the 5th year of his reign, ruled the Egyptians for 3 years

- the magi, 7 months
 - Dareius, 36 years
 - Xerxes, the son of Dareius, 21 years
 - Artaxerxes, 40 years
 - Xerxes II, 2 months
 - Sogdianus, 7 months
 - Dareius, the son of Xerxes, 19 years
- In total : 120 years and 4 months

28th Dynasty. Amyrtaeus of Sais, 6 years.

29th Dynasty. 4 kings of Mendes:

- Nephretes, 6 years
 - Achoris, 13 years
 - Psammuthes, 1 year
 - Muthes, 1 year
 - Nephertites, 4 months
- In total : 21 years and 4 months

30th Dynasty. 3 kings of Sebennytus:

- Nectanebis, 10 years
 - Teōs, 2 years
 - Nectanebus, 8 years
- In total : 20 years

31st Dynasty. 3 Persian kings:

- Ochus, in the 20th year of his reign, ruled over Egypt for 6

years

- Arses, the son of Ochus, 4 years
- Darius, who was killed by Alexander the Macedonian, 6 years

All of the above is contained in the third book of Manetho.

What follows will be taken from Greek writers, because the kingdom of the Egyptians came to an end at this point. But as Flavius Josephus has produced evidence from the books of Manetho, in his history of the ancestors of the Hebrews, I think that it is right to record his words, which appear in the first [book of] his *Antiquity of the Jews*, as follows.

[p151] **Josephus, [quoting] from the books of Manetho**

I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do. But Manetho, who was by birth an Egyptian, had some knowledge of Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek language, by translating it, as he says himself, out of their sacred records; he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and inaccuracy about Egyptian history. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian History, writes concerning us in the following manner. I will set down his very words, as if I were to bring the very man himself into a court as a witness: “Tutimaheus. In his reign it happened, I know not why, that God was angry with us, and there came, unexpectedly, men of ignoble birth from the east, and they were bold enough to make an expedition into our country, and easily subdued it by force, because we did not even hazard a battle with them. So when they had overpowered our rulers, they afterwards burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and treated all the inhabitants in the most barbarous manner. Some of them they slew, and led their children and their wives into slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salitis; he also lived at Memphis, and he made both the upper and lower regions pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were the most suitable for them. He chiefly aimed to secure the eastern parts, because he foresaw that the Assyrians, who were the most powerful people of that time, would want to seize his kingdom, and invade it. He found in the Sethroite nome a city very suitable for this purpose, on the east side of the

Bubastic channel of the river, which for theological reasons was called Avaris. He rebuilt it, and made it very strong by the walls he built around it, and put in a very large garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men, to guard it. [p153] Salitis came there in summer time, partly to gather his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to exercise his armed men, and thereby to intimidate foreigners. After this man had reigned nineteen years, another, whose name was Bnon, reigned for forty-four years; after him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months; after him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Jannas fifty years and one month; after all these, Assis reigned for forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were all along making war with the Egyptians, and wanted gradually to eradicate them. This whole nation was styled *Hyksos*, that is, ‘shepherd-kings’: for the first syllable *hyk*, according to the sacred dialect, denotes ‘a king’, and *sos* is ‘a shepherd’, according to the ordinary dialect; and of these is compounded *Hyksos*: but some say that these people were Arabians.” Now in another copy it is said that this word does not denote ‘kings’, but, on the contrary, denotes that the shepherds were ‘captives’. For *hyk*, as well as *hak* with an aspirate, in the Egyptian language expressly denotes ‘captives’; and this to me seems the more probable opinion, and more in accordance with ancient history.

“These people, whom we have before named kings, and called shepherds also, and their descendants,” as he says, “kept control of Egypt for five hundred and eleven years.” After this, he says, “The kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt rebelled against the shepherds, and a terrible and long war was fought between them. A king, whose name was Mispfragmuthosis, subdued the shepherds, and after driving them out of the other parts of Egypt, he shut them up in a place [p155] that contained ten thousand arourai; this place was named Avaris.” Manetho adds, “The shepherds built a large and strong wall round all this place, in order to keep all their possessions and their prey within a place of strength, but Thummosis the son of Mispfragmuthosis made an attempt to take them by force and by siege, surrounding them with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men. But, despairing of taking the place by siege, he came to an agreement with them, that they should leave Egypt, and go, without suffering any harm, wherever they chose; and, after this agreement was made, they went away with all their families and possessions,

not fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and travelled out of Egypt, through the wilderness, towards Syria. But as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who were then the rulers of Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judaea; the city was large enough to contain this great number of men, and they called it Jerusalem.” Now Manetho, in another book of his, says that this nation, thus called ‘shepherds’, were also called ‘captives’, in the sacred books of his country. And this account of his is true; for feeding of sheep was the employment of our forefathers in the most ancient ages, and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called ‘shepherds’. Nor was it without reason that they were called ‘captives’ by the Egyptians, since one of our ancestors, Joseph, told the king of Egypt that he was a captive, and afterwards brought his brothers into Egypt with the king’s permission. But as for these matters, I shall give a more detailed account of them elsewhere.

But now I shall produce the Egyptians as witnesses to the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore bring in Manetho again, and what he writes about the sequence of dates. He says: “When this people or shepherds left Egypt and went to Jerusalem, Tethmosis the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned for another twenty-five years and four months, and then he died; [p157] after him his son Chebron took the kingdom for thirteen years; after whom came Amenophis, for twenty years and seven months; then came his sister Amesses, for twenty-one years and nine months; then came her son Mephres, for twelve years and nine months; after him was Mephramuthosis, for twenty-five years and ten months; after him was Thmosis, for nine years and eight months; after him came Amenophis, for thirty years and ten months; after him came Orus, for thirty-six years and five months; then came his daughter Acenchres, for twelve years and one month; then was her brother Rathotis, for nine years; then came his son Acencheres, for twelve years and five months; then came another Acencheres, for twelve years and three months; after him Armais, for four years and one month; after him was Ramesses, for one year and four months; after him came Armesses Miamūn, for sixty-six years and two months; after him Amenophis, for nineteen years and six months; after him came Sethosis, also called Ramesses, who had an army of cavalry, and a strong navy. This king appointed his brother, Armais, to be his deputy over Egypt. He also gave him all the other authority of a king, except that he

instructed him, that he should not wear the diadem, nor do any harm to the queen, the mother of his children, and that he should not meddle with the other concubines of the king. Then he made an expedition against Cyprus, and Phoenicia, and besides against the Assyrians and the Medes. He subdued them all, some by his arms, some without fighting, and some by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great successes he had had, he went on still more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay in the east. But after some considerable time, Armais, who was left in Egypt, recklessly did all those very things, which his brother had forbidden him to do. He used violence against the queen, and continued to make use of the rest of the concubines, without sparing any of them. At the persuasion of his friends he put on the diadem, and set up in opposition to his brother. But then the chief of the priests in Egypt wrote letters to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had set up in opposition to him. Sethosis therefore returned back to Pelusium immediately, and recovered his kingdom again.” The country was called Egypt from his name; for Manetho says, that Sethosis was himself called Aegyptus, [p159] and his brother Armais was called Danaus.

This is Manetho’s account. And it is clear from the number of years allocated by him to this interval, if they are all added together, that these shepherds, as they are here called, were no other than our forefathers, who were delivered out of Egypt, and came from there to inhabit this country, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus came to Argos; although the Argives look upon Danaus as their most ancient king. Manetho, therefore, provides evidence from the Egyptians records for two points which are of the greatest consequence to our purpose. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt; and secondly, that our departure from Egypt was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy by almost a thousand years. As to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of an uncertain origin, I will disprove them later in detail, and shall demonstrate that they are no better than incredible fables.

That is what Josephus says in the book which we referred to. He [? Manetho] describes the kings of the Egyptians from the beginning until the end, up until one of the kings that they appointed, called Nectanebus. I have

already mentioned Nectanebus earlier on, at the appropriate point in the list of kings. After Nectanebus, Ochus the king of the Persians gained control of Egypt, and ruled over it for 6 years. After him, his son Arses [was king] for 4 years. After him, Dareius [was king] for 6 years. Then Alexander the Macedonian killed Dareius the Persian, and ruled over both the Asians and the Egyptians. Alexander founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt in the sixth year of his reign. After the death of Alexander, his empire was divided between many different rulers, and the Ptolemaei became kings of Egypt and Alexandria. The dates of these kings are as follows.

The kings of Egypt and the city of Alexandria after the death of Alexander of Macedonia, from the writings of Porphyrius:

Alexander of Macedonia died in the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.], after reigning for a total of 12 years. He was succeeded by Aridaeus, also called Philippos, who was a brother of Alexander, but by a different mother; for he was the son of Philippos and Philinna of Larissa. Aridaeus ruled for 7 years, before he was killed in Macedonia by Polysperchon the son of Antipater.

[p161] A year after Philippos became king, Ptolemaeus the son of Arsinoe and Lagus was sent to be satrap of Egypt. He was satrap for 17 years, and then he was king for 23 years; so altogether he ruled for 40 years, until his death. However, while still alive he abdicated in favour of his son Ptolemaeus, called Philadelphus, and he lived for a further two years after his son had taken over as king; so we reckon the reign of this first Ptolemaeus, called Soter, to be 38 rather than 40 years long.

He was succeeded by his son Ptolemaeus, who as we said was called Philadelphus. The son reigned for two years while his father was still alive, and then for a further 36 years after his death, so that we reckon the length of his reign to be 38 years, the same as for his father.

After him, the third Ptolemaeus, called Euergetes, reigned for 25 years.

After him, the fourth Ptolemaeus, called Philopator, reigned for 17 years.

After him, the fifth Ptolemaeus, called Epiphanes, reigned for 24 years.

This Ptolemaeus had two sons, the elder called Philometor and the younger called the second Euergetes, who ruled after him for a combined total of 64 years. We have counted their years together, because they were constantly fighting against each other and alternately gained and lost control of the kingdom, which makes it difficult to calculate their years separately.

Philometor first ruled on his own for 11 years; but when Antiochus invaded Egypt and removed him from the throne, the inhabitants of Alexandria put the younger brother in charge. Then they forced Antiochus out of Egypt, and freed Philometor. They called that the 12th year of Philometor, and the first year of Euergetes. After that the two kings ruled jointly until the 17th year, but from the 18th year onwards Philometor ruled on his own.

At that time the elder brother, who had been deposed by the younger brother, was restored by the Romans. [p163] So he ruled in Egypt, and made his brother ruler of Libya instead, and after that Philometor ruled as sole king of Egypt for 18 years. When he died in Syria, which was also under his control, Euergetes was called back from Cyrene and proclaimed king. Euergetes counted his years from the time when he first became king, so that he seems to have reigned for 25 years after his brother's death, but officially he reigned for 54 years. The 36th year of Philometor should have been called the first year of his reign, but instead he ordered it to be written as the 25th year of his reign. So the combined length of both their reigns is 64 years, 35 years under Philometor and the rest under Euergetes; but to split it up into separate reigns would lead to confusion.

Ptolemaeus the second Euergetes had two sons by Cleopatra, the elder called Ptolemaeus Soter and the younger called Ptolemaeus Alexander. The elder son was appointed by his mother to reign first; she thought he would obey her, so favoured him for a time. But in the tenth year of his reign he murdered his parents' friends, and was deposed by his mother because of his cruelty, and fled to Cyprus.

His mother summoned her younger son from Pelusium, and appointed him to be king along with her. So the younger son ruled jointly with his mother, and the country was governed in both their names; this year was called the 11th year of Cleopatra and the 8th year of Alexander, because Alexander counted his years from the 4th year of his brother's reign, which was when he started to rule over Cyprus. This state of affairs continued until the death of Cleopatra; after she died, Alexander ruled on his own, and he reigned for 18 years in all after he returned to Alexandria, though officially he reigned for 26 years. In the 19th year, after a dispute with his soldiers, he went away to collect an army to bring to Egypt against them. However they followed him, and under the leadership of a relative of the kings called Tyrus, [p165] they

defeated him in a naval battle. Alexander was forced to take refuge with his wife and daughter in Myra, a city of Lycia; from there, he crossed over to Cyprus, where he was defeated by the admiral Chaereas, and died.

After his expulsion, the inhabitants of Alexandria sent envoys to the elder brother, Ptolemaeus Soter, and established him as king again, when he had sailed back from Cyprus. Soter lived for another 7 years and 6 months after his return, and the whole period after the death of the brothers' father was counted in his name, which was a total of 35 years and 6 months. But if we split the period up according to the actual course of events, Ptolemaeus Soter ruled at two different times for a total of 17 years and 6 months, and in between the younger brother, Ptolemaeus Alexander, ruled for 18 years. The inhabitants of Alexandria were unable to completely delete Alexander's reign from the records, but as far as was in their power they erased all mention of it, because Alexander had assaulted them with the help of some Jews. So they do not count the years of his reign, but attribute the whole 36 years to the elder brother.

Similarly, they do not attribute the next 6 months after the death of the elder brother, which make up the complete 36 years, to Cleopatra, the daughter of the elder brother and wife of the younger brother, who took over control of the kingdom after the death of her father. Nor do they formally attribute to Alexander the 19 days in which he jointly reigned with her.

This Alexander was the son of the younger Ptolemaeus, who was also called Alexander, and the stepson of Cleopatra. He was staying in Rome, when he was summoned back to Alexandria because there were no men of the royal family left in Egypt. He married the aforesaid Cleopatra, and when she had willingly handed over power to him, after an interval of 19 days he murdered her. Then he himself was seized and killed by the armed men in the gymnasium, because of the foul murder which he had committed.

[p167] This Alexander was succeeded by Ptolemaeus, called the new Dionysus, who was the son of Ptolemaeus Soter and the brother of the aforesaid Cleopatra. He reigned for 29 years.

His daughter Cleopatra was the last of the dynasty of the Ptolemaei. She reigned for 22 years.

These reigns also did not follow an continuous sequence from start to finish, as laid out in the records, but each of them had some interruptions in

the middle of it. In the reign of the new Dionysus, a three year period was ascribed to the rule of his daughters Cleopatra Tryphaena and Berenice, one year as a joint reign and the following two years, after the death of Cleopatra Tryphaena, as the reign of Berenice on her own. Because Ptolemaeus had gone off to Rome, and was spending a long time there, his daughters took over the rule of the kingdom, as if he was not going to return, and Berenice took on some men of the royal family as co-rulers. But when Ptolemaeus returned from Rome, he forgot all affection towards his daughter, and in his anger at what she had done, he put her to death.

In the first years of Cleopatra's reign, she shared power with her elder brother Ptolemaeus and then with others, for the following reasons. When the new Dionysus died, he left four children, two sons called Ptolemaeus and daughters called Cleopatra and Arsinoe. He handed over power to the two eldest children, Ptolemaeus and Cleopatra, who reigned jointly for 4 years. And this state of affairs would have continued, if Ptolemaeus had not wanted to seize sole power for himself, in contravention of his father's orders. However he was fated to die soon afterwards, after being defeated in a naval battle by Julius Caesar, who intervened on behalf of Cleopatra.

After Ptolemaeus' death, Cleopatra's younger brother, who was also called Ptolemaeus, became joint ruler with his sister, as proposed by Caesar. The next year was called the fifth year of Cleopatra and the first year of Ptolemaeus, and so it continued for the following two years, [p169] until he died. He was plotted against and killed by Cleopatra, in his 4th year, which was Cleopatra's 8th year. From then onwards Cleopatra ruled on her own, up until her 15th year. However, her 16th year was also called the first year, because after the death of Lysimachus the king of Chalcis in Syria, the Roman general Marcus Antonius gave Chalcis and the surrounding regions to Cleopatra. And from then onwards for the remaining years up until the 22nd year, which was the last of Cleopatra's reign, the years were counted in the same way, so that the 22nd year was also called the 7th year.

Octavius Caesar, also called Augustus, conquered Egypt in the battle of Actium, and succeeded Cleopatra as ruler of Egypt in the second year of the 184th Olympiad [43 B.C.]. From the first year of the 111th Olympiad [336 B.C.], when Aridaeus Philippus became king, until the second year of the 184th Olympiad [43 B.C.], is 73 Olympiads and one additional year. So the total

duration of the rule of all the kings of Alexandria, down to the death of Cleopatra, is 293 years.

So the reign-lengths of the Ptolemaei are as follows:

Alexander the Macedonian began his reign in the first year of the 111th Olympiad [336 B.C.]. He founded the city of Alexandria in Egypt, and ruled for 12 years and 7 months. After him, the kings of the city of Alexandria and the whole of Egypt were:

- Ptolemaeus the son of Lagus - for 40 years
- Ptolemaeus Philadelphus - for 38 years
- Ptolemaeus Euergetes - for 24 years
- Ptolemaeus Philopator - for 21 years
- Ptolemaeus Epiphanes - for 24 years
- Ptolemaeus Philometor - for 31 years
- [p171] Ptolemaeus the second Euergetes - for 29 years
- Ptolemaeus Physcon, or Soter - for 17 years and 6 months
- Ptolemaeus Alexander, after the expulsion of [Soter], his predecessor - for years
- Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, returning from exile after the expulsion of Alexander - for 8 years
- Ptolemaeus Dionysus, called Philadelphus - for 30 years
- Cleopatra the daughter of Ptolemaeus - for 22 years
- In her reign, Gaius Julius Caesar became the first Roman emperor. The next emperor, Octavius Caesar Augustus, called Sebastos in Greek, killed Cleopatra and put an end to the dynasty of the Ptolemaei, who had ruled for 295 years.

According to the historians of their ancient times.

- The kings of the Athenians
- The kings of the Argives
- The kings of the Sicyonians
- The kings of the Lacedaemonians
- The kings of the Corinthians
- Who ruled the sea, and for how long
- The individual Olympiads of the Greeks
- The early kings of the Macedonians
- The kings of the (?) Macedonians, Thessalians, Syrians and Asians after Alexander

Dates of the Greeks

The Sicyonians and their kings are said to be the most ancient of the Greeks. The first king to rule Sicyon was Aegialeus, at the same time as Ninus and Belus, who are the first recorded kings of the Assyrians and of Asia. The Peloponnese was originally called Aegialeia, after this Aegialeus.

Inachus is said to have been the first king of the Argives, 235 years after the start of the Sicyonian kingdom. [p173] Cecrops, called Diphyes (“two-formed”) was the first king of the Athenians, about 300 years after the start of the Argive kingdom, and 533 years after the start of the Sicyonian kingdom.

This chronicle will start with the earliest rulers, and first it will give a full list of the kings of the Sicyonians. There is considerable disagreement amongst the older writers who composed chronicles of Greek history; but, as far as possible, we will copy the accounts which are agreed by most writers.

The chronographer Castor lists the dates of the Sicyonian kings in his chronicle; and then he provides a summary of them, as follows: “We will provide a list of the kings of Sicyon, starting with Aegialeus, the first king, and ending with Zeuxippus. These kings reigned for a total of 959 years. After

the kings, six priests of [Apollo] Carneius were appointed; this priesthood lasted for 33 years. Then Charidemus was appointed priest; but he could not bear the expense, and went into exile.”

That is what Castor wrote. The exact succession of the Sicyonian kings is reckoned as follows.

The kings of the Sicyonians

1. Aegialeus, for 52 years.

The Peloponnese was originally called Aegialeia, after this Aegialeus. He is said to have started to rule Sicyon in the 15th year of Belus, the first king of the Assyrians. According to legend, [Belus] was the son of Poseidon and Libya.

2. Europs, for 45 years.

He reigned at the same time as Ninus, the son of Belus.

3. Telchin, for 20 years.

He reigned at the same time as Semiramis.

4. Apis, for 25 years.

The Peloponnese was then called Apia, after this Apis.

5. Thelxion, for 52 years.

6. Aegydrus, for 34 years.

7. Thurimachus, for 45 years.

During his reign, Inachus became the first king of the Argives.

8. ^[p175] Leucippus, for 53 years.

9. Messapus, for 47 years.

During his reign Egypt was ruled by Joseph, as the Hebrews record.

10. Eratus, for 46 years.

11. Plemnaeus, for 48 years.

12. Orthopolis, for 63 years.

13. Marathonius, for 30 years.

During his reign, Cecrops Diphyes became the first king of Attica.

14. Marathus, for 20 years.

During his reign, Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt, as will be shown in due course.

15. Echyreus, for 55 years.

During his reign, Danaus became king of the Argives.

16. Corax, for 30 years.

17. Epopeus, for 35 years.

18. Laomedon, for 40 years.

19. Sicyon, for 45 years.

During his reign, the kingdom of the Argives came to an end, after lasting for 540 years.

20. Polybus, for 40 years.

21. Inachus, for 40 years.

22. Phaestus, for 8 years.

23. Adrastus, for 4 years.

24. Polyphides, for 31 years.

During his reign, Troy was captured.

25. Pelasgus, for 20 years.

During his reign, Aeneias was king of the Latins.

26. Zeuxippus, for 31 years.

In all, there were 26 kings of Sicyon, who reigned for 959 years. After Zeuxippus, there were no more kings, and instead there were priests of [Apollo] Carneius.

1. The first priest was Archelaus, for one year.

2. Automedon, for one year.
3. Theoclytus, for four years.
4. Euneus, for six years.
5. Theonimus, for nine years.
6. [p177] Amphigyes, for (?) twelve years.
7. Lastly, Charidemus for one year. He could not bear the expense, and went into exile. He was priest (?) 352 years before the first Olympiad [i.e. 1128 B.C.].

The total duration of the kings and priests of the Sicyonians was 998 years.

After the rulers of the Sicyonians, it will be fitting to give a summary of the kings of the Argives, as far as can be established from the ancient histories. Castor mentions them in these words.

Castor, about the kings of the Argives:

Next we will list the kings of the Argives, starting with Inachus and ending with Sthenelus the son of Crotopus. These kings reigned for a total of 382 years, until Sthenelus was driven out by Danaus, who seized control of Argos. The descendants of Danaus ruled Argos for 162 years, ending with Eurysthenes, the son of Sthenelus, the son of Perseus. After Eurysthenes, the descendants of Pelops ruled Argos for (?) 105 years, starting with Atreus, and ending with Penthilus, Tisamenus and Cometes (?) the son of Orestes, in whose time occurred the invasion of the Heracleidae. The dates of each of the Argive kings are as follows.

The kings of the Argives

1. Inachus, for 50 years.

The country was called Inachia, after this Inachus. He began to rule the Argives at the time of Thurimachus, who was the seventh king of the Sicyonians.

2. Phoroneus, for 60 years.

In his reign, Ogygus founded Eleusis.

3. Apis, for 35 years.

The country was then called Apia, after this Apis. During his reign, Joseph governed the Egyptians, as recorded by the Hebrews.

4. Argus, the son of Zeus and Niobe, for 70 years.

The name of the country was changed to Argeia, after this Argus.

5. Criasus, for 54 years.

6. Phorbas, for 35 years.

During his reign, Cecrops Diphyes became king of the Athenians.

7. ^[p179] Triopas, for 46 years.

During his reign, Moses led the Hebrews out of Egypt.

8. Crotopus, for 21 years.

9. Sthenelus, for 11 years.

In all, these kings reigned for 382 years.

Danaus drove out Sthenelus, and ruled Argos, as did his descendants after him. The succession of kings, and their dates, are as follows.

10. Danaus, for 50 years.

11. Lynceus, for 41 years.

12. Abas, for 23 years.

13. Proetus, for 17 years.

14. Acrisius, for 31 years.

In all, there were rulers of Argos for a period of 544 years, until the end of Danaidae.

After Acrisius, the Argives began to be ruled from Mycenae, when the descendants of Pelops took over the kingdom, in the time of Eurysthenes the son of Sthenelus. Pelops was the first ruler of the Peloponnese, and he organised the Olympic games.

After Acrisius, when the Argives began to be ruled from Mycenae:

- Eurysthenes was king for 45 years.
- Then the sons of Pelops, Atreus and Thyestes, for 65 years.
- After them, Agamemnon, for 30 years. In the 18th year of his reign, Troy was captured.

- Aegisthus, for 17 years.
- Orestes, Tisamenus, Penthilus and Cometes for 58 years, until the return of the Heracleidae, when they conquered the Peloponnese. From the return of the Heracleidae until the migration of the Ionians, there are (?) 60 years. From the migration of the Ionians until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.], there are 267 years.

Next it will be fitting to provide a list of the kings of Athenians, by summarising the accounts of some of the ancient historians.

Ogygus is said to have been the first [king] of the Athenians; [p181] the Greeks relate that their great ancient flood happened in his reign. Phoroneus the son of Inachus, king of the Argives, is said to have lived at the same time. Plato mentions this in the *Timaeus* [22], as follows: “When he wished to introduce them to ancient history, so that they could discuss the antiquity of this city, he started his account with the old stories about Phoroneus and Niobe, and then what happened after the flood.” Ogygus lived in the time of Messapus, the ninth king of Sicyon, and Belochus, the eighth king of the Assyrians.

After Ogygus, because of the great destruction caused by the flood, Attica remained without a king for 190 years, until the time of Cecrops. The number of years is reckoned from the kings of the Argives, who began before Ogygus. From the end of the reign of Phoroneus, king of the Argives, in whose time Ogygus’ flood is said to have happened, until Phorbas, in whose time Cecrops became king of Attica, is a period of 190 years. From Cecrops until the first Olympiad, there are counted seventeen kings, and twelve archons for life; in this time, the marvellous myths of the Greeks are said to have occurred. The Greeks count the kings of Attica from [Cecrops], because they do not know for certain the dates of any earlier kings. Castor explained this in the summary of this history, as follows.

Castor, about the kings of the Athenians:

We will now list the kings of the Athenians, starting with Cecrops, called Diphyes, and ending with Thymoetes. The total duration of the reigns of all these kings, called Erechtheidae, was 450 years. After them, Melanthus of Pylus, son of Andropompus, became king, [p183] followed by his son Codrus. The total duration of their two reigns was (?) 58 years. [When the kings came

to an end, they were replaced by archons who ruled for life], starting with (?) Medon son of Codrus, and ending with Alcmaeon son of Aeschylus. The total duration of the rule of the archons for life was 209 years. The next archons held power for 10 years each; there were seven of these archons, and altogether they ruled for 70 years. Then the archons started to hold power for one year each, starting with Creon and ending with Theophemus, in whose time the history and glorious achievements of our country came to a complete end.

That is what Castor wrote. Now we will provide a list of each of the kings.

The kings of the Athenians

1. Cecrops Diphyes, for 50 years.

In his reign lived Prometheus, Epimetheus and Atlas. He started to rule the Athenians in the time of Triopas, the seventh king of the Argives, and Marathonius, the thirteenth king of Sicyon.

At this time, Moses was prominent amongst the Hebrews, as we will show in due course.

Also in his reign, the flood of Deucalion is said to have engulfed Thessaly, just as fire devastated the land of Ethiopia in the time of Phaethon.

2. Cranaus, an aboriginal, for 9 years.

3. Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion and son-in-law of Cranaus, for (?) 10 years.

The deeds of the Danaidae are said to have occurred in his reign.

4. Erichthonius, the son of Hephaestus, who is called Erechtheus by Homer, for 50 years.

The Idaean Dactyls lived in his reign.

5. Pandion, the son of Erichthonius, for 40 years.

The rape of Core [Persephone], and what is related about Triptolemus, occurred in his reign.

6. ^[p185] Erechtheus the son of Pandion, for 50 years.

The deeds of Perseus occurred in his reign.

7. Cecrops, the brother of Erechtheus, for 40 years.

The deeds of Dionysus occurred in his reign.

8. Pandion, the son of Erechtheus, for 25 years.

Afterwards Pandion went into exile, and became king of Megara.

The deeds of Europa, Cadmus and the Sparti occurred in his reign.

9. Aegeus, the son of Pandion, for 48 years.

The deeds of the Argonauts and the Centaurs occurred in his reign; and

Heracles held the athletic games.

10. Theseus, the son of Aegeus, for 30 years.

In his reign, Minos established laws.

11. Menestheus, the son of Peteus, son of Orneus son of Erechtheus, for 23 years.

In his reign, Troy was captured.

12. Demophon, the son of Theseus, for 33 years.

The deeds of Odysseus and Orestes occurred in his reign; and Aeneias was king of Lavinium.

13. Oxyntes, the son of Demophon, for 12 years.

In his reign, the Amazons burnt down the temple at Ephesus.

14. Apheidas, the son of Oxyntes, for one year.

15. Thymoetes, the brother of Apheidas, for 8 years.

16. Melanthus of Pylus, the son of Andropompus, for 37 years.

In his reign the Heracleidae returned and occupied the Peloponnese.

17. Codrus, the son of Melanthus, for 21 years.

In his reign, the Ionians were driven out of Achaea, and took refuge in Athens.

18. Archons of the Athenians, who held power for life

19. Medon, the son of Codrus, for 20 years.

20. Acastus, the son of Medon, for 36 years.

In his reign occurred the migration of the Ionians, [p187] including Homerus, so they say.

At the same time, Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, as will be shown in due course.

21. Archippus, the son of Acastus, for 19 years.

22. Thersippus, the son of Archippus, for 41 years.

23. Phorbas, the son of Thersippus, for 30 years.

24. Megacles, the son of Phorbas, for 30 years.

25. Diognetus, the son of Megacles, for 28 years.

At this time, Lycurgus was in his prime.

26. Pherecles, the son of Diognetus, for 19 years.

27. Ariphron, the son of Pherecles, for 20 years.

At this time, the kingdom of the Assyrians came to an end, and Sardanapalus was killed.

28. Thespheus, the son of Ariphron, for 27 years.

At this time, Lycurgus established laws for the Spartans.

29. Agamestor, the son of Thespheus, for 17 years.

30. Aeschylus, the son of Agamestor, for 23 years.

In his twelfth year, the first Olympiad was held, in which Coroebus won the stadion contest.

31. The total duration of the Athenian rulers, from Cecrops down to the first Olympiad [776 B.C.], was 780 years; from Ogygus to the first Olympiad, there were 970 years. From this time onwards, it is convenient to calculate dates according to the Olympiads.

32. After Aeschylus, Alcmaeon ruled the Athenians, for 2 years.

[p189] After Alcmaeon, the Athenians decided to appoint archons for ten

years each:

- Charops, for ten years.
- Aesimides, for ten years.
- Cleidicus, for ten years.
- Hippomenes, for ten years.
- Leocrates, for ten years.
- Apsander, for ten years.
- Eryxias, for ten years.

After this, they decided to appoint archons for one year each. The first annual archon was Creon, in the 24th Olympiad [684-681 B.C.]. From that time onwards, an archon was appointed for each year; but it is not necessary to list their names.

This concludes the summary of the dates of the ancient rulers of the Athenians, as related by the older and more reliable historians. We have set down the dates and events before the capture of Troy, which are not reliably recorded, as well as we can from the different accounts. Nor are the events from the capture of Troy until the first Olympiad accurately recorded. However Porphyrius, in the first book of his *Philosophical History*, gives a summary in the following words:

“Apollodorus says that there are 80 years from the capture of Troy [1183 B.C.] until the expedition of the Heracleidae to the Peloponnese [1103 B.C.]; there are 60 years from the return of the Heracleidae until the settling of Ionia [1043 B.C.]; there are 159 years from then until Lycurgus [884 B.C.]; and there are 108 years from Lycurgus until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.]. Altogether, there are 407 years from the capture of Troy until the first Olympiad.”

Next, it will be fitting to give an account of the Olympiads as they are recorded by the Greeks.

[p191] **Olympiads of the Greeks**

- First Olympiad: in which Coroebus of Elis won the stadion

race.

From this time onwards, the dates of the Greeks seem to have been accurately recorded; before then, the dates are supplied according to the whim of each writer.

About the institution of the Olympic Games

It is necessary to say a little about the origin of the games. Some writers, who trace back the institution of the games to the earliest times, say that they had been held before Heracles, by one of the Idaean Dactyls; and then by Aethlius, as a challenge for his sons (from his name, the competitors were called athletes); and then by his son Epeius; and then Endymion, Alexinus and Oenomaus were each in charge of the sacred festival. Then Pelops held the games in honour of his father Zeus; and next, Heracles the son of Alcmene. There were ten generations (or, according to some, only three complete festivals) from Heracles until the time of Iphitus.

Iphitus was a citizen of Elis, who was concerned about the condition of Greece, and wished to rid the cities of their wars. He sent envoys from the whole of the Peloponnese to consult [the god] about release from the wars which gripped them. The god gave this response to the Peloponnesians:

*You who dwell in the Peloponnese, gather round the altar;
Make sacrifice, and obey the instructions of the prophets.*

He added these words to the Eleians:

*Eleian servants of the gods, who maintain your ancestral rites,
Protect your homeland, and desist from war.
Lead the Greeks in mutually just friendship,
Until the gathering comes in the year of good will.*

[p193] As a result of this, Iphitus proclaimed the truce [which had been fixed by Heracles at the summer solstice; they no longer fought against each other,] and he organised the games together with Lycurgus, who happened to be his relative because they were both descended from Heracles. On this occasion, the only contest was the stadion race; later the other contests were added in their turn.

Aristodemus of Elis relates that the victors in the athletic contests began to be registered in the 27th Olympiad after Iphitus. Before then, no-one had thought to record the athletes' names. In the 28th Olympiad Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race, and he was the first victor to be registered. This was then established as the first Olympiad, from which the Greeks calculate their dates.

Polybius says the same as Aristodemus; but Callimachus says that thirteen Olympiads passed after Iphitus without victors being registered; and Coroebus was the victor in the 14th Olympiad. Many writers state that the institution of the games by Heracles the son of Alcmene occurred (?) 419 years before what is counted as the first Olympiad. The Eleians hold the games every fifth year, with a gap of four years in between them.

The Greek Olympiads, from the first Olympiad up until the 247th, when Antoninus the son of Severus was emperor of the Romans:

1st Olympiad [776 B.C.] - Coroebus of Elis was the victor in the stadion race.
The stadion race was the only contest for the first thirteen Olympiads.

2nd [772 B.C.] - Antimachus of Elis, stadion race

3rd [768 B.C.] - Androclus of Messenia, stadion race
[At this time] Romulus and Remus were born.

[p195] 4th [764 B.C.] - Polychares of Messenia, stadion race

5th [760 B.C.] - Aeschines of Elis, stadion race

6th [756 B.C.] - Oebotas of Dyme, stadion race

7th [752 B.C.] - Diocles of Messenia, stadion race

8th [748 B.C.] - Anticles of Messenia, stadion race

9th [744 B.C.] - Xenocles of Messenia, stadion race

10th [740 B.C.] - Dotades of Messenia, stadion race

11th [736 B.C.] - Leochares of Messenia, stadion race

12th [732 B.C.] - Oxythemis of Coroneia, stadion race

13th [728 B.C.] - Diocles of Corinth, stadion race

14th [724 B.C.] - Desmon of Corinth, stadion race

A double race was added, which was won by Hypenus of Elis.

15th [720 B.C.] - Orsippus of Megara, stadion race

A long race was added, and the runners were naked; the winner was Acanthus of Laconia.

16th [716 B.C.] - Pythagoras of Laconia, stadion race

17th [712 B.C.] - Polus of Epidaurus, stadion race

18th [708 B.C.] - Tellis of Sicyon, stadion race

A wrestling contest was added, and the winner was Eurybatus of Laconia.

A pentathlon contest was also added, and the winner was Lampis of Laconia.

19th [704 B.C.] - Menus of Megara, stadion race

20th [700 B.C.] - Atheradas of Laconia, stadion race

21st [696 B.C.] - Pantacles of Athens, stadion race

22nd [692 B.C.] - Pantacles for a second time

23rd [688 B.C.] - Icarius of Hyperesia, stadion race

A boxing contest was added, and the winner was Onomastus of Smyrna. It was Onomastus who established the rules of boxing.

24th [684 B.C.] - Cleoptolemus of Laconia, stadion race

25th [680 B.C.] - Thalpis of Laconia, stadion race

A race was added for chariots drawn by four horses, and the winner was Pagon of Thebes.

[p197] 26th [676 B.C.] - Callisthenes of Laconia, stadion race

Philombrotus of Laconia won the pentathlon at three Olympic games.

The Carneia, a contest for citharodes, was held for the first time at Sparta.

27th [672 B.C.] - Eurybus of Athens, stadion race

28th [668 B.C.] - Charmis of Laconia, stadion race

Charmis trained on a diet of dried figs.

These games were held by the inhabitants of Pisa, because Elis was preoccupied by a war against Dyme.

29th [664 B.C.] - Chionis of Laconia, stadion race

Chionis could leap a distance of 22 feet.

30th [660 B.C.] - Chionis for a second time

The inhabitants of Pisa defected from Elis, and supervised these and the following 22 games.

31st [656 B.C.] - Chionis of Laconia for a third time, stadion race

32nd [652 B.C.] - Cratinus of Megara, stadion race

At these games, Comaeus was the third of his brothers to win the boxing contest.

33rd [648 B.C.] - Gylis of Laconia, stadion race

At these games, a pancratium contest was added, and the winner was Lygdamis of Syracuse.

Lygdamis was massive; he measured out the stadion with his feet, in only six hundred paces.

A horse race was added, and the winner was Craxilas of Thessaly.

34th [644 B.C.] - Stomas of Athens, stadion race

35th [640 B.C.] - Sphaerus of Laconia, stadion race

The double race was won by Cylon of Athens, who later attempted to set himself up as tyrant.

[p199] 36th [636 B.C.] - Phrynon of Athens, stadion race

Phrynon was killed in single combat with Pittacus.

37th [632 B.C.] - Eurycleidas of Laconia, stadion race

A stadion race for boys was added, and the winner was Polynices of Elis.

A wrestling contest for boys was added, and the winner was Hipposthenes of Laconia, who won the men's wrestling contest five times in a row, starting from the next-but-one Olympic games.

38th [628 B.C.] - Olyntheus of Laconia, stadion race

A pancratium contest for boys was added, but only on this one occasion. The winner was Deutelidas of Laconia.

39th [624 B.C.] - Rhipsolaus of Laconia, stadion race

40th [620 B.C.] - Olyntheus of Laconia for a second time, stadion race

41st [616 B.C.] - Cleondas of Thebes, stadion race

A boxing contest for boys was added, and the winner was Philotas of Sybaris.

42nd [612 B.C.] - Lycotas of Laconia, stadion race

43rd [608 B.C.] - Cleon of Epidaurus, stadion race

44th [604 B.C.] - Gelon of Laconia, stadion race

45th [600 B.C.] - Anticrates of Epidaurus, stadion race

46th [596 B.C.] - Chrysamaxus of Laconia, stadion race

The boys' stadion race was won by Polymnestor of Miletus, who chased and caught a hare while he was tending goats.

47th [592 B.C.] - Eurycles of Laconia, stadion race

48th [588 B.C.] - Glycon of Croton, stadion race

Pythagoras of Samos was excluded from the boys' boxing contest and was mocked for being effeminate, but he went on to the men's contest and defeated all his opponents.

49th [584 B.C.] - Lycinus of Croton, stadion race

[p201] 50th [580 B.C.] - Epitelidas of Laconia, stadion race

[At this time] the seven wise men were identified.

51st [576 B.C.] - Eratosthenes of Croton, stadion race

52nd [572 B.C.] - Agis of Elis, stadion race

53rd [568 B.C.] - Hagnon of Peparethus, stadion race

54th [564 B.C.] - Hippostratus of Croton, stadion race

Arichion of Phigaleia was (?) strangled and died, while winning the pancratium contest for the third time, and though dead he was crowned as victor, because his opponent had already conceded defeat, after his leg was broken by Arichion.

55th [560 B.C.] - Hippostratus for a second time

[At this time] Cyrus became king of the Persians.

56th [556 B.C.] - Phaedruss of Pharsalus, stadion race

57th [552 B.C.] - Ladromus of Laconia, stadion race

58th [548 B.C.] - Diognetus of Croton, stadion race

59th [544 B.C.] - Archilochus of Corcyra, stadion race

60th [540 B.C.] - Apellaeus of Elis, stadion race

61st [536 B.C.] - Agatharchus of Corcyra, stadion race

62nd [532 B.C.] - Eryxias of Chalcis, stadion race

Milon of Croton won the wrestling contest. He won six times at the Olympic games, six times at the Pythian games, ten times at the Isthmian games, and nine times at the Nemean games.

63rd [528 B.C.] - Parmenides of Camarina, stadion race

64th [524 B.C.] - Menander of Thessaly, stadion race

65th [520 B.C.] - Anochas of Tarentum, stadion race

A race in full armour was added, and the winner was Damaretus of Heraea.

66th [516 B.C.] - Ischyryus of Himera, stadion race

67th [512 B.C.] - Phanas of Pellene, stadion race

Phanas was the first to win all three races, the stadion race, the double race and the race in full armour.

68th [508 B.C.] - Isomachus of Croton, stadion race

69th [504 B.C.] - Isomachus for a second time

[p203] 70th [500 B.C.] - Nicasia of Opus, stadion race

71st [496 B.C.] - Tisicrates of Croton, stadion race

72nd [492 B.C.] - Tisicrates for a second time

73rd [488 B.C.] - Astyalus of Croton, stadion race

74th [484 B.C.] - Astyalus for a second time

75th [480 B.C.] - Astyalus for a third time

76th [476 B.C.] - Scamander of Mytilene, stadion race

77th [472 B.C.] - Dandes of Argos, stadion race

78th [468 B.C.] - Parmenides of Poseidonia, stadion race

79th [464 B.C.] - Xenophon of Corinth, stadion race

80th [460 B.C.] - Tormymmas of Thessaly, stadion race

The wrestling contest was won by Amesinas of Barce, who trained by wrestling with a bull while he was tending cattle. He even brought the bull to Pisa to help his training.

81st [456 B.C.] - Polymnastus of Cyrene, stadion race

82nd [452 B.C.] - Lycus of Larissa, stadion race

83rd [448 B.C.] - Crisson of Himera, stadion race

84th [444 B.C.] - Crisson for a second time

85th [440 B.C.] - Crissson for a third time

86th [436 B.C.] - Theopompus of Thessaly, stadion race

87th [432 B.C.] - Sophron of Ambracia, stadion race
During this [Olympiad], the Peloponnesian war began.

88th [428 B.C.] - Symmachus of Messenia, stadion race

89th [424 B.C.] - Symmachus for a second time

90th [420 B.C.] - Hyperbius of Syracuse, stadion race

91st [416 B.C.] - Exagentus of Acragas, stadion race

92nd [412 B.C.] - Exagentus for a second time

93rd [408 B.C.] - Eubatus of Cyrene, stadion race

The pancratium contest was won by Polydamas of Scotussa, a massive man who, when he was with Ochus amongst the Persians, killed lions and fought without weapons against armed men; he even brought chariots charging at full speed to a halt.

A race was added for chariots drawn by a pair of horses, and the winner was Euagoras of Elis.

94th [404 B.C.] - Crocinas of Larissa, stadion race

95th [400 B.C.] - Minon of Athens, stadion race

96th [396 B.C.] - Eupolemus of Elis, stadion race

A contest for trumpeters was added, and the winner was Timaeus of Elis.

[p205] A contest for heralds was added, and the winner was Crates of Elis.

97th [392 B.C.] - Terinaeus [of ...], stadion race

98th [388 B.C.] - Sosippus of Delphi, stadion race

The wrestling contest was won by Aristodemus of Elis, whom no-one could grasp round the middle.

99th [384 B.C.] - Dicon of Syracuse, stadion race

A race was added for chariots drawn by four foals, and the winner was Eurybatus of Laconia.

100th [380 B.C.] - Dionysodorus of Tarentum, stadion race

101st [376 B.C.] - Damon of Thurii, stadion race

102nd [372 B.C.] - Damon for a second time

103rd [368 B.C.] - Pythostratus of Ephesus, stadion race

104th [364 B.C.] - Phocides of Athens, wrestling

These games were held by the inhabitants of Pisa.

105th [360 B.C.] - Porus of Cyrene, stadion race

106th [356 B.C.] - Porus for a second time

107th [352 B.C.] - Micrinas of Tarentum, stadion race

108th [348 B.C.] - Polycles of Cyrene, stadion race

109th [344 B.C.] - Aristolochus of Athens, stadion race

110th [340 B.C.] - (?) Anticles of Athens, stadion race

111th [336 B.C.] - Cleomantis of Cleitor, stadion race

112th [332 B.C.] - Eurylas of Chalcis, stadion race

[At this time] Alexander captured Babylon, and killed Dareius.

113th [328 B.C.] - Cliton of Macedonia, stadion race

Ageus of Argos, [victor in] the long race, returned to Argos and announced his own victory on the same day.

114th [324 B.C.] - Micinas of Rhodes, stadion race

[At this time] Alexander died, and his empire was split between many rulers; Ptolemaeus became king of Egypt and Alexandria.

115th [320 B.C.] - Damasias of Amphipolis, stadion race

116th [316 B.C.] - Demosthenes of Laconia, stadion race

117th [312 B.C.] - Parmenides of Mytilene, stadion race

118th [308 B.C.] - Andromenes of Corinth, stadion race

Antenor of Athens or Miletus, undisputed [victor in] the pancratium, was victor at all the major games, undefeated in each of three age [p207] groups.

119th [304 B.C.] - Andromenes of Corinth, stadion race

120th [300 B.C.] - Pythagoras of Magnesia-on-Maeander, stadion race

Ceras of Argos, [victor in] wrestling, tore the hooves off a cow.

121st [296 B.C.] - Pythagoras for a second time

122nd [292 B.C.] - Antigonus of Macedonia, stadion race

123rd [288 B.C.] - Antigonus for a second time

124th [284 B.C.] - Philomelus of Pharsalus, stadion race

125th [280 B.C.] - Ladas of Aegium, stadion race

126th [276 B.C.] - Idaeus or Nicator of Cyrene, stadion race

127th [272 B.C.] - Perigenes of Alexandria, stadion race

128th [268 B.C.] - Seleucus of Macedonia, stadion race

129th [264 B.C.] - Philinus of Cos, stadion race

A new race for two-foal chariots was introduced, and the first winner was Philistiachus [Bilistiche of Macedonia].

130th [260 B.C.] - Philinus for a second time

131st [256 B.C.] - Ammonius of Alexandria, stadion race

A one-foal race was introduced, and the first winner was Hippocrates [of Thessaly].

132nd [252 B.C.] - Xenophanes of Amphissa in Aetolia, stadion race

133rd [248 B.C.] - Simylus of Neapolis, stadion race

[At this time] the Parthians revolted against the Macedonians; their first king was Arsaces, from whom the kings are called the Arsacids.

134th [244 B.C.] - Alcides of Laconia, stadion race

135th [240 B.C.] - Eraton of Aetolia, stadion race

Cleoxenus of Alexandria, [victor in] boxing, won without injury at all the major games.

136th [236 B.C.] - Pythocles of Sicyon, stadion race

137th [232 B.C.] - Menestheus of [?] Barcyla, stadion race

138th [228 B.C.] - Demetrius of Alexandria, stadion race

139th [224 B.C.] - Iolaidas of Argos, stadion race

140th [220 B.C.] - Zopyrus of Syracuse, stadion race

141st [216 B.C.] - Dorotheus of Rhodes, stadion race

142nd [212 B.C.] - Crates of Alexandria, stadion race

[p209] Caprus of Elis won both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions, like Heracles; so he was acclaimed as “second after Heracles”.

143rd [208 B.C.] - Heracleitus of Samos, stadion race

144th [204 B.C.] - Heracleides of Salamis in Cyprus, stadion race

145th [200 B.C.] - Pyrrhias of Aetolia, stadion race

Moschus of Colophon, [victor in] boys’ boxing, was the only boy to have won the boxing competition at all the major games. A boys’ pancratium competition was introduced, and the first winner was Phaedimus of Alexandria.

146th [196 B.C.] - Micion of Boeotia, stadion race

147th [192 B.C.] - Agemachus of Cyzicus, stadion race

Cleitostratus of Rhodes, [victor in] wrestling, overcame his opponents by grasping their necks.

148th [188 B.C.] - Arcesilaus of Megalopolis, stadion race

149th [184 B.C.] - Hippostratus of Seleucia in Pieria, stadion race

150th [180 B.C.] - Onesicritus of Salamis, stadion race

151st [176 B.C.] - Thymilus of Aspendus, stadion race

152nd [172 B.C.] - Democritus of Megara, stadion race

153rd [168 B.C.] - Aristander of Antissa in Lesbos, stadion race

154th [164 B.C.] - Leonidas of Rhodes, three times victor in the stadion race

155th [160 B.C.] - Leonidas for a second time

156th [156 B.C.] - Leonidas for a third time

Aristomenes of Rhodes was the third after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions.

157th [152 B.C.] - Leonidas, victor in the stadion race for a fourth time, was the first and only man to win 12 Olympic crowns over four Olympiads.

158th [148 B.C.] - Othon of Syracuse, stadion race

159th [144 B.C.] - Alcimus of Cyzicus, stadion race

160th [140 B.C.] - Agnodorus of Cyzicus, stadion race

161st [136 B.C.] - Antipater of Epirus, stadion race

162nd [132 B.C.] - Damon of Delphi, stadion race

163rd [128 B.C.] - Timotheus of Tralles, stadion race

164th [124 B.C.] - Boeotus of Sicyon, stadion race

[p211] 165th [120 B.C.] - Acusilaus of Cyrene, stadion race

166th [116 B.C.] - Chrysogonus of Nicaea, stadion race

167th [112 B.C.] - Chrysogonus for a second time

168th [108 B.C.] - Nicomachus of Philadelphia, stadion race

169th [104 B.C.] - Nicodemus of Lacedaemon, stadion race

170th [100 B.C.] - Simmias of Seleuceia-on-Tigris, stadion race

171st [96 B.C.] - Parmeniscus of Corcyra, stadion race

172nd [92 B.C.] - Eudamus of Cos, stadion race

Protophanes of Magnesia-on-Maeander was the fourth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions.

173rd [88 B.C.] - Parmeniscus of Corcyra again, stadion race

174th [84 B.C.] - Demonstratus of Larissa, stadion race

175th [80 B.C.] - Epaenetus of Argos, boys' stadion race

There was no stadion race for adults this year, because Sulla had summoned all the athletes to Rome.

176th [76 B.C.] - Dion of Cyparissus, stadion race

177th [72 B.C.] - Hecatomnos of Elis, stadion race

178th [68 B.C.] - Diocles [?] Hypopenus, stadion race

Stratonicus of Alexandria, son of Corragus, was the fifth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions; at the Nemean games, he won four crowns on the same day in the boys' and youths' competitions, [though he attended the competitions without a horse. He achieved this through the favour of his friends or the kings, and therefore he was regarded as disqualified].

179th [64 B.C.] - Andreas of Lacedaemon, stadion race

180th [60 B.C.] - Andromachus of Ambracia, stadion race

181st [56 B.C.] - Lamachus of Tauromenium, stadion race

182nd [52 B.C.] - Anthestion of Argos, stadion race

[p213] Marion of Alexandria, son of Marion, was the sixth after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions.

183rd [48 B.C.] - Theodorus of Messene, stadion race

[At this time] Julius Caesar was emperor of the Romans.

184th [44 B.C.] - Theodorus for a second time

[At this time] Augustus became emperor of the Romans.

185th [40 B.C.] - Ariston of Thurii, stadion race

186th [36 B.C.] - Scamander of Alexandria Troas, stadion race

187th [32 B.C.] - Ariston of Thurii again, stadion race

188th [28 B.C.] - Sopater of Argos, stadion race

189th [24 B.C.] - Asclepiades of Sidon, stadion race

190th [20 B.C.] - Auphidius of Patrae, stadion race

191st [16 B.C.] - Diodotus of Tyana, stadion race

192nd [12 B.C.] - Diophanes of Aeolis, stadion race

193rd [8 B.C.] - Artemidorus of Thyateira, stadion race

194th [4 B.C.] - Demaratus of Ephesus, stadion race

195th [1 A.D.] - Demaratus for a second time

196th [5 A.D.] - Pammenes of Magnesia-on-Maeander, stadion race

197th [9 A.D.] - Asiaticus of Halicarnassus, stadion race

198th [13 A.D.] - Diophanes of Prusa [by Mt. Olympus], stadion race

Aristeas of Stratoniceia or (?) Maeander was the seventh after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions.

[At this time] Tiberius became emperor of the Romans.

199th [17 A.D.] - Aeschines Glaucias of Miletus, stadion race

The four-horse race which had been stopped a long time ago was reinstated, and the winner was Tiberius Caesar.

200th [21 A.D.] - Polemon of Petra, stadion race

201st [25 A.D.] - Damasias of Cydonia, stadion race

202nd [29 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Pergamum, stadion race

203rd [33 A.D.] - Apollonius of Epidaurus, stadion race

204th [37 A.D.] - Sarapion of Alexandria, stadion race

Neicostratus of Aegae was the eighth and last after Heracles to win both the wrestling and the pancratium competitions. [p215] Only eight men between Heracles and our times have achieved this, because after these games the inhabitants of Elis would not award the crown even to those who were capable of it.

[At this time] Gaius became emperor of the Romans.

205th [41 A.D.] - Eubulidas of Laodiceia, stadion race

[At this time] Claudius became emperor of the Romans.

206th [45 A.D.] - Valerius of Mytilene, stadion race

207th [49 A.D.] - Athenodorus of Aegium, stadion race

208th [53 A.D.] - Athenodorus for a second time

[At this time] Nero became emperor of the Romans.

209th [57 A.D.] - Callicles of Sidon, stadion race

210th [61 A.D.] - Athenodorus of Aegium [(?) for a third time], stadion race

211th [65 A.D.] - These games were not held [at the usual time] because Nero postponed them until his visit to Greece. They were held two years later, and Tryphon of Philadelphia won the stadion race. Nero was awarded the crown in the contests for heralds, performers of tragedy and citharodes; and also in the races for chariots drawn by foals, full-grown horses and ten foals.

212th [69 A.D.] - Polites of Ceramus, stadion race

[At this time] Vespasianus became emperor of the Romans.

213th [73 A.D.] - Rhodon of Cyme, or Theodotus, stadion race

214th [77 A.D.] - Straton of Alexandria, stadion race

[At this time] Titus became emperor of the Romans.

215th [81 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Xanthus, stadion race

[At this time] Domitianus became emperor of the Romans.

216th [85 A.D.] - Apollophanes Papis of Tarsus, stadion race

217th [89 A.D.] - Hermogenes of Xanthus for a second time, stadion race

218th [93 A.D.] - Apollonius of Alexandria, or Heliodorus, stadion race

219th [97 A.D.] - Stephanus of Cappadocia, stadion race

[At this time] Nerva became emperor of the Romans, and after him Trajanus [became emperor].

220th [101 A.D.] - Achilleus of Alexandria, stadion race

221st [105 A.D.] - Theonas Smaragdus of Alexandria, stadion race

222nd [109 A.D.] - Callistus of Side, stadion race

The horse races were reintroduced.

[p217] 223rd [113 A.D.] - Eustolus of Side, stadion race

224th [117 A.D.] - Isarion of Alexandria, stadion race

[At this time] Hadrianus became emperor of the Romans.

225th [121 A.D.] - Aristas of Miletus, stadion race

226th [125 A.D.] - Dionysius Sameumys of Alexandria, stadion race

227th [129 A.D.] - Dionysius for a second time

228th [133 A.D.] - Lucas of Alexandria, stadion race

229th [137 A.D.] - Epidaurus Ammonius of Alexandria, stadion race

[At this time] Antoninus Pius became emperor of the Romans.

230th [141 A.D.] - Didymus (?) Clydeus of Alexandria, stadion race

231st [145 A.D.] - Cranaus of Sicyon, stadion race

232nd [149 A.D.] - Atticus of Sardis, stadion race

Socrates entered both the wrestling and the citharode competitions, but he was banned by the inhabitants of Elis, in favour of Dionysius of Seleuceia.

233rd [153 A.D.] - Demetrius of Chios, stadion race

234th [157 A.D.] - Eras of Chios, stadion race

235th [161 A.D.] - Mnasibulus of Elateia, stadion race

[At this time] Marcus Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus became emperors of the Romans.

236th [165 A.D.] - Aeithales of Alexandria, stadion race

237th [169 A.D.] - Eudaemon of Alexandria, stadion race

238th [173 A.D.] - Agathopus of Aegina, stadion race

239th [177 A.D.] - Agathopus for a second time

[At this time] Commodus became emperor of the Romans.

240th [181 A.D.] - Anubion Pheidus of Alexandria, stadion race

241st [185 A.D.] - Heron of Alexandria, stadion race

242nd [189 A.D.] - Magnus [Libycus] of Cyrene, stadion race

243rd [193 A.D.] - Isidorus [Artemidorus] of Alexandria, stadion race

[At this time] Pertinax, and then Severus, became emperors of the Romans.

244th [197 A.D.] - Isidorus for a second time

245th [201 A.D.] - Alexander of Alexandria, stadion race

246th [205 A.D.] - Epinicus Cynas of Cyzicus, stadion race

[p219] 247th [209 A.D.] - Saturnilus of Gortyn in Crete, stadion race

[At this time] Antoninus, called Caracalla, became emperor of the Romans.

248th [213 A.D.] - Heliodorus Trosidamas of Alexandria, stadion race

249th [217 A.D.] - Heliodorus for a second time

The record of the Olympiads which we have found ends at this point.

It will be fitting to add here lists of the kings of the Corinthians, kings of the Spartans, rulers of the sea and the early kings of the Macedonians. I will set down in order their names and their dates, taking them from the *Historical Library* of Diodorus, who gives a very accurate account of them.

The kings of the Corinthians - from the books of Diodorus

After thoroughly investigating that, it remains to tell how Corinth and Sicyon were settled by the Dorians. Almost all the nations in the Peloponnese, except the Arcadians, were uprooted by the return of the Heracleidae. In their division of the land, the Heracleidae picked out Corinth and the surrounding area; they sent for Aletes, and awarded the territory to him. Aletes became a distinguished king and increased the power of Corinth; he reigned for 38 years.

After the death of Aletes, his descendants ruled the land, the eldest son succeeding in every case, until the tyrant Cypselus, who [came to power] 447 years after the return of the Heracleidae.

The first of them to become king was Ixion, for 38 years.

[p221] Then Agelas was king for 37 years.

Then Prymnis, for 35 years.

Then Bacchis, also for 35 years. Bacchis was the most distinguished of the kings up to his time; so that the kings after him called themselves Bacchidae instead of Heracleidae.

Then Agelas, for 30 years.

Eudemus, for 25 years.

Aristomedes, for 35 years.

When Aristomedes died, his son Telestes was still a child; and so the direct succession was interrupted by his uncle and guardian Agemon, for 16 years.

Then Alexander was king, for 25 years.

Telestes, who earlier had been deprived of his father's kingdom, killed Alexander, and ruled for 12 years.

Automenes ruled for one year, after Telestes was killed by his relatives.

The Bacchidae, descendants of Heracles who were more than 200 in number, seized power and jointly governed the city; each year they chose one of their number to be president, in place of the king. They governed the city for 90 years, until they were suppressed by the tyrant Cypselus.

The kings of the Corinthians are as follows:

1. Aletes - for 35 years

2. Ixion - for 37 years

3. Agelas - for 37 years
4. Prymnis - for 35 years
5. Bacchis - for 35 years
6. Agelas - for 30 years
7. Eudemus - for 25 years
8. Aristomedes - for 35 years
9. Agemon - for 16 years
10. Alexander - for 25 years
11. Teletes - for 12 years
12. Automenes - for one year

After which there were annual presidents.

The kings of the Spartans - from the books of Diodorus

It happens that it is difficult to establish the dates between the Trojan war and the first Olympiad, because at that time there were no annual magistrates either at Athens or at any other city. Therefore we will take the kings of the Spartans as an example.

According to Apollodorus of Athens, there were 308 years from the destruction of Troy [1183 B.C.] until the first Olympiad [776 B.C.]. 80 of those years passed before the expedition of the Heracleidae [1103 B.C.]; [p223] the rest are covered by the reigns of the kings of the Spartans - Procles, Eurysthenes and their descendants. We will set down the order of [the kings of] each family up until the first Olympiad.

Eurysthenes began his reign in the 80th year after the Trojan war, and he was king for 42 years.

After him, Agis reigned for one year.

Echestratus for 31 years.

After him, Labotas reigned for 37 years.

Dorystus for 29 years.

They were followed by Agesilaus, who reigned for 44 years.

Archelaus for 60 years.

Teleclus for 40 years.

Alcamenes for 38 years. In the tenth year of his reign, the first Olympiad was established, in which Coroebus of Elis won the stadion race.

Procles was the first king of the other family, for (?) 49 years.

After him, Prytanis reigned for 49 years.

Eunomius for 45 years.

And then Chariclus reigned for 60 years.

Nicander for 38 years.

Theopompus for 47 years. The first Olympiad occurred in the tenth year of this reign.

In summary, there were 80 years from the capture of Troy until the expedition of the Heracleidae, and then these kings of the Spartans:

1. Eurysthenes - for 42 years
2. Agis - for one year
3. Echestrates - for 37 years
4. Labotas - for 37 years
5. Dorystus - for 29 years
6. ^[p225] Agesilaus - for 44 years.
7. Archelaus - for 60 years
8. Teleclus - for 40 years
9. Alcamenes - for 37 years. In his tenth year, the first Olympiad was established.

In total, 325 years.

The kings from the other family were:

1. Procles - for 51 years
2. Prytanis - for 49 years
3. Eunomius - for 45 years
4. Charicles - for 60 years
5. Nicander - for 38 years
6. Theopompus - for 47 years. In his tenth year, the first Olympiad was established.

In total, 290 years.

The Thalassocracies, who ruled the sea - in brief, from the writings of Diodorus

After the Trojan war, the sea was controlled by:

1. The Lydians and Maeones - for 92 years
2. The Pelasgians - for 85 years
3. The Thracians - for 79 years
4. The Rhodians - for 23 years
5. The Phrygians - for 25 years
6. The Cypriots - for 33 years
7. The Phoenicians - for 45 years
8. The Egyptians - for [...] years
9. The Milesians - for [...] years
10. [The Carians - for .. years]
11. The Lesbians - for [...] years

12. The Phocaeans - for 44 years
13. The Samians for [...] years
14. The Spartans - for 2 years
15. The Naxians - for 10 years
16. The Eretrians - for 15 years
17. The Aeginetans - for 10 years

Up until the time when (?) Alexander crossed over the sea.

After this, it will be fitting to move on to the kingdom of the Macedonians.

[p227] **The kings of the Macedonians**

The end of the Assyrian empire, after the death of Sardanapallus the last king of the Assyrians, was followed by the Macedonian age.

Before the first Olympiad, Caranus was moved by ambition to collect forces from the Argives and from the rest of the Peloponnese, in order to lead an army into the territory of the Macedonians. At that time the king of the Orestae was at war with his neighbours, the Eordaei, and he called on Caranus to come to his aid, promising to give him half of his territory in return, if the Orestae were successful. The king kept his promise, and Caranus took possession of the territory; he reigned there for 30 years, until he died in old age.

He was succeeded by his son Coenus, who was king for 28 years.

After him, Tyrimias reigned for 43 years.

Perdiccas for 42 years. He wanted to expand his kingdom; so he sent [a mission] to Delphi.

A little further on, [Diodorus] says:

Perdiccas reigned for 48 years, and left his kingdom to Argaeus, who reigned for 31 years.

The next king was Philippus, who reigned for 33 years.

Aeropus for 20 years.

Alcetas for 18 years.

Amyntas for 49 years.

He was followed by Alexander, who reigned for 44 years.

Then Perdiccas was king for 22 years.

Archelaus for 17 years.

Aeropus for 6 years.

Then Pausanias was king for one year.

Ptolemaeus for 3 years.

Perdiccas for 5 years.

Philippus for 24 years.

Alexander, [who] fought against the Persians, for more than 12 years.

In this way the most reliable historians trace the ancestry of the Macedonian kings back to Heracles. From Caranus, who was the first to rule all the Macedonians, until Alexander, who conquered Asia, there were 24 kings who reigned for a total of 453 years.

[p229] The individual [kings] are as follows:

1. Caranus reigned for 30 years
2. Coenus - for 28 years
3. Tyrimias - for 43 years
4. Perdiccas - for 48 years
5. Argaeus - for 38 years
6. Philippus - for 33 years
7. Aeropus - for 20 years
8. Alcetas - for 18 years. In his time, Cyrus was king of the Persians.
9. Amyntas - for 42 years
10. Alexander - for 44 years
11. Perdiccas - for 23 years
12. Archelaus - for 24 years

13. Orestes - for 3 years
14. Archelaus - for 4 years
15. Amyntas - for one year
16. Pausanias - for one year
17. Amyntas - for 6 years
18. Argaeus - for 2 years
19. Amyntas - for 18 years
20. Alexander - for one year
21. Ptolemaeus of Alorus - for 3 years
22. Perdikkas - for 6 years
23. Philippus - for 27 years
24. Alexander the son of Philippus - for 12 years

**The kings of the Macedonians, from the writings of our enemy, the
philosopher Porphyrius:**

These were the kings of Macedonia and Greece after Alexander the son of Philippus; and the Macedonian kingdom continued until its dissolution as follows.

The Macedonians appointed Aridaeus, the son of Philippus and Philinna of Thessaly, to be king after Alexander because of their affection for the family of Philippus, although they knew that Aridaeus was the son a courtesan and he was feeble-minded. He began to reign, as we said, in the second year of the 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.]. He is reckoned to have reigned for 7 years, because he lived up until the fourth year of the 115th Olympiad [317 B.C.].

[p231] Alexander left two sons, Heracles the son of Barsine the daughter of Pharnabazus, and Alexander the son of Roxane the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian; this Alexander was born about the time of his father's death, at the start of Philippus' reign. Olympias the mother of Alexander killed Aridaeus,

but then Cassander the son of Antipater executed her and both the sons of Alexander, the one by himself and the other (the son of Barsine) by prompting Polysperchon. Cassander cast away Olympias' body without a burial, and proclaimed himself king; and from then onwards, all the other satraps acted as kings, because the family of Alexander had been destroyed. Cassander married Thessalonice the daughter of Philippus, and survived as king for another 19 years as king, until he died of a wasting disease. His reign, including the year in which Olympias ruled after the death of Aridaeus, lasted from the first year of the 116th Olympiad [316 B.C.] until the third year of the 120th Olympiad [298 B.C.].

Cassander was succeeded by his sons, Philippus and Alexander and Antipater, who reigned for 3 years and 6 months after the death of their father. The first to rule was Philippus, who died at Elateia. Then Antipater murdered his mother Thessalonice, who favoured her other son Alexander, and fled to Lysimachus. But Lysimachus put him to death, even though he had married one of Lysimachus' daughters.

Alexander married Lysandra, the daughter of Ptolemaeus, and in the war against his younger brother called on the aid of Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who was called Poliorcetes. But Demetrius killed Alexander, and made himself the king of the Macedonians. The reign of the sons of Cassander is reckoned to last from the fourth year [p233] of the 120th Olympiad [297 B.C.] until the third year of the 121st Olympiad [294 B.C.].

Demetrius reigned for 6 years, from the [fourth year of the] 121st Olympiad [293 B.C.] until the first year of the 123rd Olympiad [288 B.C.], when he was deposed by Pyrrhus the king of Epirus, the 23rd in line from Achilles the son of Thetis. Pyrrhus claimed the kingdom belonged to him after the extinction of Philippus' family, through his connection with Olympias the mother of Alexander, who was also a descendant of Pyrrhus the son of Neoptolemus.

Pyrrhus ruled the Macedonians for seven months in the second year of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.]. In the eighth month, he was replaced by Lysimachus the son of son of Agathocles, a Thessalian from Crannon who had been a bodyguard of Alexander. Lysimachus was king of Thrace and the Chersonese, and now overran the neighbouring country of Macedonia.

Lysimachus was persuaded by his wife Arsinoe to kill his own son. He

ruled Macedonia for 5 years and 6 months, from the second year of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.] until the third year of the 124th Olympiad [282 B.C.]. [p235] He was defeated by Seleucus Nicator, the king of Asia, at the battle of Corupedium, and lost his life in the battle. But straight after his victory, Seleucus was murdered by Ptolemaeus Ceraunus, the son of Lagus and Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, even though Seleucus was his benefactor and had received him when he fled [from Lysimachus].

Then Ptolemaeus ruled over the Macedonians, until he was killed in battle against the Galatians. He reigned for one year and five months, which lasted from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.] until the fifth month of the first year of the 125th Olympiad [280 B.C.].

Ptolemaeus was succeeded by his brother Meleager, but the Macedonians deposed Meleager after only two months, because they considered him unfit to rule. In his place, since no-one was left from the royal family, they appointed as king Antipater, who was the nephew of Cassander and the son of Philippus. But he too was deposed after ruling for 45 days by Sosthenes, a commoner who considered him to be too poor a general to face the dangerous invasion of Brennus the Galatian. The Macedonians gave Antipater the name Etesias, because the Etesian winds blow at about the time when he was king. Sosthenes repelled Brennus, and died after being in charge of the state for two complete years.

After Sosthenes, there was anarchy in Macedonia, because the followers of Antipater and Ptolemaeus and Aridaeus were competing for control of the state, but no-one was completely in charge. In the period from Ptolemaeus until the end of the anarchy, that is from the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.] until the [first year of the] 126th Olympiad [276 B.C.], Ptolemaeus Ceraunus reigned for one year and five months, [p237] Meleager for two months, Antipater for 45 days, Sosthenes for two years, and the rest is reckoned to have been a time of anarchy.

While Antipater was plotting to take over the state, Antigonus set himself up as king; he was the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Phila the daughter of Antipater, and was called Gonatas because he had been born and brought up at Gonni in Thessaly. Antigonus reigned in total for 44 years; before he gained control of Macedonia, he had already been king for 10 whole years. He was proclaimed king in the second year of the 123rd Olympiad [287 B.C.], and

became king of the Macedonians in the first year of the 126th Olympiad [276 B.C.]. Antigonus subdued Greece by force; he lived for 83 years in all, and died in the first year of the 135th Olympiad [240 B.C.].

Antigonus was succeeded by his son Demetrius, who conquered the whole of Libya and captured Cyrene. Eventually he gained absolute control of all his father's possessions, and ruled over them for 10 years. He married a captive girl whom he called Chryseis, and by her he had a son Philippus, who was the first of the kings to fight against the Romans and caused the Macedonians much woe.

When Demetrius died, Philippus was left as a [young] orphan, and a member of the royal family, Antigonus called Phuscus, became his guardian. Seeing that Phuscus acted honourably in his role of guardian, the Macedonians made him king, and gave him Chryseis to be his wife. Chryseis bore him sons, but he did not bring them up, because he was holding the kingdom in trust for Philippus. And indeed he was succeeded by Philippus, when he died.

Demetrius, called the Fair, died in the second year of the [?] 130th Olympiad. Philippus then became king, [p239] with the aforesaid Antigonus as his guardian. Antigonus died in the fourth year of the 139th Olympiad [221 B.C.]; he had been guardian for 12 years, and lived for 42 years in all. Philippus began to rule without a guardian in the 140th Olympiad [220 B.C.]; he reigned for 42 complete years, and died in the second year of the 150th Olympiad [179 B.C.], aged 58 years.

Perseus the son of Philippus caused the death of his brother Demetrius by making accusations against him to his father. Perseus was king for 10 years and 8 months, until the fourth years of the 152nd Olympiad [169 B.C.], when Lucius Aemilius defeated and conquered the Macedonians at Pydna. Perseus fled to Samothrace, but then agreed to surrender to the enemy, who transferred him to Alba, where he was imprisoned and died five years later. He was the last king of the Macedonians.

At that time the Romans allowed the Macedonians to remain autonomous, out of respect for their glorious reputation and the greatness of their [former] empire. But 19 years later, in the third year of the 157th Olympiad [150 B.C.], a certain Andriscus falsely claimed to be the son of Perseus, and took on the name of Philippus, from which he came to be called the false Philippus. With

the help of the Thracians he conquered Macedonia, but after ruling for a year he was defeated and fled to the Thracians, who handed him over, to be sent as a prisoner to Rome.

Because the Macedonians had been ungrateful, and had co-operated with the false Philippos, the Romans made them tributary in the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.]. So from Alexander until the end, when they became tributary to the Romans, that is from the second year of 114th Olympiad [323 B.C.] [p241] until the fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.], the kingdom of the Macedonians lasted for 43 Olympiads and two extra years, which is a total of 174 years.

These are the kings of the Macedonians after Alexander the son of Philippos:

- Aridaeus, also called Philippos - for 7 years
- Cassander - for 19 years
- The sons of Cassander - for 3 years and 6 months
- Demetrius Poliorcetes - for 6 years
- Pyrrhus - for 7 months
- Lysimachus - for 5 years and 5 months
- Ptolemaeus Ceraunus - for 1 year and 5 months
- Meleager - for 2 months
- Antipater son of Lysimachus - for 45 days
- Sosthenes - for 2 years
- (Anarchy) - for 2 years
- Antigonus Gonatas - for 34 years
- Demetrius the Fair - for 10 years
- Antigonus Phuscus - for 12 years

- Philippus - for 42 years
- Perseus - for 10 years and 8 months
- (Autonomy) - for 19 years
- The false Philippus - for 1 year

After that, they were subject to the Romans.

The kings of the Thessalians:

For a long time, the Thessalians and Epirus had the same rulers as the Macedonians. They were granted independence by the Romans after Philippus was defeated by the Roman general Titus in Thessaly. But eventually, for the same reason as the Macedonians, they were made tributary to the Romans.

Like the Macedonians, they were ruled by Aridaeus, also called Philippus, for seven years after the death of Alexander. Then his successor Cassander ruled over Epirus and the Thessalians for 19 years. After him, his son Philippus [ruled] for 4 months. Then his brothers Antipater and Alexander [ruled] for 2 years and 6 months. And then Demetrius the son of [Antigonus ruled] for 6 years and 6 months. After him, Pyrrhus [ruled] for 4 years and 4 months. Then Lysimachus the son of Agathocles [ruled] for 6 years. ^[p243] And Ptolemaeus, who was called Ceraunus, [ruled] for one year and 5 months. Then Meleager [ruled] for 2 months. After him, Antipater the son of Lysimachus [ruled] for 45 days. After him, Sosthenes [ruled] for one year. Then there was anarchy for 2 years and 2 months, after which Antigonus the son of Demetrius [ruled] for 34 years and 2 months.

During this time, Pyrrhus won over Antigonus' army and ruled over a few regions, but he lost control of them when he was defeated by Demetrius the son of Antigonus in a battle at Derdia. Shortly afterwards Antigonus died, and his son Demetrius reigned for 10 years. After him, Antigonus, the son of Demetrius who went off to Cyrene and of Olympias the daughter of Pauliclitus of Larisa, [ruled] for 9 years. Antigonus came to the aid of the Achaeans, defeated Cleomenes the king of the Spartans in battle, and liberated Sparta. Therefore the Achaean people honoured him like a god.

After him, Philippus the son of Demetrius reigned for 23 years and 9 months, until he was defeated in a battle in Thessaly by Titus the Roman

general. Then the Romans allowed the Thessalians to be autonomous, along with the rest of the Ionians [? Greeks] who had been subject to Philippus. For the first year there was anarchy in Thessaly, but then they started to elect annual leaders from amongst the people.

The first to be elected was Pausanias the son of Echecrates, from Pherae. Then Amyntas the son of Crates, from [?] Pieria; in his year, Titus returned to Rome. Then Aeacides the son of Callas, from Metropolis. Then Epidromas the son of Andromachus, from Larisa, for 8 months only; for the remaining 4 months of the year, the leader was Eunomus the son of Polyclitus, from Larisa. Eunomus was leader again for the whole of the following year. Then Aeacides the son of Callas, from Metropolis, for a second time. Then Pravilus the son of Phaxas, from Scotussa. Then Eunomus ^[p245] the son of Polyclitus, from Larisa, for a second time. Then Androsthene the son of Italas, from Gortona. Then Thrasymachus the son of Alexander, from [?] Atrax. Then Laontomenes the son of Damothon, from Pherae. Then Pausanias the son of Damothon. Then Theodorus the son of Alexander, from Argos. Then Nicocrates the son of Paxinas, from [?] Scotussa. Then Hippolochus the son of Alexippus, from Larisa. Then Cleomachides the son of Aeneus, from Larisa. Then Phyrinus the son of Aristomenes, from Gomphi.

In his year, Philippus the king of Macedonia died, and was succeeded by his son Perseus. As we said, Philippus reigned over the Thessalians for 3 years and 9 months, but in all he reigned over the Macedonians for 42 years and 9 months. From the start of the reign of Philippus [Aridaeus] until the death of Philippus the son of Demetrius, that is from the second year of the 114th Olympiad ^[323 B.C.] until the fifth month of the second year of the 150th Olympiad ^[179 B.C.], is a total of 144 years and five months.

A summary of the kings of the Thessalians:

- Aridaeus, also called Philippus - for 7 years
- Cassander - for 19 years
- Philippus - for 4 months
- Antigonus and Alexander - for 2 years and 6 months
- Demetrius - for 6 years and 6 months

- Pyrrhus - for 3 years and 6 months
- Lysimachus - for 6 years
- Ptolemaeus, also called Ceraunus - for 1 year and 5 months
- Meleager - for 2 months
- Antipater - for 45 days
- Sosthenes - for 1 year
- (Anarchy) - for 2 years and 2 months
- Antigonus - for 33 years and 2 months
- [p247] Demetrius - for 10 years
- Antigonus - for 9 years
- Philippus - for 23 years and 9 months

And then the following [annual] leaders: Pausanias, Amyntas, Aeacides, Epidromus, Eunomus, Aeacides again, Praviles, Eunomus again, Androstheneas, Thrasymachus, Laontomenes, Pausanias, Theodorus, Nicocrates, Hippolochus, Cleomachides, Phyrinus, and Philippus.

[p247] **The kings of Asia and Syria after the death of Alexander the Great:**

In the 6th year of Philippus Aridaeus, which was the third year of the 115th Olympiad [318 B.C.], Antigonus became the first king of Asia. He reigned for 18 years, and lived in all for 86 years. He was the most formidable of the kings of that period, and died in Phrygia after all the other rulers attacked him out of fear of him, in the fourth year of the 119th Olympiad [301 B.C.].

His son Demetrius escaped to Ephesus, and lost control of all of Asia; he was considered to be the most resourceful of the kings in siege warfare, and so was given the name Poliorcetes [“the besieger”]. Demetrius reigned for 17 years, and lived in all for 54 years. Starting from the first year of the 120th Olympiad [300 B.C.], he ruled jointly with his father for 2 years, which were included in the 17 years of his reign. In the fourth year of the [123rd] Olympiad

[285 B.C.] he was captured by Seleucus; after his capture, he was sent to Cilicia, and was kept in royal style as a prisoner of Seleucus until he died, in the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.]. The reigns of Antigonus and Demetrius passed in this way.

Meanwhile, Lysimachus was ruling in Lydia opposite Thrace and Seleucus was ruling in the eastern regions and Syria. [p249] Both of them started to reign in the first year of the 114th Olympiad [324 B.C.]. No account will be given of Lysimachus' reign, but the events of Seleucus' reign will be described here.

After Ptolemaeus, the first king of the Egyptians, had marched to Old Gaza and had defeated Demetrius the son of Antigonus in battle, he set up Seleucus as king of Syria and the eastern regions. Seleucus went up to Babylonia and defeated the barbarians there; so he was given the name Nicanor ["victor"]. He reigned for 32 years, from the first year of the 117th Olympiad [312 B.C.] until the fourth year of the 124th Olympiad [281 B.C.], and lived in all for 75 years. Eventually, he was ambushed and killed by his friend Ptolemaeus, called Ceraunus.

Seleucus was succeeded by Antiochus, his son by Apame the Persian. Antiochus was called Soter, and died in the [third] year of the 129th Olympiad [262 B.C.] after he had lived in all for 54 years and had reigned for 19 years, from the first year of the 125th Olympiad [280 B.C.] until the third year of the 129th Olympiad [262 B.C.].

Antiochus Soter had [three] children by Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius; a son Antiochus, and two daughters Stratonice and Apame, of whom the former was married to Demetrius the king of the Macedonians, and the latter [to Magas?]. When he died, he was succeeded by Antiochus called Theos, in the fourth year of the 129th Olympiad [261 B.C.]. After 19 years, Antiochus Theos fell ill, [p251] and died at Ephesus in the third year of the [133rd] Olympiad [246 B.C.], after living in all for 40 years. He had two sons, Seleucus called Callinicus and Antigonus, and two daughters by Laodice the daughter of Achaeus, of whom one was married to Mithridates and the other to Ariathes. The elder son Seleucus, who as we said was called Callinicus, succeeded Antiochus and reigned for 21 years, from the third year of the 133rd Olympiad [246 B.C.] until the second year of the 138th Olympiad [227 B.C.].

When he died, Seleucus was succeeded by his son, Seleucus called Ceraunus, but while he was still alive it happened that his younger brother

Antigonus refused to accept his position and sought power for himself. Antigonus had help and assistance from [Alexander], the brother of his mother Laodice, who was in charge of the city of Sardis; he also had the Galatians as allies in two battles. Seleucus won a battle in Lydia, but he was unable to capture Sardis or Ephesus, which was held by Ptolemaeus. Then Seleucus fought a second battle against Mithridates in Cappadocia, where 20,000 of his men were killed by the barbarians, and he himself lost his life. Meanwhile Ptolemaeus called Tryphon seized part of Syria, but his siege of Damascus and Orthosia was stopped in the third year of the 134th Olympiad [242 B.C.], when Seleucus advanced to that region.

Antigonus the brother of Callinicus crossed greater Phrygia, forced the inhabitants to pay tribute, and sent his generals with an army against Seleucus. But he was handed over by his own followers to the barbarians, and after escaping with a few men, set off for Magnesia. The next day he offered battle, and with the assistance of soldiers sent by Ptolemaeus, amongst others, he won a victory, and married the daughter of Zielas. [p253] However, in the fourth year of the 137th Olympiad [229 B.C.] he fought twice in the country of Lydia and was defeated, and he joined battle with Attalus in the region of Lake Coloe. In the first year of the 138th Olympiad [228 B.C.], after a battle in Caria he was forced by Attalus to flee to Thrace, where he died.

Seleucus Callinicus, the brother of Antigonus, died in the next year, and was succeeded by his son Alexander, who adopted the name Seleucus, and was called Ceraunus by his army. Seleucus had a brother called Antiochus. After reigning for three years, Seleucus was treacherously attacked and killed by a Galatian called Nicanor, in about the first year of the 139th Olympiad [224 B.C.]. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus, whom the army summoned from Babylon. Antiochus was called [the Great] and reigned for 36 years, from the second year of the 139th Olympiad [223 B.C.] until the second year of the 148th Olympiad [187 B.C.]. In the latter year, he made an expedition to Susa and the eastern provinces, but was killed with all [his men] in battle with the Elymaeans; he left behind two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus.

Seleucus succeeded his father in the third year of the 148th Olympiad [186 B.C.], and reigned for 12 years, until the [?] first year of the 151st Olympiad [176 B.C.]; he lived in all for 60 years. When Seleucus died, he was succeeded by his brother Antiochus called Epiphanes, who reigned for 11 years, from the third

year of the 151st Olympiad [174 B.C.] until the first year of the 154th Olympiad [164 B.C.]. While Antiochus Epiphanes was still alive, his son Antiochus called Eupator was made king, when he was only twelve years old, after which his father lived for a further one year and six months. Then Demetrius, who had been given to the Romans by his father Seleucus as a hostage, escaped from Rome to Phoenicia, and came to the city of Tripolis. Demetrius killed the young Antiochus along with his guardian Lysias, and made himself king in the fourth year of the 154th Olympiad [161 B.C.]; [p255] he was called Soter, and reigned for 12 years, until the [?] fourth year of the 157th Olympiad [149 B.C.]. He was forced to fight for his kingdom against Alexander, who brought an army from outside with the assistance of Ptolemaeus and Attalus, and he was killed in a battle.

Alexander gained control of Syria in the [?] third year of the 157th Olympiad [150 B.C.], and ruled for 5 years. He died in the fourth year of the 158th Olympiad [145 B.C.], in a battle near the city of Antioch against Ptolemaeus, who had come to the aid of Demetrius the son of Demetrius. Ptolemaeus also was wounded and died in the same battle.

The war was carried on by this Demetrius, the son of Demetrius. Setting out from Seleuceia, he defeated Antiochus the son of Alexander, who was based in Syria and the city of Antioch, and started to reign in the first year of the 160th Olympiad [140 B.C.]. In his second year, he collected an army and set off for Babylon and the eastern regions, to fight against Arsaces. In the next year, which was the third year of the 160th Olympiad [138 B.C.], he was captured by Arsaces, who sent him to be held prisoner in Parthia; so he was called Nicanor [“victor”] because he had defeated Antiochus the son of Alexander, and also [?] Seripides because he was kept as a prisoner in chains. The younger brother of Demetrius, called Antiochus, was brought up in the city of Side, from which he was given the name Sidetes. When he heard that Demetrius had been defeated and made a prisoner, he left Side and in the fourth year of the 160th Olympiad [137 B.C.] gained control of Syria, which he ruled for nine years. In the third year of the 162nd Olympiad [130 B.C.] he conquered the Jews, pulled down the walls of [Jerusalem] after a siege, and put their leaders to death.

In the fourth year of the 162nd Olympiad [129 B.C.], Arsaces attacked him with an army of 120,000 men, and schemed against him by sending his

brother Demetrius, who had been kept as a prisoner, back to Syria. But at the onset of winter Antiochus met the barbarians in a confined space; bravely attacking them, he was injured and killed, in the 35th year of his life. [p257] His young son Seleucus, who had accompanied him, was captured by king Arsaces and was kept in royal style as a prisoner.

Antiochus the fifth had three sons and two daughters; the first two, the daughters, were both called Laodice. The third, called Antiochus, fell ill and died, like his sisters. The fourth was Seleucus, who was captured by Arsaces. The fifth was another Antiochus, who was brought up by Craterus the eunuch at Cyzicus, where he had fled with Craterus and the rest of the household of Antiochus, through fear of Demetrius. One of the brothers had already died, along with his sister, so only Antiochus was left, the youngest of the brothers, and because of his residence at Cyzicus he was called Cyzicenus.

Demetrius returned [to Syria] and started his second reign in the second year of the (?) 163rd Olympiad [127 B.C.], after having been held captive for the intervening 10 years. As soon as he returned from captivity, he turned his attention to Egypt; he advanced as far as Pelusium, but when Ptolemaeus Physcon confronted him Demetrius had to retreat, because his soldiers hated him and refused to obey his orders.

Angered by this, Ptolemaeus set up Alexander, a pretended son of Alexander, to be king of Asia; Alexander was called Zabinas by the Syrians, because he was thought to have been bought by Ptolemaeus to take on this role.

Demetrius was defeated in a battle at Damascus, and fled to Tyre, but was refused entry into the city. While trying to escape by boat, he was seized and killed, in the first year of the 164th Olympiad [124 B.C.]; he had reigned for 3 years before his captivity, and for another 4 years after his return.

Demetrius was succeeded by his son Seleucus, who died soon afterwards as a result of his mother's accusations. His younger brother Antiochus came to power in the second year of the 164th Olympiad [123 B.C.], and in the third year he defeated Zabinas, who killed himself with poison because he could not endure the defeat. Antiochus reigned for 11 years, until the fourth year of the 166th Olympiad [113 B.C.]; the one year of his brother Seleucus' reign is also included in this total. [p259] He was given the names Grypus ["hook-nose"] and Philometor. But when faced with an attack by Antiochus Cyzicenus whom we

mentioned earlier, who was his half-brother by the same mother as well as his nephew on his father's side, Grypus gave up his kingdom and retired to Aspendus; from which he was given the name Aspendius, as well as Grypus and Philometor.

Antiochus Cyzicenus started to reign in the first year of the 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.], after Antiochus [Grypus] retired to Aspendus. But in the second year of the same Olympiad [111 B.C.], Antiochus returned from Aspendus, and took control of Syria, while Cyzicenus remained in control of Coele [Syria]. After the kingdom had been split between them in this way, Grypus remained as king until the fourth year of the 170th Olympiad [97 B.C.]. He lived for another 15 years after his return, so that his reign lasted in all for 26 years: 11 years on his own, and 15 years after the kingdom had been split in two.

Cyzicenus ruled from the first year of the 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.], and died in the first year of the 171st Olympiad [96 B.C.], after reigning for 18 years and living in all for 50 years. The manner of his death was as follows. After Antiochus Grypus died at the time which was stated above, his son Seleucus came with an army and captured many cities. Antiochus Cyzicenus brought an army from Antioch, but was defeated in a battle; his horse carried him off towards the enemy, and when they were about to capture him, he drew his sword and killed himself. So Seleucus gained control of the whole kingdom, and captured Antioch.

But the surviving son of Cyzicenus began a war against Seleucus. When their armies met at the city called Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the victory went to Antiochus. Seleucus fled to the city, but when he learnt that the inhabitants intended to burn him alive, [p261] he hastened to commit suicide. His two brothers Antiochus and Philippus who were called the Didymi ["twins"], appeared with an army and captured the city by force; then they avenged their brother's death by destroying the city. However they were confronted by the son of Cyzicenus, and defeated in a battle; while escaping from the battle, Antiochus the brother of Seleucus rode his horse recklessly and fell headlong into the river Orontes, where he was caught by the current and died.

And then two others began to fight over the kingdom: Philippus, the brother of Seleucus and son of Antiochus Grypus, and Antiochus, the son of Antiochus Cyzicenus. Starting from the (?) third year of the 171st Olympiad [94 B.C.], they fought against each other for possession of Syria with substantial

armies, each controlling part of the country. Antiochus was defeated and fled to the Parthians. Later he surrendered to Pompeius, in the hope of being restored to Syria. But Pompeius, who had received a gift of money from the inhabitants of Antioch, ignored Antiochus and allowed the city to be autonomous.

Then the inhabitants of Alexandria sent Menelaus and Lampon and Callimander to ask Antiochus to come and rule in Egypt together with the daughters of Ptolemaeus, when Ptolemaeus Dionysus had been driven out of Alexandria. But Antiochus fell ill, and died.

Philippus whom we mentioned before, the son of Grypus and of Tryphaena the daughter of Ptolemaeus VIII, was also deposed. He wanted to go to Egypt, because he too had been invited by the inhabitants of Alexandria to rule there, but Gabinius, an officer of Pompeius who was the Roman governor of Syria, stopped him from going. And so the royal dynasty in Syria came to an end with Antiochus and Philippus.

So the kings of Asia and Syria are as follows:

- Antigonus was king of Asia - for 18 years
- Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Syria and the east - for 17 years
- [p263] Seleucus Nicator [or “Nicanor”] - for 32 years
- Antiochus Soter - for 19 years
- Antiochus Theos - for 15 years
- Seleucus Callinicus - for 21 years
- Seleucus Ceraunus - for 3 years
- Antiochus the Great - for 36 years
- Seleucus Philopator - for 12 years
- Antiochus Epiphanes - for 11 years
- Antiochus Eupator - for 1 year and 6 months

- Demetrius Soter - for 12 years
- Alexander - for 15 years
- Demetrius the son of Demetrius - for 3 years
- Antiochus Sidetes - for 9 years
- Demetrius again - for 4 years
- Antiochus Grypus - for 26 years
- Antiochus Cyzicenus - for 17 years
- Philippus the son of Grypus, with whom the kings of Syria came to an end [- for 2 years]

[The total duration of the Macedonian rule in Syria, starting from Antigonus, was 274 years; or, starting from Seleucus Nicator, 239 years.]

THE ROMANS

- The kings of the Romans, starting with Romulus
- The emperors of the Romans, from Augustus to our time
- The consuls of the Romans, from Julius Caesar to our time

Taken from all the previous historians, as listed here:

- from Alexander Polyhistor
- from Abydenus, who wrote books about the Assyrians and Medes
- from the three books of Manetho, about the monuments of Egypt
- from Cephalion's nine books of the Muses
- from the forty books of Diodorus' [Historical] Library, containing a brief history of events up until Gaius Caesar
- from the eighteen books of Cassius Longinus, containing a summary of

- [p265] from the fourteen books of Phlegon, the freedman of [Hadrianus] Caesar, containing a summary of 229 Olympiads
- from the six books of Castor, containing an account of history from Ninus up until the 181st Olympiad
- from the three books of (?) Thallus, containing an account of events from the capture of Troy up until the (?) 167th Olympiad [112 B.C.]
- from [the books of] Porphyrius, the philosopher who lived in our time, [containing events] from the capture of Troy up until the reign of Claudius

[The kings] of the Romans, and their dates

It is now time to list the dates of the kings of the Romans. They first acquired this title in the seventh Olympiad [752-749 B.C.], when Romulus founded the city of the Romans, and gave his name to the city, and to all the people who were ruled by the kings [of the city]. Before this time they had been called sometimes Latins, and sometimes Aborigines, having different names at different times.

After the capture of Troy, they submitted to Aeneias the son of Anchises, and his successors ruled over the people until the foundation of the city. The history of these kings has been related by many different writers, not only native Romans but also Greeks. It will be sufficient to quote just two of them, as reliable witnesses to the events which we are considering. Firstly, I will quote Dionysius, who provides a brief description of the history of the Romans; as well as other books, he wrote an Ancient History of the Romans. In the first book, he gives an account of Aeneias and the kings after him, (?) up until the capture of Troy. From this book I will summarise what is essential, and what is related to the matters which we are considering here, as follows [DionHal1.9].

From the first book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, about the history of the Romans

“This city, mistress of the whole earth and sea, which the Romans now

inhabit, is said to have had as its earliest occupants the barbarian Sicels, a native race. As to the condition of the place before their time, whether it was occupied by others or uninhabited, none can certainly say. [p267] But some time later the Aborigines gained possession of it, having taken it from the occupants after a long war. These people had previously lived on the mountains in unwallled villages and scattered groups. They say that after them, the Pelasgians and some of the Greeks conquered that region. At first they were called Aborigines; but under Latinus, their king, who reigned at the time of the Trojan war, they began to be called Latins. Sixteen generations later, Romulus founded the city, and expanded it, and raised its affairs to greater prosperity.”

And then Dionysius continues his narrative, in these very words [DionHal1.10]: “There are some who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are originally descended, were natives of Italy, a stock which came into being spontaneously (I call Italy all that peninsula which is bounded by the Ionian Gulf and the Tyrrhenian Sea and, thirdly, by the region where the Latins live). The Aborigines were called “founders of families” or “ancestors”; but others claim that they were called “vagabonds”, coming together out of many places. Still others have a story to the effect that they were foreigners who came there from Libya. But some of the Roman historians say that they were Greeks, part of those who once dwelt in Achaea, and that they migrated to there many generations before the Trojan war.”

Then he adds: “It is uncertain, therefore, what the truth of the matter is. But in my opinion, the Aborigines can be a colony of no other people but of those who are now called Arcadians; for these were the first of all the Greeks to cross the Ionian Gulf, under the leadership of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, and to settle in Italy; this Oenotrus was the fifth from (?) Aezeius and Phoroneus, seventeen generations before the Trojan war. Oenotrus settled in the mountains, and called the region Oenotria, and its inhabitants Oenotrians. Later they were called Italians, from king Italus, who also gave the name of Italy to the whole country. [p269] Italus was succeeded by Morges, from whose name they were called Morgetes. And at the same time as Oenotrus, his brother Peucetius came as a colonist from Arcadia, and settled by the Junian bay, and from his name the people were called Peucetii.”

After giving his own opinion about all of this, he then says that the

Pelasgian colonists migrated from Greece, and settled in the country of the Italians among the Aborigines. The Pelasgians were also called Tyrrheni [*Etruscans*] and the whole region was called Tyrrhenia, from the name of one of their leaders, who was called Tyrrhenus. Later, Euander arrived with a fleet from Greece, from the city of Pallantium in Arcadia, and he settled in the region of Italy around the site of the future city of Rome. [Dionysius] says that the Arcadians brought the Greek alphabet to Italy, along with the musical instruments called *nablia*, or lyres, and a set of laws. After them, Heracles arrived with a Greek fleet and settled in the same region. At first, he was called Saturnius, and from his name the whole region was called Saturnia. Heracles had a son called Latinus, and he too ruled over the land of the Aborigines; from his name, they were called Latins. When Latinus died without any sons, Aeneias the son of Anchises succeeded him as king.

He summarises all this again in the following words [DionHal1.60]: “The people who came together there, and mingled with the native population of the land, from whom the Roman race was sprung, before the present inhabitants of the city, were as follows. Firstly, the Aborigines, who drove the Sicels out of this region; they were Greeks, originally from the Peloponnese, who came as colonists with Oenotrus, from the region which is now called Arcadia, in my opinion. Secondly, the Thessalians migrated there, from the country which used to be called Haemonia, and is now called Thessaly. Thirdly, the Pelasgians, who arrived with Euander from the city of Pallantium in Arcadia. Then another group arrived, who were part of the Peloponnesian army commanded by Heracles. Lastly, the Trojans who escaped with Aeneias from Ilium, Dardanus and the other Trojan towns.”

[p271] **From the same book, about the date of Aeneias’ arrival in Italy**

He says [DionHal1.63]: “Ilium was taken at the end of the summer, seventeen days before the winter solstice, and in the month of Elaphebolion, according to the calendar of the Athenians; and there still remained five days after the solstice to complete that year. During the thirty-seven days that followed the taking of the city I imagine the Achaeans were employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embassies from those who had withdrawn themselves, and in concluding a treaty with them. In the following year, which was the first after the taking of the city, the Trojans set sail after the autumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont, and landing in Thrace, passed

the winter season there, during which they received the fugitives who kept flocking to them and made the necessary preparations for their voyage. And leaving Thrace at the beginning of spring, they sailed as far as Sicily; when they had landed there that year came to an end, and they passed the second winter dwelling with the Elymians in their cities in Sicily. But as soon as conditions were favourable for navigation they set sail from the island, and crossing the Tyrrhenian sea, arrived at last at Laurentum on the coast of the Aborigines in the middle of the summer. And having taken possession of the region, they founded Lavinium, thus bringing to an end the second year from the taking of Troy. With regard to these matters, then, I have thus shown my opinion.

“But when Aeneias had sufficiently adorned the city with temples and other public buildings, of which the greatest part remained even to my day, in the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, he reigned over the Trojans only. But in the fourth year, Latinus having died, he succeeded to his kingdom also, because of his relationship to him by marriage, Lavinia being the heiress after the death of Latinus.”

A little later he adds: “War arose out of these complaints and in a sharp battle that ensued Latinus, Turnus and many others were slain; nevertheless, Aeneias and his people gained the victory. Thereupon Aeneias succeeded to the kingdom because of his connection by marriage; [p273] but when he had reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth he lost his life in battle.”

A little later he says: “Aeneias having departed this life about the seventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who in the flight had been renamed Ascanius, succeeded to the rule over the Latins.”

Then he adds [DionHal1.70]: “Upon the death of the Ascanius in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, succeeded to the rule. He was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneias.”

Then he adds: “Silvius, after holding the sovereignty twenty-nine years, was succeeded by Aeneias, his son, who reigned one less than thirty years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty-one, then Alba, thirty-nine; after Alba, Capetus reigned twenty-six, then Capys twenty-eight, and after Capys, Capetus held the rule for thirteen years. Then Tiberinus reigned for a period of eight years. This king, it is said, was slain in a battle that was fought near a

river, and being thrown by his horse into the stream, gave his name to the river, which had previously been called the Albula. Tiberinus' successor, Agrippa, reigned forty-one years. After Agrippa, Amulius, a tyrannical creature and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen years. Contemptuous of the divine powers, he had contrived imitations of lightning and sounds resembling thunder-claps, with which he proposed to terrify people as if he were a god. But rain and lightning descended upon his house, and the lake beside which it stood rose to an unusual height, so that he was overwhelmed and destroyed with his whole household. And even now when the lake is clear in a certain part, which happens whenever the flow of water subsides and the depths are undisturbed, the ruins of porticoes and other traces of a dwelling appear. Aventius, after whom was named one of the seven hills that are joined to make the city of Rome, succeeded him in the sovereignty and reigned thirty-seven years, [p275] and after him Procas twenty-eight years. Then Amulius, having unjustly possessed himself of the kingdom which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned forty-two years. But when Amulius had been slain by Romulus and Remus, the sons of a noble maiden, as shall presently be related, Numitor, the maternal grandfather of the youths, after his brother's death resumed the sovereignty which by law belonged to him. In the next year of Numitor's reign, which was the three hundred and thirty-second after the taking of Troy, the Albans sent out a colony, under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, and founded Rome, in that year, which was the seventh Olympiad, when Daicles of Messene was victor in the foot race [752 B.C.], and at Athens Charops was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon."

The same writer adds the following words, in which he relates the various accounts of the historians about [the foundation of] the city of Rome [DionHal1.72].

About the foundation of the city of Rome

"But as there is great dispute concerning both the time of the building of the city and the founders of it, and as in my opinion none [of the previous writers] has given a convincing account of them, [it is not possible] to give merely a cursory account of these things, as if they were universally agreed on. For Cephalon of Gergis, a very ancient writer, says that the city was built in the second generation after the Trojan war by those who had escaped from Troy with Aeneias, and he names as the founder of it Romus, who was the leader of

the colony and one of Aeneias' sons; he adds that Aeneias had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus and Remus. And Demagoras, Agathymus and many others agree with him as regards both the time and the leader of the colony. But the author of the history of the priestesses at Argos and of what happened in the days of each of them says that Aeneias came into Italy from the land of the Molossians with Odysseus and became the founder of the city, which he named after Romē, one of the Trojan women. He says that this woman, growing weary with wandering, [p277] stirred up the other Trojan women and together with them set fire to the ships. And Damastes of Sigeum and some others agree with him.

“But Aristotle, the philosopher, relates that some of the Achaeans, while they were doubling Cape Malea on their return from Troy, were overtaken by a violent storm, and being for some time driven out of their course by the winds, wandered over many parts of the sea, till at last they came to this place in the land of the Opicans which is called Latium, lying on the Tyrrhenian sea. And being pleased with the sight of land, they hauled up their ships, stayed there the winter season, and were preparing to sail at the beginning of spring; but when their ships were set on fire in the night and they were unable to sail away, they were compelled against their will to fix their abode in the place where they had landed. This fate, he says, was brought upon them by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy, who burned the ships, fearing that the Achaeans in returning home would carry them into slavery. Callias, who wrote about the deeds of Agathocles, says that Romē, one of the Trojan women who came into Italy with the other Trojans, married Latinus, the king of the Aborigines. By Latinus she had two sons, Romus and Romulus and Telegonus, who built a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the historian, writes that Odysseus and Circe had three sons, Romus, Antias and Ardeias, who built three cities and called them after their own names. Dionysius of Chalcis names Romus as the founder of the city, [p279] but says that according to some this man was the son of Ascanius, and according to others the son of Emathion. There are others who declare that Rome was built by Romus, the son of Italus and Leucē, the daughter of Latinus.

“I could cite many other Greek historians who assign different founders to the city, but, not to appear prolix, I shall come to the Roman historians. The

Romans, to be sure, have not so much as one single historian or chronicler who is ancient; however, each of their historians has taken something out of ancient accounts that are preserved on tablets in their temples. Some of these say that Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneias, others say that they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneias, without going on to determine who was their father; that they were delivered as hostages by Aeneias to Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants and the new-comers, and that Latinus, after giving them a kindly welcome, not only looked after them carefully, but, upon dying without male issue, left them his successors to some part of his kingdom. Others say that after the death of Aeneias Ascanius, having succeeded to the entire kingdom of Latinus, divided both the country and the forces of the Latins into three parts, two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus and Remus. He himself, they say, built Alba and some other towns; Remus built cities which he named Capua, after Capys, his great-grandfather, Anchisa, after his grandfather Anchises, Aeneia (which was afterwards called Janiculum), after his father, and Rome, after himself. This last city was for some time deserted, but upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent out under the leadership of Romulus and Remus, it regained its original status. So that, according to this account, there were two settlements of Rome, one a little after the Trojan war, and the other fifteen generations after the first. And if anyone desires to look more carefully into the remote past, [p281] even a third foundation of Rome will be found, more ancient than these, one that happened before Aeneias and the Trojans came into Italy. This is related by no ordinary historian, but by Antiochus of Syracuse, whom I have mentioned before. He says that when Morges reigned in Latium (which at that time comprehended all of Italy from Tarentum to the coast of Poseidonia), a man came to him who had been banished from Rome. His words are these: 'When Italus was growing old, Morges reigned. In his reign there came a man who had been banished from Rome; his name was Sicelus.' According to the Syracusan historian, therefore, an ancient Rome is found even earlier than the Trojan war. However, as he has left it doubtful whether it was situated in the same region where the present city stands or whether some other place happened to be called by this name, I, too, cannot say for certain. But as regards the ancient settlements of Rome, I think that what has already been

said is sufficient.

“As to the last settlement or founding of the city, or whatever we ought to call it, Timaeus of Sicily, following what reckoning I do not know, places it at the same time as the founding of Carthage, that is, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad [814 B.C.]; Lucius Cincius, a member of the senate, places it about the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad [729 B.C.], and Quintus Fabius in the first year of the eighth Olympiad [748 B.C.]. Porcius Cato does not give the time according to Greek reckoning, but being as careful as any writer in gathering the date of ancient history, he places its founding four hundred and thirty-two years after the Trojan war; and this time, being compared with the Chronicles of Eratosthenes, corresponds to the first year of the seventh Olympiad [752 B.C.]. That the canons of Eratosthenes are sound I have shown in another treatise, where I have also shown how the Roman chronology is to be synchronized with that of the Greeks.”

That is what Dionysius says in the first book of his *Ancient History of Rome*, in which he describes in sequence all the things which happened in the times following the capture of Troy:

- the escape of Aeneias from Troy, and his arrival in Italy
- his descendants and successors, who were kings of the Latins, up until Romulus and the foundation of Rome
- the various accounts of the ancient [p283] [historians] about the foundation of the city of Rome.

Some writers say that Picus the son of Cronus was the first king in the territory of Laurentium, where Rome is now situated, and that he reigned for 37 years. After him Faunus the son of Picus [was king] for 44 years. In his reign, Heracles arrived from Spain and set up an altar in the Forum Boarium, because he had killed Cacus the son of Vulcanus. Then Latinus was king for 36 years; the Latins derived their name from him. Troy was captured in the 33rd year of his reign. Then Aeneias fought against the Rutuli, and killed Turnus. After he married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, and founded the city of Lavinium, he was king for 3 years. That is a summary of what we have found in the books of other writers.

But now let us proceed to another narrator of these events - namely Diodorus, who combined and summarised [the contents of] all libraries in one collection; he records the history of the Romans in his seventh book, as

follows.

From the seventh book of Diodorus, about the ancient origins of the Romans

Some historians have mistakenly supposed that Romulus [and Remus], who founded the city of Rome, were the sons of the daughter of Aeneias. But this is not true, because there were many kings in the period between Aeneias and Romulus. The foundation of Rome happened in the second year of the 7th Olympiad [751 B.C.], which was 433 years after the Trojan War. Aeneias became king of the Latins three years after the capture of Troy; and after ruling for three years, he disappeared from the sight of men, and was honoured as an immortal. He was succeeded as king by his son Ascanius, who founded the city of Alba Longa; this city was named [p285] after the river that flowed beside it, which was then called Alba, but is now called Tiber.

The Roman historian Fabius tells a different story about the name of this city. He says that it was foretold to Aeneias, that a four-footed animal would lead him to the site of the city. When he was preparing to sacrifice a pregnant white sow, the sow escaped from his grasp and was chased up a hill, where she gave birth to thirty piglets. Aeneias was amazed by this omen, and in accordance with the prophecy, he attempted to build on the site. But he was warned in a dream, that he should not found the city until thirty years had passed, the same number as the piglets which were born to the sow; and so he gave up the attempt.

After the death of Aeneias, his son Ascanius became king and after thirty years he founded a settlement on the hill, which he called Alba, after the colour of the sow; for the Latin word for 'white' is *alba*. Ascanius also added another name, Longa, which translated means 'long', because the city was narrow in width and stretched for a long way.

And [Diodorus] goes on to say that that Ascanius made Alba the capital of his kingdom and subdued no small number of the inhabitants round about; he became a famous man and died after a reign of thirty-eight years. At the end of this period, there arose a division among the people, on account of two men who were contending with each other for the throne. For Julius, since he was the son of Ascanius, maintained that his father's kingdom belonged to him. But Silvius, the brother of Ascanius and, furthermore, a son of Aeneias by Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus (whereas Ascanius was a son of Aeneias by

his first wife, who was a Trojan woman), maintained that the kingdom belonged to him. Indeed, after the death of Aeneias, Ascanius had plotted against the life of Silvius; and it was while the latter as a child was being reared by some herdsmen on a mountain, to avoid this plot, that he came to be called Silvius, after the name of the (?) mountain, which the Latins call Silva. In the struggle between the two groups, Silvius finally received the support of the people and gained the throne. However Julius, although he did not acquire the supreme power, was made pontifex maximus and became a kind of second king; [p287] he was the ancestor, so we are told, of the Julian family, which survives in Rome even to this day.

Silvius achieved nothing worthy of mention in his reign, and died after ruling for 49 years. He was succeeded as king by his son Aeneias Silvius, who ruled for more than 30 years. He was a strong ruler, in government and in war. He subdued the neighbouring regions, and founded the eighteen ancient cities of the Latins, which were: Tibur, Praeneste, Gabii, Tusculum, Cora, Comelia, Lanuvium, Labicum, Scaptia, Satricum, Aricia, Tellenae, Crustumerium, Caenina, Fregellae, Cameria, Medullia, and Boilum (which some writers call Bola).

- When Latinus died, his son Alba Silvius was chosen to be king, and he ruled for 38 years.
- The next king was Epitus (?) Silvius, for 26 years.
- When he died, Capis was appointed king, and he ruled for 28 years.
- His son Calpetus was the next king, and ruled for 13 years.
- Then Tiberius Silvius ruled for 8 years.

When this king was crossing the river Alba with an army, to fight against the Etruscans, he fell into a whirlpool and died. As a result, the name of the river was changed to Tiber.

- After the death [of Tiberius], Agrippa became king of the Latins, for 41 years.

The next king was Arramulius Silvius, who reigned for 19 years. They say that Arramulius was arrogant throughout his life, and became so proud that he

claimed to rival the power of Jupiter. When there were continual heavy thunderstorms during autumn time, he ordered all the men in his army [p289] at a given command to strike their swords against their shields, supposing that by this noise he could surpass even thunder. Therefore he was killed by a bolt of lightning, and paid the penalty for his arrogance towards the gods. His whole house was swallowed up by the Alban lake. The Romans who live near the lake today still point out the remains of the royal palace under the lake: some columns which can be seen deep beneath the surface of the water.

Aventius was chosen to be the next king, and he ruled for 37 years. During a battle against the people who lived around the city, he was trapped in a confined space and killed near a hill, which from his name was called the Aventine hill. After he died, his son Procas Silvius was appointed to be the next king, and ruled for 23 years. After his death, his younger son Amulius seized the throne by force, while his elder brother Numitor was away in a distant country. Amulius reigned for a little over 43 years, and was killed by Remus and Romulus, who founded the city of Rome.

The individual kings of the Romans are as follows:

- Aeneias became king of the Latins, in the fourth year after the capture of Troy - for 3 years
- Ascanius - for 38 years
- Silvius, the son of Aeneias - for 28 years
- Aeneias Silvius - for 31 years
- Latinus Silvius - for 50 years
- Alba Silvius - for 39 years
- Epitus Silvius - for 26 years
- Capis Silvius - for 28 years
- Calpetus Silvas - for 13 years
- Tiberius Silvius - for 8 years

- Agrippa Silvius - for 35 years
- [Arramulius Silvius - for 19 years]
- [Aventius - for 37 years]
- [p291] Procas Silvius - for 23 years
- Amulius Silvius - for 42 years

Romulus founded Rome, and became its king in the seventh Olympiad [752-749 B.C.]. From Aeneias up until Romulus, there were (?) 427 years. From the capture of Troy [up until Romulus], there were 431 years.

The kings, after Romulus who founded Rome, are listed as follows:

- Romulus - for 38 years
- Numa Pompilius - for 41 years
- Tullus Hostilius - for 33 years
- Ancius Marcus - for 33 years
- Tarquinius - for 37 years
- Servilius - for 44 years
- Tarquinius Superbus - for 24 years

There were seven kings of the Romans, starting with Romulus, and they ceased after a period of 244 years. From the capture of Troy up until Romulus, there were were (?) 431 years. Altogether, [up until the end of the kings] there were 675 years. Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a brief account of the dates of these kings, from Romulus to Tarquinius, around the time of the first Olympiad, as follows [DionHal1.75].

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, about the kings of Rome after Romulus

If from the expulsion of the kings the time is reckoned back to Romulus, the first ruler of the city, it amounts to two hundred and forty-four years. This is known from the order in which the kings succeeded one another and the

number of years each of them ruled.

- After the death of Romulus the city was a year without a king.
- Then Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the army, reigned for forty-three years;
- after Numa, Tullus Hostilius thirty-three years;
- [p293] and his successor, Ancus Marcius, twenty-four years;
- after Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, thirty-eight years;

- Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, forty-four years.
- And the slayer of Servius, Lucius Tarquinius, the tyrannical prince who, from his contempt of justice, was called Superbus, extended his reign to the twenty-fifth year.

As the reigns, therefore, of the kings amount to two hundred and forty-four years or sixty-one Olympiads, it follows necessarily that Romulus, the first ruler of the city, began his reign in the first year of the seventh Olympiad [752 B.C.], when Charops at Athens was in the first year of his ten-year term as archon. For the count of the years requires this; and the number of years that each king reigned is shown in (?) that book. This, therefore, is the account given by those who lived before me and adopted by me concerning the time of the settlement of the city which now rules supreme.

That is what Dionysius says.

However, after the death of Tarquinius the Romans no longer had kings to rule them. Instead of kings, first they appointed Brutus [and Collatinus] to be consuls; then [they appointed] tribunes of the plebs; then dictators, who were generals; and then consuls again. I think it would be superfluous to list the magistrates of each year here, because it would be an enormous number of names. And if I described their achievements in detail, my account would stretch to a great length. Such detail is unnecessary for my current purpose; and so I think it is appropriate to leave these magistrates, and everything connected with them, to another chronicle: that is, the consuls who came after Tarquinius, the tribunes of the plebs [p295] and the dictators who governed the city of Rome, during the years up until the time of Caesar. After these remarks, we will return to the reign of the first emperor. From the death of Tarquinius up until the time of Julius Caesar, there was an intervening period of 115 Olympiads, which is the equivalent of 460 years.

[This period is calculated as follows.] Tarquinius died at the end of the 67th Olympiad [509 B.C.]. Caesar became emperor at the start of the 183rd Olympiad [48 B.C.]. In between them, there was an interval of 460 years. From the 7th Olympiad [752 B.C.], when the city of Rome was founded, [until the death of Tarquinius] there was a period of 244 years. Therefore, from the foundation of Rome until the time of Julius Caesar, there was a total of 704 years, which

is the equivalent of 176 Olympiads.

These totals are confirmed by the account in the chronicle of Castor, where he gives a summary of the dates, and writes as follows.

[From the writings] of Castor, about the kings of Rome

We have named the kings of the Romans one by one, starting from Aeneias son of Anchises, when he became king of the Latins, and finishing with Amulius Silvius, who was killed by Romulus, the son of his niece Rhea. To them we will add Romulus and the others, who ruled Rome after him up until Tarquinius Superbus, for a period of 244 years. After these kings, we will give a separate list of the consuls, starting from Lucius Junius Brutus, and finishing with Marcus Valerius Messalla and Marcus Piso, who were consuls when Theophemus was archon at Athens [61 B.C.]. Altogether, [these consuls governed] for 460 years.

That is what Castor says. Next it is appropriate to add a list of the emperors of the Romans, starting from Julius Caesar; and to mention the consuls for each year, attaching to them the numbers of the Olympiads.... [*The Armenian manuscript breaks off at this point*]

WEBLINKS FOR AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF JEROME'S CHRONICON

Due to the complex structure of the tables in this book, it is advisable to use the web links below to view the content in html format.

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Six Selected Passages from ‘Commentary on the Psalms’



Translated by Fr. Alban Justinus

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Commentaries on the Psalms: Six Selected Passages

Translated by Fr. Alban Justinus⁽¹⁾

2019

Introduction

The *Commentary on the Psalms* by Eusebius of Caesarea (d.339 AD) is a vast work. It has never received a critical edition and has never been translated into any modern language. In part this is because of the problem with the text, discussed below.

However it does contain a certain amount of material which deserves to be more widely known. A complete translation would be beyond my means. But a little while ago I drew up a short list of a few passages of this kind known to me, and requested a translation.

Fr. Alban Justinus kindly began work on this last year. Unfortunately he was obliged to stop work for unrelated reasons after only completing, or nearly so, six sections of material from my initial list. Since there is little prospect of more, I've felt it best to release what has been done. This material is what appears below. Fr. Justinus also wrote the footnotes, except where indicated.

The Greek text translated is that of Montfaucon, as reprinted in the *Patrologia Graeca* volumes 23-24. The column numbers are indicated below as convenient. The headings in the Greek text are translated and placed in bold. The passages of scripture at the head of each commentary are as Eusebius gives them. Words in italics have been introduced by the translator. I have ventured to break up some of the longer sentences in the interest of readability.

Every discussion of the *Commentary* must inevitably mention the peculiar state of the Greek text that is available to us. As is common with long ancient texts, the work was broken down into sections, which were copied independently. It would seem that there were three such sections, each containing the commentary on about fifty psalms.

Only one of these sections has come down to us. It is preserved in a single 9th century medieval manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale Française, BNF Paris Coislin 44.^[2] This contains the commentary on Ps.51-Ps.95:3. All this material is certainly by Eusebius. Likewise the commentaries on Ps.37, that on Ps.49, and that on Ps.118 have reached us individually.

The remainder of the material in those two volumes of the PG was

assembled by the editor, Montfaucon, from the medieval bible commentaries, or “catenas”. The word “catena” means “chain”, and the commentaries consist of chains of quotations from earlier, usually now lost, commentaries. Usually the catena compiler marked each extract with the name of the author quoted. Montfaucon assembled his edition from the catenas by including material attributed in them to Eusebius. But Eusebius is a very common name. Much of the material could easily be by other authors. In addition the labelling of extracts by the catenists is not to be relied on. Finally the catenists often altered the quotation at the start or end, in order to produce a connection with the extracts before or after. They also abbreviated it, or produced an epitome. It is, therefore, a very risky procedure to collect all the fragments labelled “Eusebius” and assume that they are from the same work, by the same author, and in the form in which he left them.

In fairness to Montfaucon, the labour in analysing each extract was probably too great for any single scholar to adopt any other method. But it does mean that material outside the direct transmission must be used with caution. In this selection, this problem applies to the introductory material.

RP

1. The Introductory Material^{3}

[col.66] Eusebius, On the titles of the psalms. An interpretation of some in epitome.

The Psalms come to one hundred and fifty, happening to be composed of the sacred number fifty; making a Pentecost of days, whereas in years, according to the Jews, it is called a jubilee^{4}. The Psalter is called Nabra^{5} by the Jews, which is indeed unique and most genuine^{6} among the musical instruments, not facilitating the sounds from the lower scales, but having resonant bronze from above. The psalms therefore are begun through an instrument only without a voice^{7}; whereas a song is by means of a harmonious voice; it is a song instead of a psalm *if* the accompanying voice leads the instrument; it is a psalm instead of a song *if* the voice is being lead by those playing. By reason of allegory, a psalm is the harmonious movement of a body in good works, although not quite something leading to theoria^{8}; whereas a song without activity is true perception, a soul enlightened by God and His oracles. It is a song instead of a psalm *if* activity precedes knowledge, according to “If you desire wisdom, keep the commandments and the Lord will supply it to you.”^{9} It is a psalm instead of a song *if* activity is being lead by knowledge; concerning how and when it must be done. For this reason also the first *lines* of the psalms are titles, for the saint does not begin from theoria, but he believes everything follows from activity. There are many songs at the end, and in some places songs of ascent^{10}, in no way a psalm, neither on its own, nor through union; whereas songs are always on their own, since the ascent looks only towards theoria. A musical interlude^{11} is not found in the Hebrew by Aquila^{12}, in its place is ‘ἀεὶ’.^{13}

Prologue by Eusebius Pamphilus

Here is the division of the book of the psalms, since the Hebrew surpasses the exactness of the copyists. No one ought to interpret that all the psalms are David's, but also from other prophets in which those prophesying sang psalms. Wherefore, all the writing of the psalms by the Jews are not entitled *with the name* of David, nevertheless it is named the book of psalms loosely. The children of the Hebrews divided the whole book of the psalms into five parts; the first into those from 1 to 40; the second, those from 41 to 72; the third, those from 73 to 88; [col.68] the fourth, those from 89 to 105; the fifth, those from 106 to the end. 19 psalms are without title, 131 have been titled. As such there are divisions for those with titles; those of David are 72; those of Kora are 11; those of Asaph are 12; one by Aitham the Israelite; Solomon 2; Moses 1; anonymous 17; those in Hallelujah are 15; the anonymous are as many as those having titles, for which some are not known.

Subjects for the Psalms by Eusebius himself.^{14}

1. Encouragement for piety and dissuasion of the opposite.
2. Prophecy concerning Christ and the calling of the nations.
3. Prophecy of the future good things by David.
4. Prophecy by David concerning those things which he had suffered.
5. A prayer from a person of the Church.
6. Teaching of confession.
7. A confession from David and teaching about the calling of the nations.
8. Prophecy of the calling of the nations
9. Death of Christ and resurrection, teaching of the kingdom, destruction of all enemies.
10. Victory hymn of those struggling for God.
11. A charge against the wicked, and prophecy of Christ's coming.
12. Rebellion of enemies, and expectation of Christ's coming.
13. A charge against the wicked, and prophecy of Christ's coming.
14. The final restoration^{15} by God.
15. Elect of the Church, and the Resurrection of Christ.
16. Man's end, or also a prayer of Christ for those who will be saved by Him.
17. David's thanksgiving and a prophecy of Christ's coming and Ascension.
18. Theology with ethical teaching.
19. Prayer for the righteous cooperating with David.
20. Intercession for those cooperating with David.
21. Prophecy of Christ's sufferings, and the calling of the nations.
22. Teaching and an introduction of a new people.
23. Prophecy of the calling of the nations, and the perfection of the saved.
24. Teaching of confession.
25. Intercession for those advancing for God.
26. Thanksgiving and request for good.
27. Supplication with a prophecy.
28. Enigmatic prophecy with theology.
29. Thanksgiving with confession.
30. Confession with supplication.

31. Prophecy of those saved by Christ.
32. Exhortation for singing of praises with theology.
33. Teaching of thanksgiving.
34. Supplication of a righteous man, and prophecy concerning Christ.
35. Refutation of the impious with theology.
36. Teaching of a pious life.
37. Teaching of confession.
38. Intercession with confession.
39. Thanksgiving of those saved by God and mention of the Church.
40. Prophecy about Christ and about the betrayer^{16}.
41. Prophets' supplication pertaining to the rejection of the Jewish nation.
42. 43. Also concerning the same.
44. Manifestation of Christ's kingdom.
45. Preaching of the Apostles.
46. Calling of the nations.
47. Hymn to God about the Church and destruction of persecutors.
48. Teaching on divine judgment. [col.69]
49. Annulment^{17} of the Law of Moses and introduction of (the law) of the New Testament.
50. Teaching of Confession.
51. Refutation of the way of a wicked man, and his end.
52. Savior's manifestation, and deliverance from godlessness.
53. Prayer of a man struggling for God.
54. Indication of the things suffered by Christ.
55. Thanksgiving of a righteous man saved from enemies.
56. David's thanksgiving and prophecy of the calling of the nations.
57. Teaching on the righteous judgment of God.
58. Calling of the nations and the casting away of the Jews.
59. Casting away of Judaism and calling of the nations.
60. Petition and thanksgiving.
61. Teaching on healing.^{18}
62. Thanksgiving for the end according to God.
63. Teaching of a pious champion.
64. Calling of the nations.
65. Calling of the nations and witness of Apostles.

66. Calling of the nations and preaching of Apostles.
67. Christ's incarnation and calling of the nations.
68. Christ's sufferings and casting away of the Jews.
69. Supplication of righteous man and Christ Himself.
70. Christ's suffering and resurrection.
71. Prophecy of Christ's kingdom and calling of the nations.
72. Confession of human weakness in light of the success of the wicked and longsuffering of God.
73. Suspension of the final oppression of Jews occurring during the reign of Vespasian and Titus.
74. Christ's theology and mention of divine judgment.
75. Vengeance against the impious by God's judgment.
76. Concerning the longsuffering of God and His miraculous works.
77. Christ's command to the Church, and concerning the lawlessness of the previous people.
78. Prophecy of those under Antioch in Judea who come to terms with them, the history according to the Maccabees.
79. Prophecy of those under siege by the Assyrians, and petition concerning Christ's appearance.
80. Calling of the nations, and teaching of the things that happened to the previous people.
81. Accusation against the rulers of the Jewish people.
82. Prayer for the people suffering sadness, and prophecy of the end of the nations by Christ.
83. Christ's incarnation and concerning the Church.
84. Prophecy about Christ and those redeemed by Him.
85. A prayer of David and prophecy of the calling of the nations.
86. Christ's incarnation.
87. He prophecies the death of Christ.
88. Christ's kingdom from the seed of David.
89. Discarding of the Jews.
90. Christ's victory and everything accomplished by Him.
91. Concerning rest according to God.
92. A hymn of Christ's kingdom in His first coming.
93. Concerning the dogmas according to the Church.

94. The calling of the Jews and their rejection.
95. Calling of the nations and Christ's coming.
96. A hymn of Christ's kingdom in His first coming.
97. Calling of the nations and Christ's coming.
98. A hymn of Christ's kingdom.
99. Calling of the nations.
100. A hymn of perfection according to God.
101. Lamentation for the previous *people*, and prophecy about the people,
and calling of the nations. [col.72]
102. Teaching on thanksgiving.
103. Teaching on confession.
104. Teaching to the nations on the good works of the previous people of
God.
105. Teaching of the impiety of the Jewish nation.
106. Prophecy of the calling of the nations, and the illumination of man by
the Word of God.
107. Calling of the nations.
108. Christ's sufferings.
109. Christ's victory.
110. Christ's thanksgiving.
111. Christ's teaching.
112. Calling of a new people.
113. Teaching of a new people.
114. Advancement of a new people.
115. Perfection of a new people.
116. Calling of the nations.
117. Victory of those struggling in Christ, prophecy concerning Christ.
118. Elementary teaching of ascent *of the soul* according to God.
119. Sojourning.
120. Return from Babylon and the Diaspora.
121. Evangelic good things.
122. A prayer.
123. Thanksgiving.
124. Restoration.
125. Expectation of things to come.

126. Building of the Church.
127. Calling of the nations.
128. Victory of Christ's army.
129. Prayer of martyrs.
130. On humility.
131. Prayer of David and manifestation.
132. People's completion.
133. The coming people.
134. Introductory teaching.
135. Thanksgiving of those redeemed.
136. The voices of saints in captivity.
137. Thanksgiving with prophecy.
138. Supplication of the righteous with theology.
139. Voices of those struggling for God.
140. A prayer for perfection in God.
141. Voices of those warring for God.
142. Prayer of one confessing.
143. Thanksgiving of one victorious.
144. Hymn with theology.
145. Hymn with theology.
146. Hymn with theology.
147. Hymn with theology.
148. Hymn with theology.
149. Hymn with theology.
150. A catholic intercession by means of hymn.

Eusebius, on the Psalms

A psalm seems to be called derivatively as such on account of the psaltery; and that called psaltery is a musical instrument differing in form from the lyre, on which the song being struck up is called a psalm. A song then is the resounding music through melody without the organ of speech⁽¹⁹⁾. It is called a psalm instead of a song, whenever that melody of the song is guided by playing the psaltery. It is called a song instead of a psalm conversely. As in the history of the Kings and the Chronicles, David the king after the death of Saul, while leading up the ark of the covenant of the Lord, being in the house of Abinadab twenty years, from when it was necessarily transferred from the Ashdothites, and they placed it in Jerusalem, [col.73] it is said that four from the tribe of Levi by lot were leading the chanting of songs, chanting and singing before the ark to the Lord, and offering up a cheerful voice in confession and praise on harmonious instruments, and with songs, with kinnors⁽²⁰⁾, and with nablas, and with drums, and with cymbals, on the psaltery, and on the horn by Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Jeduthun; on whom the number of songs which had been ordered, 280 being chanted, 72 by each; 32 from Ham; 25 from Shem; 15 from Japeth.⁽²¹⁾ Who, while standing before the ark of the covenant of the Lord, chanted and sung to the Lord; which were on stringed instruments, on cymbals, on lyres, and on the psaltery; amidst whom the blessed David stood, himself leading those leading the songs, holding the psaltery in *his* hands. Each sang and chanted hymns to God in the Holy Spirit in an orderly manner. Therefore at the time when the Spirit abounded upon those leading the chanting, the others present where lead on peacefully, answering harmoniously to those chanting; *Hallelujah*.

In the Hebrew book of the psalms, all were written without the addition of the number and separately. Some are joined together, yet others divided. For instance, the first and second are joined together according to the Hebrew; and again the ninth, joined together for us, in the Hebrew is divided into two. However it must be noted that the order of the psalms is not composed in conformity with the years of history; it is clear that this order crosses over itself a great deal, just as the book of the Kings. As such, when a great deal of idolatry prevailed over the Jewish race, they say they it caused them to forget

the ancestral writings, neither did they follow the book of the law of Moses, nor did they preserve a memory of the piety of the fathers. So, then, the prophets were passionately desiring to expose their impiety. In such a bad situation as those times, miraculously, not even then did that which was contained in the book of the psalms perish, they forgot to hand it down for many years. Later on after these things, either Ezra or some other prophet⁽²²⁾, while being occupied with their synagogue, by whom also the book of psalms was brought forth, not finding them as a whole, but at different times. Those being found first were placed at the first, not even those of David are all laid out successively, but amidst them are also those of the sons of Korah, and of Asaph, and Solomon, and Moses, Hemen, Ethan, and Jeduthun, and again those of David are to be found here and there in the book arranged, not according to the times they are composed, but to the time they were found.⁽²³⁾ On account of which those occurring later in time by being found first were included nearer the beginning, yet those being found after the earlier ones were arranged in the second place; you may find this same things in the prophets.

Everything has been stored up in the book of the psalms as though in some great and common treasury. [Col.76] And there you will find that the book of psalms contains a new teaching after the legislation of Moses, and the teaching contained in this book is second after the written legislation of Moses. So then after the passing away of Moses and Joshua, and after the Judges, comes David, as though he was made worthy to bear the title father of the Savior, first he handed down a new type of chanting to the Jews, through which he did away with those things legislated concerning sacrifice by Moses, and he introduces a new type of worship of God through hymns and crying out. And he himself teaches many others of the reality entirely transcending the law of Moses.

Eusebius of Caesarea, On the Musical Interludes.^{24}

There are five leaders who expressed the musical interlude when writing, they were selected by David the king from the tribe of Levi, their names are these; Asaph, the sons of Korah, Heman, Ethan, Jeduthun. The number of songs attributed to this is 72 to each one. These while standing before the holiness of the Lord, praising the ruler of all, some having cymbals, others the psaltery, others a stringed instrument, others a horn, others a lyre, while David was stood in the midst. And so they made a beginning of the songs while holding such instruments in their hands, and each being moved by the Holy Spirit sang to God, and all the rest responded to the chanting with 'Hallelujah'. At whatever time the grace of the Holy Spirit departed for a little while, then from the musical instruments while not moving, at that time it was opportune to prescribe the musical interlude.^{25}

2. Extract from Commentary on Psalm 60

On Ps. 60, v.6. (PG 23, col.580C – 581C)^{26}

VERS. 6.'For You, O God, have heard my prayers; You have given an inheritance to those that fear Your name.'

If ever there was some simple prayer sent up by David it is the psalm at hand. It was not at all necessary to include this in the book of the psalms, since likely he himself made thousands of other prayers to God, just as we do each day, according to the time, sometimes we pray certain things, other times others. Yet when something is prayed many times in this way, either psalms being struck up or hymns being sent up, it is filled with prophetic power. Reasonably it is no longer *understood* as a simple prayer, but that those words spoken indicate other prophetic words and were set down in the divine books which contain the grace of discernment of spirits. So indeed sometimes, after such things were said, by inserting a *selah* (musical interlude) afterwards the prophet makes a change in meaning, perceiving the arrival of the Holy Spirit, being enlightened by him and knowing that the prayer spoken by him happened to be heard by God. Wherefore above he prayed saying 'Hear, O God, my prayer', yet here after the *Selah* he says, 'For You, O God, have heard my prayers.' Do you see that he perceived that he was heard? And this very thing was that which was proclaimed to the worthy by God speaking through the prophet Isaiah, "Hereafter I will speak to you saying, 'Behold, I am here.'" Yet further on speaking through the prophet, the Holy Spirit being established in him, he makes it clear that truly it was conceded that you were heard. Wherefore he says, 'For You, O God, have heard my prayers.' This understanding is defended according to the other translators, since according to Aquila it is said, 'For Thou, O God, has heard my prayers', and according to Symmachus, 'For You, O God, have heard my prayers.'^{27} Then he says, 'You have given an inheritance to those that fear Your name.' For since up until now you have heard me, I know, being enlightened by your Spirit, that not only to me, but also to all those fearing your name you will give a reward worthy of your fear, the inheritance which you promised to them.

Thus, speaking mystically, ‘to those that fear Your name,’ he spread out grace upon all men, since the inheritance was not proclaimed to Israel, nor to the race of the Jews only, but also to all those fearing His name. ‘To the Jews first’ says the Apostle, ‘then the Greeks.’ Many times it has been demonstrated to us that all those from the nations having respect toward God, the Logos is accustomed to call ‘those fearing the Lord’. So for these reasons to them, he says, you have given an inheritance; and that which he did not say, he bequeathed for us to seek. And so, to Israel a land flowing with milk and honey was promised through Moses, but to those fearing *Him* the sort of inheritance he gave, he advised to be sought. You will find this in the beatitudes of our Savior, in which it is said, “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven” (Mt. 5:3). And again, you have the promise of the Savior, by which he says, “and in this age shall receive a hundredfold, and in the future shall inherit eternal life” (Mt. 19:29). And on account of this very inheritance the fifth psalm is entitled, ‘For the end; for her that obtained the inheritance’ and in the fifteenth psalm this inheritance is demonstrated according to, ‘The Lord is the portion of my inheritance and my cup, you are the one who restores my inheritance...indeed, to me my inheritance is most excellent.” (Ps. 15:5-6 LXX).

3. Extract from Commentary on Psalm 62^{28}

On Ps 62:2-3 (PG 23, col. 599A-604B)^{29}

Psalm 62: A Psalm of David who was in the wilderness of Judea.

VERS. 2, 3. 'Oh God, my God, unto Thee I rise early at dawn.'

While fleeing, David drew near to the priest Abimelech, from there to Achish the king of Gath, and from there to Mizpah of Moab. The prophet Gad, when attending to him, advised *him* not to waste time amidst the foreign tribes. Wherefore, after departing from that place, he dwelt in the wilderness of Judea. At that time also the Scripture gives an account saying, "And David dwelt in Maserem in the wilderness, in the narrow *passes*; and dwelt in the wilderness in mount Ziph. And Saul sought him continually, but the Lord delivered him not into his hands." (1 Sam. 23, 14. LXX) While being in these situations, he arranged the verse of the psalm⁽³⁰⁾, the time being signified through the title. Wherefore it says, "A psalm of David when he was in the wilderness of Judea."

It is reasonable at this point to indicate again those things *mentioned previously*, that the order of the psalms is not composed according to the sequence of historical time, but the times cross over one another a great deal. So, for example, the history contains the first explanation in which Saul sent messengers to the house of David in order to kill him; and that Michal his wife let him down through a window. Yet the writing of the psalms makes mention of this action in the 58th *psalm*.

At the same time the Scripture sets forth the order of the histories, that David went to Naioth to the priest Abimelech⁽³¹⁾; yet, the book of the psalms makes mention of this action in the 33rd psalm. And again the writing of the Kingdoms says: "David therefore departed from there and escaped by going into the cave of Adullam" (1 Kings 22.1), but the book of the Psalms mentions this act in the 56th psalm. And yet again, after these things, the writing of the Kingdoms mentions Doeg, that he calumniated the priest Abimelech to Saul; yet the book of the Psalms indicates this time in the 51st psalm. Yet David, knowing the false accusation of Doeg, flees and comes near to the wilderness of Judea, at that time also he sets down the psalm by hand.

And the writing of the Kingdoms after the time at which the psalm was penned, I am speaking of the 62nd psalm, makes mention of certain activities; that the Ziphites betrayed David to Saul; yet the book of the Psalms makes mention of these things in the 53rd psalm, which is entitled, "For the end: among the hymns of instruction by David, when the Ziphites came, and said to Saul: Lo, is not David hidden with us?" And the 56th psalm is entitled "when the foreigners took him in Geth." The book of the Kingdoms has placed this later in the history.

You see that the former things are placed later, and the latter placed former; that if it were ordered according to the sequence of time the 58th psalm would be placed first, followed by the 33rd, and third after these would be the 56th, and fourth from these the 51st, and then following accordingly the fifth would be the 62nd, and the sixth would be the 53rd, and after all these the 55th. After the death of Saul, he chants the 59th psalm first, then Joab made slaughter in the cleft of Allon, and shut in under his hand 12,000 of Moab. Then the 50th; after these, when Nathan the prophet came to him, at which time he had gone into Bathsheba. Then the 3rd is placed in order, when he was fleeing from the face of his son Abessalom; and after these the 7th 'concerning the words of Chusi, the son of Jemeni.'

Is there anyone, then, who would not inquire into the cause for these things? Certainly, it is not reasonable without having certain necessary purposes, to have arranged these things in this way.

Another *reason* is to expect that these numbers contain a certain strength; wherefore the meaning contained in the words is to be applied to each number, which for as an example the 50th in number concerning forgiveness, contains an account of sins, on account of the mentioning of the 50 year period in the law, which the children of the Hebrews call Jubilee, in which remission and forgiveness was made for debtors, and freedom of servants, and other such things had been legislated to be performed. The fiftieth psalm is applied for forgiveness and remission of this fault for the sake of the confession. In this way, then, also for each psalm according to certain reasons by means of the power of the numbers it may be said that a corresponding

understanding ought to be applied.

But even while saying such things it does not seem to me to touch upon the purpose; first then because none of the numbers are mentioned at all in the Jewish book of the Psalms, they are entitled without the addition of a number; and so because they are joined together in a different manner, thus also are they separated differently. For example then, the first and second at the beginning of the book are joined together in Hebrew; and again the ninth though joined together by us is divided into two in Hebrew. And the entire book of the Psalms is divided into five parts, just as it has already been said above.

Certainly things being this way, the most likely consideration for the numbers ought to be examined. Someone ought to say for which reason there is, let us say, for the psalm at hand, I am talking about the 62nd, the reason for which a certain number is applied; either for each of the 150 numbers, the same reasoning will be defined concerning each, or for each number; but anyone desiring these things ought to receive them in a certain way.

As for me, I am lead *to believe* that the psalms are placed in order of each with respect to the other, for the most part, by reason of those things written, and in this way for the majority when it is examined it is also found to be such,^[32] wherefore they are joined together having a relation and order between themselves. Hence it does not give an account according to time, but according to the sequence of meaning.

This has already been shown earlier by the majority of the others, indeed from the 41st to the 50th, in which we set forth convincingly that in the writings ascribed to the sons of Korah, they often preserve a sequence which shows their meaning. After these things in a text of Asaph and again through those things connected with the confession of David recorded in the 50th psalm, without force the understanding which we concede is supplied.

Therefore, there is one reason, as it seems to me, that the ordering of the psalms would be so, yet I have much else to say.^[33] For when a great deal of

idolatry gained mastery over the Jewish race, the history of the Kingdoms teaches that they were made to forget the writings of the fathers, so that neither the book of the law of Moses appeared, nor the memory of the piety of the fathers preserved by them. Thus, they also killed the prophets who censured their impiety, and for the sake of them above all else they were handed over to captivity under the Assyrians. It is not then a wonder that in such a dismal state of times, even the things recorded in the book of Psalms was lost, relegated to be forgotten for many years. After these things either Ezra or a certain other one of the prophets, while being occupied in their synagogue, among other things the books of the psalms was brought forth, not being found as a whole, but at different times. Those being found first were placed first, as such not even those of David are laid out successively, but amidst them are also those of the sons of Korah, and of Asaph, and Solomon, and Moses, Hemen as well as Ethan, and again those of David are to be found arranged here and there in the book, not according to the time they were composed, but according to the time they were found. On account of which those occurring later in time by being found first were included nearer the beginning, yet those being found after these were arranged in the second place. These things, then, ought to be said from the likelihoods in the inquiry set out before us. Already then even for those things written in the psalm at hand a due measure has been applied.

4. Extract from Commentary on Psalm 86^{34}

On Ps 86:2-4 (PG 23, col. 1040B – 1043A) ^{35}

For the Sons of Korah, Song Psalm 86

VERS. 2-4.'His foundations are in the holy mountains, the Lord loves the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken about you, city of God. I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me' (Ps 86:1).

Before this they published 'by the Sons of Korah, Aquila and Symmachus, the Sons of Korah', as being composed by them. Indeed through them the psalm is mentioned and named, not only by the psalter, but also with a song.

While inquiring on my own, for what reason all were not entitled 'by the Sons of Korah' for those in the collection, but in the following way, specifically the first ones after the 51st *psalm*, and again two specifically dedicated, the 83rd and the 80th; and again another two, the *psalm* at hand and the one following it.

The 85th *psalm* entitled 'A prayer of David' has been inserted in the middle of these two, the things presented by me have been revealed in a vision of the latter things about which we have already spoken earlier.^{36}

It might be said, if someone *desires*, also in another way, that all the words received in the book of the Psalms, having been spoken by different men in the prophetic spirit, were sung independently, as it were *some* being spoken at one time, or being prophesied at others. For example, then, some are entitled by Moses, and others by Asaph, and again others by David, and another by Solomon, and again Ethan the Esdrahite^{37}, and others, the latter, a great number were recorded by them without titles, and it is quite impossible for us to know by who. And so since they were spoken by different people here and there in ancient times it was preserved by those zealous for such things. And then later the 150 were gathered into one book.

Then, he who gathered *them*, either Esdras himself, as the children of the Hebrews say, or someone else like him, arranged those coming to him first^{38} at the beginning in the book. Since all of them were not found together at one

time, by necessity he joined those falling into *his* hand with those received beforehand. Wherefore the first seven *psalms*, each of the sons of Korah, were arranged then when they were found altogether at once, after these those coming after them were joined to them. Then having found many in the meantime, into the book of psalms already received with the 62nd psalm, again another two of the Sons of Korah were found, which he arranged accordingly by joining in the third place with the 60th and the 62nd. Then meanwhile, during the time the prayer of David was found, this was also put in after the 62nd. And again after the prayer of David, having been laid down in the 65th place, another two by the sons of Korah were found, the one under discussion and the one following it. And by necessity these too were joined to the prayer of David. This is the reason of the position.

That which has been said will be confirmed by prophetic citations, for since in the prophetic books many times those later texts in the order^{39} are found to be spoken earlier in time, and those prophesied later in time are arranged ahead with those going before. As such, Jeremiah begins to prophesy during *the reign of Josiah*, and continues until Zedekiah and the captivity. Zedekiah was the fourth king from Josiah, since after Josiah his second son Joachim was appointed successor in the beginning, Jeconiah being the third son after Joachim, Zedekiah being the fourth brother after Joachim^{40}, during whose *reign* all those things by Jeremiah were prophesied. His eponymous writing begins from Josiah, then proceeds with mentioning *those things under Jeconiah* the third from Josiah, then prophesies those things taking place under Zedekiah who was forth from Josiah; in which he allows those things prophesied during the reign of Joachim, who was second after Josiah, to be placed in the fourth place. Then, next he introduces those things in the beginning of the same Joachim, then those things under Zedekiah, and again the things under Joachim. Then he makes mention of the captivity in Babylon, even so he placed *it* after Zedekiah leaving undone *the time* before Gedaliah, and that Israel appointed Gedaliah, with whom Johanan the son of Kareah was leader. And after all these things he then brings forth those prophecies spoken in the years of Joachim, and again those things spoken at the beginning of *the reign of king Zedekiah*.

You may find *it to be* about the same in Ezekiel. Following thereafter, as well as in this writing, the things prophesied are not woven together following chronological time, but the things in twenty seventh year of the captivity are placed before those spoken of in the eleventh year of the captivity. And again, after those things in the eleventh year, others things spoken in the tenth year are mentioned, and next after these those in the twenty fifth year. And it may be said thus of all such things if there is not any other reason aside from the one given. For here and there, as is probable, for those things prophesied throughout the years and during each king in particular, saving the older ones along with the more important ones, either by Esdras or some others, while gathering into one section the things spoken of by each of the prophets at different times, those writings found first were arranged first in order; at once those found next were joined to them, although they occurred previously in time.

This is the reason also for the ordering of the Psalms, in general for all of them, but particularly for those at hand being examined by us. Unless, perhaps, by means of those things being examined, some deeper meaning may present some other reasons escaping us. At least those things arranged for us in the ordering by the Sons of Korah, both concerning the prayer of David from the text of the psalm at hand and that placed in between by the Sons of Korah, though it is placed beforehand by them it needs to be read according to those things spoken by us earlier. These things, however, have not been studied by us in any detail.

5. Extract 2 from Commentary on Psalm 86

On Ps. 86:5-7. (PG 1048B-1049C)^{41}

By means of the things completed, even here, through works confirming the truth of the word by the grace of salvation, both in Babylon and Tyre, and all the other nations and enemies of the nation of Israel, and through the washing of regeneration and the renewal by the mysteries of the New Testament revealed in the city of God.

VERS. 5, 6.”He will say Mother Sion: a man and a man born in her; and: The Most High Himself has founded her” (Ps 86:5).

The translation of the other interpreters presents the meaning of the text more clearly.^{42} For Symmachus produced this version: “Concerning Sion it shall be said by each of them: That man was born there, the Highest Himself founded her. The Lord will number the people in writing; that one was born there”^{43} (Ps 86:5-6). And Theodotion says, “And it will be said in Sion; A man and a man born in her, and he founded her, and the Most High prepared her. The Lord will describe in a writing of the people; This one was born in her” (Ps 86:5-6). And pay attention to another version among these *writings* which says concerning the foreigners that: “The foreigners and Tyre and the people of the Egyptians, these were born there. This one and that one it will be said, saying: A man and a man born there” (Ps 86:4-5). And again the following, “The Lord writing about the peoples, this one was born there” (86:6). First it is said concerning the foreign people, second concerning the man being referred to as having been born there, and third concerning the Lord Himself. Since the Lord, they say, the One prophesying these things and writing to the people, that one was born there.

Clearly though the Word sets before us the man being born there, that is in the city of God, it infers the person of the Savior; saying the Lord Himself has been born there, presenting the indwelling in man of the Word of God. For just as Sion, being the city of God, happens to be a place for the one being born in her, so also this man becomes a place and a bearer of God the Word

being born in him, as in a holy altar and temple, even more so as the image and vessel of the divinity dwelling in him. And the Word teaches these things necessarily so that it may be known how the foreigners and Tyre and the people of Egypt were born in the city of God, and have become sons of God through regeneration by Him.

For, according to a certain version, since so much grace pours forth in heaven, it is represented by saying such things concerning the man born there, and the Lord, again, being born in the man. Saying this in connection with all of these things, “As the dwelling of all those made joyful in you”, compared with that which Akylas^{44} says, “even as choirs praising all the springs in you. And they will praise as on flutes all the springs in you.” I think that it also means, through *saying* such things, in the gathering of all the faithful, of all those deemed worthy of the holy city of God, and the restoration of one choir.

On account of which it is said, ‘In you’, the place again I understand to mean the city of God, of which the foundations were in the holy mountains, the gates and the entrances here below that are for us, in the midst of these all those gathered are prophesied to dwell with joy as in a divine and harmonious choir. The present psalm being a type of such mountains, prophesying the incarnation of God according to the reading of the translation of the seventy, the mystery was revealed.

6. Extract from Commentary on Psalm 87

On Ps.87:11 (PG 23, Col. 1064A){45}

“Will your wonders be praised in the darkness, will your righteousness be remembered in the forgotten land.”{46}

If anyone may have fixed their mind on the wonders accomplished{47} for us, at both the tomb and the shrine of our Savior, truly it will appear as those prophesied works. A contemplation of these things exceptionally interprets *the meaning of* the land amidst the dead. First, clearly, by recalling the dead, second those in the tomb, third those in destruction, fourth in darkness, fifth those in the forgotten land, concerning which the man-loving and good God surely showed and provided miracles; his mercy that is to say the truth and righteousness of God will be explained.

Against Hierocles



Translated by F. C. Conybeare, Loeb Classical Library, 1912

I

So then, my dear friend, you find worthy of no little admiration the parallel which, embellished with many marvels, this author has drawn between the man of Tyana and our own Saviour and teacher. For already against the rest of the contents of the “Lover of Truth “ (Philaethes), for so he has thought fit to entitle his work against us, it would be useless to take my stand at present; because they are not his own, but have been pilfered in the most shameless manner, not only I may say in respect of their ideas, but even of their words and syllables, from other authorities. Not but what these parts also of his treatise call for their refutation in due season; but to all intents and purposes they have, even in advance of any special work that might be written in answer to them, been upset and exposed beforehand in a work which in as many as eight books Origen composed against the book which Celsus wrote and — even more boastfully than the “ Lover of Truth,” — entitled “ True Reason.” The work of Celsus is there subjected to an examination in an exhaustive manner and on the scale above mentioned by the author in question, who in his comprehensive survey of all that anyone has said or will ever say on the same topic., has forestalled any solution of your difficulties which I could offer. To this work of Origen I must refer those who in good faith and with genuine “love of truth “ desire accurately to understand my own position. I will therefore ask you for the present to confine your attention to the comparison of Jesus Christ with Apollonius which is found in this treatise called the “ Lover of Truth,” without insisting on the necessity of our meeting the rest of his arguments, for these are pilfered from other people. We may reasonably confine our attention for the present to the history of Apollonius, because Hierocles, of all the writers who have ever attacked us, stands alone in selecting Apollonius, as he has recently done, for the purposes of comparison and contrast with our Saviour.

I NEED not say with what admiring approval he attributes his thaumaturgic feats not to the tricks of wizardry, but to a divine and mysterious wisdom; and he believes they were truly what he supposes them to have been, though he advances no proof of this contention. Listen then to his very words: “In their anxiety to exalt Jesus, they run up and down prating of how he made the blind to see and worked certain other miracles of the kind.” Then after an interval he adds as follows: “Let us note however how much better and more sensible is the view which we take of such matters, and explain the conception which we entertain of men gifted with remarkable powers.” And thereupon after passing heedlessly by Aristeeus of Proconnesus and Pythagoras as somewhat too old, he continues thus: “But in the time of our own ancestors, during the reign of Nero, there flourished Apollonius of Tyana, who from mere boyhood when he became the priest in Aegae of Cilicia of Asclepius, the lover of mankind, worked any number of miracles, of which I will omit the greater number, and only mention a few.” Then he begins at the beginning and enumerates the” wonders worked by Apollonius, after which he continues in the following words: “What then is my reason for mentioning these facts? It was in order that you may be able to contrast our own accurate and well-established judgment on each point, with the easy credulity of the Christians. For whereas we reckon him who wrought such feats not a god, but only a man pleasing to the gods, they on the strength of a few miracles proclaim their Jesus a god.” To this he adds after a little more the following remark: “And this point is also worth noticing, that whereas the tales of Jesus have been vamped up by Peter and Paul and a few others of the kind, — men who were liars and devoid of education and wizards, — the history of Apollonius was written by Maximus of Aegae, and by Damis the philosopher who lived constantly with him. and by Philostratus of Athens, men of the highest education, who out of respect for the truth and their love of mankind determined to give the publicity they deserved to the actions of a man at once noble and a friend of the gods.” These are the very words used by Hierocles in his treatise against us which he has entitled “Lover of Truth.”

Now Damis who spent -so much of his time with Apollonius was a native of Assyria, where for the first time, on his own soil, he came into contact with of him; and he wrote an account of his intercourse with the person in question from that time onwards. Maximus however wrote quite a short account of a portion only of his career. Philostratus, however, the Athenian, tells us that he collected all the accounts that he found in circulation, using both the book of Maximus and that of Damis himself and of other authors; so he compiled the most complete history of any of this person's life, beginning with his birth and ending with his death.

IV

IF then we may be permitted to contrast the reckless and easy credulity which he goes out of his way to accuse us of, with the accurate and well-founded judgment on particular points of the Lover of Truth, let us ask at once, not which of them was the more divine nor in what capacity one worked more wondrous and numerous miracles than the other; nor let us lay stress on the point that our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was the only man of whom it was prophesied, thanks to their divine inspiration, by Hebrew sages who lived far back thousands of years ago, that he should once come among mankind; nor on the fact that he converted to his own scheme of divine teaching so many people; nor that he formed a group of genuine and really sincere disciples, of whom almost without exaggeration it can be said that they were prepared to lay down their lives for his teaching at a moment's call; nor that he alone established a school of sober and chaste living which has survived him all along; nor that by his peculiar divinity and virtue he saved the whole inhabited world, and still rallies to his divine teaching races from all sides by tens of thousands; nor that he is the only example of a teacher who, after being treated as an enemy for so many years, I might almost say, by all men, subjects and rulers alike, has at last triumphed and shown himself far mightier, thanks to his divine and mysterious power, than the infidels who persecuted him so bitterly, those who in their time rebelled against his divine teaching being now easily won over by him, while the divine doctrine which he firmly laid down and handed on has come to prevail for ages without end all over the inhabited world; nor that even now he displays the virtue of his godlike might in the expulsion, by the mere invocation of his mysterious name, of sundry

troublesome and evil demons which beset men's bodies and souls, as from our own experience we know to be the case. To look for such results in the case of Apollonius, or even to ask about them, is absurd. So we will merely examine the work of Philostratus, and by close scrutiny of it show that Apollonius was not fit to be classed, I will not say, among philosophers, but even among men of integrity and good sense, much less to be compared with our Saviour Christ, so far as we can depend on the work of a writer who, though according to the " Lover of Truth," he was highly educated, was in any case no respecter of truth. For such is his description of Philostratus the Athenian among others. In this way we shall easily appreciate the value of the rest of the authorities, who though, according to him, they were most highly educated, yet never by actual sifting of the facts, established them with any accuracy in the case of Apollonius. For when we have thoroughly examined these facts, we shall no doubt obtain a clear demonstration of the solidity and, as he imagines to himself, of the accuracy in detail of the condemnation which the " Lover of Truth," who has at the same time taken possession of the supreme courts all over the province, passes on Christians, and at the same time of what they are pleased to call our reckless and facile credulity, for we are accounted by them to be mere foolish and deluded mortals.

V

ANOTHER controversialist, by way of beginning the affray, would without demur abuse and malign the man against whom he directed his arguments, on the ground that he was his enemy and adversary; I, however, my friend, used to regard the man of Tyana as having been, humanly speaking, a kind of sage, and I am still freely disposed to adhere to this opinion; and I would like to set before you, if you ask it, my own personal opinion of him. If anyone wishes to class him with any philosopher you like, and to forget all the legends about him and not bore me with them, I am quite agreeable. Not so if anyone ventures, whether he be Damis the Assyrian, or Philostratus, or any other compiler or chronicler, to overleap the bounds of humanity and transcend philosophy, and while repelling the charge of wizardry in word, yet to bind it in act rather than in name upon the man, using the mask of Pythagorean discipline to disguise what he really was. For in that case his reputation for us as a philosopher will be gone, and we shall have an ass instead concealed in a

lion's skin; and we shall detect in him a sophist in the truest sense, cadging for alms among the cities, and a wizard, if there ever was one, instead of a philosopher.

VI

Do you ask me what I mean and what are my reasons for speaking thus? I will tell you. There are bounds of nature which prescribe and circumscribe the existence of the universe in respect of its beginnings and of its continuance and of its end, being limits and rules imposed on everything. By these this entire mechanism and edifice of the whole universe is constantly being brought to perfection; and they are arranged by unbreakable laws and indissoluble bonds, and they guard and observe the all-wise will of a Providence which dispenses and disposes all things. Now no one can change or alter the place and order of anything that has been once arranged; and if anyone is so venturesome as to wish to transcend his limits, he is restrained from transgressing divine law by the rule and decree of nature. So it is that the fish that lives in the waters is unable in defiance of nature to change on to dry land and live there; and on the other hand the creature bred on dry land will not plunge into the waters, and embrace there any permanent repose or abode; nor by any huge leap can any tenant of earth raise himself aloft into the air, from a desire to soar about with the eagles; and in turn, although of course the latter can alight upon the earth, by depressing and lowering their faculty of flight, and by relaxing the working of their wings, and renouncing the privilege of nature, — for this too is determined by the divine laws, namely that beings able to soar aloft are able to descend from on high, — yet the converse is not possible, so that the lowly habitant of earth should ever raise himself into the welkin. In this way then the mortal race of men, while provided with soul and body, is yet circumscribed by divine bounds. Consequently he can never traverse the air with his body, however much he scorns to linger upon the paths of earth, without instantly paying the penalty of his folly; nor by spiritual exaltation can he in his thinking attain to the unattainable, without falling back into the disease of melancholy.

It is wisest then for him, on the one hand to transport his body along the ground with the feet given him for the purpose, and on the other hand to sustain his soul with education and philosophy. But he may well pray that

some one may come to help him from aloft from the paths of heaven, and reveal himself to him as a teacher of the salvation that is there. For the following is a valid example to use as it is right for the physician to visit the sick, and for the teacher to accommodate himself to the, pupil who is entering upon his studies, and for a superior to quit his heights and condescend to the lowly, yet the converse is not right or possible. It follows then that there is no reason to prevent a divine nature, being beneficent and inclined to save and take providential care of things to come, from associating itself with men, for this is allowed also by the rule of divine providence; for according to Plato God was good, and no good being can ever feel any jealousy of any thing. It follows that the controller of this universe, being good, will not care for our bodies alone, but much more for our souls, upon which he has conferred the privilege of immortality and free-will. On these then, as lord of the entire economy and of gifts of grace his bestowal of which will benefit our nature, he will, they being able to appreciate his bounty, bestow plenteously an illumination as it were of the light which streams from him, and will despatch the most intimate of his own messengers from time to time, for the salvation and succour of men here below. Of these messengers anyone so favoured by fortune, having cleansed his understanding and dissipated the mist of mortality, may well be described as truly divine, and as carrying in his soul the image of some great god. Surely so great a personality will stir up the entire human race, and illuminate the world of mankind more brightly than the sun, and will leave the effects of his eternal divinity for the contemplation of future ages, in no less a degree affording an example of the divine and inspired nature than creations of artists made of lifeless matter. To this extent then human nature can participate in the super-human; but otherwise it cannot lawfully transcend its bounds, nor with its wingless body emulate the bird, nor being a man must one meddle with what appertains to demons.

VII

IN what light then, this being so, do you envisage for us Apollonius, my good compiler? If as a divine being and superior to a philosopher, in a word as one superhuman in his nature, I would ask you to keep to this point of view throughout your history, and to point me out effects wrought by his divinity enduring to this day. For surely it is an absurdity that the works of carpenters

and builders should last on ever so long after the craftsmen are dead, and raise as it were an immortal monument to the memory of their constructive ability; and yet that a human character claimed to be divine should, after shedding its glory upon mankind, finish in darkness its shortlived career, instead of displaying for ever its power and excellence. Instead of being so niggardly liberal to some one individual like Damis and to a few other short-lived men, it should surely make its coming among us the occasion of blessings, conferred on myriads not only of his contemporaries, but also of his posterity. This I ween is how the sages of old raised up earnest bands of disciples, who continued their tradition of moral excellence, sowing in men's hearts a spirit truly immortal of progress and reform. If on the other hand you attribute to this man a mortal nature, take care lest by endowing him with gifts which transcend mortality, you convict yourself of fallacy and miscalculation.

VIII

BUT enough of this. His hero is introduced to us as a divine man, who assumes from birth the guise and personality of a demon of the sea. For he says that to his mother when she was about to bear her child, there appeared the figure of a demon of the sea, namely Proteus, who in the story of Homer ever changes his form. But she, in no way frightened, asked him what she would bring to birth; and he replied: "Myself." Then she asked: "And who are you?" "Proteus," he replied, "of Egypt." And then he writes about a certain meadow and about swans, that assisted the lady to bear her child, though without telling us whence he derived this particular; for assuredly he does not attribute this story to Damis the Assyrian writer. But a little further on in the same history he represents Apollonius as using, in token of his being of a divine nature these very words to Damis himself: "I myself, my companion, understand all languages though I have learned none." And again he says to him: "Do not be surprised, for I know what men are thinking about, even when they are silent." And again in the temple of Asclepius he was much honoured by the god, and is said to have possessed a certain natural gift of prescience, which he did not acquire by learning, from very childhood. We learn, in a word, that he was born superior to mankind in general, and so he is described from the first moment of his birth throughout his history. Anyhow on one occasion after he had loosed himself from his bonds, his

historian adds the remark: “ Then Damis declares he for the first time clearly understood the nature of Apollonius, that it was divine and superior to humanity. For without offering any sacrifice, — for how could he offer one in the prison? — and without offering any prayer, without a single word, he just laughed at his fetters.” And at the end of the book we learn that his grave was nowhere to be found on earth; but that he went to heaven in his physical body accompanied by hymns and dances. Naturally if he was so great as he is described in the above, he may be said “to have wooed philosophy in a more divine manner than Pythagoras, or Empedocles, or Plato.” For these reasons we must surely class the man among the gods.

IX

WELL, we will not grudge him his natural and self-taught gift of understanding all languages. But if he possessed it, why was he taken to a school-master, and if he had never learnt any language whatever, why does his historian malign him and declare that, not by nature, but by dint of close study and application, he acquired the Attic dialect? For he tells us outright “ that as he advanced in youth he displayed a knowledge of letters and great power of memory, and force of application, and that he spoke the Attic dialect.” We also learn that “when he reached his fourteenth year his father took him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus of Phoenicia, who was a good rhetor, and gave him his education, while. Apollonius clung to his teacher.” We further learn that “ he had as fellow-students members of the school of Plato and of Chrysippus and members of the Peripatetic set. That he also diligently listened to the doctrines of Epicurus, because he did not despise even them, though he grasped the teachings of Pythagoras with a certain indescribable wisdom.” So varied was the education of one who had never learnt any language, and who by his divine power anticipated “ the thoughts of men even when they are silent.”

X

AND after an interval our author again expresses his admiration at the ease with which Apollonius understood the language of animals, and he goes on to tell us the following: “ And moreover he acquired of an understanding of the language of animals; and he learnt this, too, in the course of his travels through Arabia, where the inhabitants best know this language and practise it.

For the Arabians have a way of understanding without difficulty swans and other birds when they presage the future in the same way as oracles. And they get to understand the dumb animals by eating, so they say, some of them the heart and others the liver of dragons.” In this instance, then, it seems anyhow to have been the case that the Pythagorean who abstained from animal food and could not even bring himself to sacrifice to the gods, devoured the heart and liver of dragons, in order to participate in a form of wisdom that was in vogue among the Arabs. After learning under such masters, how could he attain to their accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their example? We must therefore add to the teachers whom we have already enumerated the sages of Arabia who taught him his knowledge of augury; and this no doubt inspired him subsequently to foretell what the sparrow meant when he called his fellows to a meal, and so to impress the bystanders with the idea that he had worked a mighty miracle. Arid in the same way when he saw the freshly-slain lioness with her eight whelps by the side of the road which led into Assyria, he immediately conjectured from what he saw the length of their future stay in Persia, and made a prophecy thereof.

XI

AND in just keeping with his visits to the Arabians were the studies he undertook among the Persians also, according to the account given by the same author. For after forbidding Damis, so we are told, to go to the magi, though Damis was his only pupil and companion, he went alone to school with them at midday and about midnight; alone in order not to have as his companion in the study of magic one who was clearly without a taste for such things. And again when he came to converse with Vardan the Babylonian king, it is related that he addressed him as follows: “My system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in this way and to recognize them, whether they are seen or unseen, and to be regular in converse with the gods.” Who can possibly allow this to be true of him, seeing that Pythagoras himself has left no scripture of the kind, nor any secret writings, such that we can even suspect him to have had such resources at his disposal? As for his teacher of the Pythagorean philosophy, it is testified that he was in no way better than the Epicureans by Philostratus himself, who speaks of him as follows: “He had as a teacher of the system of Pythagoras

not a very good man, nor one who put his philosophy into practice; for he was the slave of his belly and his desires and modelled his life on that of Epicurus. And this man was Euxenus of Heraclea in Pontus. But he had a good acquaintance with the tenets of Pythagoras, just as birds have of what they learn to say from men.” What ridiculous nonsense to pretend that Apollonius can have derived from this man, his gift of conversing with the gods. But let us for the moment admit that there were other expounders of the system from whom he may have learned, although the author anyhow gives no hint of any such thing. Still we must ask: was there then ever any one of these teachers that professed either to know himself, by having learnt from Pythagoras personally, or to teach others., how to recognize and frequent in their conversations gods, whether seen or unseen? Why, even the famous Plato, although more than anyone else he shared in the philosophy of Pythagoras, and Archytas too, and Philolaus the one man who has handed down to us in writing the conversations of Pythagoras, and any others who were disciples of the philosopher and have handed down to his posterity his opinions and tenets in writing, — none of these ever boasted of any such form of wisdom. It follows then that he learnt these things not from Pythagoras, but from other sources; and with a wilful affectation of solemnity he only labels himself with the philosopher’s name But admitting, though it is against all probability, that he is not lying, but telling the truth, we are still at a loss to know, how he can pretend to have acquired this lore from the Samian himself above mentioned, inasmuch as the latter deceased some thousand years before him. Therefore we must reckon among the Arabians this teacher also who communicated to him a knowledge of the gods of so mysterious character as he imagines this to be. If then he was of a divine nature, it follows that the story of his teachers is a pure fiction. On the other hand if the story was true, then the legend was false, and the allegation in the book that he was divine is devoid of all truth.

XII

I HAVE no wish to enquire curiously about the ghost of Proteus, or to ask for confirmation of it, nor to demand proof of his ridiculous story that swans surrounded his mother and assisted her to bring him into the world; equally little do I ask him to produce evidence of his fairy-tale about the thunderbolt; for as I said before he cannot anyhow claim the authority of Damis for these

particulars, inasmuch as the latter joined him much later on in the city of Nineveh of Assyria. I am however quite ready to accept all that is probable and has an air of truth about it, even though such details may be somewhat exaggerated and highly-coloured out of compliment to a good man; for I could still bring myself to accept them, as long as they are not bewilderingly wonderful and full of nonsense. I do not therefore mind the author telling us that Apollonius was of an ancient family and lineally descended from the first settlers, and was rich, if it were so, beyond all other people of that region: and that when he was young he not only had the distinguished teachers mentioned, but, if he likes, I will allow that he became himself their teacher and master in learning. I grant too, in addition, that he was skilful in ordinary matters, and so was able by giving the best of advice to rid of his malady one who had come to the temple of Asclepius in order to be healed.' For we read that he suggested to a man afflicted with dropsy a regime of abstinence well suited to cure his disease, and in that way restored him to health: and so far we must needs commend the youthful Apollonius for his good sense. On another occasion he very properly excluded from the temple a man who was notorious for his wickedness, although he was prepared to offer the most expensive sacrifices, for he represents the man in question as the richest and most distinguished of all the people of his region. Nor would anyone object to his being classed among the temperate, inasmuch as he repelled with insults a lover who designed to corrupt his youth, and also, as the narrative informs us, kept himself throughout pure of intercourse with women.

We can also believe the story of his keeping silence for five years in the spirit of Pythagoras; and the way moreover in which he accomplished this vow of silence was praiseworthy. All this and the like is merely human, and in no way incongruous with philosophy or with truth, and I can therefore accept it, because I set a very high value upon candour and love of truth. Nevertheless to suppose that he was a being of superhuman nature, and then to contradict this supposition at a moment's warning, and to forget it almost as soon as it is made — this I regard as reprehensible and calculated to fasten a suspicion not only on the author, but yet more on the subject of his memoir.

XIII

THESE particulars we have taken from the first book of Philostratus; and let

us now go on to consider the contents of the second. The story takes him on his travels and brings him from Persia to India. He next shows a want of good taste by relating, as if it were a miracle, how Apollonius and his companions saw some sort of demon, to which he gives the name of Empusa, along the road, and of how they drove it away by dint of abuse and bad words. And we learn that when some animals were offered them for food, he told Damis that he was quite willing to allow him and his companions to eat the flesh, for as far as he could see their abstinence from meat had in no way advanced their moral development, though in his own case it was imposed by the philosophic profession he had made in childhood. And yet is it not incredible to anyone that he should not have hindered Damis, as his best friend., and as the only disciple and follower of his life, that he had, and the only one whom he was trying to convert to his philosophy, that he should not, I repeat, have tried to hinder him from consuming the flesh of living animals, that being an unholy food according to Pythagoras, and that instead of doing so, he should tell him for reasons inexplicable to me that it will do no good to himself, and admit that he saw no moral advantage in them produced by such abstinence?

XIV

IN the next place I would have you notice what sort of samples of truth are set before us by this Philostratus to whose truthfulness Hierocles the self-styled Lover of Truth bears witness. For we are told that when Apollonius was among the Indians, he employed an interpreter, and through him held the conversation with Phraotes, for that was the name of the king of the Indians. Thus he, who just before, according to Philostratus, had an understanding of all languages, now on the contrary, according to the same witness, is in need of an interpreter. And again, he who read the thoughts of men, and almost like their god Apollo

“ Understood the dumb and heard him who spake not”

has to ask, by means of an interpreter, what was the king's way of life, and he asks him to supply him with a guide on his journey to the Brahmans. And after an interval the other, who is king of the Indians, and a barbarian to boot, gets rid of the interpreter, and addresses Apollonius in Greek; and speaking in that language details to him his education and his wealth of learning. But Apollonius none the less neglected on this occasion to display, as he should

have done, his own perfect acquaintance with their tongue.

XV

ON the contrary he is astonished to find the Indian talking Greek, as Philostratus consistently, it would seem, with himself, tells us in his book. For how could he be astonished thereat, unless he had regarded him as a barbarian? And in spite of his having admired him for what he was, he could never have expected him to talk Greek. In the sequel, as if he were astonished at some exhibition of the miraculous and were still unable to explain it, Apollonius says: "Tell me, O king, how you came to have such facility in the Greek tongue? And where did you get hereabouts the philosophy you possess? For I do not think that you can say you owe it to teachers anyhow, for it is not likely that the Indians have any teachers of this." Such are the wonderful utterances to which one, whose prescience included everything, gives vent; and the king answers them by saying that he had had teachers, and he tells him who they were, and relates all the particulars of his own history on his father's side.

Next we are told that the Indian had to judge between certain parties about a treasure which had been hunted up in a field, the question at issue being whether this field ought to be assigned to the seller or buyer of the place. Our supreme philosopher and darling of heaven is asked his opinion, and awards it to the purchaser, assigning his reason in these words: "That the gods would never have deprived the one of the land, if he had not been a bad man; nor would ever have given the other riches under the soil, unless he had been better than the seller." We must conclude then, if we are to believe him, that men who are comfortably off and richer than their neighbours, are to be esteemed thrice happy and beloved of the gods, even though they should be the most shameless and abandoned of mankind; on the other hand only the poorest, say, even a Socrates, or a Diogenes, or the famous Pythagoras himself, or any other of the most temperate and fairest-minded of men, are to be esteemed ill-starred wretches. For if one follows the reasoning here used, one must allow that on its showing the gods would never have deprived the poor, that is to say, the very men who excel others, if judged by the standard of philosophy, even of a bare living and of the necessities of life, unless they had been utterly vile in character, and at the same time they have endowed

those who are abandoned in their character with a plenty even of things that were not necessary to them, unless they proved themselves better than the others just mentioned; from which the absurdity of the conclusion is manifest to everyone.

XVI

AFTER setting before you these incidents out of the second book, let us pass on to the third, and consider the stories told of the far-famed Brahmans. For here we shall have to admit that the tales of Thule, and any other miraculous legends ever invented by any story-tellers, turn out to be by comparison with these quite reliable and perfectly true. It is anyhow worth our while to examine these, because this self-styled lover of truth has not scrupled to fasten on ourselves a charge of reckless credulity and levity of character, while claiming for himself and for those like him an accurate judgment, well based on an understanding of the fact. Note then the sort of miracles on which he prides himself, when he prefers Philostratus to our own divine evangelists, on the ground that he was not only a most highly educated man, but most attentive to the truth.

XVII

To begin with then, on the way to the Brahmans, Philostratus introduces us to a lady who met Apollonius, and who, from her head down to her loins, was wholly white in colour, while the rest of her person was black. The mountains again, as they went forward on the road to the Brahmans, were planted with pepper trees, and the apes cultivated the same; and then there were certain dragons of extraordinary size, from whose heads were thrown off sparks of fire, and if you slew one of them, he: says that you found marvellous stones upon the head rivalling the gem of Gyges, as mentioned in Plato. And all this was before they reached the hill on which the Brahmans lived. And when they reached this, we read that they saw there a well of sandarac, full of wonderful water, and hard by a crater of fire, from which there arose a lead-coloured flame; and there were two jars there of black stone, the one of which contained rain, and the other winds, from which the Brahmans supply such people of the country as they are pleased to favour. Besides this they found among them images of Athene Polias and of Apollo Pythius, and of Dionysus

of the Lake and of certain other Hellenic gods. And the master of them all was named Iarchas, and they saw him sitting on a very lofty throne in a state of pomp that was far from philosophic, but rather appropriate to a satrap. And this throne was made of black bronze and was decorated with golden images, such as we might of course expect philosophers to fabricate when they take to working like base mechanics at forge and steel, even if they do not like conjurers make their handiwork to move by itself. But the thrones upon which the rest of them, who were inferior teachers to him, were sitting, were, he says, of bronze, but not incised and not so high. For I suppose they could not help bestowing upon the teacher of so divine a philosophy the privilege of having images and gold on his throne, just as if he were a tyrant.

XVIII

AND we are told that Iarchas, the moment he saw Apollonius, addressed him by name in the Greek tongue, and asked him for the letter which he brought from Phraotes, for he had already received this by dint of his foreknowledge; and by way of parading the inspired character of his prescience, he told him before he set eyes on the epistle, that it was one letter short, namely of a delta; and he began at once in a vulgar manner in that very first interview, like a man who has got wealth for the first time and does not know how to use it, to show off his superiority as a seer, by running off the names of Apollonius' father and mother, and telling him all about his family and upbringing and education, and about his periodical voyages abroad, and about his journey thither to himself, and about what he had done himself or said to his companions on the road. And next this wonderful author tells us that the " Brahmins, after anointing themselves together with Apollonius with an amber-like drug, took a bath, and then standing round as if in chorus, struck the earth with their staves, and the earth arched itself up and elevated them some two cubits into the air, so that they stood there levitated up in the air itself for some considerable length of time. And he relates that they drew down fire from the sun without any effort on their part and whenever they chose. And the miracle-monger adds another marvel to these, when he tells that there were four tripods like those of Pytho which wheeled themselves forth, moving of their own accord; and he goes so far as to compare these to the tripods in Homer, and he says that there were set upon them cup-bearers to serve in the

banquet, four in number and made of bronze. And in addition he tells us that the earth too strewed grass beneath them of her own accord and unasked. And of these tripods two, he says, ran with wine, and of the other two, the one supplied hot water and the other cold. And the cup-bearers of bronze drew for the guests in due mixture both the wine and the water, and pushed round the cups in a circle, just as they are handed round in a symposium.

XIX

SUCH are the stories which Hierocles, who has been entrusted to administer the supreme courts of justice all over the province, finds true and reliable after due enquiry, at the same time that he condemns us for our excessive credulity and frivolity; and after himself believing such things when he finds them in Philostratus, he proceeds to brag about himself and says (I quote his very words): “ Let us anyhow observe how much better and more cautiously we accept such things, and what opinion we hold of men gifted with such powers and virtues.”

XX

IT was after such a symposium, according to the same Philostratus, that a king who was sojourning in India is introduced to drink with the philosophers; and we hear that he took occasion to insult philosophy with drunken jests, and that he got so tipsy in their presence as to hurl defiance at the Sun and brag about himself. All this we learn, and that Apollonius once more, by means of an interpreter, learned his history from him and conversed in turn with him, Iarchas interpreting between them. Surely it may well excite our wonder that so insolent a fellow and so great a buffoon was allowed to get drunk and show off his tipsy wit among such great philosophers, when he was unworthy even to be present at a meeting of philosophers, much less at the hearth of men who were equal to gods? But what possesses me to call them the peers of gods and chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apollonius asked them whom they considered themselves to be, “ Gods,” answered Iarchas; who, I suppose in his quality as god, as little as could be in the style of philosopher, save the mark, nay, surely betraying an equally scant respect for the dignity of the god whom he professed himself to be, set the example of drinking to his fellow-banqueters by stooping down over the bowl, which, as our author is careful to

tell us, supplied plenty of drink for all of them, and refreshed itself, as do holy and mysterious wells for those who fill their pitchers from them.

XXI

AFTER this there was general conversation and some serious discussion among the philosophers, in the course of which Iarchas explained that his own soul had once been in the body of another man who was a king, and that in that state he had performed this and that exploit; while Apollonius told them that he had once been the pilot of a ship in Egypt, and had accomplished all sorts of exploits which he enumerated to them. Then they put questions to each other, and received answers, which in the name of wisdom have scant title to be recorded at all. Thus we learn that Apollonius asked if they had any golden water among them. What a clever and marvellous question! And he also asked about men who live underground, and about others called pigmies, and shadow-footed men, and he asked if they had among them a four-footed animal called a martichora, which has a head like that of a man, but rivals a lion in size, while from its tail projects hairs like thorns a cubit long, which it is accustomed to shoot out like arrows at those who hunt it. Such then were the questions which Apollonius put to the sages, and Iarchas instructed him about the pigmies, and told him that they were indeed people dwelling underground, but spent their lives on the other side of the river Ganges; but as to the other things which he asked about, Iarchas said that they never had existed at all.

XXII

AFTER that Philostratus described a wool which the earth grew for them to supply material for their dress, from which we must infer that these philosophers plied the loom and occupied themselves with spinning wool in order to make their raiment, for we do not hear of any woman being smuggled into their community; but perhaps he means that by a miracle the wool grew of its own initiative into their sacred garments. And we hear that each of them carried a staff and a ring which was imbued with mysterious power. There follow a series of miraculous performances on the part of the Brahman, — how for example he recalled to his senses by means of a letter one who was possessed with a demon, how by stroking a man who was lame he healed his

dislocated hip, how he vouchsafed to restore a man's hand that was withered, and to a blind man gave sight. Our blessings on an author who saves us so much trouble. Can we doubt that these stories are true, when his very insistence on the truth of his earlier tales, I refer to those of lightning and wind kept in jars, and of tripods of stone walking about of their own accord and of cupbearers of bronze passing round the cups in a circle, fully betrays and exposes the mythical character of everything else which he has to tell us. Philostratus moreover declares that Damis related how carefully Apollonius excluded himself from being present at the philosophical sessions which he held with larchas; and he says that Apollonius was given by the latter seven rings which were called after the stars, and that he wore these one by one upon the days respectively called by their names.

Though we learn this much on this occasion from a gentleman who is esteemed by the Lover of Truth to have had a respect for facts, further on in his book, as if by way of condemning the wizardry of the Brahmins, and as if he was anxious to acquit Apollonius of the charge of having dabbled therein, he adds the following remark, which I repeat textually: " But when he saw among the Indians the tripods and the cup-bearers and the other figures which I have said entered of their own accord, he did not either ask how they were contrived, or desire to learn; but although he praised them, he disclaimed any wish to imitate them." And how, my good fellow, did he disclaim any wish of the kind? Is this the man who was careful to exclude Damis from the philosophical seances he held with them, and who thought it his duty to conceal from his only companion all that he had done in those seances? And how could he have disclaimed any wish to imitate them when he accepted the seven rings named after the stars, and held it needful to wear these all through the rest of his life upon the days severally named after them, and that although, as you say yourself, they had a secret power in them. Even if we grant that he did not aspire to imitate these inventions, it is clear that his disclaimer was not due to their being uncanny. How then could he praise things which he disdained to imitate? If he praised them, as being divinely operated, why did he not imitate things so praiseworthy? To crown all, on his return after he had stayed with them, we learn that he arrived with his companions at the country of the Oritae, where he found the rocks and the sand and the dust which the rivers bring down to the sea, all alike made of

XXIII

ALL this is contained in the third book of Philostratus, and let us now pass on to those which follow. We learn that when he had returned from the country of the Indians to the land of Hellas, the gods themselves proclaimed him to be the companion of the gods, inasmuch as they sent on to him the sick to be healed. And, indeed, as if his visit to the Arabs and to the Magi and to the Indians had turned him into some miraculous and divine being, our author, now that he has got him home again, plunges straight into a lengthy description of his miracles. And yet one might fairly argue that if he had been of a diviner than merely human nature, then he ought long before, and not only now, after entering into relation with other teachers, to have begun his career of wonder-working; and it was superfluous for him to take so much trouble to acquire the multifarious lore of Arabs and of Magi and of Indians., if he was really what the initial assumption made by Philostratus assumes him to have been. But anyhow, according to this truth-loving author, we have now got him back again., ready to show off the wisdom which he has acquired from so great masters; and as one fresh from Arabia and equipped with the science of augury in vogue among the inhabitants of that country, he begins by interpreting to the bystanders what the sparrow wanted and intended when it summoned its fellows to their dinner. Next he has a presentiment of the plague in Ephesus, and warns the citizens of what is coming. And he himself sets before us in his *Apology to Domitian* the explanation of this presentiment. For when the latter asked him what was his prediction, he answered: "Because, my prince, I use a very light diet, I was the first to scent the danger."

And then he relates a third miracle of him, which was nothing less than that of his averting the plague. Although the author has been careful not to include this story in the final counts retained against Apollonius, probably because it was impossible for him to rebut a charge founded upon it by any defence which he could offer, we nevertheless will, if you will allow us, publish the story and give it full publicity, because our doing so will render needless any further criticism of it. For if anybody feels the shadow of doubt about the matter, the very manner in which the story is told will convince him that fraud

and make-believe was in this case everything, and that if ever anything reeked of wizardry this did. For he pretends that the plague was seen in the form of an aged man, a beggar and dressed in rags; who, when Apollonius ordered the mob to stone him, began by shooting fire from his eyes, but afterwards, when he had been overwhelmed by the stones thrown at him, he appeared as a dog all crushed and vomiting foam, as mad dogs do. And he writes that Apollonius mentioned this episode also in the defence he addressed to the autocrat Domitian, as follows: “ For the form of the plague — and it resembled an aged beggar — was both seen by me, and when I saw it I overcame it, not by staying the course of the disease, but by utterly destroying it.” Who, I would ask, after reading this would not laugh heartily at the miracle-mongering of this thaumaturge? For we learn that the nature of the plague was a living creature and as such exposed at once to the eyes of the bystanders and to the showers of stones they hurled at it, and that it was crushed by men, and vomited foam, when all the time a plague is nothing in the world but a corruption and vitiation of the atmosphere, the circumambient air being changed into a morbid condition composed of noxious and evil exhalations, as medical theory teaches us. And on other grounds, too, this story of the phantom plague can be exploded; for the story tells us that it only afflicted the city of Ephesus, and did not visit the neighbouring populations; and how could this not have been the case, if the surrounding atmosphere had undergone vitiation? for the infection could not have been confined to one spot, nor have beset the air of Ephesus alone.

XXIV

THE fourth wonder which he relates is how the soul of Achilles appeared close by his own sepulchre, dressed the first time in a tunic, and five cubits high, and subsequently growing till it was twelve cubits in stature, and accusing the Thessalians for not continuing according to custom to offer him the due funeral rites, and furthermore still nursing wrath against the Trojans for the wrongs which they had committed against him, and bidding Apollonius ask him questions on five topics, such as he himself might desire to learn about, and the Fates permit him to know of. We next learn that the omniscient one, who boasted of his prescience of future events, was still ignorant of whether Achilles had been buried, and of whether the Muses and

Nereids had bestowed their dirges upon him. And accordingly he asked Achilles about these matters, and enquires most earnestly whether Polyxena had been slain over his tomb, and whether Helen had really come to Troy, — questions surely of a most solemn kind, and such as to stimulate others to lead the philosophical life of the hero, besides being in themselves of much importance. Thereupon he falls to wondering if there had ever been among the Hellenes so many heroes all at one time, and whether Palamedes had ever reached Troy. Surely it was disgraceful in the extreme that one who was the companion of gods, whether seen or unseen, should know so little of such matters as to need to ask questions again and again about them? Unless, indeed, because in this scene he is introduced as associating with the dead, the author intentionally gives a frigid turn to his questions, in order to avert the suspicion of his having irreligiously pryed into the secrets of magic. For we may notice he represents him as arguing in his Apology that there was no colour of necromancy in the manner in which the spectre appeared to him, and says: “ For without digging any trench like Odysseus, and without tempting the souls of the dead with the blood of lambs, I managed to converse with Achilles, merely by using the prayers which the Indians declare we ought to make use of in addressing heroes.” This is how Apollonius now brags to his companion, although our author testifies that he had learned nothing from the Indians nor felt attracted by their wisdom.

XXV

WHAT then is the reason, my good fellow, supposing that there was no devilish curiosity here at work, why he would not allow Damis, whom you admit to have been his sole and genuine companion, to share with him in this marvellous vision and interview? And why, too, was he not able to do all this by daytime, instead of doing it in the dead of night and alone? Why, too, did the mere cry of the cocks drive away the soul of the hero? For he says, “ It vanished with a mild flash of lightning, for indeed the cocks were already beginning to crow.” I cannot but think that evil demons would have found such an hour seasonable and appropriate for their devilish interviews, rather than the soul of a hero which, having been freed from the crass matter of the body, must necessarily be good and unsullied. In any case the demon conjured up on this occasion is represented as of a malignant and envious

disposition, both rancorous and mean in humour. For how else can we characterise one who drove away Antisthenes, a poor youth so serious that he was endeavouring to become a follower of the philosopher Apollonius? For Achilles insists that he shall not initiate him in his philosophy, and he adds the reason: "For," says he, "he is too much of a descendant of Priam, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth." And how could he be other than rancorous and mean; if he was wrath with the Thessalians for not sacrificing to him, and still refused to be reconciled to the Trojans, because thousands of years before they had sinned against him, and that although the latter were continually sacrificing and pouring out libations to him? The only exception is that he ordered Apollonius to restore the tomb of Palamedes, which together with his statue had fallen into decay.

XXVI

THE fifth and sixth miracles however in this book do not stand in need of much argument and discussion, so thoroughly do they prove our writer's easy credulity. For Apollonius, as they say, drives out one demon with the help of another. The first of the demons is expelled from an incorrigible youth, while the second disguises itself by assuming the form of a woman: and the latter our clever author calls by no other names than those of Empusa and Lamia. As for the damsel whom he is said subsequently to have brought back again to life in Rome after she had died, the story clearly impressed Philostratus himself as being extremely incredible, and we may safely reject it. Anyhow he hesitates and doubts, whether after all a spark of life might have not lingered on in the girl unnoticed by her attendants. For he says that according to report "it was raining at the time, and a vapour exhaled from the face of the girl." Anyhow if such a miracle had really been wrought in Rome itself, it could not have escaped the notice first of the emperor and after him of his subordinate magistrates, and least of all of the philosopher Euphrates who at the time was in the country and was staying in Rome, who indeed, as we learn later on, is related to have launched against Apollonius the accusation of being no other than a wizard. It would certainly too, had it actually occurred, have been included by the accuser among the other charges levelled against him. Well, just these and no more are the more particular and special achievements of Apollonius, although there are a myriad other cases in the book in which his

sooth-sayings and prophecies are set down to his gift of foreknowledge; and we learn that at Athens, when he desired to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, the priest there would not admit him, and declared that he would never initiate a wizard nor throw open the Eleusinian mysteries to a man who was addicted to impure rites. We also hear about a lewd fellow who went begging about Rome, rehearsing the songs of Nero on his lyre for pay; and we are told that this most philosophic of teachers out of fear of Nero ordered his companions to bestow alms on him in recognition of his clever accomplishments.

XXVII

SUCH are the contents of the fourth book, and in the fifth book of his history, after a few remarks about his gift of prescience, our author is so lost in admiration as to add the following remark, which I repeat textually. “ That then he was enabled to make such forecasts by some divine impulse, and that it is no sound inference to suppose, as some people do, that Apollonius was a wizard, is clear from what I have said. But let us consider the following facts: wizards, whom for my part I reckon to be the most unfortunate of mankind, claim to alter the course of destiny, either by tormenting the ghosts whom they encounter, or by means of barbaric sacrifices, or by means of certain incantations or anointings. But Apollonius himself submitted to the decrees of the Fates, and foretold that they must needs come to pass; and his foreknowledge was not due to wizardry, but derived from what the gods revealed to him. And when among the Indians he beheld their tripods, and their dumb waiters and other automata which I described as entering the room of their own accord, he neither asked how they were contrived, nor wished to learn. He only praised them, but did not aspire to imitate them.” Such a passage as the above clearly exhibits in the light of wizards the famous philosophers of India. For notice that when he is arguing about wizards, he mentions them too and says that their marvels were cleverly contrived indeed, but that his hero held himself carefully aloof from such their contrivances, on the ground that they were not moral. If therefore we find Apollonius calling these Indians gods, and enrolling himself as their disciple, we have no alternative but to bring him also under the imputation under which his teachers lay. And accordingly he is introduced as saying among the so-called

Naked sages of the Egyptians, the following, — I quote his very words: “ It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have yielded myself to a philosophy so highly elaborated, to a philosophy which, if I may use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians mount, as it deserved to be mounted, upon a lofty and divine mechanism before they wheel it out upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them wise and blessed, it is now time to learn.” And after a little he says: “ For they are not only gods, but are adorned with all the gifts of the Pythian prophetess.” And he is introduced to Domitian with these words on his lips: “ What war have you with Iarchas or with Phraotes, both of them Indians, whom I consider to be the only men that are really gods and that deserve this ... appellation? “ And there are other passages also in which this history of Philostratus recognises the persons above mentioned as gods and teachers of the sage, and admits him to have accepted rings from them, but now he forgets all about it, and does not see that in maligning the teachers, he maligns the disciple.

XXVIII

AND a little lower down in the book he brings a flute-player upon the stage, and he relates at length how Apollonius delivered himself with great gravity of long essays upon the different modes maker of playing the flute, as if it were the most important and clever of the sciences. And he relates how the Emperor Vespasian offered him prayers just as if he were a god, for we learn that Vespasian said in a tone of prayer: “Do thou make me Emperor,” whereupon Apollonius answered: “ I have made you so.” What else can anyone do but loathe this utterance for its boastfulness, so nearly does it approach downright madness, for one who was the pilot of a ship in Egypt to boast of being himself a god already and a maker of kings? For Apollonius himself has informed us a little before in the course of his conversation with the Indian that his soul had previously been that of a pilot.

XXIX

AND to the same Emperor, when the latter asks him to notify to him those whom he most approved of among philosophers as advisers and counsellors of his policy, Apollonius replies in these words: “ ‘ These gentlemen here are

also good advisers in such matters,' and he pointed to Dion and to Euphrates, because he had not yet quarrelled with the latter." And again, he said, " My sovereign, Euphrates and Dion have long been known to you and they are at your door, and are much concerned for your welfare. Summon them also therefore to your conference, for they are both of them wise." Whereupon Vespasian answered: " I throw my doors open wide to wise men." What can we think of the prescience of our hero? On this occasion Euphrates is both good and wise, because he has not yet quarrelled with him; but when he has, — and before long he is going to, — then see how the same person writes to the Emperor Domitian: " And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may attain by flattery of the mighty you have only to look at the case of Euphrates. For in his case why do I speak of wealth from that source? Why, he has perfect fountains of wealth, and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might or a huckster, or a tax-gatherer or a low money-changer; for all these roles are his if there is anything to buy or sell. And he clings like a limpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper would do; indeed he is often caught by the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs might be. But he never yet bestowed a farthing on a philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his house; only supporting this Egyptian out of other people's money, and sharpening his tongue against me, when it ought to be cut out. However I will leave Euphrates to yourself: for unless you approve of flatterers, you will find the fellow worse than I represent him." Surely one who first bears witness to Vespasian the father that Euphrates is a wise and good man, and then inveighs against him in this style to his son, is openly convicted of praising and blaming the same person. Was it then the case that this man, who was endowed with knowledge of the future, did not know what the character of Euphrates was, nor what it was going to be? For it is not now the first time, but already in the case of Vespasian himself he is inclined to accuse him of being the worst of characters. How then is it that he recommended such a person to the sovereign so warmly, that in consequence of his recommendation the latter threw open wide the doors of his palace to him? Why, is it not clear to a blind man, as they say, that in the matter of foreknowledge the fellow is traduced by his own historian; though on other ground he might be regarded as an honest man, if we could suppose that

originally, and before he learned by experience, he wished to gain access to the palace as freely for his friends, Euphrates included, as for himself, but was afterwards moved by his quarrel to use such language of him. I have no wish in thus arguing to accuse Apollonius of having falsely blamed Euphrates, who was the most distinguished philosopher of all the men of his age, so much so that his praises are still on the lips of students of philosophy. Not but what anyone who was minded to do so could take this as a palmary example of slander and back-biting and use it against Apollonius. For if Euphrates be really by their admission a leader in all philosophy, it is open to us to accuse his rival of censoriousness, when he attacks him for his monstrous conduct; and to suppose that the latter contracted his evil reputation because he was thus attacked by him for pursuing, — that was the accusation, — a life so little satisfactory to a philosopher.

XXX

IN the sixth book our story-teller resumes his tale of miracles; for he brings his hero, together with his companions, on camel-back to see those whom he the calls the Naked philosophers of Egypt. Here then at the bidding of one of these sages an elm-tree, we are told, spoke to Apollonius in an articulate but feminine voice, and this is the sort of thing which the Lover of Truth expects us to believe. Then he has a story of pigmies who live on the other side of their country and of man-eaters and of shadow-footed men and of a satyr whom Apollonius made drunk. From these sages Apollonius is brought back again to Hellas, where he renews his interviews and his prophesies to Titus. Then we hear about a youth who was bitten by a mad dog. He is rescued from his distress by Apollonius, who forthwith proceeds to divine whose soul it was that the dog had inside him; and we learn that it was that of Amasis, a former king of Egypt, for the sage's humanity extended to dogs.

XXXI

THESE then are the achievements which preceded his accusation, and it behoves us to notice throughout the treatise that, even if we admit the author to tell the truth in his stories of miracles, he yet clearly shows that they were severally performed by Apollonius with the co-operation of a demon. For his presentiment of the plague, though it might not seem to be magical and

uncanny, if he owed it, as he himself said, to the lightness and purity of his diet, yet might quite as well have been a premonition imparted to him in intercourse with a demon. For though the other stories of his having grasped and foretold the future by virtue of his prescience can be refuted by a thousand arguments which Philostratus' own text supplies, nevertheless, if we allow this particular story to be true, I should certainly say that his apprehension of futurity was anyhow in some cases, though it was not so in all, due to some uncanny contrivance of a demon that was his familiar. This is clearly proved by the fact that he did not retain his gift of foreknowledge uniformly and in all cases; but was at fault in most cases, and had through ignorance to make enquiries, as he would not have needed to do, if he had been endowed with divine power and virtue. And the very cessation of the plague, according to the particular turn which was given to the drama, has already been shown to have been a delusion and nothing more. Moreover, the soul of Achilles should not have been lingering about his own monument, quitting the Islands of the Blest and the places of repose, as people would probably say. In this case too it was surely a demon that appeared to Apollonius and in whose presence he found himself? Then again the licentious youth was clearly the victim of an indwelling demon; and both it and the Empusa and the Lamia which is said to have played off its mad pranks on Menippus, were probably driven out by him with the help of a more important demon; the same is true also of the youth who had been driven out of his mind by the mad dog; and the frenzied dog itself was restored to its senses by the same method. You must then, as I said, regard the whole series of miracles wrought by him, as having been accomplished through a ministry of demons; for the resuscitation of the girl must be divested of any miraculous character, if she was really alive all the time and still bore in herself a vital spark, as the author says, and if a vapour rose over her face. For it is impossible, as I said before, that such a miracle should have been passed over in silence in Rome itself, if it happened when the sovereign was close by.

XXXII

THERE are a thousand other examples then which we may select from the same books where the narrative refutes itself by its very incongruities, so enabling us to detect its mythical and miracle-mongering character. At the

same time we need not devote too much attention and study to the gentleman's career, seeing that those of our contemporaries among whom his memory survives at all, are so far from classing him among divine and extraordinary and wonderful beings, that they do not even rank him among philosophers. This being so, let us be content with the remarks we have made, and proceed to consider the seventh book of his history.

XXXIII

HERE then we find him categorically accused of being a wizard. Next we find Demetrius the philosopher trying to dissuade him from going on to Rome, and Apollonius rejects his advice in words which are full of vulgar effrontery and fulsome praise of himself. They are as follows: "But I know most human affairs, seeing that I know everything; at the same time I reserve my knowledge partly for good men, partly for the wise, partly for myself, partly for the gods." And yet the man who in these words brags about his omniscience, before he goes much further is accused by the text itself of an ignorance in certain matters. Next Apollonius disguises Damis, for the latter conceals the fact of his being a philosopher because he is afraid of death. Listen then to the words in which our author apologises for him: "This was the reason then of Damis' putting off his Pythagorean dress. For he says that it was not cowardice that led him to make the change, nor regret at having worn it; but he did it because the device recommended itself as suggested by the expedience of the moment."

XXXIV

After this Philostratus sets forth four counts of the indictment which he imagines it will be easy for his hero to defend himself from, and he admits that he has collected these out of a great many others. Of these the first was: What induced him to wear a different robe from everybody else? and the second: Why was it that men esteemed him to be a god? the third, How had he managed to predict the plague to the Ephesians? and last of all: In whose behoof had he gone to a certain field and cut up the Arcadian boy? To meet these then he alleges Apollonius to have written an apology. But first of all he relates how he was cast into prison, and the miracle which he wrought there. For we hear that Damis was extremely downcast at the misfortunes which he

imagined had befallen his teacher; whereupon Apollonius showed him his leg released without effort from the chain. Then having thus alleviated his follower's grief, he put his foot back again into its former condition and habit. After that he was brought to trial before the Emperor Domitian, and we read that he was acquitted on the charges, and that after being so acquitted he, with curious inopportuneness, as it seems to me, cried out in the court exactly as follows: "Accord me too, if you will, an opportunity to speak; but if not, then send someone to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay you cannot even take my body,' for thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.'" And then after this famous utterance, we are told that he vanished from the court, and this is the conclusion of the whole drama.

XXXV

Now in regard to the miracle in the prison, which it seems was an illusion, imposed on the eyes of Damis by the familiar demon, our author adds the following remark; "Damis says that it was then for the first time that he truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and superhuman; for without offering any sacrifice, — and how indeed in prison could he have offered one? — and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserting his leg in them afresh, he comported himself like any other prisoner." I should be the last to accuse his pupil of being a dull-witted man, because, after being with him all his life, and witnessing him work miracles by means of certain uncanny agencies, he failed to regard him as in any way superior to the rest of mortal men; but now after such a display of thaumaturgic energy as the above, he is still ignorant of his true character; and taking him to be a mere man he is full of anxiety (as in that case he might well be), and full of apprehension in his behalf, lest any affliction should come upon him against his own wish and will. But if indeed it was now for the first time, after having passed so long a time with him, that he realised that he was indeed divine, and superior to the rest of the human race, then it behoves us to scrutinize the reason which our author alleges for his doing so, in these words: "For without any sacrifice, and without a single prayer, and without uttering a single mysterious word " he saw that he had wrought this miracle. It follows that the fellow's earlier feats were accomplished by the help of some uncanny trick, and that is why,

as he says, Damis was not astounded at these things, nor filled with wonder by them. Naturally, then he now for the first time experienced these feelings, because he felt that his master had accomplished something which was quite unusual and contrary to his habitual performances. In reference however to the phantom chains shown to Damis and to his departure from the law-courts, I will quote the words which Apollonius himself addresses to Domitian. For when the monarch ordered him to be thrown into chains, Apollonius, with perfect consistency, argued as follows: “ If you think me a wizard, how will you bind me? And if you bind me, how can you say that I am a wizard.” Surely one may invert this argument and use it against him somewhat as follows, keeping to his own premisses: If you are not a wizard, then how was your leg liberated from the chains? and if it was liberated, then how are you not a wizard? And if, because he submits to the chains, he is not a wizard, then if he does not submit to them, he is a wizard by his own admission. And again if, because he submitted to be brought to trial, he was not a wizard, he was yet clearly revealed as such when he ran off and eluded the court and retinue of the Emperor, I mean of course the bodyguard that stood round him. Now I believe that our author is aware of this, and endeavours to glaze over the fact, when he pretends that this miracle was exhibited without sacrifice or any sort of incantation by some ineffable and superhuman power.

XXXVI

MOREOVER we have not got to go far, before a fresh test of his character is supplied to us; for presently a messenger presents himself and says: “ O Apollonius, the Emperor releases you from these chains, and permits you to reside in the jail where prisoners are not bound “; whereupon Apollonius, who is superior to mankind and has foreknowledge of what is coming, and according to the poet

“ Hath understanding of the dumb and heareth him who speaks not”

is so overjoyed., as well he might be, at the news, that he suddenly drops out of his gift of foreknowledge, and asks outright: “ Who then will get me out of this place? “ and the messenger replied: “ I myself, so follow me.”

XXXVII

NEXT this most divine of men composes in the most careful of manners an

harangue in defence of himself, quite unaware that after all his composition would prove a mere waste of effort. For he imagines that the Emperor will listen to his defence of his case, and on that assumption he arranges his apology along extremely plausible lines; but the latter, by refusing to wait, renders all his trouble useless and unnecessary. I would ask you then to listen to the following, for what he says is a refutation of himself: "But inasmuch as he had composed an oration which he meant to deliver in defence of himself by the clock, only the tyrant confined him to the questions which I have enumerated, I have determined to publish this oration also." Note then how utterly at fault this entirely divinest of beings was about the future, if he took so much trouble and care to proportion the length of his apology to the time allowed him by the water-clock.

XXXVIII

BUT we must not omit to pass in review the defence which he so vainly composed, for it contains among many examples of the arrogance with which he addressed Domitian, the following utterance, to wit, when he says "as Vespasian made you Emperor, so I made him." Heavens, what braggadocio! No ordinary person anyhow, nor any real philosopher either, transcending the rest of mankind, could indulge in such high-faluting bombast without exposing himself in the eyes of sensible men to a charge of being mad. Next in trying to rid himself of the suspicion which weighed upon him, he holds the following language concerning magicians and wizards; "But I call wizards men of false wisdom, for with them the unreal is made real, and the real becomes incredible." One may learn then from the whole treatise and from the particular episodes set forth therein, whether we ought to rank him among divine and philosophic men or among wizards. We have only to observe what he himself has said about wizards and falsely wise men together with what is published in his own history. For when oak trees and elms talk in articulate and feminine tones, and tripods move of their own accord, and waiters of copper serve at table, and jars are filled with showers and with winds, and water of sandarac and all the other things of the kind are introduced among those whom he accounted gods and also did not hesitate to entitle his teachers, of whom else are all these things characteristic, except of people who can exhibit "the unreal as real and the real as incredible"? In himself calling the

latter wizards, he shows that they are people whose wisdom is false. Is it then on the strength of these things that this divine man, endowed with all virtue and the darling of the gods, is to bind on his brow the prize of wisdom, and to be accounted truly more divine than Pythagoras and his successors, and to be considered far more blessed than he; is he not rather to be found guilty of false wisdom and carry off the first prize for wretches?

XXXIX

IN the same book we are told that he had reasoned in Ionia about the power of the Fates, and had taught that the threads they spin are so immutable that, if they decree a kingdom to another which already belongs to some one, then, even if that other were slain by the possessor for fear lest he should ever have it taken away by him, the latter would yet be raised from the dead and live again in fulfilment of the decrees of the Fates; and he continues in these very words: "He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one, even though his hands have been cut off; and he who has been predestined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will never fail to win, even though he break his leg; and the man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lose his eyesight." And then by way of flattering the sovereign he adds the following: "And in drawing my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to the Acrisii and to the house of Laius, and to Astyages, the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that their power was well established, and of whom some were supposed to have slain their own children and others their descendants, yet were deprived by them of their thrones, when they grew up and issued forth against them out of obscurity in accordance with destiny. Well, if I were inclined to flattery I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were blockaded by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill, overlooking the city. And Vitellius declared that his own fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape him, although you were at the time quite a stripling, and not the man you are now. And yet because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he perished with all his counsels, while you are now in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor the forced concords of flattery, for it seems to me that they are everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me at once cut this string out

of my lyre, and request you to consider that on that occasion I had not your fortunes in my mind.” In this passage, a treatise written ostensibly in the interest of truth draws a picture of a man who was at once a flatterer and a liar, and anything rather than a philosopher; for after inveighing so bitterly on the earlier occasion against Domitian, he now flatters him, generous fellow that he is, and pretends that the doctrines he mooted in Ionia about the Fates and Necessity, so far from being directed against him rather told in his favour.

Take then your history, my author, and regaining your sobriety after, your fit of drunkenness, read out loud and in a truth-loving tone the passages you wrote on a former occasion, without concealing anything; read how when he was staying in Ephesus he did his best “to alienate his friends from Domitian, and encouraged them to espouse the cause of the safety of all, and as it occurred to him that intercourse with them by letter was dangerous to them, he would take now one and now another of the most discreet of his own companions aside and say to them: ‘ I have a most important secret business to entrust to yourselves, so you must betake yourself to Rome to such and such persons, and converse with them !’ “ And of how “ he delivered a discourse on the subject of the Fates and Necessity. and argued that not even tyrants can overpower the decrees of the Fates.” And how “directing the attention of his audience to a brazen statue of Domitian which stood close by that of the Meles, he said: ‘ Thou fool, how much art thou mistaken in thy views of Necessity and of the Fates. For even if thou shouldst slay the man who is fated to be despot after thyself, he shall come to life again.’ “ The man then who, after holding such language as this, proceeds to flatter the tyrant, and cynically pretends that none of this language was directed against him, how can we judge him other than capable of all villainy and meanness; unless indeed you assume that the authors who have handed down to us these details of him were lying fellows who meant to accuse their hero and not true historians? But in that case what becomes, to use the language of the Lover of Truth, of those who “ were historians at once most highly educated and respectful of the truth, namely Damis the philosopher who even lived with the man in question and Philostratus the Athenian?” For these are the authors who lay these facts before us, and they are clearly convicted by the light of truth, since they thus contradict themselves, of being vapouring braggarts and nothing else, convicted by their inconsistencies of being downright liars, men

XL

THE story proceeds to tell us that after all this, Apollonius, liberated from the court, made up his mind to descend into the cave of Trophonius in Lebadea; but the people there would not allow him to do so, because they too regarded him as a wizard. Surely it is legitimate in us to be puzzled, when one compares what one reads at the beginning of the book of Philostratus, I mean the passage where he owns that he is puzzled at people having regarded his hero as a wizard, and expresses his surprise at the circumstance, remarking withal, that “although Empedocles and Pythagoras and Democritus had consorted with the same Magi without ever stooping to the magic art, and Plato had derived much from the priests and prophets in Egypt, and had mingled their ideas with his own discourses, without ever being held by anyone to be a magician, yet men so far had failed to recognise his hero as one inspired by the purest wisdom, but had long since accounted him a magician and still did so, because he had consorted with the Magi of Babylon and the Brahmans of India, and the Naked sages of Egypt.” What answer then can we make to him, except this? — My good fellow, what was your hero up to in this line, for him alone to have been regarded both long ago and now as a wizard in contrast with these great men; who though, as you admit, they had made trial of the same teachers as he, yet were eminent both in the age in which they nourished, and also bequeathed to posterity in their philosophy a gift of such excellence that its praises are still sung. Is such a contrast possible, unless he was caught by men of good sense meddling with things that were unlawful? There are still among our contemporaries those who say that they have found superstitious devices dedicated in the name of this man; though I admit I have no wish to pay attention to them. However as regards his death, although Philostratus follows in his book the accounts of earlier writers, he declares that he knows nothing of the truth; for he says that people in Ephesus related that Apollonius died there, while others said that he died in Lindus after entering the temple of Athene, and others in Crete; and after shedding so much doubt on the manner of his end, he yet inclines to believe that he went to heaven body and all. For he says that after he had run into the temple, the gates were closed and a strange hymn of maidens was heard to

issue from the building, and the words of their song were: “ Come, come, to heaven, come.” But he says that he had never come across any sepulchre or “cenotaph of his hero, although he had visited the greater part of the whole earth; but what he would like us to believe is that his hero never encountered death at all, for on a former occasion when he is canvassing the manner in which he died, he adds the proviso: “ If he did die.” But in a later passage he declares in so many words that he went to heaven. This is why he avows, no less in the exordium of his book than throughout it, that it was by reason of his being such as he was that he wooed philosophy in a diviner manner than Pythagoras and Empedocles.

XLI

ALTHOUGH then the limits of our discourse are reached in the above, I would yet, if you will allow me, raise a few points in connexion with the Fates and with destiny, in order to ascertain what aim his work has in view, when throughout its argument it sets itself to demolish our responsibility, and to substitute for it necessity, and destiny and the Fates. For in this way we shall finally and completely refute the tenets professed by the author and prove their falsity. If then, according to the views of true philosophy, every soul is immortal, for that which is perpetually moving is immortal, whereas that which moves another, and is itself moved by others, in admitting a cessation of its own movement, admits a cessation of life; and if responsibility depends on personal choice, and God is not responsible, then what reason is there for concluding that the nature, which is ever in movement, is actuated against its will, and not rather in accordance with its own choice and ‘ decision; for otherwise it would resemble a lifeless body in being moved by some outside agency, and would be as it were a puppet pulled by strings hither and thither. The nature which ever moves itself would, on such ail hypothesis, effect nothing of its own initiative and movement, nor could it refer to itself the responsibility of its actions.” In such a case, when it reasoned of truth it would surely not be worthy of praise; nor on the other hand be blameworthy, because it was filled with vice and wickedness? Why then, I would ask you, my good fellow, do you revile Euphrates and find fault with him, if it is not of his own initiative, but by the force of destiny, that he devoted himself to gain, as you pretend, and neglected the philosophical ideal? And why do you insult

wizards, by calling them false sophists, if they are dragged down by the Fates, as you believe, to their miserable life? And why do you keep in your vocabulary at all such a word as vice, when any evil man is unjustly condemned by you, since it is by necessity that he fulfils his destined term? And again on what principle do you solemnly enroll yourself a disciple of the wonderful teacher Pythagoras, and insist on praising one who, instead of being a lover of philosophy, was a mere toy in the hands of the Fates? And as for Phraotes and Iarchas, the philosophers of the Indians, what have they done to win from you the reputation of being gods, unless the glory they acquired by their culture and virtue was their own? And in the same way with regard to Nero and Domitian, why do you not saddle upon the Fates and on Necessity the responsibility for their unbridled insolence, and acquit them of all responsibility and blame? But if as you say a man who is destined to be a runner, or an archer or a carpenter, cannot avoid being so, surely also if it has been destined that a man should be a wizard, and that being his character, a magician or a murderer and a wicked man and a reprobate, come what will, he must of necessity end by being such a person. Why then do you go wandering about, preaching the virtues to those who are incapable of reform? Why do you blame those who are the monsters they are, not of their own choice, but by predestination? And why too, if it was decreed by fate that you yourself being of a divine nature should transcend the glory of kings, did you visit schools of teachers and philosophers, and trouble yourself about Arabians and about the Magi of Babylon, and the wise men of India? For in any case surely, even without your holding communications with them, the decrees of the Fates were bound to be fulfilled in your case.

And why do you vainly cast before those whom you consider to be gods, your honey-cake and your frankincense, and putting on the cloak of religion encourage your companions to be diligent at their prayers? And what do you yourself in your prayers ask of the gods, inasmuch as you admit that they too are subject to Destiny? Nay you ought to make a clean sweep of all the other gods, and sacrifice to Necessity alone and to the Fates, and pay your respects rather to Destiny than to Zeus himself. In that case no doubt you would have no gods left; and rightly too, seeing that they are not even able to help mankind. And again, if it were decreed by fate that the citizens of Ephesus should be afflicted with pestilence, why did you sanction the opposite and so

try to thwart destiny? Nay, why did you dare to transcend destiny, and as it were raise a trophy over her? And again in the case of the maiden raised to life, the thread of Clotho had reached its limit, and that being so why did you, when she was dead, bind a fresh thread on the spindle, by coming forward yourself in the role of the saviour of her life?

But perhaps you will say the Fates drove you also on to these courses. Yet you cannot say that they did so out of respect to your merits; far from it, seeing that before you passed into this body of yours, you were yourself, by your own account, a sea-faring man who spent his life upon the waves, and that of necessity, for even this could not have been otherwise. There is therefore nothing remarkable about your earliest birth, or your upbringing, or your education in the circle of arts, or in your wise self-discipline in the prime of your life, or of your training . in philosophy; for it was after all some necessity of . the Fates that led you to Babylon, and you were as it were driven on to associate with the sages of India; and it was not your own will and choice, nor a love of philosophy either, but Fate that led you in her noose to the Naked sages of the Egyptians, and to Gadeira and to the pillars of Hercules; and it was she who forced you to wander about the eastern and western oceans, and along with her spindles whirled you idly around. But if anyone admits, as they must, that his endowment with wisdom was due to these causes, then it was destiny that was responsible for them; and we must no longer reckon your hero among those who are fond of learning, nor can we with any pretence of reason admire a philosophy which was provided, not intentionally, but by necessity, for him. And we shall have to class on one and the same level, according to him, Pythagoras himself with any pretentious and abject slave, and Socrates himself, who died in behalf of philosophy with those who accused him and clamoured for his death. Diogenes, too, with the golden youth of Athens; and, to sum up, the wisest man will not differ from the most imprudent, nor the unjustest from the justest, nor the most abandoned from the most temperate, nor the worst of cowards from the greatest of heroes; for they have all been demonstrated to be playthings of destiny and of the Fates.

XLII

HOWEVER, the herald of truth will raise his voice against such arguments,

and say: O ye men, mortal and perishable race, whither are you drifting, after drinking the unmixed cup of ignorance? Be done with it at last, wake up and be sober; and, raising the eyes of your intelligence, gaze upon the august countenance of truth. It is not lawful for truth to be in conflict and contradiction with herself; nor that of two pronounced opposites there should exist but one and the same ground and cause. The universe is ordered by the divine laws of the providence of God that controls all things, and the peculiar nature of man's soul renders him master of himself and judge, ruler and lord of himself; and it teaches him through the laws of nature, and the tenets of philosophy, that of things which exist some are within our own control, but others not; and within our control is everything which comes into being in accordance with our will and choice and action, and these are naturally free, unhindered and unimpeded. But such things as are not in our control are weak and servile, restrained and alien to ourselves; for example, our bodily processes and external objects which are both lifeless and destitute of reason, and in their manner of existence wholly foreign to the proper nature of a reasonable living creature. As for things which are in our control, each one of us possesses in the will itself alternative impulses of virtue and vice; and while the principle which controls the universe and governs it executes its rounds in direct accordance with nature, it is at the same time always accompanied by a justice which punishes infractions of the divine law; but for the motives on which we act the responsibility lies not with destiny nor fate, nor with necessity. It lies with him who makes the choice, and God is not to be blamed. If therefore anyone is so foolhardy as to controvert the fact of our responsibility, let him be duly exposed; and let him openly proclaim that he is an atheist, seeing that he does not recognise either providence or God or anything else except the Fates and necessity. And let him bare-headed enumerate the consequences of these doctrines, let him cease to call anyone wise or foolish, just or unjust, virtuous or vicious, or charlatan; let him deny that anyone is divine in our humanity, that there is any philosophy, any education, in a word any art of any kind, or science, let him not call anyone else by nature good or evil, but admit that everything whatever is whirled round in an eddy of necessity by the spindles of the Fates. Let such a person then be registered as an atheist and impious man in the tribunal of the pious and of philosophers. And if anyone under the cloak of other opinions

undertakes to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet , in addition to these champions the cause of Destiny and Fate, so upholding conflicting and opposed opinions, let him be classed among the senseless and condemned to pay the penalty of his folly. This then is so. But if after this there still remain those who are disposed to register this man's name in the schools of philosophers, it shall be said that, even if they succeed in clearing him from the filth thrown by others, nay in disentangling him from the pinchbeck properties in which the author of this book has wheeled him in upon the stage, we shall raise no objection to their doing so. At the same time if anyone ventures to overpass the limits of truth and tries to deify him as no other philosopher has been deified, he will at the best, though unawares, be rubbing into him the accusation of wizardry; for this work of pretentious sophistry can only serve, in my opinion, to convict him, and lay him open in the eyes of all men of sense to this terrible accusation.

The Proof of the Gospel



Translated by W. J. Ferrar, 1920

Transcribed by Roger Pearse, <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/>

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A FRAGMENT OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK

PREFACE

It is a high privilege to have been allowed to provide a translation of the *Demonstratio*; for in default of a better it must for some time fill the vacant place in English bookshelves beside the noble edition of the *Praeparatio*, which was the work of Archdeacon Gifford's declining years.

Yet it is an appalling thought that this translation, continuing as it does the work of Gifford, should in any sense be thought to seek comparison with it. The writer has but endeavoured according to his powers, and amid other absorbing duties, to fill a recognized gap, by giving a faithful rendering of the words of Eusebius, so that it may be possible for the English student to become acquainted with all that remains of the work to which the *Praeparation* was the Introduction.

He has erred perhaps rather in the direction of literal exactness than of free paraphrase, especially in doctrinal sections, thinking it primarily necessary to make it clear what Eusebius actually said.

Limitations of space have made it impossible to reproduce the long passages from the Old Testament upon which Eusebius based his arguments. To have retained them in full would have been interesting because of their variations from the text of the LXX : but this consideration was hardly important enough to make their inclusion essential.

The translator would gratefully record his indebtedness to the Rev. W. K. Lowther Clarke, the Secretary of S.P.C.K., for his constant interest, scholarly guidance, and invaluable suggestions during the progress of the work: but for his help it would be far more imperfect than it is.

W. J. FERRAR.

East Finchley.

Easter, 1920.

INTRODUCTION

§ I. OBJECT AND OCCASION

The *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Ευαγγελικῆς Αποδειξεως δεκα λογοι) originally consisted of twenty books, of which only ten remain. It was the concluding portion of the complete work, which included the *Praeparatio*. At the beginning of the latter Eusebius stated his object to be “to shew the nature of Christianity to those who know not what it means”¹ the purpose of its pages was to give an answer to all reasonable questions both from Jewish or Greek inquirers about Christianity, and its relation to other religions. Thus the *Praeparatio* was intended to be “a guide, by occupying the place of elementary instruction and introduction, and suiting itself to our recent converts from among the heathen.”²

The *Demonstratio*, Eusebius promises in the same passage, will go further. It will adapt itself “to those who have passed beyond this, and are already in a state prepared for the reception of the higher truths.” It will “convey the exact knowledge of the most stringent proofs of God’s mysterious dispensation in regard to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”³ All apologetics, no doubt, have a double object, to convince the unbeliever and to strengthen the faithful. And it would certainly be an error to discriminate the stress on either of these objects too sharply in the case of any particular work. It is true from Justin to Butler that evidential works circulate as widely (or indeed more widely) in the Church as manuals of teaching than in the world as weapons of defence. But we can recognize a difference of emphasis in the tone and scope of apologetic works, dependent on the circumstances and environment of the age of their production, which inclines the balance perceptibly either in the direction of apology proper, or in that of dogmatic instruction. The *Demonstratio* then would seem to be of the latter class, rather than of the former. It is a manual of instruction for the faithful, rather than a challenge to the unbelieving.

This impression, however, must be balanced by the fact that certain sections of the argument seem to be deliberately planned to convince the unbeliever, notably where Eusebius restricts himself to unfolding the unique beauty of our Lord’s Humanity in His Life and Work; and while reserving his “prophetic” arguments for the edification of the faithful, speaks of Him from the human and historic level, ως περι ανδρος κοινου, και τοις λοιποις

παράκλησις (102 b). Or when in the same book he constructs his powerful *reductio ad absurdum* of the suggestion that Christ was a wizard or a charlatan.

The studied statements at the opening of the whole work give then the impression that the central object of Eusebius, in relation to the circumstances of his time, differed materially from that of the earlier Apologists like Justin and Aristides. They provided a reasoned defence of Christianity for the consideration of the rulers of the heathen world, and endeavoured to meet the subtle criticism of pagan philosophers with convincing force. He aims primarily at strengthening the convictions of those already convinced. He desires to provide a completer enlightenment for those who are already members of the Church of Christ.

Though certain passages both in the *Praeparatio* and the *Demonstratio* speak of pagan persecution in the present tense (*Praep. Ev.* 584 a, b, *Dem.* 82 c), and if the tense is pressed must have been written before the close of the Diocletian and Galerian Terror by the Edict of Milan, A.D. 312 (Eus., *H.E.* x. 5), other passages present the picture, frequent in the earlier apologies, of a Church at peace and developing in all parts of the Empire (*Praep. Ev.* 9 d, *Dem.* 103 c, 138 b). This discrepancy we will examine below. But assuming that the work appeared after the persecution it will be recognized that the moment was opportune for the publication of a book, “shewing what Christianity is to them that do not know,” and for offering a deep and sound foundation for the faith of the half-convinced. For years the martyrs had been prominent in the world’s eyes. The Church as a whole had been super naturally loyal. The future seemed to be with the no longer despised Christians. There must have been many thoughtful people ready to examine their claims, and to inquire into the secret of their constancy. Many again, conquered by the bright spectacle of their endurance, had already entered the Church’s gate led chiefly by faith and hope, and were now ripe to sit at the feet of teachers who could philosophically unveil her heavenly knowledge.

Nor should we suppose that, though the Imperial Government had decided that the coercion of so powerful a mass of conviction was impossible, the prejudice of pagan priest hoods and of the leaders of philosophy was inclined to yield without every effort that criticism, ridicule, and conservative tradition could exert. Celsus had been followed as protagonist against Christianity by

Porphyry, and it was against him that the polemical weapons of the *Demonstratio* were forged. Porphyry had a very intimate knowledge of the Christian faith. He had possibly been a convert (Soc., *H.E.* iii. 23) and a pupil of Origen (Eus., *H.E.* vi. 19). He had written a book, *Contra Christianos*, full of acute criticisms, some of which the mind of the later Church has justified and accepted. There are quotations from this work in *Praep. Ev.* 28 c, 29 b, 179 d, 237 a to 241 b; and allusions to Porphyry in *Praep. Ev.* 143 c, 144 b, 190 a; *Dem. Ev.* 134. The high level of the attack would account for the comprehensiveness, the massive learning, and the dignity of the rejoinder, which gathers together and sums up the labours of previous Apologists. But, as we shall see, Eusebius did not set out to refute the arguments of Porphyry point by point, as Origen dealt with Celsus, or Justin with the Jew Trypho. He preferred to confront followers of the acute critic with the fact of Christianity as a blessed and growing power. He aimed at showing the supernatural agreement of its Founder's life and death with the prophecies. He felt that on the flowing tide of divine power he could afford to disregard the eddying currents that ran impotently across it. Eusebius indeed wrote a definite rejoinder to Porphyry, the κατὰ Πορφυρίου, a work in twenty-five books; this in all probability was later in his life.⁴ In this book it is quite likely that he attempted to meet the objections of Porphyry *seriatim*. His aim in the *Demonstratio* was of a more general character.

To sum up, it was the cessation of persecution, the profound impression made on the educated and uneducated alike by the imperial change of front, the proud sense within the Church itself that its patience had triumphed, combined with the presence of the opposing criticism of the cultured, which may be said to have been the occasion for the great literary effort, which is called by Lightfoot "probably the most important apologetic work of the Early Church."⁵

§ 2. THE DATE

This question is involved in conflicting internal evidence. Is the *Demonstratio* earlier or later than the *History*, which is generally dated A.D. 325? The passage εἰ γοῦν τι δύναται ἡ ἡμετέρα ἱστορία (*Dem.* 273 d) proves nothing, for we must translate with Lightfoot, not "my history," but "my personal observation." Neither can the passage in the *History* (*H.E.* i. 2 ad fin.) be

safely regarded as referring to the *Demonstratio*. There is a direct reference to the *Quaestiones ad Stephanum* in *Dem.* 353 c, but this does not prove that the whole of the latter work was anterior to the *Demonstratio*, for the *Quaestiones* have a cross-reference to the *Demonstratio* in col. 912 - ωσπερ ουν συνεστησαμεν εν ταις ευαγγελικαις αποδειξεσιν. It is suggested by Lightfoot that this part of the *Quaestiones*, the epitome or εκλογη εν συντομω, was added at a later date, in which case the *Demonstratio* would come between the *Quaestiones* and the *Epitome*.

Evidence from the mention of contemporary events is again conflicting, if we are seeking the date of the work as a whole. There is an obvious contrast between passages that speak of the Church as still undergoing persecution, e. g. *Dem.* 119 b, ο και εστιν εις δευρο θεωρουντας ενεργουμενον, ef. 182 d (εισετι και νυν) and 82 c, and those which in the manner of the earlier Apologists represent it as progressing and flourishing - e.g. *Dem.* 103 c and *Praep. Ev.* 9 d. The usual explanation of these discrepancies is to suppose that different sections of the work took shape at different times, the former towards the end of the Terror, the latter after its conclusion. (Gifford, *Praeparatio*, Tom. iii. pars. i. p. xii.)

But there seems nothing unreasonable in supposing that an historical writer, engaged in defending Christianity on the ground of its endurance and success, while surveying in one *coup d'oeil* the three centuries of its past struggle, might very naturally refer to a persecution, that had but recently relaxed its pressure, as present. If this be thought probable we may consider the whole work to have been written between A.D. 314 and A.D. 318. For the more than probable allusion in *Praep. Ev.* 135 c to the punishment by Licinius of the Antiochene theosophical impostors, described in *H.E.* ix. 11, would place the date after A.D. 314, whereas the theological language would seem to be too unguarded to allow it to be likely that it was penned near the time when the decision of the Arian controversy was imminent. And Arius was already attracting attention in A.D. 319. (Bright: *Church of the Fathers*, i. 56.)

§ 3. CONTENTS

Books I and II form an Introduction, for the opening of Book III regards them as “prolegomena.” They describe the simplicity of Christian teaching, challenge the assumption that Christianity rests not on reason but on faith, and

in claiming to use the Jewish scriptures, while rejecting the Jewish religion, establish the thesis that Christianity is a republication of the primitive religion of the patriarchs, from which the Mosaic religion was a declension, allowed by God because of the deterioration of the Jews under the assaults of the daemons during their exile in Egypt. Abundant prophetic evidence is given in Book II, that the coming of Messiah would synchronize with the downfall of the Jewish state, and the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

Book III treats of Christ's Humanity, and is perhaps the most modern part of the argument. By an elaborate *reductio ad absurdum* the impossibility of Jesus Christ being aught but Perfect Man and Divine also is dramatically and cogently shown.

Books IV and V deal with the Divinity of Christ as Son and Logos, and it is in them that passages of an Arian ring have roused the anger of orthodox commentators.

Book VI and the following books deal with our Lord's Incarnate life as the fulfilment of prophecy. Book X reaches the Passion and is especially occupied with Judas and the Betrayal.

We may suppose with Lightfoot that the remainder of the work shewed the agreement of the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the foundation and growth of the Church with the predictions of the Jewish prophets.

A fragment of Book XV relates to the four kingdoms of the Book of Daniel, and suggests that that section of the work dealt with the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church.

§ 4. RELATION TO EARLIER APOLOGIES

The *Demonstratio* comes at the end of a long series of apologetical works, and embodies and codifies their results. It is the work of a man of extraordinarily wide scholarship, which marshals and buttresses with additional support the "loci communes" of his predecessors. Eusebius is no adventurer breaking fresh ground.

A comparison of the *Demonstratio* with the *Trypho* or the *contra Celsum* reveals only a more systematic application of the argument from prophecy used by Justin and Origen. In some cases the prophecies are explained in almost identical language. We may instance the exegesis of Psalm xxii. in

Book X with that of Justin, in *Trypho*, cc. 98-106, the references to Isaiah vii. 14, where he uses the language of Origen, *contra Celsum*, i. 35, points out that Jesus Christ alone suits the passage, and quotes Deut. xxii. 23, 24 in support of the translation of *ἑαυτῶν*. The question of the Christian's rejection of the Jewish Law and his acceptance of the Jewish scriptures had been handled by Justin, and the most striking portion of the *Demonstratio*, the argument in Book III, that Christ was no sorcerer, may be said to have been suggested by Origen, *contra Celsum*, ii. 48, and Justin, *1st Apol.* c. 30. His explanation of the Old Testament Theophanies is that of the earlier Apologists, his insistence that Christianity rests on reason as well as faith, and his allegorical method, are plainly those of Origen and the Alexandrian school. It could hardly have been otherwise. After two centuries of defensive warfare against Jews and Greeks, the lines of controversy were clearly defined, and the apologetic writer but reiterated in a new form against the critics of his own day, what his predecessors had said against a previous generation of critics. His "loci communes" were well known to the Catechist, just as the ordinary course of instruction to candidates for Confirmation follows a definite line to-day. The most he could achieve was to present in a systematic form such a codification of existing arguments as the circle around him required.

Yet the *Praeparatio* opens with a remarkable claim to originality of method. Eusebius contrasts the "more logical" nature of his proofs with "refutations and contradictions of opposing arguments, exegesis of scripture, and controversial advocacy" (*Praep. Ev.* i. 3). Here alluding to a mass of evidential literature he proposes to reject "all deceitful and sophistical plausibilities" in favour of the evidence of the fulfilment of the Jewish prophecies in Christ, and the developing life of His Church. But this is very much what the earlier Apologists set out to do. In what sense can Eusebius say: "The purpose, however, which we have in hand is to be worked out in a way of our own" (*Praep. Ev.* 7 a)?

Lightfoot argues that Eusebius is referring to the use of lengthy quotations, by means of which religious ideals, that clash with Christianity, may be allowed to speak for themselves, as is stated in *Praep. Ev.* 16 d. "I shall not set down my own words, but those of the very persons who have taken the deepest interest in the worship of them whom they call Gods." But he admits that there was little originality in this method of controversy. It had been

employed by the earlier Apologists.

The real claim of Eusebius seems to be made clear by the context. He quotes 1 Cor. ii. 14; iii. 6; and 2 Cor. iii. 5 as guides for avoiding “deceitful and sophistical plausibilities” and for the use of proofs free from ambiguity. And he contrasts the value of “words” with that of the evidence of “works” on which he prefers to rely. By “works” he means the power of Christ as a living, moving energy in human life. The exact fulfilment of Christ’s anticipations, the triumph of His Church as foretold in Matt. xvi. 18, the fate of the Jews, and the wonderful fulfilment of the predictions of the Hebrew prophets are the “works” upon which Eusebius proposes to base his “demonstration.”

But even so it can hardly be said that there was anything novel in such an intention, looking back to the apologies of Justin, Athenagoras, Aristides and Tatian. There is a series of chapters in Justin which reads almost like an outline sketch of the *Demonstratio*. Eusebius, therefore, can hardly have meant that the method which he adopted was new in the sense that it had not been used before. What then did he mean? Surely he must have had in his mind the methods or evidential writers of his own day. He must have been thinking of dialectical encounters with literary opponents. He may only have intended to stress his determination to abstain in the *Demonstratio* from meeting the objections of Porphyry and his followers point by point, as Origen had dealt with Celsus. If the method of Origen had made a deep impression on the educated world, and if Eusebius was regarded in any sense as belonging to the school of Origen, it was natural for him to state definitely that he proposed in his new work to follow a different course from Origen’s. Origen’s method was to follow every turn of the trail of a slippery foe: his opponent, so to say, made the game. Eusebius wished it to be understood that he started with a well-ordered programme of Scriptural exposition, and did not intend to be drawn aside into detailed controversy on points that had been raised by individual controversialists.

This intention, however fitfully and diffusely it is carried through, can never be said to be lost sight of in the *Demonstratio*. We have a constant recurrence to the massive evidence of a growing and flourishing Church, a changed society, a converted character. The heart of the argument is the connection of this external evidence with the Divine and Human Person of Christ.

The lever that is intended to move the mind to realize the uniqueness of Christ is the exposition of a series of prophecies, whose selection, systematic arrangement and treatment confers on Eusebius, if not the crown of originality, at least the praise of having carefully codified the work of his predecessors.

The *Demonstratio* then, like all the best apologetic work of the early Church, is based on the continuous living evidence of the action of a Divine Power. "The help," says Eusebius, "which comes down from the God of the Universe supplies to the teaching and Name of our Saviour its irresistible and invincible force, and its victorious power against its enemies" (*Praep. Ev.* 9 d).

Compared with the *Octavius*, the *Trypho*, or the *contra Celsum* the *Demonstratio* may seem cold and academic, for it lacks the charm and interest of the dialogue-form. Where they are redolent of the open air, and the marketplace, it suggests the lecture-hall and the pulpit. Much of the warmth, directness, and reality has evaporated from the appeal of Eusebius. These are obvious criticisms. But it must be remembered that Eusebius wrote for the cultured people of his own age. His method and manner are less perhaps the result of his own temperament than the production of a stately and courtly entourage. As the heir of the apologetic of the market-place, and of a struggling sect of believers, he was called by the genius of his own time to reproduce in a polished and rhetorical style, for an educated circle, the old arguments which had welled forth from the lips of the infant Church in spontaneous freedom and life. There can be no doubt that the world for which they were intended received in the *Praeparatio* and the *Demonstratio* what was for it the most unanswerable defence of the Christian Religion.

§ 5. THE ARGUMENT OF THE THIRD BOOK

The Third Book of the *Demonstratio* seems to claim special consideration. As a piece of apologetic it is extraordinarily full and to the point. It seizes the real salients in the evidential controversy, and is occupied with topics which must always come foremost in the defence of Christianity. It is no argument in the air, it comes down to meet the ordinary unbeliever in the crowd, and begins by speaking to him of Christ as "one bearing ordinary humanity and like the rest." Upon the acknowledged basis of the beauty of His human life, and the

perfection of His ethical teaching better understood and more universally acknowledged by non-Christians in the modern world than they were then except by a few thinkers like Porphyry, the argument passes to the Miracles, which are the evidence that Christ is something more than human, to hypotheses which professed to account for them, viz. invention and sorcery, and to the question of the credibility of the witnesses to our Lord's abnormal acts. It is remarkable that one who could be so diffuse should, in so short a space, have combined so many arguments in one connected scheme; and still more that he should have made central the points that are central, viz. the historical Person of Christ, His Ethics, His miraculous Power, and the credibility of the Gospel-writers, treated as involving generally all belief in witness to historical facts.

The great mass of the *Demonstratio* is an elaborate *rechauffee* of past apologetics, but in this book we feel the touch of something fresh, free, original, something that springs from keen, personal interest, warm perception, and ardent conviction. It is not sword-play, but actual warfare, and there are rapier-strokes of satire, which the hand of Swift might have dealt. In literary quality, as well as in appositeness to the subject discussed, the book is remarkable. Its finish, completeness in itself, and contrast with the *Demonstratio* as a whole might suggest that it was a separate essay, written in actual controversy with an opponent who drew out Eusebius' keenest logic and dialectical skill, and that this essay was eventually incorporated in the greater but more academic work.

Its argument may be summarized as follows:

[187-102] Jesus claimed in the synagogue at Nazareth (Luke iv. 21) to be the fulfilment of the prophecy of a Saviour (Isa. lxi. i). Moses' prophecy of a successor "like himself" (Deut. xviii. 15), who should come at the fall of the Jewish kingdom (Gen. xlix. 10), Isaiah's "Root of Jesse" (Isa. xi. 1), Micah's prediction of Bethlehem (Micah v. 2), Isaiah's "suffering servant" (Isa. liii. 3-8), who died that He might rise to rule over the world through His Church, are only fulfilled in Christ.

[102-107c] *Reply to attacks upon Christ as (i) deceiver; (ii) wizard.*- First on the basis of mere humanity (ως περι κοινου και τοις λοιποις παραβλησιου) Christ must be realized as the best man who ever lived. Consider the ethical outcome of His teaching, in purity, meekness, sanity of mind, benevolence,

love of truth. He called back the lost ideals of Abraham, and gave them to the whole world; their value is admitted, for even the Greek oracles praise Abraham's monotheism. He abjured a sacrificial worship, but so did Porphyry (*de Abst.* ii. 34) and Apollonius of Tyana. He taught that the world was created and would one day be destroyed, even as Plato did, and also the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, and thus made His poor disciples wiser than supercilious philosophers, who seem proud to claim identity with the flea, the worm, and the fly. He stressed a divine judgment, punishment, and an eternal life with God. He recognized angels and daemons, helpers and foes of the soul just as the Hebrews did. All this is ethically sound.

[107d-125b]] But there was a divine side to Christ, as is shown by His Miracles of mercy and love; He died voluntarily, rose again, and ascended to heaven. The miraculous in the life of Christ is in line with the miraculous in Christianity. Those who deny it must either prove that it was invented, or the result of sorcery. Now the type of teaching Christ gave His disciples is utterly opposed to their inventing falsehoods. It was ascetic, and made truth and purity the first essentials of conduct. If you admit the fanciful hypothesis that He really taught them fraud and specious lying you are landed in absurdities. Deceit could afford no corporate cohesion, *κακῷ κακὸς οὐ φίλος, οὐδὲ ἀγαθῷ*: and again, what had they to expect but a death like His? After His death, too, they only honoured Him the more! They were even ready to die for Him. It is inconceivable that they knew Him to be really vicious. And equally impossible that, if they were, they should propose to convert the whole world, and actually do so, poor and uneducated as they were. You must imagine them meeting secretly after the Crucifixion, admitting Christ's deceit, and yet conspiring to propagate the Gospel-story: "Let us see," they say, "that our freak lasts even to death. There is nothing ridiculous in dying for nothing at all." "What could be finer than to make both gods and men our enemies for no possible reason? . . . And suppose we convince no one. we shall have the satisfaction of drawing down upon ourselves in return for our inventions the retribution for our deceit." Such theories are ridiculous, for there is no doubt that persecution and death faced the Apostles. Yet there was no traitor among them after the Ascension. And they actually succeeded in their adventure. Now this hypothesis of a conspiracy to deceive might be used with equal force with regard to Moses, or the Greek philosophers, and indeed all those

whose lives history records.

The simplicity, devotion, and ascetic lives of the Apostles guarantee their honesty. They faced all for truth and the Name of Christ. The Gospels reveal their modesty and straightforwardness in unexpected ways. It has been well said: "We must put complete confidence in the disciples of Jesus, or none at all"; distrust of them logically means distrust of all writers. Why allow invidious distinctions? The Passion is the crowning crux, how could they have invented a story which would handicap all their efforts? That they gave a true account of it really authenticates their accounts of the Miracles, and glorious manifestations of Christ.

The evidence of Josephus, too, may be called in with good effect. (See note on this passage.)

[125b-141a] *Against the alternative view that Christ was a sorcerer.*- The suggestion is opposed to the whole trend of His teaching and manner of life. He was unworldly, pure, and retiring; sorcerers are the reverse. If He had been one His followers would have resembled Him, but the great mark of the whole Christian Church is its abhorrence of magic. No Christian has ever admitted himself to be a sorcerer even to escape death. And this argument may be extended-in all ways the virtues of Christians vouch for the character of their Master. They afford "clear evidence of the nurture of His words." The Greeks boast of the self-sacrifice of Democritus and Krates, but Christian zealots can be counted by the myriad. They know what Plato alone knew about God, but he was confessedly unable to make God known, whereas it is the common task of the Christians.

But was Christ's sorcery self-taught, or learned from others ? If the former then it showed something of the nature of supernatural power, if the latter, meaning that He was taught it in Egypt, what a strange thing that Christ should so utterly outstrip His teachers, and institute a new nation and new laws, as He has done. Once more note that He paid no court to the daemons, and that they even now shudder at His Name. Think of His union with the Father, His purity, justice and truth, His perfect character, and you will laugh at the suggestion. The very demons bear witness to him in the Oracles quoted by Porphyry as "a man signal in holiness." His grandeur is shown by His choice of poor men for apostles, "because maybe he had in mind to do the most unlikely things." And what a design it was-to rule the whole world! And

His followers were to do the work simply “in His Name.” That alone explains their success. They had to preach the paradox, that God came on an embassy in a human body, and died on a Cross! The only explanation of their success is His co-operation with them, for the Gospel in itself is not plausible. The Power He gave them to work miracles amazed their hearers, and induced them to yield to the message: without His Power they could never have succeeded.

And you may add to this the providential preparation of the world for the preaching of the Gospel through the establishment of the Roman Empire, whose Heads both by their leniency and severity have assisted the divine purpose of spreading the Gospel. [141a]

Such a summary as the above is but a sorry skeleton. It is void of all the life and vividness, the subtle turns, the satirical touches of the argument. But it reveals on what ground the writer really rested in his defence of Christianity. His apology is seen to be not abstract and a priori, but almost modern in its hold on historical fact. Let us consider the points that stand out.

(i) There is the argument from Prophecy. It is fashionable to say that the Apologists were deluded in their persistent efforts to link the Gospel facts with prophetic predictions. No doubt they were in a sense deluded, and the greater part of the *Demonstratio* is a monument to the delusion. But yet, though the method is changed, there is still an argument from prophecy. The lines of optimistic hope for mankind that run through the Hebrew prophets do meet at the feet of Christ. He alone satisfies their majestic anticipations.

“We may say,” writes Prof. W. E. Barnes, in his essay *On the Permanent Value of the Old Testament*,⁶ “that the prophets saw, each under a form suited to his own age, a vision of God’s presence with men, realised to a new degree, and ‘specialised’ (if the word may be used) in Israel through the instrumentality of a visible leader of Israel. The ideas of a chosen people and of a chosen leader upon whom the Spirit of God rests are found in those prophetic passages.” The prophecies to which he alludes are Micah iv. 8 to v. 6; Isa. ix. 1-7, xi. i-io, Hi. 13 to liii. 12; Jer. xxiii. 15, 16. It is worthy of remark that in selecting five passages of typical Messianic prophecy, the fourth-century and the twentieth-century scholar choose three out of the five the same.

(ii) The historical Personality of Jesus as perfect Man stands out in a very

modern way. The εν ανθρωποις πολιτευσαμενον και παθοντα of the Creed of Caesarea, upon which Eusebius had been brought up, had not failed of its effect; neither had his patient study of the Gospels. Whatever his theory of the union of the Divinity with the Humanity, he had a very clear and a very true conception of the Humanity of our Lord. He speaks of the Man Christ Jesus almost as One Whom he has known. He follows Him on His works of mercy. He catches the spirit of His words. He feels their supreme truth, their unexampled beauty, their divine audacity, their kingly authority. He imagines correctly Christ's effect upon His followers, he argues back from the ideals of the followers to the uniqueness of the Master.

It is quite remarkable that Eusebius should start with the human Christ, and describe him as the best man that ever lived, before introducing the conception forced upon him by the Miracles that He was divine as well. It was the method of the Master Himself, and therefore the right one.

(iii) Eusebius' view of the value of the witness of the writers of the Gospels, and of the first teachers of Christianity, has been a feature of many volumes of evidences to the days of Butler and Paley and our own time. But it may be doubted whether the argument from the simplicity and transparent honesty of these "unlearned and ignorant men" has ever been more cogently put, their bravery, their persistence, their devotion, their facing the certainty of "labours, dangers and sufferings," the magnificence of the design with which they set out, the paradox they were called to preach, the divine power that made them triumph.

In the last fifty years of New Testament criticism how often has it been evident that these books and their writers were being put to tests, from which all other records were exempt. This, too, Eusebius deprecated. Criticism should treat all alike, and to treat all as the Gospels have been treated would leave history a mass of questionable documents and disputed statements.

(iv) There is an ethical stress of deep significance in the whole book. The Humanity of Christ and His teaching are made to challenge the unbeliever first of all by *their moral value*; it is claimed for them that they satisfy, and more than satisfy, human aspirations after goodness. The Miracles are presented as worked for moral ends. It is the ethical interest that gives the fire of indignation and the sting of satire to the arguments that Christ is neither charlatan nor sorcerer. Again and again the purity and self-control, the justice

and love of truth, the unselfishness and benevolence of the Christian teaching, and of its result in countless lives that philosophy would have been powerless to affect, are dwelt upon. As we have seen, Eusebius reads back from the lives of Christians the character of Christ - that is to say, he finds in actual life around him something of the moral ideal that he knows to be summed up in Christ from Whom the life of men around receives it. He shews throughout a very real appreciation of the bearing of faith on conduct. The life of the Christian is the ultimate Court of Appeal for the reality of Christ. Ethical value demonstrates a divine power as its spring and source. They that overcome the world prove the truth of the Gospel. Eusebius is defending the Gospel of a divine Christ; the merely human Christ is One Whose character implies the divine as well; and He is the source and stay of moral progress. Eusebius realized this; the world of our day doubts it. But as has been well said: "There is no proof that the ethical principles have existed effectively in the past except in connection with Christian doctrine, so there is little probability that they can ever exist in the future, for the mass of men at least, except in dependence on a living Christ."⁷

§ 6. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF EUSEBIUS

Eusebius was in his day the leading representative of ecclesiastical conservatism. That is to say, his theology was, allowing for the difference of period, almost precisely that of Origen. For as Dr. Bigg ⁸ has remarked : "What struck later ages as the novelty and audacity of Origen's doctrine was in truth its archaism and conservatism." This system of doctrine had captured the Eastern Church, and men like Eusebius had absorbed it from the lips of those who had sat at the feet of Origen himself. It was in accord with the general outlook of cultured men. It appeared to be the logical development of orthodox thought. It is true that elements that had been prominent in heretical teaching were included in it, but they were the good elements, and their carefully limited position in the system made them innocuous. It was the unfolding of the Logos-doctrine on a basis loyal to Scripture and the Rule of Faith. The Logos-theology was the natural way then to think about the immanence of God. It had been appropriated for the Christian Religion long ago by the Apologists. The theology based upon it stood not only for a fascinating idealistic faith, but also for (the strongest bulwark against what

orthodoxy dreaded most-the heresies which tended to make the divine Persons but temporary manifestations of one Godhead, viz. Modalism or Sabellianism. The Logos-theology stressed the unchangeable-ness of the Father, and His distinction from the Son, one in essence though They might be. For the moment the distinction of the Son from the Father was more important to the Church than the question how far such a distinction implied subordination and inferiority. Justin had not shirked the phrase δευτερος θεος, neither did Origen. As Dr. Sanday has said: "The reaction against Sabellianism (which became a general term including all forms of Monarchianism) had not a little to do with the exaggerations on the other side; and in particular the dread of this form of error contributed to the rapid rise and spread of Arianism."⁹ The point where Arianism touched this established and somewhat quiescent theology was exactly where Origen had discouraged speculation. He had given to the Church the doctrine of the eternal generation, but pronounced its comprehension beyond human reason. Arians claimed the right to open a door that was shut. But the disciples of Origen were not perhaps so much disposed to quarrel with adventurers into the uncharted realms "of the ineffable relations of the Godhead before the remotest beginnings of time,"¹⁰ provided they held some form of the Logos-doctrine, as they were to withstand those who rejected it altogether. And their own language is to a later age sometimes indistinguishable from Arianism. Of such a theology the doctrinal parts of the *Demonstratio* may be considered representative. Let us briefly examine it.

As Harnack says : "Eusebius was more convinced than Origen that the idea of deity was completely exhausted in that of the strictly one and unchangeable on the πρώτη ουσία; he separated the δευτερος θεος much further from God than the Apologists."¹¹ We therefore find the utmost emphasis laid on the Absolute Character of Cod the Unbegotten. He is "the One αρχη born before the first, earlier than the Monad" (745 b). He precedes the Son in existence (147), is "the greater God, and as such alone holds the name in His own right" (κυριως) (226). He is as the Sun to the world, too mighty to mingle with created things directly, requiring a Mediator, through whom to create and govern the created world (154).

Therefore by His own will He begets the Logos, "the first-born Wisdom altogether formed of Wisdom, and Reason and Mind, or rather Wisdom itself, Reason itself, and Mind itself" (146,1). He "alone bears the inconceivable

image in Himself through which He is God, and also because of His appointment to guide the Universe” (146 c); *i.e.* He is divine by essence as well as by office.

Eusebius uses the well-worn similes of the Apologists: the relation of the Father to the Son is as light to its ray, as myrrh to its scent, as a king to his portrait. But there is the important difference sufficiently stressed, that having been begotten the Son exists apart from the Father in His own essence (147). Yet worship is due to Him as δευτερος θεος because the greater God dwells in Him (226 d), as the image of a king is honoured not for its own sake, but for the sake of the king. So the words, “They shall know Thee the only true God” cannot be referred to the Logos or Holy Spirit, but only to the Unbegotten (231).

In the work of creation He stands “midway between the begotten and the Unbegotten.” As with Origen and the Neoplatonists He is the “idea of the world,” the basis (θεμελιος) for all created things (213). And it is because of His connection with the world that lower predicates are attached to Him - He is now God’s δημιουργημα (146 b) and υπουργος (257 b) ; the “second cause” (216 b); “a second Lord” (227 d), and is said “to have attained secondary honours” (δευτερειων ηξιωσθαι) (227 d). So the Father is “Lord and God” of the Son (233 a).

In the Incarnation Eusebius teaches the distinctive doctrine of Origen that the Logos associates Himself with a pure, unfallen human soul. “He remains Himself immaterial and unembodied as He was before with the Father” (169 b). “No evil deed can harm Him, because He is not really embodied” (168). “He shared His own gifts with men, and received nothing in return” (*ib.*).

His Body is hut the earthen lamp through which His light shines (188). He comes to republish the true doctrine, from which man has fallen away through the deceptions of the dnemons, to establish a Church to preach it, and to bring man back to God. Once Eusebius uses the word συναποθεωω, “to deify men with Himself” as the object of the Incarnation (170). Five reasons are given for the Death on the Cross (167). It is chiefly the decisive triumph over the daemons, but it is also an expiatory sacrifice for the sins of men. “He offered Himself and the Humanity He assumed to the higher and greater God.” In His earthly life Christ now revealed the Humanity and now the Divinity (165); and it is possible for Eusebius, leaving the Logos in the background, to devote

part of a Book to meeting the common man on his own ground, and to treat of the perfection of Christ's life and teaching as merely human.

The missing Books no doubt dealt with the Risen and Ascended Christ, and the Holy Spirit. There are only hints on these topics in the Books before us. He is "Priest of the obedient to the Father" (164 d). There is a passage (220 a) which especially rouses the anger of de Billy, a famous student of the Greek Fathers in the sixteenth century. It is the interpretation of Ps. cix. : "The Lord said unto My Lord," where the first Lord is said to mean the Father, and the second the Son, Who is thus confessed by the Holy Spirit in David, to be his Lord: "Quod quidem credere quid aliud est quam horrendae impietatis crimine se astringere!" (Billius, *Obs. Sac.* I. 29, p. 48).

It is clear that the theology of Origen is presented here either directly or by implication: Origen taught that God is the only real essence, that by the necessity of His Nature He reveals Himself; that by an act of will He eternally begets the Logos, which is His Consciousness, and also the Idea of the World; that the Logos being the Image of God is essentially God, not begotten in time nor out of the nonexistent; that He is no impersonal Force, but a Second Person in the Godhead. That as the Idea of the World He is subordinate, and in His office to creation both κτίσμα and δημιουργημα; that His Incarnation is a Union (almost docetic) with an unfallen soul, with which He lives and which He draws up to Himself by bonds of mutual love; that His work on earth is chiefly the republication of truth to enlighten men blinded by daemons; that His Death was complete Victory over them, and also sacrificial; that the Humanity was gradually deified until at last the man Jesus passed into the Logos, and that this deification is the destiny of all who share the Logos now.

Such is a bald summary of perhaps the greatest theological system of antiquity, and it is obvious how it lies behind and beneath all that Eusebius says. Like Origen, he rests on Biblical exegesis and is dominated by the Rule of Faith; like Origen, he refrains from speculation on the mystery of the coming-into-being (οὐσιωσις) of the Logos. He expresses the point-of-view of a dominant theology in an assured tone. He speaks as one who voices the opinion of the great mass of cultured believers; for Origen was in possession, and Arius and the Homoousians were alike innovators.

The Creed of the Church of Caesarea, which Eusebius presented at Nicaea as an eirenicon to be accepted by both parties, embodied this theology. "It

bears,” says Dr. Bright, “a considerable resemblance to that which the Council ultimately framed: it was emphatic on the personal distinctions in the Holy Trinity, asserting each Person to be and to exist as truly Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; it recognizes “One Lord Jesus Christ as ‘the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Only-begotten Son, First-born of all Creation, Begotten before all ages, and through Whom all things come into being,’ and it mentioned also His becoming ‘incarnate for our salvation, His Life among men, His Passion, Resurrection on the third day, Ascension to the Father, and future Coming in glory to judge (the) quick and dead,’ and concluded as then quoted, with ‘We believe also in one Holy Spirit’; yet it was not sufficiently explicit as to the main point at stake, His eternal relation to the Father.”¹²

This deficiency was to be supplied by the inclusion of the Homoousion. The Son must be defined as “of the same essence” as the Father. No statement that He was begotten before time was adequate. The Logos must be distinctly separated from the created Universe. And this the Homoousion alone would effect for minds of that day. But it was unfortunately a suspected term. It had been anathematized at the Council of Antioch (A.D. 269) when employed by Paul of Samosata. Athanasius used it sparingly in its hour of victory. Later on the Semi-Arians rejected it as savouring of Sabellianism. No wonder it seemed to steady conservatives like Eusebius, who did not wish to define the ineffable, to head straight for Modalistic views. How could two “of the same essence” be aught but one under different aspects? The doctrinal trend of Eusebius, as Harnack recognizes, was to widen the gulf between the *πρωτη αιτια* and the Logos, rather than to lessen it. The Homoousion seemed perilously like filling it up. But with the necessary limitations he could conscientiously sign it. Safeguarded from Sabellian implications it was harmless. The theology of the *Demonstratio* shows quite clearly how and in what sense the word could be used credally by an exponent of the Origenic theology without any violence to conscience. It makes his attitude throughout the momentous days at Nicea intelligible and creditable to him as a peacemaker. The letter¹³ he wrote to his diocese becomes no mere shuffling apology, but an honest statement. He makes it perfectly clear in what sense he understands the Homoousion. He explains that he has signed on the representation of the Emperor that “consubstantial” implied nothing physical,

but must be regarded as having “a divine and mysterious signification.” Thus, he says that it does not imply that the Son is “a part of the Father,” nor does “Begotten, not made,” mean more than that the Son does not form part of the created Universe, and “does not resemble in any respect the creatures which He has made, but that to the Father alone, Who begat Him, He is in all points perfectly like; for He is of the essence and of the substance of none save the Father.”

He also said that he agreed to the anathemas on those who said that the Son “came out of the non-existent,” or that “there was a time when He was not,” because of the un-Scriptural nature of such expressions. Finally, he definitely asserted that the new formula was in agreement with the Creed that he had originally proposed.

Acquaintance with the *Demonstratio* guarantees the sincerity of the statement. If the Homoousion was to be understood as explained by Constantine, signing it involved no violent wrench with the past. It was capable of being transplanted into the creed of Eusebius. Even Origen had used the word in the sense now applied to it. If Eusebius signed with reluctance, he signed with sincerity.

There is a statement of Harnack’s that the Logos-doctrine as held by Eusebius “effaced the historical Christ.” It would give the impression that theologians of the school of Origen necessarily followed the Gnostics in all their flights. If Hellenic speculation had been the only wing of their theology, they might logically have held a faith of mere abstractions. But the school, like its master, was marked by its devotion to Scriptural exegesis. It was Biblical to the core. Hence such a statement as Harnack’s in the face of the earlier part of the *Demonstratio* appears grotesque and exaggerated. At any rate Eusebius’ hold on the Gospel history was firm and sure. No one can read the third Book without realizing that Eusebius had an interest in the earthly life of our Lord that effectually neutralized the dangers of Gnostic abstract speculation. He had an evangelical sense of the value of all the words and deeds of the Incarnate Christ. His picture of Jesus Christ is not a mass of high-sounding phrases and Biblical images, it is the work of a pastor of souls, who, however abstract his formal theology may be, understands quite well, that it is the concrete historical facts that move men, not the philosophical theories that underlie them, and that the Word took flesh and wrought the Creed of Creeds,

that He might enter in at the doors, not only of the lowly, but of all who are formed of human elements.

§7. THE REFERENCES TO THE EUCHARIST IN THE DEMONSTRATIO

It will be useful, perhaps, to bring together here the passages in the *Demonstratio* which allude to the Eucharist. They are all incidental to the argument, and therefore doctrinally all the more interesting. They express the common sense of the Eastern Church on the subject in a spontaneous way.

(i) 37 *b. sqq.*-Jesus the Lamb of God by His sacrifice frees us from the Mosaic Law. “We are therefore right in celebrating daily His memory, and the Memorial of His Body and Blood (την τουτου μνημην του τε σωματος αυτου και του αιματος την υπομνησιν οσημεραι επιτελουντες).” “Thus we enter on a greater sacrifice and priestly act (θυσια and ιερουργια) than that of the ancients.” The earlier sacrifices were “weak and beggarly elements,” mere symbols and images (συμβολα και εικονες), not embracing truth itself.

We notice here the use of the words μνημη, υπομνησις, θυσια and ιερουργια, and the application of συμβολα και εικονες in a depreciatory sense to the Jewish sacrifices, as not “embracing the truth.” The words are later on applied to the Sacraments, in the sense that they do embrace truth. (See Note on passage.)

A little lower it proceeds -

“We have received through Christ’s mystic dispensation the symbols that are true, and archetypal of the images that preceded them” (τα αληθη και των εικωνων τα αρχετυπα). For Christ offered to the Father “a wonderful sacrifice and unique victim” (θυμα και σφαγιον), and “delivered us a memory (μνημη) to offer continually to God in place of a sacrifice (προσφερειν αντι θυσιας).”

This (μνημη is “celebrated on a table by means of the symbols of His Body and His saving Blood (επι τραπεζης δια συμβολων του τε σωματος αυτου και του σωτηριου αιματος).” It fulfils Ps. xxiii. 5. “Thus in our rites we have been taught to offer through our whole lives bloodless and reasonable and acceptable sacrifices through His Supreme High Priest.” (Cf. Pss. 1. 14, 15; cxli. 2; li. 17; Mal. i. 11.) It is our sacrifice of praise: “we sacrifice in a new way according to the new covenant, the pure sacrifice.” “A contrite heart” has been called a sacrifice to God (Ps. li. 17). And we burn the incense, “the sweet-smelling fruit of excellent theology, offering it by means of our

prayers.” “So we sacrifice and burn incense, celebrating the memory of the great sacrifice in the mysteries which He has delivered to us, and bringing to God our Thanksgiving for our Salvation (την υπερ σωτηριας ημων ευχαριστιαν) by means of pious hymns and prayers, dedicating ourselves wholly to Him and His High Priest, the Word Himself, making our offering in body and soul (ανακειμενοι).”

Here we have συμβολον used in the sacramental sense; and the inner nature of the sacrifice is stressed; the real sacrifice is the contrite heart offered through the Great High Priest, and the incense (non-existent materially in the service then) is the θεολογια of the worshipper. It is a choral, prayerful self-dedication and Eucharist.

(ii) 223 b. - Christ fulfilled the priesthood of Melchizedek, not Aaron. “And our Saviour Jesus, the Christ of God, after the manner of Melchizedek still even now accomplishes by means of His ministers the rites of His priestly work amongst men.” Like Melchizedek, Christ first and His priests after Him “accomplishing their spiritual sacrificial work according to the laws of the Church, represent with wine and bread the mysteries of His Body and saving Blood” (οινω και αρτω του τε σωματος αυτου και του σωτηριου αιματος αιγιττονται τα μυστηρια).

(iii) 380 d. - The expressions in Zech. ix. 9 and 15, are allusions to the Eucharist, and point to the joy given by the mystic wine, and the glory and purity of the mystic food. “For He delivered the symbols (συμβολα) of His divine dispensation to his disciples, bidding them make the image of His own Body (την εικονα του ιδιου σωματος ποιεσθαι).” Rejecting the Mosaic sacrifices, He delivered them bread to use as a symbol of His Body (αρτω χρησθαι συμβολω του ιδιου σωματος).

This further illustrates the use of συμβολον.

We gather from these passages: - (i) That the Mosaic Sacrifice, the Sacrifice on the Cross, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice are intimately related. The latter is a Memorial of the Sacrifice of the Cross in a far higher sense than the Jewish sacrifices were foreshadowings of it. They were but symbols that were unreal, the Eucharist is a symbol but it “embraces reality,” *i.e.* it includes what it represents. It is the archetype of which they were symbols.

(ii) The Eucharist is nothing, if it is not inward. It is a means for the offering of a contrite heart, and the incense of true knowledge of God. It is no

mere outward act; in and through the outward act is the inner oblation.

(iii) Though in line with the Mosaic system the Eucharist is far more in line with the primeval offering of blessing made by Melchizedek with bread and wine, not with animal victims.

(iv) The Eucharist we gather was celebrated daily, and with music.

[Cf. Darwell Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, London, 1909, vol. i 109-111. A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, iv. 291.]

§ 8. MSS., ETC.

The earliest MS. of the *Demonstratio* is the Codex known as the Medicean or "Parisinus 469," of the twelfth century, registered in the Catalogue of the Library of Paris, vol. ii. p. 65. It is deficient at the beginning and end, beginning with the words η παιδισκη σοι, p. 17, and ending at της σωτηρος ημων παρακλησεως, p. 688. These deficiencies were supplied by J. A. Fabricius in his *Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem religionis Christianae adversos atheos . . . asseruerunt*, who used a copy that had been made by Stephen Bergler, at Hamburg, in 1725, from a MS. in the possession of Nicholas Mavrocordato, Prince of Wallachia, who collected many Greek MSS. from Mount Athos and other monasteries. The MS. was unfortunately lost at the death of the Prince. Bergler gave no information about its age or condition. It was almost certain that it was either derived from Parisinus 469 before its mutilation, or from a MS. of the same family.

There are four other MSS. of the *Demonstratio* at Paris, parchments of the sixteenth century numbered 470, 471, 472 and 473 in the Catalogue, vol. ii. pp. 65, 66. And there is at St. John's College, Oxford, a parchment MS. of the fifteenth century (No. 41 in the Catalogue of O. Coxius, p. 12). As all these have the same deficiencies, there is little doubt that they come from the common source, Parisinus 469.

There is a sixth MS. in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan, of the fifteenth century, of the same family (Montfaucon in *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, vol. i. p. 527). And a seventh was possessed by T. F. Mirandola, and was used by Donatus of Verona for his Latin version, first published at Rome in 1498.

Of the four later Paris MSS., 473 bears the date 1543, and was written at Venice (or 1533 according to Montfaucon, *Diario Italico*, p. 408) by Valeriano of Forli. One of the four was no doubt the foundation of Stephen's Paris

edition of 1548.

The Oxford MS. was collated by Gaisford with this edition of Robert Stephen in 1548 with the minutest care. But in the opinion of Dindorf his work added little to the elucidation of the text, beyond the correction of a few slight mistakes of copying, the divergencies in the quotations from the LXX being probably changes made by later scribes in order to bring the quotations into agreement with the accepted text.

Dindorf's conclusion is that a satisfactory text is secured by the use of the Parisinus 469, on which his own edition (Teubner series) is based. It is, he says, comparatively free from the errors of transcribers, with the exception of some lacunae; (pp. 195 d, 210 a, 217 b), and from the frequent interpolations of the *Praeparatio* and the *History*, because the *Demonstratio*, having fewer readers, was seldom copied. There is, therefore, little room in the study of the text for conjectural emendation.

The first Edition of the Greek was that of Robert Stephen, 1548.

Viguer's *Praeparatio* was published at Paris in 1628, with the *Demonstratio* and other works of Eusebius, and the Latin translation of Donatus.

Gaisford's edition (2 vols., Oxford) appeared in 1852 with critical apparatus and the same Latin translation.

The *Demonstratio* forms vol. xxii. of the *Greek Patrology* of Migne (1857), who uses the Paris edition of 1628 with the same translation.

The most recent text is W. Dindorf's in the Teubner Series (Leipzig, 1867), from whose Preface the data of the above are drawn.

The Latin version of Donatus (Rome, 1498) was reprinted at Basle in 1542, 1549, 1559 and 1570, and with the Scholia of J. J. Grynaeus at Paris in 1587. It is remarkable for its omissions and alterations of passages doctrinally suspected.

The present translation is made from the text of Gaisford (Oxford, 1852), with reference to Migne.

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1. From Psalm xl.
2. From Psalm liv.
3. From Psalm cviii.
4. From Zechariah.
5. From Jeremiah.

Of the Events at the Time of His Passion.

6. From Amos.
7. From Zechariah.
8. From Psalm xxi.

The above list of chapters was given at the beginning of each book. It was lost from the Paris Codex for Book I together with the first pages of that book, and from the copies, one of which Robert Stephen used in his edition of 1545. In the Paris edition of 1628, the editor composed the headings of the first three chapters, and supplied the others from a second catalogue, which is given at the head of each chapter throughout the work. Though no doubt the catalogue was complete in the Mavrocordato Codex, Stephen Bergler omitted to give it in the portion of the work which he supplied for the edition of Fabricius.

The headings of the separate chapters, which are in our translation given in their places and form a second catalogue, are much fuller than the introductory list, being enriched by outlines of the prophetic passages that are used.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Gifford, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, p. i. a, hereafter often cited as G.P.E.
- ² G.P.E., p. 3 b.
- ³ G.P.E., p. 3 c.
- ⁴ Lightfoot, *D.C.B.* ii. 329.
- ⁵ *Ibid.* 331.
- ⁶ *Cambridge Theological Essays* (London 1906), p. 350.
- ⁷ J. F. Bethune-Baker, "Christian Doctrines and their Ethical Significance," in *Cambridge Theological Essays* (London 1906), p. 571.
- ⁸ C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*.
- ⁹ *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, p. 40.
- ¹⁰ Stanley, *Eastern Church*, iii. 80.
- ¹¹ *History of Dogma*, iii. 136 (note).
- ¹² W. Bright, *Church of the Fathers*, i. vi. 88. The creed is given. Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 1.
- ¹³ Theodoret, *H.E.* i. 12.

BOOK I

INTRODUCTION

SEE now, Theodotus, miracle of bishops, holy man of God, I am carrying through this great work with the help of God and our Saviour the Word of God, after completing at the cost of great labour my *Preparation for the Gospel* in fifteen books.

Grant then, dear friend, my request, and labour with rue henceforward in your prayers in my effort to present the Proof of the Gospel from the prophecies extant among the Hebrews from the earliest times. I propose to adopt this method. I propose to use as witnesses those men, beloved by God, whose fame you know to be far-spread in the world: Moses, I mean, and his successors, who shone forth with resplendent godliness, and the blessed prophets and sacred writers. I propose to shew, by quotations from them, how they forestalled events that came to the light long ages after their time, the actual circumstances of the Saviour's own presentment of the Gospel, and the things which in our own day are being fulfilled by the Holy Spirit before our very eyes. It shall be my task to prove that they saw that which was not present as present, and that which as yet was not in existence as actually existing; and not only this, but that they foretold in writing the events of the future for posterity, so that by their help others can even now know what is coming, and look forward daily to the fulfilment of their oracles. What sort of fulfilment, do you ask? They are fulfilled in countless and all kinds of ways, and amid all circumstances, both generally and in minute detail, in the lives of individual men, and in their corporate life, now nationally in the course of Hebrew history, and now in that of foreign nations. Such things as civic revolutions, changes of times, national vicissitudes, the coming of foretold prosperity, the assaults of adversity, the enslaving of races, the besieging of cities, the downfall and restoration of whole states, and countless other things that were to take place a long time after, were foretold by these writers.

But it is not now the time for me to provide full proof of this. I will postpone most of it for the present, and perhaps, from the truth of what I shall put before you, there will be some guarantee of the possibility of proving what is passed over in silence.

CHAPTER 1

The Object and Contents of the Work.

IT seems now time to say what I consider to be desirable at present to draw from the prophetic writings for the proof of the Gospel. They said that Christ, (Whom they named) the Word of God, and Himself both God and Lord, and Angel of Great Counsel, would one day dwell among men, and would become for all the nations of the world, both Greek and Barbarian, a teacher of true knowledge of God, and of such duty to God the Maker of the Universe, as the preaching of the Gospel includes. They said that He would become a little child, and would be called the Son of Man, as born of the race of Mankind. They foretold the wondrous fashion of His birth from a Virgin, and — strangest of all — they did not omit to name Bethlehem the place of His birth, which is to-day so famous that men still hasten from the ends of the earth to see it, but shouted it out with the greatest clearness. As if they stole a march on history these same writers proclaimed the very time of His appearance, the precise period of His sojourn on earth.

It is possible for you, if you care to take the trouble, to see with your eyes, comprehended in the prophetic writings, all the wonderful miracles of our Saviour Jesus Christ Himself, that are witnessed to by the heavenly Gospels, and to hear His divine and perfect teaching about true holiness. How it must move our wonder, when they unmistakably proclaim the new ideal of religion preached by Him to all men, the call of His disciples, and the teaching of the new Covenant. Yes, and in addition to all this they foretell the Jews' disbelief in Him, and disputing, the plots of the rulers, the envy of the Scribes, the treachery of one of His disciples, the schemes of enemies, the accusations of false witnesses, the condemnations of His judges, the shameful violence, unspeakable scourging, ill-omened abuse, and, crowning all, the death of shame. They portray Christ's wonderful silence, His gentleness and fortitude, and the unimaginable depths of His forbearance and forgiveness.

The most ancient Hebrew oracles present all these things definitely about One Who would come in the last times, and Who would undergo such sufferings among men, and they clearly tell the source of their foreknowledge. They bear witness to the Resurrection from the dead of the Being Whom they revealed, His appearance to His disciples, His gift of the Holy Spirit to them,

His return to heaven, His establishment as King on His Father's throne and His glorious second Advent yet to be at the consummation of the age. In addition to all this you can hear the wailings and lamentations of each of the prophets, wailing and lamenting characteristically over the calamities which will overtake the Jewish people because of their impiety to Him Who had been foretold. How their kingdom, that had continued from the days of a remote ancestry to their own, would be utterly destroyed after their sin against Christ; how their fathers' Laws would be abrogated, they themselves deprived of their ancient worship, robbed of the independence of their forefathers, and made slaves of their enemies, instead of free men; how their royal metropolis would be burned with fire, their venerable and holy altar undergo the flames and extreme desolation, their city be inhabited no longer by its old possessors but by races of other stock, while they would be dispersed among the Gentiles through the whole world, with never a hope of any cessation of evil, or breathing-space from troubles. And it is plain even to the blind, that what they saw and foretold is fulfilled in actual facts from the very day the Jews laid godless hands on Christ, and drew down on themselves the beginning of the train of sorrows.

But the prophecies of these inspired men did not begin and end in gloom, nor did their prescience extend no further than the reign of sorrow. They could change their note to joy, and proclaim a universal message of good tidings to all men in the coming of Christ: they could preach the good news that though one race were lost every nation and race of men would know God, escape from the daemons, cease from ignorance and deceit and enjoy the light of holiness: they could picture the disciples of Christ filling the whole world with their teaching, and the preaching of their gospel introducing among all men a fresh and unknown ideal of holiness: they could see churches of Christ established by their means among all nations, and Christian people throughout the whole world bearing one common name: they could give assurance that the attacks of rulers and kings from time to time against the Church of Christ will avail nothing to cast it down, strengthened as it is by God. If so many things were proclaimed by the Hebrew divines, and if their fulfilment is so clear to us all to-day, who would not marvel at their inspiration? Who will not agree that their religious and philosophic teaching and beliefs must be sure and true, since their proof is to be found not in artificial arguments, not in

clever words, or deceptive syllogistic reasoning, but in simple and straightforward teaching, whose genuine and sincere character is attested by the virtue and knowledge of God evident in these inspired men? Men who were enabled not by human but by divine inspiration to see from a myriad ages back what was to happen long years after, may surely claim our confidence for the belief which they taught their pupils.

Now I am quite well aware, that it is usual in the case of all who have been properly taught that our Lord and Saviour Jesus is truly the Christ of God to persuade themselves in the first place that their belief is strictly in agreement with what the prophets witness about Him. And secondly, to forewarn all those, with whom they may enter on an argument, that it is by no means easy to establish their position by definite proofs. And this is why in attacking this subject myself I must of course endeavour, with God's help, to supply a complete treatment of the Proof of the Gospel from these Hebrew theologians. And the importance of my writing does not lie in the fact that it is, as might be suggested, a polemic against the Jews. Perish the thought, far from that! For if they would fairly consider it, it is really on their side. For as it establishes Christianity on the basis of the antecedent prophecies, so it establishes Judaism from the complete fulfilment of its prophecies. To the Gentiles too it should appeal, if they would fairly consider it, because of the extraordinary foreknowledge shown in the prophetic writers, and of the actual events that occurred in agreement with their prophecies. It should convince them of the inspired and certain nature of the truth we hold: it should silence the tongues of false accusers by a more logical method of proof, which slanderers contend that we never offer, who in their daily arguments with us keep pounding away with all their might with the implication forsooth that we are unable to give a logical demonstration of our case, but require those who come to us to rest on faith alone.

My present work ought to have something to say to a calumny like this, as it will assuredly rebut the empty lies and blasphemy of godless heretics against the holy prophets by its exposition of the agreement of the new with the old. My argument will dispense with a longer systematic interpretation of the prophecies, and will leave such a task to any who wish to make the study, and are able to expound such works. And I shall take as my teacher the sacred command which says "sum up many things in few words," and aspire to

follow it. I shall only offer such help in regard to the texts, and to the points which bear on the subject under consideration, as is absolutely necessary for their clear interpretation.

But I will now cease my Introduction and begin my Proof. As we have such a mob of slanderers flooding us with the accusation that we are unable logically to present a clear demonstration of the truth we hold, and think it enough to retain those who come to us by faith alone, and as they say that we only teach our followers like irrational animals to shut their eyes and staunchly obey what we say without examining it at all, and call them therefore “the faithful” because of their faith as distinct from reason, I made a natural division of the calumnies of our position in my “Preparation” of the subject as a whole. On the one side I placed the attacks of the polytheistic Gentiles, who accuse us of apostasy from our ancestral gods, and make a great point of the implication, that in recognizing the Hebrew oracles we honour the work of Barbarians more than those of the Greeks. And on the other side I set the accusation of the Jews, in which they claim to be justly incensed against us, because we do not embrace their manner of life, though we make use of their sacred writings. Such being the division, I met the first so far as I could in my *Preparation for the Gospel* by allowing that we were originally Greeks, or men of other nations who had absorbed Greek ideas, and enslaved by ancestral ties in the deceits of polytheism. But I went on to say that our conversion was due not to emotional and unexamined impulse, but to judgment and sober reasoning, and that our devotion to the oracles of the Hebrews thus had the support of judgment and sound reason.

And now I have to defend myself against the second class of opponents, and to embark on the investigation it requires. It has to do with those of the Circumcision, it has not yet been investigated, but I hope in time to dispose of it in the present work on the Proof of the Gospel. And so now with an invocation of the God of Jews and Greeks alike in our Saviour’s Name we will take as our first object of inquiry, what is the character of the religion set before Christians. And in this same inquiry we shall record the solutions of all the points investigated.

CHAPTER 2

The Character of the Christian Religion.

I HAVE already laid down in my *Preparation* that Christianity is neither a form of Hellenism, nor of Judaism, but that it is a religion with its own characteristic stamp, and that this is not anything novel or original, but something of the greatest antiquity, something natural and familiar to the godly men before the times of Moses who are remembered for their holiness and justice. But now let us consider the nature of Hellenism and Judaism, and inquire under which banner we should find these pre-Mosaic saints, whose godliness and holiness is attested by Moses himself. Judaism would be correctly defined as the polity constituted according to the Law of Moses, dependent on the one, omnipotent God. Hellenism you might summarily describe as the worship of many Gods according to the ancestral religions of all nations. What then would you say about the pre-Mosaic and pre-Judaic saints, whose lives are recorded by Moses, Enoch for instance, of whom he says:

“And Enoch pleased God.”

Or Noah, of whom he says again:

“And Noah was a man righteous in his generation “

Or Seth, and Japheth, of whom he writes:

“Blessed be the Lord God of Seth (Shem), . . . and may God make room for Japheth.”

Add to these Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, include as is right the patriarch Job, and all the rest who lived according to the ideals of these men; they must, you may think, have been either Jews or Greeks. But yet they could not properly be called Jews, inasmuch as the system of Moses' Law had not yet been brought into being. For if (as we have admitted) Judaism is only the observance of Moses' Law, and Moses did not appear until long after the date of the men named, it is obvious that those whose holiness he records who lived before him, were not Jews. Neither can we regard them as Greeks, inasmuch as they were not under the dominion of polytheistic superstition. For it is recorded of Abraham that he left his father's house and his kindred

altogether, and cleaved to the One God alone, Whom he confesses when he says:

“I will stretch out (my hand) to the most-high God, who created the heaven and the earth.”

And Jacob is recorded by Moses as saying to his house and all his people:

“2. Remove the strange gods from your midst, 3. and let us arise and go to Bethel, and make there an altar to the Lord that heard me in the day of affliction, who was with me, and preserved me in the way wherein I went. 4. And they gave to Jacob the strange gods, which were in their hands, and the ear-rings in their ears, and Jacob hid them under the terebinth that is in Shechem, and destroyed them to this day.”

These men, then, were not involved in the errors of idolatry, moreover they were outside the pale of Judaism; yet, though they were neither Jew nor Greek by birth, we know them to have been conspicuously pious, holy, and just. This compels us to conceive some other ideal of religion, by which they must have guided their lives. Would not this be exactly that third form of religion midway between Judaism and Hellenism, which I have already deduced, as the most ancient and most venerable of all religions, and which has been preached of late to all nations through our Saviour. Christianity would therefore be not a form of Hellenism nor of Judaism, but something between the two, the most ancient organization for holiness, and the most venerable philosophy, only lately codified as the law for all mankind in the whole world. The convert from Hellenism to Christianity does not land in Judaism, nor does one who rejects the Jewish worship become *ipso facto* a Greek. From whichever side they come, whether it be Hellenism or Judaism, they find their place in that intermediate law of life preached by the godly and holy men of old time, which our Lord and Saviour has raised up anew after its long sleep, in accordance with Moses' own prophecies, and those of the other prophets on the point. Yes, Moses himself writes prophetically in the oracles addressed to Abraham, that in days to come not only Abraham's descendants, his Jewish seed, but all the tribes and nations of the earth will be counted worthy of God's blessing on the common basis of a piety like Abraham's.

“1. And the Lord said to Abram, Go forth out of thy land, and from thy kindred, and from the house of thy father, and come hither into the land which I shall shew thee. 2. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless

thee and magnify thy name, and thou shalt be blessed, 3. and I will bless those that bless thee, and I will curse those that curse thee, and in thee all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed.”

And again God said:

“Shall I hide from Abraham my servant that I shall do? For Abraham shall become a great and numerous nation, and in him all the nations of the earth shall be blessed.”

How could all the nations and families of the earth be blessed in Abraham, if there was no connection between him and them, either of spiritual character or physical kinship? There was assuredly no physical kinship between Abraham and the Scythians, or the Egyptians, or the Aethiopians, or the Indians, or the Britons, or the Spaniards: such nations and others more distant than they could not surely hope to receive any blessing because of any physical kinship to Abraham. It was quite as unlikely that all the nations would have any common claim to share the spiritual blessings of Abraham. For some of them practised marriage with mothers and incest with daughters, some of them unmentionable vice. The religion of others lay in slaughter, and the deification of animals, idols of lifeless wood, and superstitions of deceiving spirits. Others burned their old men alive, and commended as holy and good the customs of delivering their dearest to the flames, or feasting on dead bodies. Men brought up in such savage ways could not surely share in the blessing of the godly, unless they escaped from their savagery, and embraced a way of life similar to the piety of Abraham. For even he, a foreigner and a stranger to the religion which he afterwards embraced, is said to have changed his life, to have cast away his ancestral superstition, to have left his home and kindred and fathers’ customs, and the manner of life in which he was born and reared, and to have followed God, Who gave him the oracles which are preserved in the Scriptures.

If Moses then, who came after Abraham and established a polity for the Jewish race on the basis of the law which he gave them, had laid down the kind of laws which were the guide of godly men before his own time, and such as it was possible for all nations to adopt, so that it should be possible for all the tribes and nations of the world to worship according to Moses’ enactments; which is the same as saying that the oracles foretold that through Moses’ lawgiving men of all nations would worship God and follow Judaism,

being brought to it by the law, and would be blessed with the blessing of Abraham — then it would have been right for us to be keeping the enactments of Moses. But if the polity of Moses was not applicable to the other nations, but only to the Jews and not to all of them, but only to the inhabitants of Judaea, then it was altogether necessary to set up another kind of religion different from the law of Moses, that all the nations of the world might take it as their guide with Abraham, and receive an equal share of blessing with him.

CHAPTER 3

That the System of Moses was not Suitable for All Nations.

THAT the enactments of Moses, as I said, were only applicable to the Jews, but not to all of them, and certainly not to the dispersed (among the Gentiles), only in fact to the inhabitants of Palestine, will be plain to you if you reflect thus. For the law of Moses says:

“Thrice in the year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God.”

And it defines more exactly at what place they should all meet, when it says:

“Three times in the year shall thy males appear before the Lord, thy God, in the place which the Lord shall choose.”

You see that it does not bid them meet in each city, or in any indefinite place, but “in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.” There thrice a year it enacts that they must assemble together, and it determines the times, when they must meet at the place where the rites of the worship there are to be celebrated. One season is that of the Passover, the second, fifty days later, is called the Feast of Pentecost, and the third is in the seventh month after the Passover, on the Day of Atonement, when all the Jews still perform their fast. And a curse is laid on all who do not obey what is enacted. It is plain that all who were to meet at Jerusalem thrice in the year and perform their rites would not be able to live far from Judaea: but they live all round its boundaries. If then it would be impossible even for the Jews whose home is the farthest from Palestine to obey their law, it would be absurd to hold that it could be applicable to all nations and to men in the uttermost parts of the earth.

Hear now in what way women after childbirth are bidden by the same Lawgiver to go and present their offerings to God, as follows:

“And the Lord spake to Moses, saying, Speak to the children of Israel, and thou shalt say to them, Whatsoever woman shall have conceived and borne a male-child shall be unclean seven days.”

And he adds after saying something else:

“6. And when the days of her purification shall have been fulfilled for a son or a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of a year old without blemish for a whole burnt-offering, and a young pigeon or a turtle-dove for a sin-offering to the door of the tabernacle of witness to the priest, 7. she shall present [them]

before the Lord. And the priest shall make atonement for her, and shall purify her from the issue of her blood; this is the law of her who bears a male or a female.”

Again, in addition to this the same law bids those who have contracted defilement by mourning or touching a corpse only to be purified by the ashes of an heifer, and to abstain from their accustomed work for seven days. This is what it says:

“10. And it shall be a perpetual statute to the children of Israel and to the proselytes in the midst of them. 11. He that touches the dead body of any soul of man shall be unclean seven days, 12. shall be purified on the third day and shall be made clean on the seventh day. And if he be not purified on the third day, and on the seventh day, he shall not be clean. 13. Every one who touches the dead body of a soul of a man, if he shall have died, and he be not purified, he has defiled the tabernacle of the witness of the Lord. That soul shall be cut off from Israel, because the water of cleansing has not been sprinkled on him. He is unclean, uncleanness is on him. 14. And this is the law: if a man die in a house, everyone that goeth into that house, and all the things that are in the house, are unclean seven days. 15. And every open vessel which is not bound with a fastening, shall be unclean; 16. and every one who shall touch on the face any man slain by the sword, or a corpse, or a human bone, or a sepulchre, shall be unclean seven days. 17. And they shall take for the unclean of the burnt ashes of purification, and shall pour it into a vessel, 18. and shall take hyssop. And a clean man shall clip it, and sprinkle it on the house and the furniture and the souls that are therein, and on him that has touched the human bone, or the slain man, or the dead, or the sepulchre. 19. And the clean man shall sprinkle it on the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day, and he shall wash his garments, and shall wash [his body] with water, and shall be unclean until the evening. 20. And a man, if he be defiled, and not purified, that soul shall be cast out of the congregation, because the water of purification has not been sprinkled on him; and this shall be a perpetual law to you.”

When Moses made this law he even determined the ritual of the sprinkling with water. He said that a red heifer without spot must be completely burnt, and that a portion of its ashes must be cast into the water, with which those who had been defiled by a corpse were to be purified. Where the heifer is to

be burnt, where the woman is to bring her offerings after childbirth, where she is to celebrate the other rites, is not in doubt. It is not to be done indifferently in every place, but only in that place which he defines. This is plain from his enactment, when he says:

“And there shall be a place, which the Lord your God shall choose, in which his name shall be called upon, there shall ye bear whatsoever I bid you to-day.”

And he explains in accurate order, adding:

“13. Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy whole burnt-offerings in any place, which thou mayst see, 14. but in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, in one of thy cities; there shall thou offer thy whole burnt-offerings, and there shall thou do whatsoever I bid you to-day.”

And he makes this addition:

“ 17. Thou shall not be able to eat in all thy cities the tenth of thy corn and wine and oil, the firstborn of thy herd and thy flock, and all thy vows whatsoever thou hast vowed, and thy thank-offerings, and the firstfruits of thine hands. 18. But before the Lord shall thou eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose for himself, thou and thy sons and thy daughter, and thy servant, and thy maid, and the stranger that is in thy cities.”

And proceeding he confirms the statement, where he says:

“But thou shall take thy holy things, if thou hast any, and thy vows, and shall come to the place, which the Lord thy God shall choose for himself.”

And again:

“Thou shall tithe a tenth of all the produce of thy seed, the produce of thy field year by year. And thou shall eat it in the place {2a} which the Lord thy God shall choose to have his name called on there.”

And then in considering what ought to be done if the place designated by him were far off, and the yield of fruit large, how the year's fruits for the whole burnt-offering could be carried to the place of God, he lays down the following law:

“23. And if the journey be too far for thee, and thou art not able to bring them, because the place is far from thee, which the Lord your God shall choose to have his name called on there, because the Lord thy God shall bless thee; 24. and thou shall sell them for money, {2b} and shall take the money in thy hands, and shall go to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose. 25.

And thou shall give the money for whosoever thy soul desireth for oxen or sheep, or wine, or strong drink, or for whosoever thy soul desireth and thou shall consume it there before the Lord.”

And he again sets his seal on the actual place, when he says:

“19. Every firstborn that shall be born of thy kine and sheep, thou shall offer the males to the Lord thy God; thou shall not work with thy firstborn calf, and thou shall not shear thy firstborn sheep: 20. thou shall eat it before the Lord year by year, {2c} in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, thou and thy house.”

Next notice how he arranges the celebration of the feasts, not anywhere in the land, but only in the appointed place. For he says:

“Observe the month of new corn, and thou shall keep the Passover to the Lord thy God, sheep and bulls, in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.”

And he again reminds them, saying:

“5. Thou shall not be able to sacrifice the passover {2d} in any of the cities which the Lord thy God gives thee; 6. But in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose, to have his name called on there, thou shall sacrifice the passover at even at the setting of the sun at the time when thou earnest out of Egypt. 7. And thou shalt boil and eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose.”

Such, then, is the law of the Feast of the Passover. Hear that of Pentecost:

“9. Seven weeks in full shalt thou number to thyself, from when thou beginnest to put the sickle in the corn, 10. and thou shalt keep a feast of weeks to the Lord thy God, according as thy hand has power in whatsoever things the Lord thy God gives thee to bless thee. 11. And thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God, thou and thy son, and thy daughter, thy servant, and thy maid, {3a} and the Levite that is in thy cities, and the proselyte; and the orphan, and the widow that is among you, in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose for himself, to have his name called on there.”

And hear where he commands the third feast to be celebrated:

“13. And thou shalt keep the feast of tabernacles when thou gatherest in from thy corn-floor and from thy wine-press, 14. and shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy servant, and thy maid, and the widow, {3b} in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose for himself.”

As he is so insistent on the selected place, and says so many times that they are to meet there in all their tribes and in all their families, the law could hardly apply to those living even a little way from Judaea, and still less to the nations of the whole world, especially as he allows no pardon to those who transgress his ordinances, and invokes a curse on those who do not carry them all out to the minutest detail, in the following words:

“{3c} Cursed is he who continueth not in all things written in this law to do them.”

Consider, again, other instances of the impossibility of all men following the law of Moses. He makes a distinction between voluntary transgressions and those hard to evade, and after assigning penalties to sins which deserve the severest punishment, he provides laws by which those who sin unwittingly are to receive different treatment. One of these runs as follows:

“27. And if a soul of the people of the land shall sin unwittingly by doing anything contrary to the commandments of the Lord that ought not to be done, and shall transgress, 28. and his sin shall be known to him, wherein he hath sinned [in it], then shall he bring [his gift] a kid of the goats, a female without blemish, {3d} he shall bring it for his sin that he hath sinned 29. in the place where they slay the whole burnt-offerings, 30. and the priest shall take of the blood.”

You see here how one who has sinned unintentionally is required to present himself at the place where the whole burnt-offerings are sacrificed. And this is the place the law has already so often mentioned, when it says:

“The place which the Lord thy God shall choose.”

But, indeed, the Lawgiver himself perceived the impossibility for all mankind to carry out the law, and clearly noted it by not promulgating his law universally for all, but with this limitation:

“If a soul sin unwittingly of the people of the land.”

And he lays down a second law which says: {4a}

“And if a soul hear the voice of the swearing of an oath, and he is a witness or has seen or been conscious of it, if he do not report it, he shall bear the iniquity.”

What is he to do? He is to take the victim in his hands and go with all speed to the purification. And of course that must take place where the whole burnt-offerings are sacrificed.

And once more a third law:

“2. The soul, it says, which shall touch any unclean thing, or carcases of unclean cattle, and should take from it, he also himself is defiled and transgresses, 3. or if he touch the uncleanness of a man, and by all the uncleanness that he touches be defiled, and {4b} know it not, and afterwards should know it and transgress.”

Here the only thing necessary for the polluted person is for him to go once more to the sacred place, and offer for the sin which he has sinned a female animal from his flock, a lamb or a kid of the goats, for his sin. And the law was the same in the case of a soul, which shall “swear pronouncing with his lips to do evil or to do good, whatsoever it be that a man shall pronounce with an oath, and it be hid from him; and when he knoweth of it and is guilty in one of those things, and shall confess the sin that he hath sinned:”he too, the law says, taking the same offering, is to go with all speed to the sacred place, and the priest is to pray on his behalf for the sin, and his sin shall be forgiven. And another law besides those I have quoted makes this provision:

“The soul which shall be really unconscious, and shall sin unwittingly in any of the holy things of the Lord, even he shall bear a ram for his transgression to the Lord. [And he shall bear it again to the high-priest to the place, that is to say the chosen place.”

And he adds a sixth law in these words:

“{4d} And the soul which shall sin and do one thing against the commandments of the Lord, which it is not right to do, and hath not known it, and shall have transgressed and contracted guilt, he shall even bring a ram to the High Priest, and the priest shall make atonement for his trespass of ignorance, and he knew it not, and it shall be forgiven him.”

The following is a seventh, law:

“2. The soul which shall have sinned and surely overlooked the commandments of the Lord, and shall deal falsely in the affairs of his neighbour in the matter of a deposit, or concerning association (in business), or plunder, or has in any way wronged his neighbour, 3. or has found that which was lost, and has lied concerning it, and shall have sworn unjustly concerning any one of all the things, whatsoever a man may do, so as to sin thereby; 4. it shall come to pass, whenever he so hath sinned and transgressed, that he shall restore the plunder he has seized, or redress the injustice he has

committed, or restore the deposit which was entrusted to him, {5a} 5. or the lost article he has found of any kind, about which he swore unjustly, he shall even restore it in full, and shall add to it the fifth part.”

Here, again, after confession and reparation the transgressor had to go with all speed, putting everything else on one side, to the place, which the Lord our God should choose, and offer for his sin an unblemished ram, and the priest was to pray for him before the Lord, and he would be forgiven. {5b}

In this careful way our wonderful Moses distinguished sins done unwittingly and ignorantly from intentional offences, on which in the government of his people he set rigorous penalties. For he that would not pardon the unwitting offender before he had confessed his offence, exacted a small penalty from him in the sacrifice ordained, by requiring him to repair with all speed {5c} to the sacred place fostered both the religious spirit and watchfulness of those who worshipped God by his rule, and of course restrained even more the desires of willing offenders. What, then, must be our conclusion from all this, when, as we have said, we find Moses summing up his whole system with a curse, where he says:

“Cursed is everyone, who shall not remain in all the things written in this law. to do them “?”

Was it, then, meant that Moses’ future disciples from the ends of the earth must do all these things, if they were to escape the curse and receive the blessing promised to Abraham? Were they to go thrice a year to Jerusalem, {5d} and were the female worshippers of all nations, fresh from the pangs of childbirth, to undertake so long a journey, to offer the sacrifice ordained by Moses for each one of their children? Were those who had touched a dead body, or had forsworn themselves, or had sinned against their will, to come from the ends of the earth, to run and hasten to the purification that was required by the law, in order to escape the visitation of the curse? Of course it is clear to you that it was hard enough to follow Moses’ rule of life for those who lived round Jerusalem, or only inhabited Judaea, and that it was quite out of the question for the other nations to fulfil it.

Hence, of course, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus the Son of God, said to His disciples after His Resurrection:

“{6a} Go and make disciples of all the nations,” and added: “Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you.”

For He did not bid them to teach the laws of Moses to all nations, but whatsoever He Himself had commanded: that is to say, the contents of the Gospels. And agreeably to this His disciples and apostles in considering the requirements of the Gentiles decided that Moses' enactments were unsuitable to their needs, since neither they themselves nor their fathers had found them easy to be kept. As St. Peter says in the Acts: {6b}

"Now therefore why do ye attempt to lay a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?"

And agreeably to this Moses himself for this very reason said that another prophet would be raised up "like unto him"; and publishes the good news that he should be a lawgiver for all the nations. He speaks of Christ in a riddle. He orders his followers to obey him in these prophetic words.

"{6c} 15. A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up to you from your brethren, like unto me, ye shall hear him [whatsoever he saith unto you]. 19. And it shall be that every soul who will not hear that prophet shall be cast out of its race."

And that this prophet, who is clearly the Christ, should come forth from the Jews and rule all nations, he proclaims again when he says:

"{6d} 5. How fair are thy dwellings, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel, 6. as shady groves, and as a garden by a river, and as tents which God pitched. 7. There shall come a man out of his seed, and he shall rule over many nations, and his kingdom shall be exalted."

He makes it clear from which tribe of all the twelve that comprised the Hebrew race, namely the tribe of Judah, Christ the Lawgiver of the Gentiles according to the prophecy should arise. He is clear as to the date, for it would be after the cessation of the Jewish monarchy which had been handed down from their forefathers.

"A ruler shall not fail from Juda, nor a prince from his loins, until there come the things stored up for him; and he is the expectation of the nations."

What "expectation" could this be, but that expressed in the promise to Abraham that in him all the families of the earth should be blessed? Moses has, therefore, made it quite plain from his own words that he was quite well aware of the failure of the law he had laid down to apply to all nations, and that another prophet would be necessary for the fulfilment of the oracles given to Abraham. And this was He, of Whom his prophecy proclaimed the good

news that one should arise from the tribe of Judah and rule all nations.

CHAPTER 4

Why it is we reject the Jews' Way of Life, though we accept their Writings.

THESE, then, are the reasons why we have accepted and loved as belonging to ourselves the sacred books of the Hebrews, including as they do prophecies relating to us Gentiles. And the more so, since it was not Moses only who foretold the coming of the Lawgiver of the Gentiles after him, but really the whole succession of the prophets, who proclaimed the same truth with one voice, as David, when he said:

“Appoint, O Lord, a Lawgiver over them: let the nations know that they are but men.”

See how he too speaks of a second Lawgiver of the nations. And in the same spirit in another (psalm) he calls on the Gentiles to sing, not the ancient song of Moses, but a new song, when he says:

“1. Sing to the Lord a new song; | sing to the Lord all the whole earth: | 3. proclaim among the nations his glory, | among all peoples his wonders: | 4. For great is the Lord, and very worthy to be praised, | he is terrible above all gods. | 5. For all the gods of the nations are demons, | but it is the Lord that made the heavens. | 7. Bring to the Lord ye families of the nations; | 8. bring to the Lord glory to his name.”

And again: .

“10. Say among the nations, The Lord is King. | For he has established the world, that it shall not be shaken.”

And again:

“1. Sing to the Lord a new song, | for he hath done marvellous things, | 2. The Lord hath made known his salvation; | Before the nations he hath revealed righteousness. | 3. All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God.”

And notice how he ordains the new song not for the Jewish race only; the ancient song of Moses suited them, but for all the nations. This new song is called by Jeremiah, another Hebrew prophet, “a new covenant” where he says:

“31. Behold the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Juda: 32. not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt: for they abode not in

my covenant, and I disregarded them, saith the Lord. 33. For this is my, covenant which I will make with the house of Israel, saith the Lord, I will put my laws in their minds, and on their hearts I will write (them), and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.”

You see here that he distinguishes two covenants, the old and the new, and says that the new would not be like the old which was given to the fathers. For the old covenant was given as a law to the Jews, when they had fallen from the religion of their forefathers, and had embraced the manners and life of the Egyptians, and had declined to the errors of polytheism, and the idolatrous superstitions of the Gentiles. It was intended to raise up the fallen, and to set on their feet those who were lying on their faces, by suitable teaching.

“For the law, it is said, is not for the righteous, but for the unjust and disorderly, for the unrighteous and for sinners, and for those like them.”

But the new covenant leads those who, through our Saviour by the grace and gift of God are raised up, to a rapid march into the kingdom promised by God. It summons all men equally to share together the same good things. This “new covenant” Isaiah, another of the Hebrew prophets, calls the “new law,” when he says:

“3. For out of Sion shall go forth a law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And all the nations shall go, and all the peoples shall be gathered together, and shall say, Let us go up to the Mount of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob.”

This law going forth from Sion, different from the law enacted in the desert by Moses on Mount Sinai, what can it be but the word of the Gospel, “going forth from Sion” through our Saviour Jesus Christ, and going through all the nations? For it is plain that it was in Jerusalem and Mount Sion adjacent thereto, where our Lord and Saviour for the most part lived and taught, that the law of the new covenant began and from thence went forth and shone upon all, according to the commands which He gave his disciples when He said:

“Go ye, and make disciples of all the nations, teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you.”

What could He mean but the teaching and discipline of the new covenant? Since, then, I have proved my facts, let us proceed to investigate together the character of the new covenant, and the new song and the new law that were

foretold.

CHAPTER 5

The Character of the New Covenant of Christ.

I HAVE now proved that the old covenant and the law given by Moses was only applicable to the Jewish race, and only to such of them as lived in their own land. It did not apply to other nations of the world nor to Jews inhabiting foreign soil. And I have shown that the ideal of the new covenant must be helpful to the life of all nations: the members of its kingdom are to be restricted in no way whatever. Considerations of country, race or locality, or anything else are not to affect them in any way at all. The law and life of our Saviour Jesus Christ shows itself to be such, being a renewal of the ancient pre-Mosaic religion, in which Abraham, the friend of God, and his forefathers are shown to have lived. And if you cared to compare the life of Christians and the worship introduced among all nations by Christ with the lives of the men who with Abraham are witnessed to by Scripture as holy and righteous, you would find one and the same ideal. For they too turned their backs on the errors of polytheism, they relinquished idolatrous superstition, they looked beyond the whole of the visible creation and deified neither sun nor moon, nor any part of the whole. They raised themselves to the Supreme God, Himself the Highest, the Creator of heaven and earth. And Moses himself bears this out in his history of ancient times when he records Abraham's saying:

"I will stretch forth my hand unto God most high, who hath created the heaven and the earth."

And when, before this, he introduces Melchizedek, whom he calls the priest of the Most High God, blessing Abraham as follows:

"Blessed be Abraham by God most high, who hath created the heaven and the earth."

And you would find that Enoch and Noah were reckoned just and well pleasing to God in the same way as Abraham. Job, too, a just, true, blameless, devout man, averse from everything evil, is recorded as pre-Mosaic. He underwent a trial of his utter devotion to the God of the Universe when he lost everything he had, and left the greatest example of holiness to posterity, when he spoke these philosophic words:

"21. I myself came forth naked from my mother's womb, and naked shall I depart. The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away. As the Lord pleased, so it

came to pass. Blessed be the name of the Lord.”

That he said this as a worshipper of the God of the universe is made quite clear when he goes on to say:

“4. For he is wise in mind and mighty and great; 6. Who shakes the (earth) under heaven from its foundation and its pillars totter. 7. Who commands the sun and it rises not, and he seals up the stars; 8. Who alone has stretched out the heaven.”

If then the teaching of Christ has bidden all nations now to worship no other God but Him whom the men of old and the pre-Mosaic saints believed in, we are clearly partakers of the religion of these men of old time. And if we partake of their religion we shall surely share their blessing. Yes, and equally with us they knew and bore witness to the Word of God, Whom we love to call Christ. They were thought worthy in very remarkable ways of beholding His actual presence and theophany.

Remember how Moses calls the Being, Who appeared to the patriarchs, and often delivered to them the oracles afterwards written down in Scripture, sometimes God and Lord, and sometimes the Angel of the Lord. He clearly implies that this was not the Omnipotent God, but a secondary Being, rightly called the God and Lord of holy men, but the Angel of the Most High His Father. Thus he says:

“10. And Jacob went forth ... to Charran, 11. and came to a certain place, and he slept there. . . . And he took of the stones of the place, and put it at his head, and lay down to sleep in that place, 12. and he dreamed: and behold, a ladder fixed on the earth whose top reached to heaven, and the angels of God ascended and descended on it. 13. And the Lord stood upon it, and said, I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: fear not, the earth, the land on which thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed: 14 and thy seed shall be as the sand of the earth.”

To which he adds:

“16. And Jacob arose in the morning, and took the stone, which he had put under his head, and set it up as a pillar.”

Then further on he calls this God and Lord Who appeared to him the Angel of God. For Jacob says:

“11. For the Angel of God said to me in a dream, Jacob. And I said, What is it?”

And then:

“12. I have seen, he says, all that Laban does to thee. I am the God that was seen by thee in the place of God, where thou anointedst for me there a pillar, and thou vowedst to me there a vow.”

This same being who appeared to Abraham is called Lord and God. He teaches the saint mysteriously of His Father’s rule, and speaks some things, as it were, of another God, which I will examine in their place. Then, again, it is impious to suppose that the Being who answered Job after his severe trial was the same. For when He shows Himself first in the whirlwind and the clouds He reveals Himself as the God of the Universe, but He goes on to reveal Himself in a way which makes Job say:

“4. Hear me, O Lord, and I will speak. 5. I heard of thee before by the hearing of the ears, but now mine eye hath seen thee.”

And if it is not possible for the Most High God, the Invisible, the Uncreated, and the Omnipotent to be said to be seen in mortal form, the Being Who was seen must have been the Word of God, Whom we call Lord as we do the Father. But it is needless for me to labour the point, since it is possible to find instances in Holy Scripture. These I will collect at leisure in connection with my present work to prove that He Who was seen by the patriarchal saints was none other than the Word of God.

Therefore besides the conception of the Creator of the Universe, we and they have inherited also the conception of Christ in common. Hence you can find instances of the pre-Mosaic saints being called “Christs,” just as we are called Christians. Hear what the oracle in the Psalms says about them:

“12. When they were few in numbers, very few, and strangers in the land, 13. and they went from nation to nation, from (one) kingdom to another people: 14. He suffered no man to wrong them, and he reprov’d kings for their sakes, saying: 15. ‘Touch not my Christs, and do no evil to my prophets.’”

The whole context shows that this must be referred to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: they therefore shared the name of Christ with us.

CHAPTER 6

The Nature of the Life according to the New Covenant proclaimed to All Men by Christ.

JUST as a life of virtue and a system of holiness is through the teaching of Christ preached to all nations without any reference to the Mosaic legislation, so by these men of old time the same independent ideal of holiness was upheld. They cared nothing for circumcision, nor do we. They did not abstain from eating certain beasts, neither do we. For instance, Moses introduces Melchizedek, priest of the Most High God, uncircumcised, not anointed with prepared ointment according to Moses, knowing naught of the Sabbath, paying no heed whatever to the commandments afterwards given by Moses to the whole Jewish race, but living exactly according to the Gospel of Christ. And yet Moses says he was the priest of the Most High God, and the superior of Abraham. For he is introduced as blessing Abraham. Such too was Noah, a just man in his generation, whom as a kindling seed of the human race Almighty God preserved in the destruction by the flood when all men on earth were destroyed. He again was quite ignorant of Jewish customs, he was uncircumcised, he did not follow the Mosaic law in any point, yet he is recognized as conspicuously just. And Enoch before him, who is said to have pleased God, and to have been translated, so that his death was not seen, was another like person, uncircumcised, with no part or lot in the law of Moses, living a distinctly Christian rather than a Jewish life.

And Abraham himself, coming later than those already named, being younger than they according to the age men reached in those times, though an old man in reality, was the first to receive circumcision as a seal, for the sake of his descendants, and he left it to those who should be born of him according to the flesh as a sign of their descent from him. He too before he had a son, and before he was circumcised, by his rejection of idolatry, and his confession of the one omnipotent God, yea, by his virtuous life alone is shown to be one who lived as a Christian, not as a Jew. For he is represented as having kept the commandments and the precepts and the ordinances of God before the enactments of Moses. That is why God giving the oracle to Isaac says:

“And I will give to thy seed all this land, and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed. Because Abraham thy father heard my voice,

and kept my commandments, and my laws, and my judgments, and my statutes.”

So there were before the Mosaic law other commandments of God, and ordinances not like those of Moses, other laws and precepts of Christ, by which they were justified. Moses clearly shews that these were not the same as his own enactments, when he says to the people:

“Hear, Israel, the ordinances and the judgments, all that I speak in your ears this day, and ye shall learn them, and observe to do them. The Lord your God made a covenant with you in Choreb; the Lord did not make this covenant with your fathers, but with you.”

See how distinctly he alludes to this covenant, when he says God did not give the same covenant to their fathers. For if he had said that absolutely no covenant was given to their fathers it would have been a false statement. For Holy Scripture testifies that a covenant of some kind was given both to Abraham and Noah. And so Moses adds that one “not the same” was given to their fathers, implying that other greater and glorious covenant, by which they were shown forth as friends of God. So Moses records that Abraham by his faith in Almighty God attained righteousness when he says:

“Abraham believed in God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.”

This text shews clearly that he received the sign of circumcision after his attainment of righteousness and after the witness to his holiness, and that this added nothing at all to his justification.

Again, you would find Joseph in pre-Mosaic times in the palaces of the Egyptians living in freedom not burdened by Judaism. Moses himself, the leader and lawgiver of the Jews, lived from his babyhood with the daughter of the King of Egypt, and partook of the Egyptian food without question. What is to be said of Job the thrice-blessed, the true, the blameless, the just, the holy, what was the cause of his holiness and justice, was it Moses’ commandments? Certainly not. Was it the keeping of the Sabbath, or any other Jewish observance? How could that be, if Job was earlier than the time of Moses and his legislation? For Moses was seventh from Abraham, and Job fifth, preceding him by two generations. And if you regard his life, you will see it was untouched by the Mosaic legislation, but not foreign to the teaching of our Saviour. Thus in reviewing his life in his apology to his friends he says:

“12. For I saved the poor from the hand of the powerful, and I helped the orphan who had no helper. The mouth of the widow blessed me, 14. and I was clad in righteousness. I put on judgment as a cloak, 15. an eye was I to the blind, a foot to the lame, 16. I was a father of the weak.”

This surely is exactly the same teaching which is preached to us all in the Gospel. Then again as one well acquainted with the words, “Weep with those that weep,” and “Blessed are they that weep, for they shall laugh”; and “If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it,” which are included in the Gospel teaching, he shews his sympathy for the miserable by saying:

“25. And I wept for every weak one — I groaned when I saw a man in difficulties.”

Then, again, this holy man forestalls the Gospel teaching, which forbids unseemly laughter, when he says:

“5. But if I had gone with scorners, and if my foot has hasted to deceit 6. For I am weighed in a just balance, and the Lord knows my innocence.”

And where the Mosaic law says “Thou shall not commit adultery,” and assigns death as the punishment of adulterers, He who draws out the law of the Gospel teaching, says: “It was said to them of old time, Thou shall not commit adultery; but I say unto you, thou shall not desire at all.”

Look well at the man of whom we are speaking; he was so good a Christian in his life that he restrained even his looks when they were wayward, and made it his boast so to do — for he says:

“9. And if my heart has followed my eye for the wife of another man.”

And he gives the reason, as he continues:

“11. For the spirit of a man is not to be stayed, in the case of defiling another man’s wife. 12. For it is a fire burning on every side, and where it enters, it utterly destroys.”

Here he shows his incorruptibility:

“7. If, too, I have touched gifts with my hands; 8. then let me sow, and others eat, and let me be uprooted from the earth.”

How he treated his servants we may learn from his teaching here:

“13. And if I have trifled with the cause of my servant, or handmaiden, when they pleaded with me.”

And again he gives the reason:

“14. What, then, should I do, if the Lord should try me? ... 15. Were not

they also formed as I was in the womb? Yea, we were formed in the same womb.”

He adds:

“16. I did not cause the eye of the widow to fail. 17. And if I did eat my morsel alone, and did not share it with the orphan, ... 19. and if I saw the naked perishing, and did not clothe him.”

And again he proceeds:

“24. And if I trusted in a precious stone, 25. and if I rejoiced when my wealth was great, and if I laid my hand on unnumbered (treasures).”

And again he gives the reason:

“26. Do we not see the sun waxing and waning, and the moon eclipsed?”

So, again, whereas the teaching of the Gospel says:

“43. It was said to them of old time, Thou shall love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies”: Job wonderfully anticipating the command by his own original teaching actually carried it out, for he says:

“29. And if I, too, was glad at the fall of my enemies, and said in my heart, It is well — 30. then let my ear hear my curse.”

And he adds:

“But the stranger did not remain outside, and my door was opened to all that came,”

showing himself no stranger in spirit to Him, who said, “I was a stranger, and ye took me in.” Then hear what he says about offences done unintentionally:

“33. Or if too, having sinned unintentionally, I hid my sin. 34. For I did not stand in awe of a great multitude, so as not to speak boldly before them. And if I did not let the poor depart (from my door) with an empty bosom . . . 35. And if I had not feared the hand of the Lord. And as to the written charge which I had against any . . . 37. I did not rend it and return it, taking nothing from the debtor.”

So and in such ways the pre-Mosaic saints (for from the record of one we may imagine the life of all), waged their renowned contests for good, and were reckoned friends of God, and prophets. What need had they of the commandments of Moses, which were given to weak and sinful men? From all this it is abundantly proved that the Word of God announced to all nations

the ancient form of their ancestors' religion, as the new covenant does not differ from the form of holiness, which was very ancient even in the time of Moses, so that it is at the same time both old and new. It is, as I have shown, very, very old; and, on the other hand, it is new through having been as it were hidden away from men through a long period between, and now come to life again by the Saviour's teaching.

And it was in this intermediate period, while the ideal of the new covenant was hidden from men, and as it were asleep, that the law of Moses was interposed in the interval. It was like a nurse and governess of childish and imperfect souls. It was like a doctor to heal the whole Jewish race, worn away by the terrible disease of Egypt. As such it offered a lower and less perfect way of life to the children of Abraham, who were too weak to follow in the steps of their forefathers. For through their long sojourn in Egypt, after the death of their godly forefathers, they adopted Egyptian customs, and, as I said, fell into idolatrous superstition. They aimed no higher than the Egyptians, they became in all respects like them, both in worshipping idols, and in other matters. Moses tore them from their godless polytheism, he led them back to God, the Creator of all things; he drew them up as it were from an abyss of evil, but it was natural for him to build first this step of holiness at the threshold and entrance of the Temple of the more Perfect. Therefore he forbade them to murder, to commit adultery, to steal, to swear falsely, to work uncleanness, to lie with mother, sister or daughter, to do many actions which till then they had done without restraint. He rescued them from their wild and savage life, and gave them a polity based on better reason and good law as the times went, and was the first lawgiver to codify his enactments in writing, a practice which was not yet known to all men. He dealt with them as imperfect, and when he forbade idolatry, he commanded them to worship the One Omnipotent God by sacrifices and bodily ceremonies. He enacted that they should conduct by certain mystic symbols the ritual that he ordained, which the Holy Spirit taught him in a wonderful way was only to be temporary: he drew a circle round one place and forbade them to celebrate his ordinances anywhere, except in one place alone, namely at the Temple in Jerusalem, and never outside it. And to this day it is forbidden for the children of the Hebrews outside the boundaries of their ruined mother-city to sacrifice according to the law, to build a temple or an altar, to anoint kings or priests, to celebrate the

Mosaic gatherings and feasts, to be cleansed from pollution, to be loosed from offences, to bear gifts to God, or to propitiate Him according to the legal requirements.

And therefore, of course, they have fallen under Moses' curse, attempting to keep it in part, but breaking it in the whole, as Moses makes absolutely clear:

"Accursed is he, who does not continue in all the things written in this law, to do them."

And they have come to this *impasse*, although Moses himself foresaw by the Holy Spirit, that, when the new covenant was revived by Christ and preached to all nations, his own legislation would become superfluous, he rightly confined its influence to one place, so that if they were ever deprived of it, and shut out of their national freedom, it might not be possible for them to carry out the ordinances of his law in a foreign country, and as of necessity they would have to receive the new covenant announced by Christ. Moses had foretold this very thing, and in due course Christ sojourned in this life, and the teaching of the new covenant was borne to all nations, and at once the Romans besieged Jerusalem, and destroyed it and the Temple there. At once the whole of the Mosaic law was abolished, with all that remained of the old covenant, and the curse passed over to those who became lawbreakers, because they obeyed Moses' law, when its time had gone by, and still clung ardently to it, for at that very moment the perfect teaching of the new Law was introduced in its place. And, therefore, our Lord and Saviour rightly says to those who suppose that God ought only to be worshipped in Jerusalem, or in certain mountains, or some definite places:

"1. The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem worship the Father. For God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

So He said, and presently, not long after, Jerusalem was besieged, the holy place and the altar by it and the worship conducted according to Moses' ordinances were destroyed, and the archetypal holiness of the pre-Mosaic men of God reappeared. And the blessing assured thereby to all nations came, to lead those who came to it from the first step and from the first elements of the Mosaic worship to a better and more perfect life. Yes, the religion of those blessed and godly men, who did not worship in any one place exclusively,

neither by symbols nor types, but as our Lord and Saviour requires “in spirit and in truth,” by our Saviour’s appearance became the possession of all the nations, as the prophets of old foresaw. For Zephaniah says the very same thing:

“The Lord shall appear against them, and shall utterly destroy all the gods of the nations of the earth. And they shall worship him each one from his own place.”

Malachi as well contends against those of the circumcision, and speaks on behalf of the Gentiles, when he says:

“10. I have no pleasure (in you), saith the Lord Almighty, and I will not accept a sacrifice at your hands. 11. For from the rising of the sun even to the setting my name has been glorified among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure offering.”

By “the incense and offering to be offered to God in every place,” what else can he mean, but that no longer in Jerusalem nor exclusively in that (sacred) place, but in every land and among all nations they will offer to the Supreme God the, incense of prayer and the sacrifice called “pure,” because it is not a sacrifice of blood but of good works? And Isaiah literally shouts and cries his prophecy to the same effect:

“19. There shall be an altar to the Lord in the land of Egypt. . . . And the Lord shall be known to the Egyptians ... 20. And he shall send to them a man who shall save them, . . . 21, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall offer sacrifice, and vow vows to the Lord and pay (them). And they shall be turned to the Lord, and he shall hear them and heal them.”

Do we not say truly then that the prophets were inspired to foretell a change of the Mosaic Law, nay its end and conclusion? Moses lays down that the altar and the sacrifices should be nowhere else on earth but in Judaea, and there only in one city. But this prophecy says that an altar to the Lord shall be set up in Egypt, and that Egyptians shall celebrate their sacrifices to the Lord of the prophets and no longer to their ancestral gods. It foretells that Moses shall not be the medium of their knowledge of God, nor any other of the prophets, but a man fresh and new sent from God. Now if the altar is changed contrary to the commandment of Moses, it is beyond doubt necessary that the Law of Moses should be changed also. Then, too, the Egyptians, if they “sacrifice to the Supreme God,” must be admittedly worthy of the priesthood.

And if the Egyptians are priests Moses' enactments about the Levites and the Aaronic succession would be useless to the Egyptians. The time, therefore, will have come when a new legislation will be needed for their support. What follows? Have I spoken at random? Or have I proved my contention? Behold how to day, yes in our own times, our eyes see not only Egyptians, but every race of men who used to be idolaters, whom the prophet meant when he said "Egyptians," released from the errors of polytheism and the daemons, and calling on the God of the prophets! They pray no longer to lords many, but to one Lord according to the sacred oracle; they have raised to Him an altar of unbloody and reasonable sacrifices according to the new mysteries of the fresh and new covenant throughout the whole of the inhabited world, and in Egypt itself and among the other nations, Egyptian in their superstitious errors. Yes, in our own time the knowledge of the Omnipotent God shines forth, and sets a seal of certainty on the forecasts of the prophets. You see this actually going on, you no longer only expect to hear of it, and if you ask the moment when the change began, for all your inquiry you will receive no other answer but the moment of the appearance of the Saviour. For He it was, of Whom the prophet spoke, when he said that the Supreme God and Lord would send a man to the Egyptians, to save them, as also the Mosaic oracles taught in these words: "A man shall come forth from his seed, and shall rule over many nations"; among which nations the Egyptians would certainly be numbered. But a great deal could be said on these points, and with sufficient leisure one could deal with them more exhaustively. Suffice it to say now, that we must hold to the truth, that the prophecies have only been fulfilled after the coming of Jesus our Saviour. For it is through Him that in our day that old system of Abraham, the most ancient and venerable form of religion, is followed by the Egyptians, the Persians, the Syrians and the Armenians. The Barbarians from the end of the earth, those of them who were of old the most uncivilized and wild, yea, they that inhabit the isles, for prophecy thought well even to mention them, follow it as well. And who would not be struck by the extraordinary change — that men who for ages have paid divine honour to wood and stone and daemons, wild beasts that feed on human flesh, poisonous reptiles, animals of every kind, repulsive monsters, fire and earth, and the lifeless elements of the universe should after our Saviour's coming pray to the Most High God, Creator of Heaven and earth, the actual Lord of the

prophets, and the God of Abraham and his forefathers? That men a little while before involved in marriage with mothers and daughters, in unspeakable vice and all sorts of vileness, men who lived like wild beasts, now converted by the divine power of our Saviour, and become like different beings, should crowd the public schools and learn lessons of virtue and purity. That not men only, but women, poor and rich, learned and simple, children even and slaves, should be taught in their daily occupation in town or country the loftiest ethics, which forbids to look with eyes unbridled, to be careless even in words, or to follow the path of custom and fashion. That they should learn the true ideal of worshipping the Supreme God, and serving Him in every place, according to the prophecy, which says: "And they shall worship Him each from his own place." Every one, then, whether Greek or Barbarian, is worshipping the Supreme God, not running to Jerusalem, nor made holy with bloody sacrifices, but staying at home in his own land, and offering in spirit and in truth his pure and bloodless offering. And theirs is the new covenant, not according to the old. Do not allow the covenant of the pre-Mosaic Saints to be called "the old covenant," but that which was given to the Jews by the Law of Moses. For the text which says that the new will be quite unlike the old clearly implies which one was the old:

"I will make a new covenant, not according to the covenant I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of Egypt."

"Not according to the covenant of the Mosaic Law," he says. For that was introduced to the Jews at the exodus from Egypt. It might have seemed that he was introducing a new covenant opposed to the religious ideals of the Abrahamic Saints, if he had not distinctly said:

"Not according to the covenant, which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to lead them out of Egypt."

He prophesied that the new covenant would not be according to the one enacted at the time of the Exodus and the wanderings in the wilderness, but according to the ancient one under which the pre-Mosaic saints flourished. And, therefore, for the future you may confidently classify the ideals of religions worshippers under three heads, not two: the completely idolatrous, who have fallen into the errors of polytheism; those of the circumcision, who by the aid of Moses have reached the first step of holiness; and thirdly, those

who have ascended by the stair of Gospel teaching. If you regard this as a mean between the other two, you will no longer suppose that perverts from Judaism necessarily fall into Hellenism, nor that those that forsake Hellenism are, therefore, Jews. Recognizing the third division in the middle, you will see it standing up on high, as if it were set on a very lofty mountain ridge, with the others left below on each side of the height. For as it has escaped Greek godlessness, error, superstition, unbridled lust and disorder, so it has left behind Jewish unprofitable observances, designed by Moses to meet the needs of those who were like infants and invalids. And as it stands on high, hear what it says as it proclaims the law, which suits not Jews alone, but Greeks and barbarians, and all nations under the sun:

“O man! and all the human race! the Law of Moses, beginning from one race of men, first called the whole race of the Jews, because of the promise given to their holy forefathers, to the knowledge of the one God, and released its servants from bitter slavery to the daemons. But I am the herald to all men and to the nations of the whole world of a loftier knowledge of God and holiness; I call them to live according to the ideals of those of Abraham’s day, and men still more ancient of pre-Mosaic date, with whom many of all races are recorded to have shone in holiness as lights in the world.

And again:

The Law of Moses required all who desired to be holy to speed from all directions to one definite place; but I, giving freedom to all, teach men not to look for God in a corner of the earth, nor in mountains, nor in temples made with hands, but that each should worship and adore Him at home.

And again:

The old law commanded that God should be worshipped by the sacrifice of slain beasts, of incense and fire and divers other similar external purifications. But I, introducing the rites of the soul, command that God should be glorified with a clean heart and a pure mind, in purity and a life of virtue, and by true and holy teaching.

And again:

Moses forbade the men of his time who were defiled with blood to kill; but I lay down a more perfect law for those who have him for a schoolmaster and have kept the earlier commandment — when I ordain that men must not be slaves to anger.

And once more:

The Law of Moses enacted to adulterers and the impure that they must not commit adultery, or indulge in vice, or pursue unnatural pleasures, and made death the penalty of transgression; but I do not wish my disciples even to look upon a woman with lustful desire.

And again, it said:

Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, Swear not at all, but let your communication be Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

And again, it commanded resistance against the unjust, and reprisal, when it said:

An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And he who will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.

And again, it exhorts to love your friend, and to hate your enemies; but I in my excess of goodwill and forbearance lay down the law:

Pray for persecutors, that you may be children of your Father in heaven, who letteth his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust.

And, moreover, the Mosaic Law was suited to the hardness of heart of the vulgar, gave ordinances corresponding to those under the rule of sense, and provided a form of religion, reduced and inferior to the old. But I summon all to the holy and godly life of the holy men of the earlier days. And in fine, it promises, as to children, a land flowing with milk and honey, while I make citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven those who are worthy to enter therein.

Such was the message to all nations given by the word of the new covenant by the teaching of Christ. And the Christ of God bade His disciples teach them to all nations, saying:

“Go ye into all the world, and make disciples of all the nations . . . teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you.”

And in giving them to all men both Greeks and barbarians to keep He clearly revealed the nature of Christianity, the nature of Christians, and the nature of the Teacher of the words and instruction, our Lord and Saviour the Christ of God Himself. He set up this new and perfect system throughout the

whole world, that such teaching and such wisdom might be the food, not only of men but of women, of rich and poor alike, and of slaves with their masters. And yet the introducer of this new law is represented as having lived in all ways according to the Law of Moses. And this is a wonderful fact, that though He was going to come forward as the legislator of a new polity, according to the Gospel of His new covenant, He did not revolt from Moses as opposed to him and contrary. If He had thought good to command things opposed to Moses, He would have afforded to godless sectaries against Moses and the prophets material for much scandal, and to those of the circumcision a specious handle for attacking Him, particularly in view of the fact that they actually contrived their plot against His life as a transgressor and breaker of the law.

CHAPTER 7

How Christ, having first fulfilled the Law of Moses, became the Introducer of a New and Fresh System.

AND now having lived in all ways according to the Law of Moses, He made use of His Apostles as ministers of the new legislation, on the one hand teaching them that they must not consider the Law of Moses either foreign or unfriendly to their own religion, on the other as being the author and introducer of a legislation new and salutary for all men, so that He did not in any way break Moses' enactments, but rather crowned them, and was their fulfilment, and then passed on to the institution of the Gospel Law. Hear Him speaking in this strain:

3. "I have not come to destroy the law but to fulfil it."

For if He had been a transgressor of the Law of Moses, He would reasonably have been considered to have rescinded it and given a contrary law: and if He had been wicked and a law-breaker He could not have been believed to be the Christ. And if He had rescinded Moses' Law, He could never have been considered to be One foretold by Moses and the prophets. Nor would His new Law have had any authority. For He would have had to embark on a new Law, in order to escape the penalty of breaking the old. But as a matter of fact He has rescinded nothing whatever in the Law, but fulfilled it. It is, as one might say, Mosaically perfect. Yet since it was no longer possible for the causes I have stated already to accommodate the Law of Moses to the needs of the other nations, and it was necessary, thanks to the love of God the All-good, "that all men should be saved and come to a knowledge of the truth," He laid down a law suitable and possible for all. Nor did He forbid His Apostles to preach Moses' Law to all men, except when it was likely to be a stumbling-block to them, as the apostle says:

"For that which was impossible by the law, in that it was weak, God sending his own son in the likeness of sinful flesh," etc.

And it was "impossible "for all the nations to go up thrice a year to Jerusalem as the Law of Moses required, for a woman after childbirth to hasten there from the ends of the earth to pay the fees of her purification, and in many other ways, which you can arrive at for yourselves at your leisure. Since then it was not possible for the nations living outside Judaea to keep these things even if they wished, our Lord and Saviour could hardly be said to

have rescinded them, but was the fulfilment of the Law, and gave a proof to those who could see, that He was indeed the Christ of God foretold by the old Jewish prophets. This He did, when He gave to all nations through His own disciples enactments that suited them. And, therefore, we reject Jewish customs, on the ground that they were not laid down for us, and that it is impossible to accommodate them to the needs of the Gentiles, while we gladly accept the Jewish prophecies as containing predictions about ourselves. Thus the Saviour on the one side is our teacher, and on the other the fulfilment of the Law of Moses, and of the prophets who followed him.

For since as yet the prophecies lacked the fulfilment of their conclusions and of their words, He must necessarily fulfil them. As for example the prophecy in Moses says:

“A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up to you like unto me, him shall ye hear in all things, whatsoever that prophet shall speak to you.”

He fulfilled what remained to be fulfilled in this prophecy, appearing as the second Lawgiver after Moses, giving to men the Law of the Supreme God’s true holiness. For Moses does not say simply “a prophet,” but adds “like unto me”: (“For a prophet,” he says, “shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, like unto me. Him shall ye hear”), and this can only mean that He who was foretold would be equal to Moses. And Moses was the giver of the Law of holiness of the Supreme God. So He that was foretold, to be like Moses, would probably be like him in being a Lawgiver. And though there were many prophets in later days, none of them is recorded to have been “like Moses.”

For they all referred their hearers to him. Even Scripture bears witness that “a prophet has not arisen like Moses”: neither Jeremiah, nor Isaiah, nor any other of the prophets was like him, because not one of them was a Lawgiver. When the expectation was that a prophet who was also a Lawgiver like Moses should arise, Jesus Christ came giving a Law to all nations, and accomplishing what the Law could not. As He said:

“it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, Thou shalt not desire to.” And, “It was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill, but I say unto you, Thou shalt not be angry.” And, “No more in Jerusalem, but in every place must you worship.” And, “Worship not with incense and sacrifices, but in spirit and in truth.” And all such things that are recorded of His teaching are surely the laws of a Lawgiver very wise and

very perfect.

Wherefore Holy Scripture says His hearers were “astounded,” because He taught them “as one having authority, and not as the Scribes and the Pharisees” — an oracle which supplied what was lacking to the fulfilment of the prophecy of Moses. And the same can be said of the other prophecies about Him, and the calling of the Gentiles. He was, therefore, the fulfiller of the Law and the prophets since He brought the predictions referring to Himself to a conclusion.

He ordained that the former Law should stand till He came, and He was revealed as the originator of the second Law of the new covenant preached to all nations, as being responsible for the Law and influence of the two religions, I mean Judaism and Christianity. And it is wonderful that divine prophecy should accord:

“Behold, I lay in Zion a stone, choice, a cornerstone; precious, and he that believes on him shall not be ashamed.”

Who could be the corner-stone but He, the living and precious stone Who supports by His teaching two buildings and makes them one? For He set up the Mosaic building, which was to last till His day, and then fitted on to one side of it our building of the Gospel. Hence He is called the corner-stone. And it is said in the Psalms: “22. The stone which the builders refused, the same is become the head of the corner. 23. This is of the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes.”

This oracle too indubitably indicates the Jewish conspiracy against the subject of the prophecy, how He has been set at naught by the builders of the old wall, meaning the Scribes and Pharisees, the High-Priests and all the rulers of the Jews. And it prophesied that though He should be despised and cast out He would become the head of the corner, regarding Him as the originator of the new covenant, according to the above proofs.

So then we are not apostates from Hellenism who have embraced Judaism, nor are we at fault in accepting the law of Moses and the Hebrew Prophets, and we do not live as Jews, but according to the system of the men of God who lived before Moses. Nay, we claim that in this we authenticate Moses and the succeeding prophets, in that we accept the Christ foretold by them, and obey His laws, and endeavour prayerfully to tread in the steps of His teaching, for so we do what Moses himself would approve. For he says, in

foretelling that God will raise up a prophet like himself, “and every soul which doth not hear that prophet shall be cast out from its race.”Therefore the Jews, because they rejected the prophet, and did not hearken to His holy words, have suffered extreme ruin according to the prediction. For they neither received the law of Christ of the new covenant, nor were they able to keep the commands of Moses without some breach of his law; and so they fell under the curse of Moses, in not being able to carry out what was ordained by him, being exiled as they were from their mother-city, which was destroyed, where alone it was allowed to celebrate the Mosaic worship. Whereas we, who accept Him that was foretold by Moses and the prophets, and endeavour to obey Him prayerfully, must surely be fulfilling the prophecy of Moses, where he said: “And every soul, which doth not hear that prophet, shall be cast out from its race.”And we heard just now what the ordinances of the prophet were, which we must obey, their wisdom, perfection and heavenliness, which he thought fit to inscribe, not on tables of stone like Moses, nor yet with ink and parchment, but on the hearts of his pupils, purified and open to reason. On them he wrote the laws of the new covenant, and actually fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah.

“I will make a new covenant, not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers. For this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel, I will give my laws into their mind, and upon their heart I will write them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

CHAPTER 8

That the Christian Life is of Two Distinct Characters.

THE one wrote on lifeless tables, the Other wrote the perfect commandments of the new covenant on living minds. And His disciples, accommodating their teaching to the minds of the people, according to the Master's will, delivered on the one hand to those who were able to receive it, the teaching given by the perfect master to those who rose above human nature. While on the other the side of the teaching which they considered was suitable to men still in the world of passion and needing treatment, they accommodated to the weakness of the majority, and handed over to them to keep sometimes in writing, and sometimes by unwritten ordinances to be observed by them. Two ways of life were thus given by the law of Christ to His Church. The one is above nature, and beyond common human living; it admits not marriage, child-bearing, property nor the possession of wealth, but wholly and permanently separate from the common customary life of mankind, it devotes itself to the service of God alone in its wealth of heavenly love! And they who enter on this course, appear to die to the life of mortals, to bear with them nothing earthly but their body, and in mind and spirit to have passed to heaven. Like some celestial beings they gaze upon human life, performing the duty of a priesthood to Almighty God for the whole race, not with sacrifices of bulls and blood, nor with libations and unguents, nor with smoke and consuming fire and destruction of bodily things, but with right principles of true holiness, and of a soul purified in disposition, and above all with virtuous deeds and words; with such they propitiate the Divinity, and celebrate their priestly rites for themselves and their race. Such then is the perfect form of the Christian life. And the other more humble, more human, permits men to join in pure nuptials and to produce children, to undertake government, to give orders to soldiers fighting for right; it allows them to have minds for farming, for trade, and the other more secular interests as well as for religion: and it is for them that times of retreat and instruction, and days for hearing sacred things are set apart. And a kind of secondary grade of piety is attributed to them, giving just such help as such lives require, so that all men, whether Greeks or barbarians, have their part in the coming of salvation, and profit by the teaching of the Gospel.

CHAPTER 9

Why a Numerous Offspring is not as Great a Concern to us as it was to them of Old Time.

This being so, the question naturally arises, if we claim that the Gospel teaching of our Saviour Christ bids us worship God as did the men of old, and the pre-Mosaic men of God, and that our religion is the same as theirs, and our knowledge of God the same, why were they keenly concerned with marriage and reproduction, while we to some extent disregard it? And again, why are they recorded as propitiating God with animal sacrifices, while we are forbidden to do so, and are told to regard it as impious. For those two things alone, which are by no means unimportant, would seem to conflict with what I have said; they would imply that in these matters we have not preserved the ancient ideal of religion. But it is possible for us to refute this charge by a study of the Hebrew writings. The men renowned for piety before Moses are recorded as having lived when human life was first beginning and organizing itself, while we live when it is nearing its end. And so they were anxious for the increase of their descendants, that men might multiply, that the human race might grow and flourish at that time, and reach its height; but these things are of little moment to us, who believe the world to be perishing and running down and reaching its last end, since it is expressly said that the gospel teaching will be at the door before the consummation of life, while a new creation and the birth of another age at no distant time is foretold. Such is one reply, and this is a second. The men of old days lived an easier and a freer life, and their care of home and family did not compete with their leisure for religion; they were able to worship God without distraction from their wives and children and domestic cares, and were in no way drawn by external things from the things that mattered most. But in our days there are many external interests that draw us away, and involve us in uncongenial thoughts, and seduce us from our zeal for the things which please God. The word of the Gospel teaching certainly gives this as the cause of the limitation of marriage, when it says:

29. But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remaineth that they who have wives be as though they had none. 30. And those that wept as though they wept not, and they that rejoice as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy as though they possessed not; 31. and they that use this world as not

abusing it, for the fashion of this world passeth away. 32. But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and is divided. 34. And the unmarried woman and the virgin careth for the things of the Lord how she may please the Lord), that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband. 35. And this I speak for your profit; not that I may cast a cord upon you, but for that which is comely, and that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction.

This expressly attributes the decrease of marriage to the evils of the time and of external circumstances, such as did not affect the ancients.

And I might give this third reason why the godly men of old were so devoted to the procreation of children. The rest of mankind were increasing in evil, they had fallen into an uncivilized, inhuman, and savage mode of life, they had given themselves up completely to godlessness and impiety, while they themselves, a very scanty remnant, had divorced themselves from the life of the many, and from common association with other men. They were living apart from other nations and in isolation, and were organizing a new kind of polity; they were evolving a life of true wisdom and religion, unmingled with other men. They wished to hand on to posterity the fiery seed of their own religion; they did not intend that their piety should fail and perish when they themselves died, and so they had foresight for producing and rearing children. They knew they could be the teachers and guides of their families, and considered it their object to hand on to posterity the inheritance of their own good qualities. Hence many prophets and righteous men, yea, even our Lord and Saviour Himself, with His apostles and disciples, have come from their line.

And if some of them turned out wicked, like straw growing up with the corn, we must not blame the sowers, nor those who tended the crop, just as we should admit that even some of our Saviour's disciples have erred from the right way through self-will. And this explanation of the ancient men of God begetting children cannot be said to apply to the Christians to-day, when by God's help through our Saviour's Gospel teaching we can see with our own eyes many peoples and nations in city and country and field all hastening

together, and united in running to learn the godly course of the teaching of the Gospel, for whom I am glad to say we are able to provide teachers and preachers of the word of holiness, free from all ties of life and anxious thoughts. And in our day these men are necessarily devoted to celibacy that they may have leisure for higher things; they have undertaken to bring up not one or two children but a prodigious number, and to educate them in godliness, and to care for their life generally. On the top of all this, if we carefully examine the lives of the ancient men of whom I am speaking, we shall find that they had children in early life, but later on abstained and ceased from having them. For it is written that “Enoch pleased God after Methusaleh was born.” Scripture expressly records that he pleased God after the birth of his son, and tells nothing of his having children afterwards. And Noah, that just man, who was saved alone with his family when the whole world was destroyed, after the birth of his children, though he lived many years more, is not related to have begotten more children. And Isaac is said, after becoming the father of twins by one wife, to have ceased cohabitation with her. Joseph again (and this was when he lived among the Egyptians) was only the father of two sons, and married to their mother only, while Moses himself and Aaron his brother are recorded as having had children before the appearance of God, but after the giving of the divine oracles as having begotten no more children. What must I say of Melchisedek? He had no son at all, no family, no descendants. And the same is true of Joshua, the successor of Moses, and many other prophets.

If there is any question about the families of Abraham and Jacob, a longer discussion will be found in the book I wrote about the polygamy and large families of the ancient men of God. To this I must refer the student, only warning him that according to the laws of the new covenant the producing of children is certainly not forbidden, but the provisions are similar to those followed by the ancient men of God. “For a bishop,” says the Scripture, “must be the husband of one wife.” Yet it is fitting that those in the priesthood and occupied in the service of God, should abstain after ordination from the intercourse of marriage. To all who have not undertaken this wondrous priesthood, Scripture almost completely gives way, when it says: “Marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled, but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge.” This, then, is my answer to the first question.

CHAPTER 10

Why we are not bidden to burn Incense and to sacrifice the Fruits of the Earth to God as were the Men of Old Time.

I SHOULD give the following reply to those who ask why we do not sacrifice animals to Almighty God, as the men of God of old did, whom we claim to imitate. Greek ideas, and what is actually found in the sacred books of the Hebrews, do not agree about the *cultus* of the ancient primitive men. The Greeks say that early men did not ever sacrifice animals, nor burn incense to the gods, but “herbage, which they lifted up in their hands as the bloom of the productive power of nature,” and burnt grass and leaves and roots in the fire to the sun and the stars of heaven. And that in the next stage men launching far into wickedness stained the altars with the sacrifice of animals, and that this was a sacrifice sinful, unrighteous, and quite displeasing to God. For man and beast in no way differ in their reasonable soul. So they said that those who offer animals are open to the charge of murder, the soul being one and the same in man and brute. This was the view of the ancient Greeks, but it does not agree with the Hebrew Scriptures. They record that the first men, as soon as they were created, honoured God with animal sacrifices at the very creation of their life. For they say:

“And it came to pass after some days that Cain brought of the fruits of the earth a sacrifice to the Lord. And Abel also brought of the first-born of his sheep.. . . And God looked upon Abel and his gifts. But Cain and his sacrifices be regarded not.”

Here you will understand that he who sacrificed an animal is said to have been more accepted by God than he who brought an offering of the fruits of the earth. Noah again brought to the altar his first-fruits of all clean cattle, and of all clean fowls; Abraham also is described as sacrificing: so that if we accept the evidence of Holy Scripture, the first sacrifices thought of by the ancient men of God were those of animals.

And this thought, I hold, was not due to accident, nor was its source in man, but it was divinely suggested. For when they saw since they were holy, brought nigh to God, and enlightened by the Divine Spirit in their souls that there was need of great stress on the cleansing of the sons of men, they thought that a ransom was due to the source of life and soul in return for their

own salvation. And then as they had nothing better or more valuable than their own life to sacrifice, in place of it they brought a sacrifice through that of the unreasoning beasts, providing a life instead of their own life. They did not consider this was sinful or unrighteous. They had not been taught that the soul of the brutes was like man's, which has discourse of reason: they had only learned that it was the animal's blood, and that in the blood is the principle of life, which they offered themselves, sacrificing as it were to God one life instead of another.

Moses makes this abundantly clear, when he says:

“For the life of all flesh is the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your sins: for the blood shall make atonement for the soul. Therefore I said to the children of Israel, No soul of you shall eat blood.”

Note carefully in the above the words, “I gave to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for the blood shall make atonement for the soul.”

He says clearly that the blood of the victims slain is a propitiation in the place of human life. And the law about sacrifices suggests that it should be so regarded, if it is carefully considered. For it requires him who is sacrificing always to lay his hands on the head of the victim, and to bear the animal to the priest held by its head, as one offering a sacrifice on behalf of himself. Thus he says in each case:

“He shall bring it before the Lord. And he shall lay his hands on the head of the gift.”

Such is the ritual in every case, no sacrifice is ever brought up otherwise. And so the argument holds that the victims are brought in place of the lives of them who bring them. In teaching that the blood of the brutes is their life, it in no way implies that they share in the essence of thought and reason, for they are composed of matter and body, in the same way as the vegetation of the earth and plants. Thus Moses tells that God said in one creative word:

“Let the earth bring forth herb of grass and the fruit tree.”

And again in like manner:

“Let the earth bring forth four-footed things, and creeping things, and wild beasts of the earth after their kind.”

We must, therefore, regard the brutes as akin in kind and nature and

essence to the vegetation of the earth and the plants, and conclude that those who sacrifice them commit no sin. Noah indeed was told to eat flesh, as the herb of the field.

While then the better, the great and worthy and divine sacrifice was not yet available for men, it was necessary for them by the offering of animals to pay a ransom for their own life, and this was fitly a life that represented their own nature. Thus did the holy men of old, anticipating by the Holy Spirit that a holy victim, dear to God and great, would one day come for men, as the offering for the sins of the world, believing that as prophets they must perform in symbol his sacrifice, and shew forth in type what was yet to be. But when that which was perfect was come, in accordance with the predictions of the prophets, the former sacrifices ceased at once because of the better and true Sacrifice.

This Sacrifice was the Christ of God, from far distant times foretold as coming to men, to be sacrificed like a sheep for the whole human race. As Isaiah the prophet says of him:

“As a sheep he was led to slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before her shearers.”

And he adds:

“4. He bears our sins and is pained for us; yet we accounted him to be in trouble, and in suffering and in affliction. 5. But he was wounded on account of our sins, and he was made sick on account of our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripe we are healed. ... 6. And the Lord hath given him up for our iniquities ... 9 for he did no sin himself, nor was guile found in his mouth.”

Jeremiah, another Hebrew prophet, speaks similarly in the person of Christ: “I was led as a lamb to the slaughter.”

John Baptist sets the seal on their predictions at the appearance of our Saviour. For beholding Him, and pointing Him out to those present as the one foretold by the prophets, he cried: “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.”

Since then according to the witness of the prophets the great and precious ransom has been found for Jews and Greeks alike, the propitiation for the whole world, the life given for the life of all men, the pure offering for every stain and sin, the Lamb of God, the holy sheep dear to God, the Lamb that

was foretold, by Whose inspired and mystic teaching all we Gentiles have procured the forgiveness of our former sins, and such Jews as hope in Him are freed from the curse of Moses, daily celebrating His memorial, the remembrance of His Body and Blood, and are admitted to a greater sacrifice than that of the ancient law, we do not reckon it right to fall back upon the first beggarly elements, which are symbols and likenesses but do not contain the truth itself. And any Jews, of course, who have taken refuge in Christ, even if they attend no longer to the ordinances of Moses, but live according to the new covenant, are free from the curse ordained by Moses, for the Lamb of God has surely not only taken on Himself the sin of the world, but also the curse involved in the breach of the commandments of Moses as well. The Lamb of God is made thus both sin and curse — sin for the sinners in the world, and curse for those remaining in all the things written in Moses' law. And so the Apostle says: "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us"; and "Him that knew no sin, for our sakes he made sin." For what is there that the Offering for the whole world could not effect, the Life given for the life of sinners, Who was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a lamb to the sacrifice, and all this for us and on our behalf? And this was why those ancient men of God, as they had not yet the reality, held fast to their symbols. This is exactly what our Saviour teaches, saying:

"Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which ye see, and have not seen them; and to hear those things which ye hear, and have not heard them."

And we, who have received both the truth, and the archetypes of the early copies through the mysterious dispensation of Christ, can have no further need for the things of old.

He then that was alone of those who ever existed, the Word of God, before all worlds, and High Priest of every creature that has mind and reason, separated One of like passions with us, as a sheep or lamb from the human flock, branded on Him all our sins, and fastened on Him as well the curse that was adjudged by Moses' law, as Moses foretells: "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." This He suffered "being made a curse for us; and making himself sin for our sakes." And then "He made him sin for our sakes who knew no sin," and laid on Him all the punishments due to us for our sins, bonds, insults, contumelies, scourging, and shameful blows, and the crowning

trophy of the Cross. And after all this when He had offered such a wondrous offering and choice victim to the Father, and sacrificed for the salvation of us all, He delivered a memorial to us to offer to God continually instead of a sacrifice.

This also the wondrous David inspired by the Holy Spirit to foresee the future, foretold in these words:

“I waited patiently for the Lord, and he inclined unto me |, and heard my calling |. 2. And he brought me up out of a pit of misery |, and from miry clay |. And he set my feet on a rock | and ordered my steps aright |. 3. And he hath put a new song in my mouth |, a hymn to our God. |”

And he shews clearly what “the new song” is when he goes on to say:

“7. Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not ; but a body hast thou prepared me |; whole burnt-offering; and sin offering thou didst take no pleasure in |. 8. Then said I, Lo, I come: | in the volume of the book it is written of me |, to do thy will, O God, I desired. |”

And he adds: “I have preached righteousness in the great congregation.” He plainly teaches that in place of the ancient sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings the incarnate presence of Christ that was prepared was offered. And this very thing He proclaims to his Church as a great mystery expressed with prophetic voice in the volume of the book. As we have received a memorial of this offering which we celebrate on a table by means of symbols of His Body and saving Blood according to the laws of the new covenant, we are taught again by the prophet David to say:

“5. Thou hast prepared a table before me in the face of my persecutors |. Thou hast anointed my head with oil |, and thy cup cheers me as the strongest (wine). |”

Here it is plainly the mystic Chrism and the holy Sacrifices of Christ’s Table that are meant, by which we are taught to offer to Almighty God through our great High Priest all through our life the celebration of our sacrifices, bloodless, reasonable, and well-pleasing to Him. And this very thing the great prophet Isaiah wonderfully foreknew by the Holy Spirit, and foretold. And he therefore says thus:

“O Lord, my God, I will glorify thee, I will hymn thy name, for thou hast done marvellous things.”

And he goes on to explain what these things so truly “wonderful” are:

“And the Lord of Sabaoth shall make a feast for all the nations. They shall drink joy, they shall drink wine, they shall be anointed with myrrh (on this mountain). Impart thou all these things to the nations. For this is God’s counsel upon all the nations.”

These were Isaiah’s “wonders.” the promise of the anointing with ointment of a good smell, and with myrrh made not to Israel but to all nations. Whence not unnaturally through the chrism of myrrh they gained the name of Christians. But he also prophesies the “wine of joy “to the nations, darkly alluding to the sacrament of the new covenant of Christ, which is now openly celebrated among the nations. And these unembodied and spiritual sacrifices the oracle of the prophet also proclaims, in a certain place:

“Offer to God the sacrifice of praise, and give the Highest thy vows: And call upon me in the day of thy affliction, and I will deliver thee, and thou shall glorify me.”

And again:

“The lifting up of my hands is an evening sacrifice.” And once more: “The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit.”

And so all these predictions of immemorial prophecy are being fulfilled at this present time through the teaching of our Saviour among all nations. Truth bears witness with the prophetic voice with which God, rejecting the Mosaic sacrifices, foretells that the future lies with us:

“Wherefore from the rising of the sun unto the setting my name shall be glorified among the nations. And in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure offering.”

We sacrifice, therefore, to Almighty God a sacrifice of praise. We sacrifice the divine and holy and sacred offering. We sacrifice anew according to the new covenant the pure sacrifice. But the sacrifice to God is called “a contrite heart.” “A humble and a contrite heart thou wilt not despise.” Yes, and we offer the incense of the prophet, in every place bringing to Him the sweet-smelling fruit of the sincere Word of God, offering it in our prayers to Him. This yet another prophet teaches, who says: “Let my prayer be as incense in thy sight.”

So, then, we sacrifice and offer incense: On the one hand when we celebrate the Memorial of His great Sacrifice according to the Mysteries He delivered to us, and bring to God the Eucharist for our salvation with holy hymns and prayers; while on the other we consecrate ourselves to Him alone

and to the Word His High Priest, devoted to Him in body and soul. Therefore we are careful to keep our bodies pure and undefiled from all evil, and we bring our hearts purified from every passion and stain of sin, and worship Him with sincere thoughts, real intention, and true beliefs. For these are more acceptable to Him, so we are taught, than a multitude of sacrifices offered with blood and smoke and fat.

BOOK II.

PREFACE

That we have not embraced the Prophetic Books of the (43) Hebrews with so much Zeal without Aim or Object.

IN my survey of the ideal of true religion brought before all men by the Gospel teaching and of the Life in Christ in the previous book, I have argued and I (b) believe demonstrated the impossibility of all the nations living by the Jewish law, even if they wished. My present object is to resume the argument at a point further back, to return to the evidence of the prophetic books, and to give a more complete answer to the charges of those of the Circumcision, who say that we have no (c) share whatever in the promises of their Scriptures. They hold that the prophets were theirs, that the Christ, Whom they love to call Saviour and Redeemer, was foretold to them, and that it is to be expected that the written promises will be fulfilled for them. They despise us as being of alien races, about which the prophets are unanimous in foretelling evil. I propose to meet these attacks by evidence derived straight from their own prophetic books, (d)

With regard to the Christ of God having been promised in their land, and His advent preaching salvation to Israel, we should be the last to deny it ; all would agree that this is the plain teaching of all their writings. But with regard to the Gentiles being debarred from the expected benefits in Christ, on the ground that the promise was limited to Israel, it is quite impossible to yield to what they advance against the evidence of Holy Scripture.

CHAPTER 1

(44) That their Prophets gave their Best Predictions for Us of the Foreign Nations.

(b) IN the first place, as it is their constant habit to pick out the prophecies which are more favourable to themselves, and to have them ever on their lips, I must array against them my proofs from the prophecies about the Gentiles, making it clear how full they are of predictions of good and salvation for all nations, and how strongly they asserted that their promises to the Gentile world could only be fulfilled by the coming of the Christ. When we shall have reached that point of the argument, I think I shall have proved that it is untrue to say that the hope of the Messiah was more proper for them than for us. (c) Then having demonstrated that for Jews and Greeks the hope of the promise was on an equality, so that those of the Gentiles would be saved through Christ would be in exactly the same position as the Jews, I shall proceed to show with superabundance of evidence, that the divine oracles foretold that the Advent of Christ and the call of the Gentiles would be accompanied by the total collapse and ruin of the whole Jewish race, and prophesied good fortune only for a scanty few easy to number, while their city (d) with its temple would be captured, and all its holy things taken away — prophecies which have all been exactly fulfilled. How under one head and at the same time holy Scripture can foretell for Israel at Christ's coming both a ransom from evil and the enjoyment of prosperity, and also adversity and the overturning of the worship of God, I will make clear when the proper time comes. For the present let us go on with our first task ; viz., to select a few statements to prove my contentions from a great number of prophecies.

Inasmuch, then, as they always use in argument with us the prophecies about themselves, which are most favourable, as if the privileges of the old dispensation were limited to them, it is time for us to array against them the promises about the Gentiles, as contained in their own prophets.

1. From Genesis. (45)

How the Nations of the World will be blessed in the same Way as those named after Abraham.

[Passage quoted, Gen. xviii. 27.]

The oracle says that God will not hide from the man dear to Him a mystery that is hidden and secret to many, but will reveal it to him. And this was the

promise that (b) all the nations should be blessed, which had of old been hidden through all the nations in Abraham's day being given over to unspeakably false superstition, but is now unveiled in our time, through the Gospel teaching of our Saviour that he who worships God in the manner of Abraham will share His blessing. We must not suppose (c) that this oracle referred to Jewish proselytes, since we have very fully shown in the preceding book the impossibility of all nations following the law of Moses. And as I have proved in the same book that the blessing on all nations given to Abraham could only apply to the Christians of all nations, I will refer those interested to the former passage.

2. From the same.

That all the Nations of the Earth will be blessed in the Seed that is to come from the Line of Isaac.

The Lord conferring with Isaac, after saying other things, (d) proceeds

[Passage quoted, Gen. xxvi. 3.]

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born of the seed of Isaac, according to the flesh, in Whom all the nations of the earth are blessed, in learning through Him of Almighty God, and in being taught through Him to bless men dear to God. So there is reciprocal blessing, they enjoying the same blessing as the men they bless, according to God's saying to Abraham : " Blessed be they [[Num. xxiv. 9]] that bless thee."

(46) 3. From the same.

Of many Nations, and Multitudes of Nations, arising out of Jacob, although only the Nation of the Jews has come forth from him.

[Passage quoted, Gen. xxxv. 11.]

As it is quite certain that only one nation, that of the Jews, arose from Jacob, how can this oracle speak truly of a multitude of nations? Since the Christ of God being born of the seed of Jacob brought together many multitudes of nations by His Gospel teaching, in Him and (b) through Him the prophecy has attained its natural fulfilment already, and will attain it still more.

4. From Deuteronomy.

The Joy in God of the Nations.

[Passage quoted, Deut. xxxii. 43.]

(c) Instead of “Rejoice ye Gentiles with his people,” Aquila reads, “Cry out, nations of his people.” And Theodotion, “Exult, ye nations of his people.”

5. From Psalm xxi.

How from the ends of the Earth, and from all Nations there shall be a Turning to God, and how the Generation to come and the People that shall be begotten shall learn Righteousness.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xxi. 28. 32.]

This is clear enough to need no interpretation.

6. From Psalm xlvi. (47)

An Announcement of Holiness and Purity to the Nations, and the Kingdom of God over the Nations.

[Passages quoted, Ps. xlvi. i, 2 and 8]

This is clear, and needs no interpretation.

7. From Psalm lxxxv.

The holiness of the nations.

[Passage quoted, Ps. lxxxv. 8-10.]

8. From Psalm xcv.

Of the Holiness of all the Heathen, and of the new Song, and of the Kingdom of God, and of the Happiness of the World.

[Passages quoted, Ps. xcv. 1-4, 7, and 10.]

This is clear.

9. From Zechariah.

Of all the Nations, and of the Egyptians the most superstitious of them all, of the Knowledge of the only true God, and of the spiritual Worship and Festival according to the divine Law.

[Passage quoted, Zech. xiv. 16-19.]

(48) This passage clearly implies the calling of all the Gentiles, if we only regard the sense of what is said about Jerusalem and the tabernacle, to which I will give the proper interpretation in its right place.

10. From Isaiah.

Of the Choice of the Apostles, and the Calling of the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Isa. ix. 1-2.]

11. From the same.

Of the Calling of the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlix. 1.]

In which he adds more about the Gentiles and about (c) Christ.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlix. 6.]

And you could yourself find many such passages, dispersed through the prophets in the promises to the nations, which there is no time now to select or interpret. Those that I have chosen are sufficient to prove my point. And this was simply to demonstrate to the Circumcision, who proudly and boastfully claim, that God has preferred them (d) before all other nations, and given them a peculiar privilege in His divine promises, that nothing of the kind is to be found in the divine promises themselves.

And now that I have proved the inclusion of the Gentiles in the divine promises, I would ask you to consider the reason of their being called and admitted to the promises. For it will be good for us to realize the reason why they can be said to be associated in their benefits. This can only be the coming of Christ, through Whom those of the Circumcision also agree that they look for their own redemption. I have then only to prove that the hope (49) of the call of the Gentiles was nothing else but the Christ of God, looked for as the Saviour, not only of the Jews, but of the whole Gentile world. And for the present I will give the mere texts of the prophets without interpretation, as I shall be able to interpret them individually at leisure more broadly altogether, when with God's help I have collected the predictions about the nations.

CHAPTER 2

12. From Psalm ii.

(c) Of the Plotting against Christ, and He that is called the Son of God, receiving His Portion and the Gentiles from the Father.

[Passages quoted, Ps. ii. 1, 2, and 7, 8.]

13. From Psalm lxxi.

Of Christ's Kingdom, and the Call of the Gentiles, and the (50) Blessing of all the Tribes of the Earth.

[Passages quoted, Ps. lxxi. 1, 2, 8, 11, 17, 19.]

14. From Psalm xcvi.

Of the new Song, and of the Arm of the Lord, and of the Shewing of His Salvation to all Nations ; the Salvation of the Son is shewn by the Name in the Hebrew.

15. From Genesis.

How after the Cessation of the Kingdom of the Jews, the (c) Christ Himself coming will be the Expectation of the Gentiles.

"There shall not fail a prince from Juda, nor a governor from his loins, until he come in whom it is laid up, and he is the expectation of the Gentiles."

[[Gen. xlix. 10]]

16. From Zephaniah.

A Shewing forth of the Appearing of Christ, and of the (d) Destruction of Idolatry, and of the Piety of the Nations towards God.

[Passage quoted, Zeph. ii. 11.]

17. From the same.

A Shewing forth of the Day of Christ's Resurrection, and (51) the Gathering of Nations, and of all Men knowing God, and Turning to Holiness, and how the Ethiopians will bring Sacrifices to him.

[Passage quoted, Zeph. iii. 8.]

18. From Zechariah.

A Shewing forth of the Appearing of Christ, and of the (b) Fleeing of many Nations to Him, and how the Peoples of the Nations shall be established in the Lord.

[Passage quoted, Zech. ii. 10.]

19. From Isaiah.

(c) *A Shelving forth of the Birth of Christ coming from the Root of David, and the Call by Him of all the Nations.*

[Passages quoted, Isa. xi. i, 10.]

20. From the same.

(52) *A Shewing forth of the Appearing of Christ, and of the (d) Benefits brought by him to all the Nations.*

[Passages quoted, Isa. xlii. 1-4 and 6-9.]

21. From the same.

(b) *A Shewing forth of Christ and his Birth, and the Call of the Gentiles.*

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlix. i.]

22. From the same.

(c) *The Shewing forth of the Coming of Christ and of the Call of the Gentiles.*

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlix, 7.]

23. From the same.

(53) *A Shewing forth of Christ, and the Call of the Gentiles.*

[Passage quoted, Isa. lv. 3-5.]

And now that we have learned from these passages that the presence of Christ was intended to be the salvation not only of the Jews, but of all nations as well, let me prove my third point, that prophecies not only foretold that good things for the nations would be associated with the date of His appearance, but also the reverse for the Jews. Yes, the Hebrew oracles foretell distinctly the fall and ruin of the Jewish race through their disbelief in Christ, so that we should no longer appear equal to them, but better than they. And I will now, present the bare quotations from the prophets without any comment on them, because they are quite clear, and because I intend at my leisure to examine them thoroughly.

CHAPTER 3

24. From Jeremiah. (d)

Shewing forth the Refusal of the Jewish Race, and the (54) Substitution of the Gentiles in their Place.

[Passage quoted, Jer. vi. 16.]

25. From the same.

Shewing forth of the Piety of the Nations, and Accusation of the Impiety of the Jewish Race. Prediction of the Evils to overtake them after the Coining of Christ.

[Passage quoted, Jer. xvi. 19-xvii. 4.]

26. From Amos.

(d) Concerning the Dispersion of the Jewish Race among all the Nations, and the Renewing of Christ's Coming and Kingdom, and the Call of all the Nations consequent upon it.

[Passage quoted, Amos ix. 9.]

27. From Micah.

(55) Accusation of the Rulers of the Jewish People, and a Shewing forth of the Desolation of their Mother-city, and the Appearance of Christ and of the House of God His Church, the Entrance of His Word and His Law, and its Shewing to all Nations.

[Passages quoted, Mic. iii. 9-iv. 2.]

28. From Zechariah.

Shewing forth of Christ's Appearing, and the Destruction of the warlike Preparation of the Jews, and the Peace of the Nations, and the Kingdom of the Lord unto the Ends of the World.

[Passage quoted, Zech. ix. 9-10.]

29. From Malachi.

(56) Rebuke of the Jewish Race, and Refusal of the Mosaic outward Worship, and of the spiritual Worship delivered by Christ to all Nations.

[Passage quoted, Mal. i. 10-12.]

30. From Isaiah.

(b) The Apostasy of the Jewish Race and the Revelation of the Word of God, and of the new Law, and of His House, and the Shewing forth of the Piety of all the Nations.

[Passages quoted, Isa. i. 8, 21, 30; ii. 2-4.]

(57) 31. From the same.

The Destruction of the Glory of the People of the Jews, and the Turning of the Nations from Idolatry to the God of the Universe, and the Prophecy of the Desolation of the Jewish Cities, and of their Unfaithfulness to their God.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xvii. 5-11.]

32. From the same.

Shewing forth of the destruction of the Jewish cities, and of the joy of the Gentiles in God.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xxv. 1-8.]

(d) 33. From the same.

The Message of good News to the Church of the Nations desolate of old, and the Rejection of the Jewish Nation, and Accusation of their Sins, and the Call of all the Gentiles.

[Passages quoted, Isa. xliii. 18-25 ; xlv. 22-25]

34. From the same.

Shewing forth of the Coming of Christ to Men. And Reproof of the Jewish Race, and Promise of good Things to all Nations.

[Passages quoted, Isa. i. 1, 2, 10 ; li. 4, 5.]

(59) 35. From the same.

Reproof of the Sins of the Jewish People, and their Fall from Piety, and the Shewing forth of the Call of all the Gentiles.

[Passages quoted, Isa. lix. 1-11, 19.]

(d) But although there are a number of prophecies on this subject, I will be content with the evidence I have produced, and I will return to them again and explain them at the proper time, as I consider that by the use of these numerous texts and of their evidence I have given adequate proof that the Jews hold no privilege beyond other nations. For if they say that they alone partake of the blessing of Abraham, the friend of God, by reason of their descent from him, it can be answered that God promised to the Gentiles that He would give them an equal share of the blessing not only of Abraham but of Isaac and Jacob also, since He expressly predicted that all nations would be blessed like them, and summoned the rest of the nations under one and the same (rule of) joy as the blessed and the godly, in saying: “Rejoice ye Gentiles [[Deut. xxxii. 43; Ps. xlvii. 9]] with his people,” and : “The princes of the

peoples were gathered together with the God of Abraham.”

And if it is on the kingdom of God they plume them- (60) selves, as being His portion, it can be answered that God prophesies that He will reign over all other nations. For he says : “Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is [[Ps. xcvi. 10]] King.” And again: “God reigneth over all the nations.”

And if they say that they were chosen out to act as [[Ps. xlvii. 8]] priests and to offer worship to God, it can be shewn that the Word promised that He would give to the Gentiles an equal share in His service, when He said: “Render to the Lord, O ye kindreds of the nations, render to the Lord glory and honour: bring sacrifices and come into [[Ps. xcvi. 7.]] his courts.” To which the oracle in Isaiah may be con- (b) joined, which says: “There shall be an altar to the Lord in the land of Egypt . . . and the Egyptians will know the Lord. And they shall do sacrifice, and say prayers to the Lord, and offer.” And in this you will understand [[Isa.xix.19]] that it is prophesied that an altar will be built to the Lord away from Jerusalem in Egypt, and that the Egyptians will there offer sacrifice, say prayers and give gifts to the Lord. Yes, and not only in Egypt, but in the true Jerusalem itself, whatever it is thought to be, all the nations, and the (c) Egyptians forsooth, the most superstitious of them all, are invited to keep the Feast of Tabernacles, as a feast of the heart.

And if it was true long ago: “Jacob is become the portion of the Lord, and Israel the rope of his inheritance.” [[Deut. xxx ii. 9]] Yet afterwards it was also said that all the nations would be given to the Lord for His inheritance, the Father saying to him : “ Desire of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance.” [[Ps. ii. 8]] And it is also prophesied that He shall rule from sea to sea and to the ends of the world : “All the Gentiles shall serve him, and in him shall the tribes of the earth be blessed.” [[Ps. lxxii. ii, 17]] And the reason of this (d) was that the Supreme God should make known His salvation before all nations. And I have already noted before that the name of Jesus translated from Hebrew into Greek would give “salvation,” so that “the salvation of God” is simply the appellation of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And Simeon bears witness to this in the Gospel, when he takes the infant in his hands, I mean of course Jesus, and prays:

(61) “Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word :

For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;
A light to lighten the Gentiles.” [[Luke ii.29]]

And this same salvation the Psalmist meant, when he said:

“The Lord declared his salvation, in the sight of the heathen he openly shewed his righteousness.”

And, according to Isaiah, it will be when they behold this very salvation that all men will worship the supreme God, (b) Who has bestowed His salvation on all ungrudgingly. And they will worship Him not in Jerusalem below, which is in Palestine, but each from his own place, and all who are in the isles of the Gentiles; and then, too, the oracle shall be fulfilled which said that all men should call no longer on their ancestral gods, nor on idols, nor on daemons, but on the Name of the Lord, and shall serve Him under one yoke, and shall offer to Him from the furthest rivers of Ethiopia the reasonable and bloodless sacrifices of the new Covenant of Christ, to be sacrificed not in Jerusalem below, nor on the altar there, but in the aforesaid borders of Ethiopia.

(c) And if it be admitted to be a noble privilege to be and to be reckoned the people of God, and if this one thing is the noblest of the divine promises, that God should say of those who are worthy of Him, “I will be their God, and [[Jer. xxxi. 33.] they shall be my people,” Israel was naturally proud in days of old of being the only people of God, but now the Lord has come to sojourn with us and promises graciously to extend this privilege to the Gentiles, saying:

“Lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of you, [[Zech. ii. 10.]] and many nations shall flee unto the Lord, and they shall be to him a people.”

On which I may aptly quote : “And I will say to a people (d) that were not my people, Ye are my people. And they [[Hos.ii. 23.]] shall say, Thou art the Lord our God.” And if it is the Christ and no one else Who is prophesied as springing from the root of Jesse, and this at least is so strongly held by the Hebrews themselves, that not one of them questions its truth at all, consider how He is proclaimed as about to arise to reign not over Israel but over the Gentiles, and how the Gentiles are said to be about to hope in Him, and not Israel, inasmuch as He is the expectation of the Gentiles. Wherefore He is said “to be about to bring [[Isa. xlii. 1, 6]] judgment to the Gentiles,” and “to be for a light to the Gentiles.” And again it is said: “In his name shall the Gentiles

trust,” and that He shall be given for salvation not only to the Jews but to all men, even to those at the ends of the earth. Wherefore it was said to Him by the Father that sent Him down : (62)

“I gave thee for a covenant of the race, for a light of [[Isa. xlix. 8.]] the Gentiles, to establish the earth, and to inherit the waste heritages.” He says He is “a witness to the Gentiles,” meaning that nations which have never before learned anything about Christ, when they knew His dispensation, and the might that was in Him, have called on Him, and that the peoples who did not before of old know Him, have taken refuge in Him.

But why need I say more, since it is possible from these prophetic sayings which I have laid before you, and from others to be found in Holy Scripture which I will record at leisure, for any one who wishes, to collect the words of the (b) prophets, and by their aid to put to silence those of the Circumcision, who say the promises of God were given to them alone, and that we who are of the Gentiles are supernumerary and alien to the divine promises? For I have proved, on the contrary, that it was prophesied that all the Gentiles would benefit by the coming of Christ, while the multitudes of the Jews would lose the promises given to their forefathers through their unbelief in Christ, few of (c) them believing in our Lord and Saviour, and therefore attaining the promised spiritual redemption through Him.

About which the wonderful Apostle teaches something when he says :

“27. Isaiah also crieth concerning Israel, Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved : 28. For finishing the word and cutting it short in righteousness, because a word cut short will the Lord do upon the earth. 29. And as Isaiah said before, If the Lord of Sabaoth had not left to us a seed, we should have [[Rom. ix. 27-29]] been as Sodom, and we should have been like to Gomorrah.”

(d) To which he adds after other things:

“1. Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. 2. God hath not cast away his people, which he foreknew. Know ye not what the Scripture saith of Elias? how he intercedes with God, speaking of Israel, 3. Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I only am left, and they seek my life to take it awny. 4. But what saith the answer of God to him? I have reserved to myself 7000 men, who have not bowed the knee to Baal. 5. Even

so then at this present time [[Rom. xi. 1-5.]] also there is a remnant according to the election of grace.”

(63) In these words the Apostle clearly separates, in the falling away of the whole Jewish people, himself and the Apostles and the Evangelists of our Saviour like Himself and all the Jews now who believe in Christ, as the seed named by the prophet in the words: “Unless the Lord of Sabaoth had left unto us a seed.” And he implies that they also are that which is styled in the other prophecies “the remnant,” which he says was preserved by the election of grace. And with reference to this remnant I will now return to the prophets and explain what they say, so that the argument may be based on more evidence, that God did not promise to the whole Jewish nation absolutely that (b) the coming of Christ would be their salvation, but only to a small and quite scanty number who should believe in our Lord and Saviour, as has actually taken place in agreement with the predictions.

36. From Isaiah.

That the Divine Promises did not extend to the whole (c) Jewish Nation, but only to a few of them.

[Passage quoted Isa. i. 7-9.]

This great and wonderful prophet at the opening of his own book here tells us that the whole scheme of his prophecy includes a vision and a revelation against Judaea and Jerusalem, then he attacks the whole race of the Jews, (d) first saying:

“ 3. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master’s manger, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not understand.” [[Isa. i. 3]]

And then he laments the whole race, and adds :

“4. Woe, race of sinners, a people full of iniquity, an evil seed, unrighteous children.”

Having brought these charges against them in the beginning of his book, and shewn beforehand the reasons for the later predictions that he is to bring against them, he goes on to say, “Your land is desolate,” though it was not desolate at the time when he prophesied : “Your cities are burnt with fire.” Nor had this yet taken place, and strangers had not devoured their land. And yet he says, “Your land, (64) strangers devour it before your eyes,” and that which follows. But if you came down to the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of those He sent, and to the present time, you would find all the

sayings fulfilled. For the daughter of Zion (by whom was meant the worship celebrated on Mount Zion) from the time of the coming of our Saviour has (b) been left as a tent in a vineyard, as a hut in a garden of cucumbers, or as anything that is more desolate than these. And strangers devour the land before their eyes, now exacting tax and tribute, and now appropriating for themselves the land which belonged of old to Jews. Yea, and the beauteous Temple of their mother-city was laid low, being cast down by alien peoples, and their cities were burnt with fire, and Jerusalem became truly a besieged city. But (c) since, when all this happened, the choir of the Apostles, and those of the Hebrews who believed in Christ, were preserved from among them as a fruitful seed, and going through every race of men in the whole world, filled every city and place and country with the seed of Christianity and Israel, so that like corn springing from it, the churches which are founded in our Saviour's name have come into being, the divine prophet naturally adds to his previous threats against them: "We should have been as Sodom, (d) and we should have been like unto Gomorrah." Which the holy Apostle in the Epistle to the Romans more clearly defines and interprets.

[The passages Rom. ix. 17-29 and xi. 1-5, already quoted 62 c, d, are repeated.]

And to shew that the prophecy can only refer to the (b) time of our Saviour's coming, the words that follow the text — — "unless the Lord of Sabaoth had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah," naming the whole people of the Jews as the people of Gomorrah, and their rulers as the princes of Sodom ——— imply a rejection of the Mosaic worship, and introduce in the prediction about them the characteristics of the covenant announced to all men by our Saviour, I mean regeneration by water, and the word and law completely new. For it says :

(c) "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of Sodom, give heed to the law of God, ye people of Gomorrah, [[Isa. i. 10.]] What is the multitude of your sacrifices to me?" .

and that which follows. Thus it takes away what belongs to the Mosaic law, and introduces in its place another mode of the forgiveness of sins, through the washing of salvation and the life preached in accordance with it, saying :

“Wash you, be ye clean ; take away the evils from [[Isa. i. 16.]] your souls.”

And the prophet himself at once supplies the reason, why he called them rulers of Sodom, and people of Gomorrah: “For your hands are full of blood.” And again a little further on :

“They have proclaimed their sin as Sodom and (d) made it manifest. Woe to their soul, because they have taken evil counsel with themselves, saying, We will bind the just, for he is burdensome to us.” [[Isa. iii. 9.]]

Since he so very clearly mentions some one’s blood, and a plot against some one just man, what could this be but the plot against our Saviour Jesus Christ, through which and after which all the things aforesaid overtook them?

37. From the same Isaiah.

[Passage quoted Isa. iv. 2.]

And the meaning of “the remnant of Israel” the prophet (66) himself clearly explains by the words, “All who are registered in Jerusalem, and called holy.” It will be clear to you, if you run through the whole course of this section, what that day is, in which it is said God will glorify and exalt the remnant of Israel and those who are called holy and to be written in (the book of) life. For in the begin- (b) ning of his complete book the prophet having seen the vision against Judah and Jerusalem, and numbered in many words the sins of the whole people of the Jews, and uttered threats and spoken about their ruin and the complete desolation of Jerusalem, brings his vision about them to an end with the words :

“ 30. For they shall be as a terebinth that has cast her leaves, and as a garden without water. 31. And their strength shall be as a thread of tow, and their works as sparks of fire, and the transgressors and the [[Isa. i. 30]] sinners shall be burnt together, and there shall be none (c) to quench them.”

And having inscribed here the prediction against them, he “lowers his tone”: and making another start he enters on a second subject, and as a preface, so to say, employs such words as these, “The word which came to Isaiah the (d) son of Amos concerning Judah and Jerusalem”; or, as Symmachus interpreted it, “on behalf of Judah and Jerusalem.” From which one would perhaps expect that he was about to change to more favourable prophecies about the same peoples on whom his former predictions had showered sadness. But the succeeding passages would certainly not confirm

the expectation, since they contain nothing at all that is good with regard to the race of the Jews, or that which is called Israel, neither for Judah nor Jerusalem. On the contrary, they bring many charges and accusations against Israel, and gloomy threats against Jerusalem, and prophesy for all the Gentiles salvation in their call and in the knowledge of the Supreme God. While in addition to this they tell of the coining of a new Mount, and the manifesting of another House of God, besides the one in Jerusalem. For he says after speaking about Judaea and Jerusalem:

(67) “2. In the last days the Mount of the Lord shall be manifest, and the house of the Lord upon the tops of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, 3. and all nations shall come to it, and shall say, Come and let us go up to the Mount of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob.” [[Isa. ii. 2.]]

Such are his prophecies about all the Gentiles. Hear what he proceeds to add about the Jews:

“ 6. For he has rejected his people, the house of the God of Jacob, for the land is filled as at the beginning with auguries, as the land of strangers, and many children of strangers are born to them. 7. For the land was filled with silver and gold, and there was (b) no end of their treasures.”

And that which follows after this, to which he adds:

“9. And they worshipped that which their own fingers had made, and a man bowed down, and was humbled, and I will not reject them. 10. And now enter ye into the rocks, and hide yourselves in the earth from the face of the fear of the Lord, and from the face of his glory, when he arises to shake the earth.”

And in this he teaches that there will be a Resurrection of the Lord, at which all the land of the Jewish people (c) will be shattered. For the whole portion refers to them, in the following sections as well, saying : “For the day of the Lord of Sabaoth shall be upon every one that is proud and insolent, and upon every one that is lofty and exalted.” And that which follows. Wherefore it is on the day of the Lord’s Resurrection, that the prophet having first addressed those who lift themselves up against the knowledge of God, says: “On this very day”; “the Lord shall be exalted in that very day, and they shall hide all the work of their hands, bearing them into the caves,” (d) clearly showing the destruction of the idols, which the Jews themselves and all other

men cast away after the appearance of the Saviour, despising all superstitions :

“ 20. On that day, he says, a man shall cast away his abominations of gold and silver which they made to worship vanities.”

Thus speaking, it would seem, generally about all men, because of the coming call of the Gentiles. But he alludes particularly again to the Jewish race under one head as follows:

“Behold now, the Lord, the Lord of Sabaoth, will take away from Judaea and from Jerusalem the strong man and strong woman, the strength of bread, and the strength of water, 2. The giant and the strong man, and the man of war, and the judge, and the prophet, and (68) the counsellor, and elder, and captain of fifty, 3. And the wonderful counsellor, and the clever artificer, and the wise hearer.” [[Isa.iii.1-3.]]

And that which follows. Stop at this point, and set beside the above the introduction to the prophecy, in which it was said: “The word that came from the Lord to Isaiah the son of Amoz on behalf of Judah and Jerusalem,” and see how much more in accordance with what follows “against” is than “for,” unless indeed some hidden meaning is contained in the words. For how could one about to take away from Judah and Jerusalem strong (b) man and strong woman, the strength of bread and the strength of water, and all things that of old were beautiful among them, introduce his prophecy by saying it was “for” Judah and Jerusalem? And how could that which follows again be “for” them :

“Jerusalem is forsaken, and Judaea hath fallen, and their tongues [have spoken] with iniquity, disbelieving [[Isa. iii. 8.]] the things of the Lord “?

Nay, rather, at a time when it should be necessary for the Mountain of the Lord to be proclaimed to all the Gentiles, and the House of God on the Mount, when all (c) the Gentiles meet and say: “Come and let us go up to the Mount of the Lord, and to the House of the God of Jacob”: the Scripture using such accusations of the Jewish race, and threatening them so sorely, adds thereto all the sayings I have quoted, and teaches that of the whole Jewish race which will fall away from the holiness of God, there will be left over some of them not immersed in their common evils; and further, that being saved as it were from the sinful and lawless, and embracing piety in sincerity and truth, they will be reckoned worthy of (d) God’s Scripture, and will be called holy servants of God. And it means by these, the apostles, disciples, and

evangelists of our Saviour, and all the others of the Circumcision, who believed on Him, at the time of the falling away of their whole race. Scripture darkly implies this, when it says: “In that day” — *i.e.* the day in which plainly all the aforesaid things shall take place connected with the calling of the Gentiles, and the falling away of the Jews — — “God shall shine gloriously in counsel on the earth, to uplift and to glorify the remnant of Israel, and there shall be a remnant in Sion, and a remnant in [[Isa. iv. 2.]] Jerusalem, and all who are written for life in Jerusalem (69) shall be called holy.”

And it was these, who came forth from Judaea and Jerusalem that the preface meant the prophecy to allude to, when it said: “For Judaea and Jerusalem,” yea, both the actual Jerusalem, and the figurative Jerusalem thought of as analagous to it. And which of the apostles of our Saviour or of His evangelists, beholding the inspired power (b) by which “their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words to the ends of the earth,” and by which all the Churches of Christ from that day to this have their words and teaching on their lips, and the laws of Christ of the new covenant preached by them, would not bear witness to the truth of the prophecy, which says that God openly will exalt and glorify in counsel and with glory the remnant of Israel through all the world, and that the remnant in Sion and the remnant in Jerusalem shall be (c) called holy, all they who are written in the book of life? Instead of the reading of the LXX, “in counsel with glory,” Aquila and Theodotion agree in interpreting “for power and glory” indicating the power given to the apostles by God, and their consequent glory with God — according to the words: “The Lord will give a word to [[Ps. lxxviii.11] the preachers with much power.”

And this which has really come to pass :

“ 9. Ye shall hear indeed, and shall not understand : and seeing ye shall see and not perceive. 10. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and they hear (d) with heavy ears, and they have closed their eyes, lest they should ever see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and turn, and I should heal them. 11. And I said, Until when, O Lord? And he said, Until the cities be desolated that none dwell in them, and houses that no men be in them, and the earth be left desolate. 12. And afterwards God will increase men, and they that are left on the earth shall be increased.” [[Isa. vi. 9.]]

And notice here how they that are left again on the earth, all the rest of the earth being desolate, alone are said to multiply. These must surely be our Saviour's Hebrew disciples, going forth to all men, who being left behind (70) like a seed have brought forth much fruit, namely, the Churches of the Gentiles throughout the whole world. And see, too, how at the same time he says that only those will multiply who are left behind from the falling away of the Jews, while the Jews themselves are utterly desolate: "Their land," he says, "shall be left unto them desolate." And this was also said to them before by the same prophet : "Your land is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire, your country strangers devour it before your eyes."

(b) And when was this fulfilled, except from the times of our Saviour? For up to the time they had not yet dared to do impiety to Him, their land was not desolate, their cities were not burned with fire, nor did strangers devour their land. But from that inspired word, by which our Lord and Saviour Himself predicted what was about to fall on them, saying : "Your house is left unto you desolate," from that moment and not long after the prediction they were besieged by the Romans and brought to desolation. (c) And the word of prophecy gives the cause of the desolation, making the interpretation almost certain, and showing the cause of their falling away. For when they heard our Saviour teaching among them, and would not listen with their mind's ear, nor understood Who He was, seeing Him with their eyes, but not beholding Him with the eyes of their spirit, " they hardened their heart, and all but closed [[Isa. vi. 10.]] the eyes of their mind, and made their ears heavy."

As the prophecy says, because of this He says that their cities would be made desolate so that none should dwell in them, and their land should become desolate, and only (d) a few of them be left behind, kept like fruitful and spark-like seed, who it is said, should go forth to all men, and multiply on the earth.

But also even after the departure of those who are clearly the apostles of our Saviour, he says that "a tenth" will still remain on Jewish soil:

"And again it shall be for a spoil, as a terebinth, and [[Isa. vi. 13.]] as an acorn, when it falls out of its husk."

The Scripture, as I suppose, means by this, that after the first siege, which they are recorded to have undergone (71) in the time of the apostles, and of Vespasian, Emperor of the Romans, being a second time besieged again under

Hadrian they were completely debarred from entering the place, so that they were not even allowed to tread the soil of Jerusalem. And this he darkly suggests in the words : “And again it shall be for a spoil, as a terebinth, and as an acorn when it falls out of its husk “ : [[Isa. vii 21.]]

21. “And it shall come to pass in that day, a man will nourish a heifer and two shee. And it shall come to pass from their drinking much milk, every one left on the land shall eat butter and honey.”

Here if you inquire to what day the prophet looks forward, (b) you will find it to be the very time of the appearance of our Saviour. For when the prophet says: “ Behold a virgin shall ,be with child, and shall bring forth a son,” though he interposes many things, yet he prophesies of the things that will come to pass on that very day, that is to say about the time of our Saviour’s appearance.

For he says that unseen powers, and foes and enemies, (c) allegorically designated flies and bees, will attack the land of the Jews, and that the Lord with the razor of its foes will shave the head of the Jewish race, as if it were one great body, and the hairs from its feet, and its beard —— in a word its whole glory. And this being done in the day prophesied when He shall be born of a virgin, he foretells that a man who is left from the destruction of the whole race, that is to say all of them who believe in the Christ of God, shall nourish a heifer of the bulls and two sheep, and from their producing very much milk shall eat butter and honey : and you will understand that this is mystically fulfilled in our Saviour’s apostles. For each one of them (d) in the churches which he established by Christ’s help, nourished two sheep, that is to say two orders of disciples coming like sheep into the sheepfold of Christ, the one as yet probationary, the other already enlightened by baptism, and in addition to these one heifer, the ecclesiastical rule of those who preside with their inspired food of the word, and produced from them a fruitful increase of milk and honey from the food they have laboured to provide.

(72) That holy Scripture often likens the multitudes of less perfect disciples to sheep I need not say; every scripture teaches it. And its comparison of the perfect man, who being the leader works the body of the Church as a farmer, to the work of bulls on the soil, the holy apostle uses, when he says:

“Doth God take care for oxen? Or saith he it altogether for our sakes? That he that ploweth should plow in hope, and that he that thresheth, should thresh

in hope of partaking.” [[I Cor ix 9.]]

And if any one is disgusted with such metaphorical interpretation, let him beware lest refusing to regard figuratively what are called flies, or bees, or a razor, or a beard, (b) or hairs on the feet, he falls into absurd and inconsistent mythology. But if these things can only be figuratively understood, the same may certainly be said of the following :

“18. In that day the mountains shall be consumed, and the hills, and forests, and shall be devoured from soul to body. And he that fleeth shall be as one that fleeth from burning flame, 19. and they that are left of them shall be a number, and a little child shall write them. 20. And it shall come to pass in that (c) day, the remnant of Israel shall no more be added, and they that are saved of Jacob shall no more trust in those that wronged them, and they shall trust in the God the holy one of Israel in truth, 21. and the remnant of Israel shall turn to the mighty God. 22. And though the people of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant of them shall be saved. 23. For he will finish the account, and cut it short in righteousness, for God will make a short account in the whole world.” [[Isa. x. 18.]]

And notice here, that in his denunciations of gloom, he says :

“He that fleeth shall be as one that fleeth from a burning flame; and their remnant shall be a number, (d) and a little child shall write them” —

by which, he emphasizes the scanty number of those of the Circumcision who will escape destruction, and the burning of Jerusalem. “And they who are left,” he says, “will be a number”: that is they will be amenable to number, or few and easily numbered. As many, then, as those who believed in our Lord and Saviour were in comparison of the whole Jewish race, who also were thought worthy of being enrolled by Him, as the verse shews, which says: “And a little child shall write them.” Having told us before Who the little child was, where he said: “Behold, the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son.” And: “Before the child shall (73) know to call on its father or mother.”

And since in this place he says: “A little child shall write them,” it can be seen why he said in the previous one : “And these shall be a remnant in Sion, and a remnant in Jerusalem, all shall be called holy, and shall be written in [the book of] life.” As therefore among them a remnant is named, and it is they who were written in [the book of] life, so also here “the remnant from

them shall be a number, and a little child shall write them.” And this “remnant from Israel, and they that are saved from Jacob no more” he says “shall be with those that do them wrong, but shall (b) trust in the Lord, the Holy One of Israel.” So note if it is not with this very trust that they who went forth from the Jewish race, those who were left behind in the falling away of Israel, the disciples and apostles of our Saviour, taking no notice of the rulers of this world, or of the rulers of the people of the Circumcision who did them wrong of old, went forth to all the nations, preaching the word of Christ, and by their trust in God (for according to the prophecy “they were trusting in God, the holy one of Israel, in truth,” for they (c) gave up their whole selves in hope, without deceit or hypocrisy, but with truth) not only went forth from their own land, but prospered in that whereto they were sent. And this same remnant was like the seed of the falling away of Jacob that trusted in the strength of God, and this remnant of the whole race that once was as the sand of the sea, but not as the stars of the heaven, was thought worthy of salvation by God, as the Apostle bore witness saying :

“Isaiah cries concerning Israel, If the number of the (d) children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved.”

For of the promises gives by the oracle to Abraham concerning those who were to come after him that “they shall be as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand of the sea,” the friends of God are meant, on the one hand shining like the heavenly lights, such as were those of old, the prophets and our Saviour’s apostles, to whom He bore witness saying : “Ye are the light of the world” ; but, on the other, the earth-born who lie upon the ground are compared to the sand of the shore. The prophetic word speaks rightly in the above, first where the whole multitude of Israel’s sons, fallen from (74) their true and magnificent virtue to the ground, is compared to the sand of the sea, and then when it says only the remnant shall be saved. But I have now dealt sufficiently with the question of the remnant. And he says that this will come to pass, when “the Lord cutting short and completing his word shall accomplish it through the whole world” : clearly pointing to the Gospel preaching, by which, the whole Mosaic circle of symbols and signs and bodily (b) ordinances being taken away, the complete word of the Gospel given to all men has confirmed the truth of the prophecy.

“10. And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, and one arising to rule

the Gentiles. In him shall the Gentiles hope, and his rest shall be glory, 11. And it shall be in that clay, the Lord shall again shew his hand, to be jealous and to seek the remnant remaining from his people, which is left by the Assyrians, and from Egypt, (c) and Babylon, and Ethiopia, and from the Elamites, and from the East, and from the isles of the sea. 12. And he will raise a standard to the nations, and will gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners [[Isa. xi. 10.]] of the earth.”

As certain events were many times foretold as about to take place on a definite day, that is to say, when a certain time had come, I have by the use of reasoning proved that the said events must follow the appearance of God, for when He appears, the whole Jewish race falling away, holy Scripture makes it clear that a scanty few of them will be left behind, (d) while the passage now in our hands shews in the clearest way both the day, and the time meant by it, and the events that were to follow it. For it prophesies the birth of the Christ of the seed of David, and at the same time foretells the falling away of the Jews. For it says thus :

“Behold, the Lord, the Lord of Sabaoth, will mightily confound the glorious ones, and the lofty men shall be humbled, and the lofty shall fall by the sword, and [[Isa. x. 33.]] Libanus shall fall with the lofty.”

By Libanus here Jerusalem is meant, as I have shewn elsewhere, which Scripture threatens shall fall with all its venerable and glorious men within it. And having thus begun, it says afterwards : “And a rod shall come out of (75) the stem of Jesse, and a flower shall spring up from his [[Isa. xi. 1]] root.”

By showing very clearly that the birth of Christ should be from the root of Jesse, who was the father of David, it explains upon what birth the call of the Gentiles should follow, which it had previously only given obscurely in the prophetic manner. For “the wolf shall feed with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie clown with the kid,” and such passages, are only intended to shew the change of savage and uncivilized nations in no way differing from wild beasts to a holy, mild, and social way of life. And this is what it (b) teaches afterwards without disguise, in the words : “The whole [earth] shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.” And moreover the prophetic word proceeds to interpret itself:

“And there shall be in that day a root of Jesse, and one arising to rule the Gentiles. In him shall the Gentiles trust, and his rest shall be glory.”

Since, then, it had predicted the falling away of the Jewish race in a veiled way, and then the calling of the Gentiles, first in a veiled way and then openly, it is natural for it (c) in returning to the same topic to mention those of the Circumcision who should believe in Christ, that it may not seem to shut them altogether from hope in Christ.

“For there shall be,” it says, “one to arise to rule over the Gentiles.”

Who could this be Who is to arise, but the root of Jesse, whom it so clearly says is to reign over the Gentiles, but not over Israel? Since then it had taught in various ways of the conversion of the Gentiles consequent upon the birth and growth of Him Who came from the root of Jesse, and had then nothing bright to say of those of the Circumcision, it naturally here supplies the gap in the prediction, saying, “And it shall come to pass in that day,” (d) *i.e.* in the time of him that is born of the root of Jesse, the Lord moreover shall put forth His power, to be jealous for and to seek the remnant remaining of His people that were left of such and such enemies. In place of which Aquila has read :

“And it shall be in that day, the Lord will shew his hand a second time, to possess the remnant of his people, which shall be left by the Assyrians,” etc.

And you will understand this, if you consider that the enemies of the people of God are certain intelligent and spiritual beings, either evil daemons, or powers opposed to the word of holiness, who in invisible leadership of the (76) nations named, in days of old laid siege to the souls of Israel, involved them in various passions, seducing them and enslaving them to a life like that of the other nations. When, then, you may almost say that the whole people was taken captive in soul by these powers, they who were kept safe and intact, unwounded and undespoiled according to (b) the prophecy received the message, that they should see the hand of the Lord, and become His possession, according to the words of the oracle, “the Lord will add to shew his hand, to be jealous for the remnant remaining of his people.”

But what will the Lord add? Surely to those to whom once long before He had proclaimed by the prophets “the hand of the Lord has been added,” yea, to those who are, as it were, preserved in the fall of the whole people He proclaims that He will add what was lacking to the former. And these are the mysteries of the new covenant, shewn by the hand of the Lord to the remnant of the people. (c) But He also says that “He will be jealous of the remnant that is left of the people.” Instead of which Aquila and Theodotion agree in

reading : “that He must acquire the remnant of His people, whatever is left from the Assyrians, and the other nations that were their enemies.”

And this remnant which is left of His people “shall lift up” he says “a standard to the Gentiles.” Through them clearly the Lord will shew His sign among all the Gentiles, and through them will gather together the lost (d) of Israel and the scattered abroad of Judah from the four corners of the earth to the Christ of God, who take refuge in Him through the preaching of His apostles, saying that those gathered together come from them who of old were exiled and cut off from the figurative Israel and Judah. The ideals of such souls shew them to be the true Israel of God, for in contrast to them the weak and sinful nature of Israel according to the flesh makes Him prophetically call them : “Rulers of Sodom and people of Gomorrah.” [[Rom. xi 5.]]

Thus the “remnant according to the election of grace,” and that which is called in the prophecy, “the remnant that is left of the people,” has proclaimed the sign of the Lord to all the Gentiles, and has joined to God as one people, that is drawn to Him, the souls of the Gentiles that are brought out of destruction to the knowledge of the Lord, a people which from the four corners of the earth even now is welded together by the power of Christ. And these same refugees from the lost race of the Jews, (77) the disciples and apostles of our Saviour belonging to different tribes, thought worthy of one calling, and one grace and one Holy Spirit, will cast away all the love, which the tribes of the Hebrew race had to them, as the prophecy says. Bound together, then, by the same mind and will, they have not only traversed the continent, but the isles of the Gentiles also, making plunder of all the (b) souls of men everywhere, and bringing them into captivity to the obedience of Christ, according to the oracle, which said :

“And they shall fly in the ships of strangers ; they shall at the same time spoil the sea, and them from the sun-rising.” [[Isa xi. 14.]]

And the remainder of this prophecy you will examine as I have done, testing each passage by yourself, and while you reject everything inconsistent and unworthy in it, yet you will recognize the mind of the Spirit, as the Spirit of (c) God itself suggests your meditation. For time does not allow me to linger on these subjects, as I must press on to complete the task before me.

“13. And I will command evils for the whole world, and their sins for the unholy, and I will destroy the pride of the lawless, and will humble the pride

of the insolent, 14. and they that are left shall be more precious than gold unsmelted, and a man shall be more precious than the stone of Suphir.” And afterwards (d) it adds: “And they that are left shall be as a fleeing [[Isa.xiii. 11.]] fawn, or as a straying sheep.”

In this too the Scripture shews most plainly the small number of the saved in the time of the ruin of the wicked, so that it is not possible to expect that absolutely all the circumcised without exception and the whole Jewish race will attain to the promises of God.

“4. And there shall be in that day a failing of the glory of Jacob, and the riches of his glory shall be (78) shaken. 5. And it shall be as when one gathers standing corn, and reaps the grain of the ears; 6. And it shall be as when one gathers ears in a rich valley, and stubble is left. Or as the berries of an olive tree are left, two or three on the topmost bough, or four or five on its branches, thus saith the Lord God of Israel. 7. In that day a man shall trust in him that made him, and his eyes shall look on the Holy One of Israel, 8. and they shall not trust in the altars, nor in the work [[Isa.xvii.4.]] of their hands, which their own fingers have made.”

And in this it is clearly prophesied how Israel’s glory (b) and all her riches will be taken away, and how but a few, easily numbered, like the few berries on the branch of an olive tree, are said to be left; and these would be those of them who are believers in our Lord. And immediately after what is said about these, there is a prophecy of the whole race of mankind turning away from the error of idolatry, and coming to know the God of Israel.

“Hear ye isles, which are forsaken and tortured, (c) hear, what I heard from the Lord of Sabaoth: the God [[Isa. xxi.10.]] of Israel has announced (it) to us.

Note the way in this passage also in which he does not call those of the Circumcision to hear the unspeakable words, but those only, whom he calls “forsaken and tortured,” as were those in the apostolic age who bewailed and lamented the evil of the life of men.

“4 *b*. The lofty men of the earth mourned, 5. and the earth waxed lawless through her inhabitants. 6*b*. Therefore, the inhabitants of the earth shall be poor, (d) and few men shall be left.” [[Isa.xxiv.4.]]

Here again having rebuked the transgressors of the law of the covenant of God who belong to the people of the circumcision, and threatened them with what was written, he prophesies that some few men of them will be left. And

these would be those named of the apostle “the remnant according to the election of grace.”

“ 12. Cities shall be left desolate, and houses deserted shall fall to ruin. 13. All these things shall come to pass in the earth in the midst of the nations, as if one should strip an olive tree, so shall they be stripped. (79) 14. But when the vintage is stopped, then shall they cry aloud, and the remnant on the earth shall rejoice [[Isa. xxiv. 12]] with the glory of God.”

And here they who are left alone are said to rejoice, all the others being delivered to the woes prophesied.

“ 3. The crown of pride, the hirelings of Ephraim shall he beaten down. 4. And the fading flower of glorious hope on the top of the high mountain shall be as the early fig: he that sees it will desire to swallow (b) it, before he takes it into his hand. 5. In that day the Lord shall be the crown of hope, the garland of glory to the remnant of his people; for they shall be left in [[Is. xxviii. 3.]] the spirit of judgment.”

And here he prophesies that the Lord will be “a crown of hope and glory” to the remnant of his people, not to all their nation, but to those only signified by the remnant, and names the others in contrast to the remnant of his people “a crown of shame and hirelings of Ephraim.”

“And they that are left in Judaea, shall take root (c) downwards, and bear fruit upwards, because there shall be a remnant from Jerusalem, and the preserved from Mount Sion. The zeal of the Lord of Sabaoth will [[Isa.xxxvii. 31.]] do this.”

He prophesies that those of the Jewish race that are left according to the election of grace, will cast root downwards and bear fruit upwards, shewing very clearly the (d) election of the apostles and disciples of our Saviour. For they, being left from those of the Circumcision, thrust down into the earth the roots of their teaching, so that they have fixed and rooted their teaching throughout the whole world : and they have exhorted men to bear both seed and fruit upwards towards the heavenly promises.

Thus those men themselves, who were left of the Jewish race, when the rest were destroyed, alone are said to be saved. The zeal of the Lord has accomplished this. The zeal of the Lord elected them, in order to provoke the wicked of the Circumcision to jealousy, and He provoked them to jealousy, according to the saying of Moses :

“They have provoked me to jealousy by that which is not God, and I will provoke them to jealousy by [[Deut. xxxii. 8.]] that which is not a people. By a foolish people I will anger them.”

“8. Thus saith the Lord, as a grape-stone shall be (80) found in the cluster, and they shall say, Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it: so will I for the sake of him that serves me, for his sake I will not destroy all. 9. And I will lead out the seed of Jacob and Juda, and they shall inherit my holy mountain : and my chosen and my servants shall inherit it and dwell there. 10. And there shall be in the forest a fold of sheep, and the valley of Achor shall be a resting-place for the herds of my people, who have sought me.

(b) “11. But ye are they that have left me, and forget my holy mountain and prepare a table for chance, 12. and fill up the drink-offering to the Demon. I will deliver you up to the sword, ye shall all fall by slaughter, because I called you and ye did not hear, and did evil [[Isa. lxxv. 8.]] before me, and chose that which I willed not.”

In this passage the Scripture distinguishes, and says that but a small seed from Jacob will attain the promises, and that the elect are those that dwell in the wood. It points here to the calling of the Gentiles, in which the elect of the Lord and the seed of Jacob are [included], and these (c) would be the apostles and disciples of our Saviour, and the rest beyond them are subject to the before-mentioned threats, Scripture stating as clearly as possible, that the whole Jewish nation could not attain the promises of God, but only the seed which is named, and those called “the elect of God.” For many are called, but few are chosen. [[Matt. xx.16.]] On them Scripture now proceeds to prophesy that a new name shall be conferred, saying to the wicked :

“For your name shall be left, as a loathing for my (d) chosen, and the Lord shall destroy you : but my servants shall be called by a new name.” [[Is. lxxv. 15.]]

And this new name, which was not known to them of old time, what could it be but the name of “Christians,” blessed through all the world, formed from the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ?

50. From Micah.

[Passage quoted, Micah ii. 11.]

Micah, too, agrees with the passages from Isaiah in stating (81) that God will not receive all without qualification, but only those who are left. And as

in Isaiah “their remnant” was called “a seed,” so now those of them that are to be saved are called “a drop.” And the choir of the apostles is shewn forth by those figures, as being a drop and a seed from the Jewish race, a drop from which all they that have known the Christ of God through the whole world and received His teaching, have been made worthy of the congregation foretold, having obtained redemption from their enemies.

“2. And thou Bethlehem, house of Ephratha, art the (b) least among the thousands of Juda. Out of thee shall come forth my leader, to be for a prince to Israel, and his goings forth from the beginning are from the days of eternity. 3. Therefore shall he give them until the time of her that brings forth. She shall bring forth, and the [[Micah v. 2, 3]] remainder of their brethren shall turn.”

And after a little he adds :

“7. And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the nations, in the midst of many peoples, as dew falling from the Lord, and as lambs on the pasture; that none (c) may assemble or resist among the sons of men. 8. And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the nations in the midst of many peoples, as a lion among cattle in the forest, and as a lion’s whelp in the pastures of sheep : as when he goes through and chooses and carries off, and there is none to deliver. 9. Thine hand shall be exalted against them that afflict thee, and all thine enemies shall [[Micah v. 7.]] be utterly destroyed.”

Nothing surely could be more clear than this; at one and the same time it proclaims the birth of the Saviour at Bethlehem, and His existence before eternity, His Birth of the Virgin, the call of His apostles and disciples, and their preaching of the Christ carried throughout all the world. For when this Ruler, Whose goings forth the Scripture says are from eternity, shall have gone forth from Bethlehem, and when the holy maiden who was to bear Him shall have brought Him forth, it does not say that all they of the Circumcision will be saved, but only they that are left, who will be also a remnant of Jacob, and will be given as dew to all the Gentiles. For the remnant of Jacob, he says, shall be among the nations, as dew falling from the Lord, and as (82) lambs in a pasture. Instead of which Aquila translates, “as drops on the grass,” and Theodotion, “as snow on grass.” And again, instead of “so that none may assemble or resist among the sons of men, and no son of men attack,” Theodotion reads “who shall not wait for man, and shall not hope in the son of man.” And Aquila “who shall not await a man, and shall not be concerned

with the sons of men.”

Through which the whole hope of the apostles of our Saviour is [shown to be] not in man, but in their Lord and Saviour, and He was the Word of God. And it says lower down :

(b) “And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the nations in the midst of many peoples, as a lion among the cattle of the forest, and as a lion’s whelp in the pastures of sheep; as when he goes through, and chooses, and spoils, and there is none to save.”

By which I think is meant the bravery and intrepidity of the apostles’ preaching. They threw themselves like a lion and a lion’s whelp on the thicket of the Gentiles and on the flocks of human sheep, they parted the worthy from the (c) unworthy, and subjected them to the word of Christ.

And then His victories are proclaimed to Him : “Thy hand shall be exalted against them that trouble thee, and all thy enemies shall be destroyed.”

And we can see this with our own eyes. For though many have afflicted the word of Christ, and are even now contending with it, yet it is lifted above them and become stronger than them all. Yes, verily, the hand of Christ is raised against all that afflicted Him, and all His enemies who from time to time rise up against His Church are said to be “utterly destroyed.”

52. From Zephaniah.

[Passage quoted, Zeph. iii. 9.]

And in this passage the Lord promised that there will be (83) left for Him a people meek and lowly, meaning none others but they of the Circumcision who believed in His Christ. And He again proclaimed that only the remnant of Israel should be saved, with those called from the other nations, as He shewed in the beginning of the prophecy.

53. From Zechariah.

[Passage quoted, Zech. xiv. 1, 2.]

The fulfilment of this also agrees with the passages quoted on the destruction of the whole Jewish race, which came upon them after the coming of Christ. For Zechariah (c) writes this prophecy after the return from Babylon, foretelling the final siege of the people by the Romans, through which the whole Jewish race was to become subject to their enemies : he says that only the remnant of the people shall be saved, exactly describing the apostles of our Saviour.

54. From Jeremiah.

[Passage quoted Jer. iii. 14-16.]

Here again he prophesies that the conversion of Israel will be at the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in which He will choose one from a city, and two from a family, very few and small in number, to be shepherds of the nations that have believed on Him and of the nations that have been increased upon the earth through their destined call by them. No more, he says, will they say “the ark of the covenant of the Lord” — for they will no longer run after the more external worship, having received a new covenant.

(84) 55. From the same.

[Passage quoted, Jer. v. 6-10.]

Here once more the charge against their whole race is shewn, and the siege that came on them, and the remnant again, which he names “the foundation” as belonging to the Lord. Because being inspired and strengthened by their faith in the Christ of God, they did not undergo such sufferings as the rest of their race.

56. From Ezekiel

[Passage quoted, Ezek. vi. 7.]

This also seems to me to agree with the passages from the other prophets. For whom could you call the “saved” but those called by the others “a remnant, and the drop, and the dew of that people,” by which was signified the band of the Apostles of our Saviour? They truly being saved from the destruction of all their race, even in their (d) scattering remembered God, so that it must be agreed that what was written referred to them.

57. From the same.

[Passage quoted, Ezek. xi. 16.]

And here he has called the same men by another name, meaning by “a little sanctuary,” those of them who shall be saved and survive.

58. From the same. (85)

[Passage quoted, Ezek. xii. 14-16.]

In the dispersion of the whole people He says that even now few in number will be left for Himself, meaning the same men as in the preceding prophecy.

(b)

59. From the same.

[Passage quoted, Ezek. xiv. 21.]

This in no way differs from the preceding.

60. From the same.

[Passage quoted, Ezek. xx. 36.]

Here, again, is a clear witness that but few will come under God's staff, and that this will be when the rest of Israel has fallen away from the promises.

But now that I have proved that the divine prophecies did not foretell good things to all the members of the Jewish race universally and indiscriminately whatever happened, to the evil and unholy and those who were the reverse, but to few of them and those easily numbered, in fact to those of them who believed in our Lord and Saviour, or those justified before His coming, I consider that I have shewn sufficiently, that the divine promises were fulfilled (d) not indiscriminately to all the Jews, and that the oracles of the prophets are not more applicable to them than to those of the Gentiles who have received the Christ of God. And the full meaning of the divine promises I will unfold in the fitting place.

I have but collected these passages, as I was bound to do, in order to refute the impudent assertions of those of the Circumcision, who, in their brainless boasting, say that the Christ will come for them only, and not for all mankind. I wished also to prove that my study of their sacred books (86) had been to good purpose. In the previous book I have already accounted for our not becoming Jews, although we have this delight in their prophetic writings. And I explained there also, as far as was possible, what kind of a life the Christian life is which is preached to all nations, and the ancient character of the ideal of the system of the (b) Gospel. So now that this preliminary work is done, it is high time to attack more mysterious subjects, those which are concerned with the mystical dispensation relating to our Lord and Saviour, Jesus the Christ of God : so that we may learn why He made His appearance to all men now, and not before, and the reason why He began the call of the Gentiles, not in days long past, but now after the length of ages; and many other things which are germane to the mysterious theology of His Person.

(c) Now, therefore, let us discuss the subject of His Incarnation, which is my first topic at this second beginning of my work, which is addressed to unbelievers, calling on Him Who is, indeed, the Word of God to aid us.

BOOK III

I HAVE now adequately completed the prolegomena to (87) my *Proof of the Gospel*: I have shewn the nature of our Saviour's Gospel teaching, and given the reason of our regard for the oracles of the Jews, while we reject their rule of life. And I have also made it clear that their (88) prophetic writings in their foresight of the future recorded our own calling through Christ, so that we make use of them not as books alien to us, but as our own property. And now it is time for me to embark on my actual work, and to begin to treat of the promises. How these were actually concerned with the human dispensation of Jesus the Christ of God, and the teaching of the Hebrew prophets on the theology based on His Person, and predictions of His appearance among men, which I shall (b) shew immediately from their clear fulfilment can only apply to Him alone. But I must first of necessity consider the fact that the prophets definitely made mention of the Gospel of the Christ.

CHAPTER 1

That the Prophets made Mention of the Gospel of the Christ.

MY witness of this shall be from the words of Isaiah, who cries in the Person of Christ:

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has sent me to preach good news to the poor, to proclaim (c) deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the [[Isa. lxi. i.]] blind.”

Our Saviour, after reading this prophecy through in the Synagogue one day to a multitude of Jews, shut the book [[Luke iv. 21]] and said: “This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.” And beginning His own teaching from that point He began to preach the Gospel to the poor, putting in the forefront of His blessings: “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs [[Matt. v. 3.]] is the kingdom of heaven.” Yea, and to those who were (d) hampered by evil spirits, and bound for a long time like slaves by daemons, He proclaimed forgiveness, inviting all to be free and to escape from the bonds of sin, when He [[Matt. xi.28.]] said: “Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.”

And to the blind He gave sight, giving the power of seeing to those whose bodily vision was destroyed, and dowering with the vision of the light of true religion those who of old in their minds were blind to the truth. The prophecy before us shews it to be essential that Christ Himself should be the originator and leader of the Gospel activity, and the same prophet foretells that after Him His own disciples should be ministers of the same system: (89)

“How beautiful are the feet of them that bring good [[Isa. lii. 7; Rom. x.]] tidings of good things, and of those that bring good tidings of peace.”

Here he says very particularly that it is *the feet* of those who publish the good news of Christ that are beautiful. For how could they not be beautiful, which in so small, so short a time have run over the whole earth, and filled every place with the holy teaching about the Saviour of the world?

(b) And that they did not use human words to persuade their hearers, but that it was the power of God that worked with them in the Gospel preaching, again another prophet says:

“The Lord will give a word to those that bring good [[Ps. lxxviii.11.]] tidings with much power.”

And again Isaiah:

“9. Go up to the high mountain, thou that bringest good tidings in Zion, lift up thy voice with strength thou that bringest good tidings to Jerusalem; lift it up, be not afraid, Say to the cities of Juda, Behold your God, 10. Behold the Lord comes with strength, and his arm with power. Behold his reward is with him, (c) and his work before him. 11. As a shepherd feeds his flock, and gathers the lambs in his arms, and comforts those that are great with young.”
[[Isa. xl. 9.]]

We shall know in what sense this is to be taken, when we have reached a further point on the road of Gospel teaching. But at least it is established that the voices of the prophets witnessed to the Gospel, and even to the name of the Gospel, and you have clear and definite proofs from whom the Gospel will take its origin, that is to say from Christ Himself, and by whom it will be preached, that it will be through His Apostles. At least (we are told) by what power it will gain the mastery, that it will not be (d) human: since this is established by the words: “The Lord will give a word to those that bring good tidings with much power.” So then it only remains to quote a few out of the many other ancient Hebrew prophecies concerning Christ, that you may know what the good tidings were that would be preached in after days, and may realize the wonderful foreknowledge of future events in the prophets, and the fulfilments of their predictions, how they stand fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour, Jesus the Christ of God.

CHAPTER 2

That the Hebrew Prophets prophesied of Christ.

MOSES was the first of the prophets to tell the good news (90) that another prophet like unto himself would arise. For since his legislation was only applicable to the Jewish race, and only to that part of it resident in the land of Judaea or its neighbourhood, and not to those living far away abroad (as has been seen in my previous book); and as it was surely necessary that He Who was not only the God of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles, should provide helpful means for all the Gentiles to know Him and to become holy in their lives, He makes known by the oracle accordingly (b) that another prophet will arise from the Jewish race, no whit inferior to His own dispensation. And God Himself names him in this manner:

“A prophet will I raise up to them from their brethren like unto thee, and I will put my word in his mouth, and he shall speak to them according to what I command him. And whatsoever man shall not hear that prophet[‘s words], whatsoever he shall speak in [[Deut.xviii.18]] my name, I will take vengeance on him.”

And Moses speaks similar words when interpreting the oracle of God to the people:

(c) “A prophet shall the Lord thy God raise up of your brethren like unto me. Him shall ye hear according to all things that ye asked of the Lord God in Horeb [[Deut.xviii.15]] in the day of the assembly.”

Was then any of the prophets after Moses, Isaiah, say, or Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, or Daniel, or any of the twelve, like Moses in being a lawgiver? Not one. Did any of them behave like Moses? One cannot affirm it. For each of (d) them from the first to the last referred their hearers to Moses, and based their rebukes of the people on their breaches of the Mosaic law, and did nothing but exhort them to hold fast to the Mosaic enactments. You could not say that any of them was like him: and yet Moses speaks definitely of one who should be. Whom then does the oracle prophesy will be a prophet like unto Moses, but our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and none other?

We must consider thoroughly why this was said. Moses was the first leader of the Jewish race. He found them attached to the deceitful polytheism of Egypt, and was the first to turn them from it, by enacting the severest

punishment (91) for idolatry. He was the first also to publish the theology of the one God, bidding them worship only the Creator and Maker of all things. He was the first to draw up for the same hearers a scheme of religious life, and is acknowledged to have been the first and only lawgiver of their religious polity. But Jesus Christ too, like Moses, only on a grander stage, was the first to originate the teaching according to holiness for the other nations, and first accomplished the rout of the idolatry that embraced (b) the whole world. He was the first to introduce to all men the knowledge and religion of the one Almighty God. And He is proved to be the first Author and Lawgiver of a new life and of a system adapted to the holy.

And with regard to the other teaching on the genesis of the world, and the immortality of the soul, and other doctrines of philosophy which Moses was the first to teach (c) the Jewish race, Jesus Christ has been the first to publish them to the other nations by His disciples in a far diviner form. So that Moses may properly be called the first and only lawgiver of religion to the Jews, and Jesus Christ the same to all nations, according to the prophecy which says of Him:

“Set, O Lord, a lawgiver over them: that the Gentiles may know themselves to be but men.” [[Ps. ix. 20.]]

Moses again by wonderful works and miracles authenticated (d) the religion that he proclaimed: Christ likewise, using His recorded miracles to inspire faith in those who saw them, established the new discipline of the Gospel teaching. Moses again transferred the Jewish race from the bitterness of Egyptian slavery to freedom: while Jesus Christ summoned the whole human race to freedom from their impious Egyptian idolatry under evil daemons. Moses, too, promised a holy land and a holy life therein under a blessing to those who kept his laws: while Jesus Christ says likewise: “Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth,” promising a far better land in truth, and a holy and godly, not the land of Judaea, which in no way excels the rest (of the earth), but the heavenly country which suits souls that (92) love God, to those who follow out the life proclaimed by Him. And that He might make it plainer still, He proclaimed the kingdom of heaven to those blessed by Him. And you will find other works done by our Saviour with greater power than those of Moses, and yet resembling the works which Moses did. As, for example, Moses fasted forty days continuously, as

Scripture witnesses, saying: “And (Moses) was there with the Lord forty days and (b) [[Exod. xxxiv. 28.]] forty nights; he did neither eat bread nor drink water.” And Christ likewise: For it is written: “And he was led by the Spirit into the wilderness, being forty days tempted of the devil; and in those days he did eat nothing.” [[Luke iv. 1.]]

Moses again fed the people in the wilderness: for Scripture says: Behold, I give you bread from heaven.” [[Exod. xvi.4.]] And after a little:

“It came to pass as the dew ceased round about the camp, and behold on the face of the wilderness a small (c) thing, like white coriander seed, as frost upon the ground.” [[Exod. xvi.14.]]

And our Lord and Saviour likewise says to His disciples:

“ 8. O ye of little faith, why reason ye among yourselves, because ye have brought no bread? 9. Do ye not yet understand, neither remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets ye took up? 10. Neither the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many baskets ye took up?” [[Matt. xvi.8.]]

Moses again went through the midst of the sea, and led the people; for Scripture says:

(d) “And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the Lord carried back the sea with a strong south wind all the night, and the water was divided. And the children of Israel passed through the midst of the sea on the dry land, and the water was a wall to them on the right and a wall on the left.” [[Exod.xiv.21-22]]

In the same way, only more divinely, Jesus the Christ of God walked on the sea, and caused Peter to walk on it. For it is written:

“25. And in the fourth watch of the night he *went* unto them, walking on the sea. 26. And when they saw him walking on the sea, they were troubled.” [[Matt. xiv. 25.]]

And shortly after:

“28. And Peter answered him and said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. 29. And he said, Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water.”

Moses again made the sea dry with a strong south wind. (93) For Scripture says: “Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the Lord drave back the sea with a strong south wind,” and he adds: “The waves were congealed

in the midst of the sea.” In like manner, only much more grandly, our Saviour “rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.” Again when Moses descended from the Mount, his face was seen full of glory: for it is written:

“And Moses descending from the Mount did not know that the appearance of the skin of his face was (b) glorified while He spake to him. And Aaron and all the elders [of the children] of Israel saw Moses, and the appearance of the skin of his face was glorified.” [[Exod. xxxiv. 29.]]

In the same way only more grandly our Saviour led His disciples “to a very high mountain, and he was transfigured before them, and his face did shine as the sun, and his garments were white like the light.” [[Matt. xvii.2.]]

Again Moses cleansed a leper: for it is written: “And behold Miriam (was) leprous (as white) as snow.” [[Num. xii.10.]]

And a little further on: “And Moses cried to the Lord: O God, I pray thee to heal her.”

And in the same way, but with more superb power, the (c) Christ of God, when a leper came to him, saying: “If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean; answered: I will; be thou clean. And his leprosy was cleansed.” [[Matt. viii.2.]]

Moses, again, said that the law was written with the finger of God: for it is written:

“And he gave to Moses, when he ceased speaking to him in Mount Sinai, the two tables of witness, stone tables written with the finger of God.” [[Exod.xxxi.18.]]

And in Exodus: “The magicians therefore said to Pharaoh, (d) It is the finger of God.” [[Exod. viii.19.]]

In like manner Jesus, the Christ of God, said to the Pharisees: “If I by the finger of God cast out devils.” [[Matt. xii.27]] Moreover, Moses changed the name of Nave to Jesus, and likewise the Saviour changed that of Simon to Peter. And Moses set up seventy men as leaders to the people. For Scripture says:

“16. Bring together to me seventy men of the elders of Israel, 17. and I will take of the spirit that is upon thee, and I will put it upon them. ... 24. And he brought together seventy men.” [[Num. xi.16]]

Likewise our Saviour “chose out His seventy disciples, and sent them two

and two before his face.” [[Luke x.1.]] Moses (94) again sent out twelve men to spy out the land, and likewise, only with far higher aims, our Saviour sent out twelve Apostles to visit all the Gentiles. Moses again legislates saying:

[[Deut. v. 17]] “Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not forswear thyself.”

But our Saviour, extending the law, not only forbids to kill, but also to be angry: instead of “Thou shalt not commit adultery,” He forbids to look on a woman with unbridled lust. Instead of “Thou shalt not steal,” He enjoins that we should give what is our own to the needy. And transcending the law against false swearing, He lays down the rule of not swearing at all. But why need I seek further (b) for proof that Moses and Jesus our Lord and Saviour acted in closely similar ways, since it is possible for any one who likes to gather instances at his leisure? Even when they say that no man knew the death of Moses, or his sepulchre, so (none saw) our Saviour’s change after His Resurrection into the divine. If then no one but our Saviour can be shewn to have resembled Moses in so many ways, surely it only remains for us to apply to Him, and to none other, the prophecy of Moses, in which he foretold that God (c) would raise up one like unto himself, saying:

“18. I will raise a prophet to them of their brethren like thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them, as I shall bid him. 19. And [[Deut.xviii.18]] whatever man will not hear whatsoever words that prophet saith, I will take vengeance on him.”

And Moses himself, interpreting the words to the people, said:

(d) “15. A prophet shall the Lord thy God raise up to thee of thy brethren, like me; him ye shall hear; 16. according to all things which you desired of the Lord your God in Horeb in the day of the assembly.” [[Deut.xviii 15.]]

But the Old Testament clearly teaches that, of the prophets after Moses, no one before our Saviour was raised up like unto Moses, when it says:

“And there has not arisen yet a prophet like Moses whom the Lord knew face to face in all his signs and wonders.” [[Deut.xxxiv. 10.]]

I have then proved that the Divine Spirit prophesied through Moses of our Saviour, if He alone and none other has been shewn to fulfil the requirements of Moses’ words. But note another recorded prophecy. We know that many (95) multitudes among all the nations call our Lord and Saviour Lord, though He was born according to the flesh of the seed of Israel, confessing Him as

Lord because of His divine power. And this also Moses knew by the Divine Spirit, and proclaimed in this manner in writing:

“There shall come a man from his seed” (He means Israel’s), “and he shall be Lord over the Gentiles, and his kingdom shall be exalted.” [[Num.xxiv.7.]]

Now if none other of the kings and rulers of those of the Circumcision has ever at any period been Lord of many Gentiles (and no record suggests it) while truth cries and (b) shouts of our Saviour’s unique rule, that many multitudes from all nations confess Him to be Lord not only with their lips but with the most genuine affection, what can hinder us from saying that He is the one foretold by the prophet? That Moses’ prediction was not indefinite, and that he did not see his prophecy in the shadows of illimitable and unmeasured time, but circumscribed the fulfilment of his predictions with the greatest accuracy by temporal limits, hear how he speaks prophetically about Him: (c) “There shall not fail a prince from Juda, and a leader from his loins until he come in whom it is laid up, and he is the expectation of the Gentiles” — [[Gen. xlix.10.]] which means that the order and succession of rulers and leaders of the Jewish race will not fail until the coming of the Prophesied, but that when there is a failure of their rulers the Prophesied will come. By Judah here he does (d) not mean the tribe of Judah, but since in later days the whole race of the Jews came to be called after the kingly tribe, as even now we call them Jews, in a very wonderful and prophetic way he named the whole Jewish race, just as we do when we call them Jews.

Next he says that the rulers and heads of their race will not fail, before the Prophesied appear: and that on his arrival the Jewish state will be at once dissolved, and that he will be no longer the expectation of the Jews, but of the Gentiles. Now you could not apply this prophecy (96) to any of the prophets, but only to our Lord and Saviour. For immediately on his appearance the kingdom of the Jews was taken away. For at once their king in the direct line failed, who ruled them according to their own laws, Augustus then being the first Roman Emperor, and Herod, who was of an alien race, becoming their king. And while they failed, the expectation of the Gentiles throughout the whole world appeared according to the divine prophecy, (b) so that even now all men of all nations who believe in Him place the hope of godly expectation in Him.

All these good tidings, and many others besides these, does Moses give us

concerning the Christ. And Isaiah definitely foretells in words akin to his of one who shall rise from the seed and line of King David:

“A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall spring forth from his root, and the spirit of God shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding.” [[Isa. xi. 1.]]

And then he proceeds in prophetic style to paint the (c) change that will transform all races of men, both Greek and barbarian, from savagery and barbarism to gentleness and mildness. For he says:

“And the wolf shall feed with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the goat, and the calf and the bull and lion shall feed together.” [[Isa. xi. 6.]]

And similar things, which he at once makes clear by interpretation, saying:

“And he that arises to rule the Gentiles, on him shall the Gentiles trust.”

Thus he has made it clear that the unreasoning animals, (d) and the wild beasts mentioned in the passage, represent the Gentiles, by reason of their being by nature like wild beasts; and he says that one arising from the seed of Jesse, from whom the genealogy of our Lord and Saviour runs, will rule over the Gentiles; on Him the nations that now believe in Him fix their hope, agreeably to the prediction, “And it shall be that he who shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust.” And the words “In him shall the Gentiles trust” are the same as “And he will be the expectation of the Gentiles.” For there is (97) no difference between saying “In him shall the Gentiles trust” and “He shall be the expectation of the Gentiles.” And the same Isaiah, continuing, prophesies these things about Christ:

“Behold my servant, whom I have chosen, my beloved in whom my soul is well pleased, he shall bring judgment to the nations.” [[Isa. xlii. 1.]]

And he adds: “Till he place judgment upon the earth, and in his name shall the Gentiles trust.”

Here, then, the second time the prophet states that the Gentiles will hope in Christ, having said above “In Him shall the Gentiles trust.” Though here it is “In His name shall the Gentiles trust.” And it was said also to David, that “of the fruit of thy body shall one be raised (b) up,” about Whom God says further on: “He shall call on me, Thou art my father; and I will make him my first-born.” [[Ps. cxxxii. 11]] And about Him he says again, “And he shall rule from the one sea to the other, and from the rivers even unto the ends of the world.”

[[Ps.lxxxviii.26.]] And once more, “All the Gentiles shall serve him, and all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in him.” [[Ps. lxxi.8.]] And moreover, the definite place of His prophesied birth is foretold by Micah, saying: [[Ps. lxxi.11 and 17.]] “And thou, Bethlehem, House of Ephratha, art the least that can be among the thousands of Judah. Out of thee shall come a leader, who shall feed my people Israel. And (c) his goings forth are from the beginning from the days of eternity.” [[Micah v.2; Matt.ii.6.]]

Now all agree that Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem, and a cave is shewn there by the inhabitants to those who come from abroad to see it. The place of His birth then was foretold. And the miracle of His birth Isaiah teaches sometimes mysteriously, and sometimes more plainly: mysteriously, when he says:

“Lord, who hath believed our report? And the arm of the Lord to whom hath it been revealed? we (d) proclaimed him before as a child, as a root in a thirsty soil.” [[Isa. liii. 1.]]

Instead of which Aquila interpreted thus: “And he shall be proclaimed as a suckling before his face, and as a root from an untrodden ground.” And Theodotion: “And he shall go up as a suckling before him, and as a root in a thirsty land.”

For in this passage, the prophet having mentioned “the Arm of the Lord,” which was the Word of God, says: “In his sight we have proclaimed (him) as a sucking child, and one nurtured at the breast, and as a root from untrodden ground.” The child that is “a suckling and nurtured at the breast” exactly therefore shews forth the (98) birth of Christ, and “the thirsty and untrodden land” the Virgin that bare Him, whom no man had known, from whom albeit untrodden sprang up “the blessed root,” and “the sucking child that was nurtured by the breast.” But this prophecy was darkly and obscurely given: the same prophet explains his meaning more plainly, when he says: “Behold a Virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name God with us,” [[Isa. vii. 14.]] for Emmanuel signifies this.

(b) Such were the thoughts of Hebrews long ago about the birth of Christ among men. Do they, then, describe in their prophecy some famous prince or tyrant, or some one in any other class of those who have great power in earthly things? One cannot say so, for no such man appeared. But as He was in His life, so they prophesied that He would be, in no way failing in truth.

For Isaiah said: "We proclaimed him before, as a child, as a root in thirsty soil." [[Is. liii. 2.]] And then he proceeds saying:

"2. He hath no form or glory, and we saw him, and he had no form or beauty, 3. And his form was dishonourable and slight even compared with the sons of (c) men, a man in suffering, and knowing to bear sickness he was dishonoured, and not esteemed." What remains for him to say?

Surely, if they predicted His tribe and race and manner of birth, and the miracle of the Virgin, and His manner of life, it was impossible for them to pass over in silence that which followed, namely His Death: and what does Isaiah prophesy about it?

"3. A man" he says "in suffering, and knowing to bear sickness, he was dishonoured and not esteemed. 4. This man bears our sins, and is pained for our sake. And we thought him to be in trouble, in suffering, and in evil; 5. He was wounded for our sins, and bruised (cl) for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripe we are healed. 6. All we as sheep have gone astray, and the Lord delivered him for our sins, and he because of his affliction opens not his mouth. He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb dumb before her shearers, so he opens not his mouth. 8. Who shall declare his generation? for his life is taken from the earth." [[Isa. liii. 3-8.]]

In this he shews that Christ, being apart from all sin, will receive the sins of men on Himself. And therefore (99) He will suffer the penalty of sinners, and will be pained on their behalf; and not on His own. And if He shall be wounded by the strokes of blasphemous words, this also will be the result of our sins. For He is weakened through our sins, so that we, when He had taken on Him our faults and the wounds of our wickedness, might be healed by His stripes. And this is the cause why the Sinless shall suffer among men: and the wonderful prophet, (b) in no way shrinking, clearly rebukes the Jews who plotted his death; and complaining bitterly of this very thing he says: "For the transgressions of my people he was led to death." And then because total destruction overtook them immediately, and not a long time after their evil deed to Christ, when they were besieged by the Romans, he does not pass this over either, but adds: "And I will give the wicked for his tomb, and the rich for his death."

It would have sufficed for him to have concluded the prophecy at this

point, if he had not seen that something (c) else would happen after the death of Christ. But as He after His death and entombment is to return and rise again almost at once, he adds this also concerning Him, saying next:

“The Lord also is pleased to purify him from his stroke — if ye can give an offering for sin, your soul shall see a life-long seed. And the Lord wills to take away from the travail of his soul, to shew him light.” [[Isa. liii. 10.]]

He said above: “A man stricken, and knowing to bear weakness”; and now after his death and burial, he says: “The Lord wishes to cleanse him from his strokes.” And (d) how will this be done? “If ye offer,” he says, “for sin, your soul shall see a seed that prolongs its days.” For it is not allowed to all to see the seed of Christ that prolongs its days, but to those only who confess and bring the offerings for sins to God. For the soul of these only shall see the seed of Christ prolonging its days, be it His eternal life after death, or the word sown by Him through the whole world, which will prolong its days and endure for ever.

And as he said above: “And we reckoned him to be in trouble,” so, now, after His slaughter and death, he says: “And the Lord wills to take his life away from its (100) trouble, and to give it light.” Since then the Lord, the Almighty God, willed to cleanse Him from this stroke, and to show Him light, if He willed He would most certainly do what He willed; for there is nothing that He wills which is not brought to pass: but He willed to cleanse Him and to give Him light; therefore he accomplished it, He cleansed Him and gave Him light. And since He willed it, and being willing took away the travail of His soul, and shewed Him light, the prophet rightly proceeds with the words: “Therefore he shall inherit from many, and shall divide the spoil of the strong.” [[Isa. liii.12.]]

Here it remained for him to mention the heritage of (b) Christ, in agreement with the Second Psalm, in which the prophetic word foretells the plot that was hatched against Him, giving His name:

“2. The kings of the earth stood up,
And the rulers were gathered together
Against the Lord and against his Christ.” [[Ps. ii. 2.]]

And it adds next:

“3. The Lord said to me, Thou art my son,
To-day I have begotten thee;
Ask of me and I shall give thee the Gentiles for thine inheritance

And the bounds of the earth for thy possession.” It was to these Gentiles that the Prophet darkly referred, (c) saying: “He shall inherit from many, and shall divide the spoil of the strong.” [[Isa. liii. 12.]] For he rescued the subject souls from the opposing powers, which of old ruled over the Gentiles, and divided them as spoils among his disciples. Wherefore Isaiah says of them: “And they shall rejoice before thee, as they who divide the spoils.”[[Isa. ix. 3.]]

And the Psalmist:

“12. The Lord will give a word to the preachers with much power.
13. The king of the powers of the beloved, in the beauty of his house divideth the spoils.” [[Ps. lxvii.12.]]

He rightly, therefore, says this also of Christ: “Therefore (d) he shall have the inheritance of many, and divide the spoils of the strong.” And shortly after he tells us why, saying:

“Because his soul was delivered to death, and he was reckoned among the transgressors, and he himself bare the sins of many, and was delivered for their iniquities.”

For it was as a meet return for all this, because of His obedience and long-suffering, that the Father gave Him what we have seen, for He was obedient to the Father even unto death. Wherefore it is prophesied that He should receive the inheritance of many, and should be reckoned with the transgressors not before but after His being delivered to death. For therefore He is said “to receive the inheritance of many, and to share the spoil of the strong.” And I consider that it is beyond doubt that in these words the resurrection from the dead of the (101) subject of the prophecy is shewn. For how else can we regard Him as led as a sheep to the slaughter, and delivered to death for the sins of the Jewish people, numbered with transgressors, and delivered to burial, then cleansed by the Lord, and seeing light with Him, and receiving the inheritance of many, and dividing the spoils with his friends? David, too, prophesying in the Person of Christ says somewhere of His Resurrection after

death:

(b) “10. Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades,
Neither wilt thou give thine Holy one to see corruption.” [[Ps.xvi. 10.]]

And also:

“4. Lord, Thou hast brought my soul out of Hades, Thou hast kept my life
from them that go down into the pit.” [[Ps. xxx. 4.]]

And also:

“14. Thou that liftest me up from the gates of death. 15. That I may tell all
thy praises.” [[Ps. ix. 14.]]

I consider that not even the most obtuse can look these things in the face
(and disregard them). And the conclusion of the prophecy of Isaiah, tells of
the soul once sterile and empty of God, or perhaps of the Church of the (c)
Gentiles, agreeably to the view I have taken. For since Christ has borne all for
his sake, he rightly goes on after the predictions about them, to say:

“Rejoice, thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that
travailest not; for more are the children of the desolate, than of her that hath a
husband, for the Lord has said, Enlarge the place of thy tent, and the skins of
thy hangings peg down, do not spare. Widen thy cords, and strengthen thy
pins: spread out still more to the right and left, and thy seed shall inherit the
heathen.” [[Is. liv. 1.]]

This is the good news the Word gives the Church (d) gathered from the
Gentiles scattered throughout the world and stretching from sunrise to sunset,
shewn forth very clearly when it says: “And thy seed shall inherit the
Gentiles.”

And now, though this part of my subject needs more elaboration, I will
conclude it, as I have said sufficient for the present. You yourself will be able
at your leisure to make selections relating to the subject, and this present work
on the Proof of the Gospel will adduce and interpret individual details in their
place. Meantime, for the present what has been said will suffice, on the
predictions (and foreknowledge) of the prophets about our Saviour, and that it
was they who proclaimed the good news that the good things of the future
were coming for all men. (102) They foretold the coming of a prophet and the
religion of a lawgiver like Moses, his race, his tribe, and the place he should
come from, and they prophesied the time of his appearance, his birth, and

death, and resurrection, as well as his rule over all the Gentiles, and all those things have been accomplished, and will continue to be accomplished in the sequence of events, since they find their completion in our Lord and Saviour alone.

But such arguments from the sacred oracles are only (b) intended for the faithful. Unbelievers in the prophetic writings I must meet with special arguments. So that I must now argue about Christ as about an ordinary man and one like other men, in order that when He has been shewn to be far greater and more excellent in solitary preeminence than all the most lauded of all time, I may then take the opportunity to treat of His diviner nature, and shew from clear proofs, that the power in Him was not (c) of mere humanity. And after that I will deal with the theology of His Person, so far as I can envisage it.

Since then many unbelievers call Him a wizard and a deceiver, and use many other blasphemous terms, and cease not yet to do so, I will reply to them, drawing my arguments, not from any source of my own, but from His own words and teaching.

CHAPTER 3

Addressed to those that suppose that the Christ of God was a Deceiver.

(d) THE questions I would ask them are these: whether any other deceiver, such as He is supposed to have been, is ever reported to have become as a teacher the cause of meekness, “sweet reasonableness,” purity, and every virtue in those that he deceived? Whether it is right to call by these names one that did not permit men to gaze on women with unbridled lust, whether He was a deceiver Who taught philosophy in its highest form in that He trained His disciples to share their goods with the needy, and set (103) industry and benevolence in the front rank? Whether He was a deceiver Who wakened (men) from common, vulgar, and noisy company, and taught them to enjoy only the study of holy oracles?

He dissuaded from everything false, and exhorted men to honour truth before all, so that so far from swearing false oaths, they should abstain even from true ones. “For let your Yea be yea, and your Nay, nay.” How could He be justly called a deceiver? And why need I say more, since it may be known from what I have already said what kind of ideal of conduct He has shed forth (b) on life, from which all lovers of (ruth would agree that He was no deceiver, but in truth something divine, and the author of a holy and divine philosophy, and not one of the common vulgar type?

He has been proved in the first book of this work to have been the only one to revive the life of the old Hebrew saints, long perished from amongst men, and to have spread it not among a paltry few but through the (c) whole world: from which it is possible to shew that men in crowds through all the world (are following the way) of those holy men of Abraham’s day, and that there are innumerable lovers of their godly manner of life from Barbarians as well as Greeks.

Such then is the more ethical side of His teaching. But let us also examine whether the word *deceiver* applies to Him in relation to His most central doctrines. Is it not a fact that He is recorded Himself to have been devoted to the One Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and earth and the whole Universe, and to have led His disciples to Him, and that even now the words of His teaching lead up the (d) minds of every Greek and Barbarian to the Highest God, outsoaring all visible Nature? But surely He was not a deceiver

in not allowing the real deceiver, fallen headlong from the loftiest and the only true theology, to worship many gods? Remember that this was no novel doctrine or one peculiar to Him, but one dear to the Hebrew saints of long ago, as I have shewn in the *Preparation*, from whom lately the sons of our modern philosophers have derived great benefit, expressing approval of their teaching. Yes, and the most erudite of the Greeks pride themselves, forsooth, on the fact that the oracles of their own gods mention the Hebrews in terms like these. (104)

“The Chaldeans alone possess wisdom, and the Hebrews,
Who worship in holy wise, God their King, self-born.”

Here the writer called them Chaldeans because of Abraham, who it is recorded was by race a Chaldean. If, then, in the ancient days the sons of the Hebrews, to whose (b) eminent wisdom even the oracles bear witness, directed men’s worship only towards the One God, Creator of all things, why should we class Him as a deceiver and not as a wonderful teacher of religion Who, with invisible and inspired power, pressed forward and circulated among all men the very truths which in days of old were only known to the godly Hebrews, so that no longer as in ancient days some few men easily numbered hold true opinions about God, but many multitudes of barbarians who were once like (c) wild beasts, as well as learned Greeks, are taught simply by His power a like religion to that of the prophets and just men of old?

But let me now examine the third point — whether this is the reason why they call Him a deceiver, viz. that He has not ordained that God should be honoured with sacrifices of bulls or the slaughter of unreasoning beasts, or by blood, or fire, or by incense made of earthly things. That He thought these things low and earthly and quite unworthy of the immortal nature, and judged the most (d) acceptable and sweetest sacrifice to God to be the keeping of His own commandments. That He taught that men purified by them in body and soul, and adorned with a pure mind and holy doctrines would best reproduce the likeness of God, saying expressly: “Be ye perfect, as your Father is perfect.”

Now if any Greek is the accuser, let him realize that his accusations would not please his own teachers, who, it may be, assisted by us, for they have

come after us in time, I mean after the gifts to us of our Saviour's teaching, have expressed such sentiments as these in their writings —— listen.

That we ought not to burn as Incense, or offer in Sacrifice, any of the Things of Earth to the. Supreme God.

(105) From Porphyry *On Vegetarianism*

[II. 34. Cf. *Praep. Evan.* IV. B.]

To the supreme God, as a certain wise man has said, we must neither offer by fire, nor dedicate any of the things known by sense. (For everything material is perforce impure to the immaterial.) Wherefore not even speech is germane to Him, whether of the speaking voice, or of the voice within when defiled by the passion of the soul. By (b) pure silence and pure thoughts of Him we will worship Him. United therefore with Him and made like Him, we must offer our own “self-discipline” as a holy sacrifice to God. That worship is at once a hymn of praise and our salvation in the passionless state of the virtue of the soul. And in the contemplation of God this sacrifice is perfected.

From the *Theology* of Apollonius of Tyana (*Praep. Ev.*).

In this way then, I think, one would best shew the the proper regard for the deity, and thereby beyond all other men secure His favour and good will, if to Him, Whom we called the First God, and Who is One and separate (c) from all others, and to Whom the rest must be acknowledged inferior, he should sacrifice nothing at all, neither kindle fire nor dedicate anything whatever that is an object of sense —— for He needs nothing even from beings that are greater than we are; nor is there any plant at all, which the earth sends up, nor animal which it, or the air, sustains, to which there is not some defilement attached —— but should ever employ towards Him only that better speech: I mean (d) the speech which passes not through the lips, and should ask good things from the noblest of beings by what is noblest in ourselves, and this is the mind, which needs no instrument. According to this, therefore, we ought not to offer sacrifice to the great God, that is over all.

If then these are the conclusions of eminent Greek philosophers and theologians, how could he be a deceiver who delivers to his pupils not words only but acts, which are far more important than words, to perform, by which they may serve God according . to right reason? The manner and words of the recorded sacrifices of the (106) ancient Hebrews have been already dealt with

in the first Book of the present work, and with that we will be satisfied. And now, since besides what I have so far examined, we know that Christ taught that the world was created, and that the heaven itself, the sun, moon, and stars, are the work of God, and that we must not worship them but their Maker, we must inquire if we are deceived, in accepting this way of thinking from Him.

It was certainly the doctrine of the Hebrews, and the (b) most famous philosophers agreed with them, in teaching that the heaven itself, the sun, moon, and stars, indeed the whole universe, came into being through the Maker of all things. And Christ also taught us to expect a consummation and transformation of the whole into something better, in agreement with the Hebrew Scriptures. And what of that? Did not Plato know the heaven itself, the sun, moon, and other stars to be of a dissoluble and corruptible nature, and if he did not say they would actually be dissolved, it was only because (he thought that) the One Who put them together did not will it?

And though He willed us to be part of such a natural (c) order, yet He taught us to think that we have a soul immortal and quite unlike the unreasoning brutes, bearing a resemblance to the powers of God; and He instructed every barbarian and common man to be assured, and to think that this is so. Has He not made those, who hold His views through the whole world wiser than the philosophers with their eyebrows raised, who claim that in essence the human soul is identical with that of the flea, the worm, and the fly; yea, that the soul of their most philosophic brethren, so far as essence and nature go, differs not at all from the soul of a serpent, or a viper, or a bear, or a leopard, or a pig?

And if moreover He persisted in reminding men of a (d) divine judgment, and described the punishments and inevitable penalties of the wicked, and God's promises of eternal life to the good, the kingdom of heaven, and a blessed life with God, whom did He deceive? — nay, rather, whom did He not impel to follow virtue keenly, because of the prizes looked for by the holy, and whom did He not divert from all manner of sin through the punishment prepared for the wicked?

In His doctrinal teaching, we learn that below the Highest: God there are Powers, by nature unembodied and spiritual, (107) possessing reason and every virtue, a choir around the Almighty, many of whom are sent by the will of the Father even unto men on missions of salvation. We are taught to

recognize and honour them according to the measure of their worth, but to render the honour of worship to Almighty God alone.

In addition to this He has taught us to believe that there are enemies of our race flying in the air (hat surrounds the earth, and that there dwell with the wicked powers of daemons, evil spirits and their rulers, whom we are taught (b) to flee from with all our strength, even if they usurp for themselves without limit God's Name and prerogatives. And that they are to be shunned even more because of their warfare and enmity against God, according to the proofs I have given at great length in the *Praeparatio*. Whatever teaching of this kind is found in the doctrine of our Saviour is exactly the same religious instruction as the godly men and prophets of the Hebrews gave.

If, then, these doctrines are holy, useful, philosophic and full of virtue, on what fair ground can the name of deceiver (c) be fastened on their teacher?

But the above inquiry has had to do with Christ as if He only possessed ordinary human nature, and has shewn forth His teaching as weighty and useful —— let us proceed and examine its diviner side.

CHAPTER 4

Of the Diviner Works of Christ.

WE must now proceed to review the number and character of the marvellous works He performed while living among men: how He cleansed by His divine power those leprous (d) in body, how He drove demons out of men by His word of command, and how again He cured ungrudgingly those who were sick and labouring under all kinds of infirmity. As, for instance, one day He said to a paralytic, “Arise, take up thy bed, and walk,” [[Matt iv.10]] and he did what he was told. Or [[Mark ii. 11.]] as again bestowed on the blind the boon of seeing the light; and once, too, a woman with an issue of blood, worn down for many long years by suffering, when she saw great crowds surrounding Him, which altogether prevented her approaching Him in order to kneel and beg from Him the cure of her suffering, taking it into her head that if she could (108) only touch the hem of His garment she would recover, she stole through, and taking hold of His garment, at the same moment took hold of the cure of her illness. She became whole that instant, and exhibited the greatest example of our Saviour’s power. And another, a man of courtly rank, who had a sick son, besought Jesus, and at once John v. received him safe and well.

Another, again, had a sick daughter, and he was a chief ruler of a Synagogue of the Jews, and He (restored her) though she was even now dead. Why need I tell how (b) a man four days dead was raised up by the power of Jesus? Or how He took His way upon the sea, as upon the earth we tread, while His disciples were sailing? — and how when they were overtaken by the storm He rebuked the sea, and the waves, and the winds, and they all were still at once, as fearing their Master’s voice?

When He filled to satisfaction five thousand men in addition to another great crowd of women and children, with loaves five in number, and had so much over that there was enough to (c) fill twelve baskets to take away, whom would He not astonish, and whom would He not impel to an inquiry of the true source of His unheard-of power? But in order not to extend my present argument to too great length, to sum all up I will consider His Death, which was not the common death of all men. For. He was not destroyed by disease, nor by the cord, nor by fire, nor even on the trophy of the Cross were His legs

cut with steel like those of the others who were evil-doers; neither, in a word, did He reach His end by suffering from any man any of the usual forms of violence which destroy life. But as if He were only handing His (d) life over willingly to those who plotted against His body, as soon as He was raised from the earth He gave a cry upon the tree, and commended His Spirit to His Father, saying these words: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit"; thus uncompelled and of His own free will He departed from the body. And His body having then been taken by His friends, and laid in the fitting tomb, on the third day He again took back again the body which He had willingly resigned before when He departed.

And He shewed Himself again in flesh and blood, the very self He was before, to His own disciples, after staying a brief while with whom, and completing a short time, He returned where He was before, beginning His way to the (109) heavens before their eyes. And giving them instructions on what was to be done, He proclaimed them teachers of the highest religion to all the nations. Such were the far-famed wonders of (our Saviour's) power. Such were the proofs of His divinity. And we ourselves have marvelled at them with reverent reasoning, and received them after subjecting them to the tests and inquiries of a critical judgment. We have inquired into and tested them not only by other plain facts which make the whole subject clear, by which our Lord is still wont to shew to those, whom He thinks worthy, some slight evidences of His power, but also by the more logical (b) method which we are accustomed to use in arguing with those who do not accept what we have said, and either completely disbelieve in it, and deny that such things were done by Him at all, or hold that if they were done, they were done by wizardry for the leading astray of the spectators, as deceivers often do. And if I must be brief in dealing with these opponents, at least I will be earnest, and refute them in some way or other.

CHAPTER 5

Against those that disbelieve the Account of Our Saviour's Miracles given by His Disciples.

(c) Now if they say that our Saviour worked no miracle at all, nor any of the marvels to which His friends bore witness, let us see if what they say will be credible, if they have no rational explanation why the disciples and the Master were associated. For a teacher always promises some special form of instruction, and pupils always, in pursuit of that instruction, come and commit themselves to the teacher.

What cause then shall we assign to the union of the (d) disciples with Christ and of Christ with them, what lay at the root of their earnestness, and of what instruction did they rank Him as Master?

Is not the answer clear? It was only and altogether the instruction which they carried to other men, when they had learned it from Him. And His precepts were those of a philosopher's life, which He outlined when He said to them: "Provide neither gold nor silver in your girdles, nor a staff for the road," [[Matt. x. 9.]] and similar words, that they should commit themselves to all-governing Providence, and take no care for their needs, and bade them to aim higher than the Jews under Moses' commandments, to whom he gave a law as to men prone to murder. "Do (110) not kill," and likewise, "Thou shalt not commit adultery" as to men who were lascivious and lecherous, and again, "Thou shalt not steal," as to men of the type of slaves; but our Saviour taught that they must regard such laws as not applying to them, and aim above all at a soul free from passion, cutting away from the depths of their minds as from the roots the shoots of sin: they must try to (b) master anger and every base lust, and more, they must never ruffle the sublime calm of the soul with anger: they must not look upon a woman with unbridled lust, and so far from stealing they must lavish their own property on the needy: they must not be proud of not defrauding one another, but consider rather that they must bear no malice against those who defrauded them. But why should I collect everything that He taught and that they learned? (c) He commanded them besides all this to hold so fast to truth, that so far from swearing falsely they should not need to swear at all, and to contrive to exhibit a life more faithful than any oath, going so far only as Yea and Nay, and using the words with truth.

I would ask, then, where would be the sense in suspecting that hearers of

such teaching, who were themselves masters in such instruction, invented their account of their Master's work? How is it possible to think that they were all in (d) agreement to lie, being twelve in number especially chosen, and seventy besides, whom He is said to have sent two and two before His face into every place and country into which He Himself would come? But no argument can prove that so large a body of men were untrustworthy, who embraced a holy and godly life, regarded their own affairs as of no account, and instead of their dearest ones — I mean their wives, children, and all their family — chose a life of poverty, and carried to all men as from one mouth a consistent account of their Master. Such would be the right and obvious and true argument; let us examine that which opposes it. Imagine the teacher and his disciples. Then admit the fanciful hypothesis that he teaches not the aforesaid things, hut doctrines opposed to them, that is to say, to transgress, to be unholy, to be unjust, to be covetous and fraudulent, and anything else that is evil; that he recommends them to endeavour so to do without being found out, and to hide their disposition quite cleverly with a screen of holy teaching and a novel profession of godliness. Let the pupils pursue these, and more vicious ideals still, with the eagerness and (b) inventiveness of evil: let them exalt their teacher with lying words, and spare no falsity: let them record in fictitious narrative his miracles and works of wonder, so that they may gain admiration and felicitation for being the pupils of such a master. Come, tell me, if such an enterprise engineered by such men would hold together? (c) You know the saying, "The rogue is neither dear to rogue nor saint." Whence came, among a crew of so many, a harmony of rogues? Whence their general and consistent evidence about everything, and their agreement even unto death? Who, in the first place, would give heed to a wizard giving such teaching and commands? Perhaps you will say that the rest were wizards no less than their guide. Yes — but surely they had all seen the end of their (d) teacher, and the death to which He came. Why then after seeing His miserable end did they stand their ground? Why did they construct a theology about Him when He was dead? Did they desire to share His fate? No one surely on any reasonable ground would choose such a punishment with his eyes open.

And if it be supposed that they honoured Him, while He was still their comrade and companion, and as some might say their deceitful cozeners, yet

why was it that after His death they honoured Him far more than before? For while He was still with men they are said to have once deserted Him and denied Him, when the plot was engineered against Him, yet after He had departed from men, they chose willingly to die, rather than to depart from their good witness about Him. Surely if they (112) recognized nothing that was good in their Master, in His life, or His teaching, or His actions — no praiseworthy deed, nothing in which He had benefited them, but only wickedness and the leading astray of men, they could not possibly have witnessed eagerly by their deaths to His glory and holiness, when it was open to them all to live on untroubled, and to pass a life of safety by their own hearths with their dear ones. How could deceitful and shifty men have thought it desirable to die for some one else, especially, if one may say so, for a man who they knew had been of no service to them, but their teacher in all evil? For (b) while a reasonable and honourable man for the sake of some good object may with good reason sometimes undergo a glorious death, yet surely men of vicious nature, slaves to passion and pleasure, pursuing only the life of the moment and the satisfactions which belong to it, are not the people to undergo punishment even for friends and relations, far less for those who have been condemned for crime. How then could His disciples, if He was really a deceiver and a wizard, recognized by them as such, with their own minds enthralled by still worse viciousness, (c) undergo at the hands of their fellow-countrymen every insult and every form of punishment on account of the witness they delivered about Him? — this is all quite foreign to the nature of scoundrels.

And once more consider this. Granted that they were deceitful cozeners, you must add that they were uneducated, and quite common men, and Barbarians to boot, with no knowledge of any tongue but Syrian — how, then, did they go into all the world? Where was the intellect to sketch out so daring a scheme? What was the power that enabled them to succeed in their adventure? For I will admit that if they confined their energies to their own (d) country, men of no education might deceive and be deceived, and not allow a matter to rest. But to preach to all the Name of Jesus, to teach about His marvellous deeds in country and town, that some of them should take possession of the Roman Empire, and the Queen of Cities itself, and others the Persian, others the Armenian, that others should go to the Parthian race,

and yet others to the Scythian, that some already should have reached the very ends of the world, should have reached the land of the Indians, and some have crossed the Ocean and reached the Isles of Britain, all this I for my part will not admit (113) to be the work of mere men, far less of poor and ignorant men, certainly not of deceivers and wizards.

I ask you how these pupils of a base and shifty master, who had seen His end, discussed with one another how they should invent a story about Him which would hang together? For they all with one voice bore witness that He cleansed lepers, drove out demons, raised the dead (b) to life, caused the blind to see, and worked many other cures on the sick — and to crown all they agreed in saying that He had been seen alive after His death first by them. If these events had not taken place in their time, and if the tale had not yet been told, how could they have witnessed to them unanimously, and guaranteed their evidence by their death, unless at some time or other they had met together, made a conspiracy with the same intent, and come to an agreement with one another with regard to their lies and inventions about what had never taken place? What speech shall we suppose was made at their covenant? Perhaps it was something like this:

“Dear friends, you and I are of all men the best-informed with regard to the character of him, the deceiver and master of deceit of yesterday, whom we have all seen undergo the extreme penalty, inasmuch as we were initiated into his mysteries. He appeared a holy man to the people, and yet his aims were selfish beyond those of the people, and he has done nothing great, or worth a resurrection, if one leaves out of account the craft and guile of his disposition, and the crooked teaching he gave us and its vain deceit. In return for which, come, let us join hands, and all together make a compact to carry to all men a tale of deceit in which we all agree, and let us say that we have seen him bestow sight on the blind, which none of us ever heard he did, and giving hearing to the deaf, which none of us ever heard tell of: (let us say) he cured lepers, and raised the dead. To put it in a word, we must insist that he really did and said what we never saw him do, or heard him say. But since his last end was a notorious and well-known death, as we cannot disguise the fact, yet we can slip out even of this difficulty by determination, if quite shamelessly we bear witness that he joined us after his resurrection from the dead, and shared our usual home and food. Let us all be impudent and determined, and

let us see that our freak lasts even to death. There is nothing ridiculous in dying for nothing at all. And why should we dislike for no good reason undergoing scourging and bodily torture, and if need be to experience imprisonment, dishonour, and insult for what is untrue? Let us now (b) make this our business. We will tell the same falsehoods, and invent stories that will benefit nobody, neither ourselves, nor those we deceive, nor him who is deified by our lies. And we will extend our lies not only to men of our own race, but go forth to all men, and fill the whole world with our fabrications about him. And then let us lay down laws for all the nations in direct opposition to the opinions they have held for ages about their ancestral gods. Let us bid the Romans first of all not to worship the gods (c) their forefathers recognized. Let us pass over into Greece, and oppose the teaching of their wise men. Let us not neglect the Egyptians, but declare war on their gods, not going back to Moses' deeds against them of old time for our weapons, but arraying against them our Master's death, to scare them; so we will destroy the faith in the gods which from immemorial time has gone forth to all men, not by words and argument, but by the power of our Master Crucified.

Let us go to other foreign lands, and overturn all their (d) institutions. None of us must fail in zeal; for it is no petty contest that we dare, and no common prizes lie before us — but most likely the punishments inflicted according to the laws of each land: bonds, of course, torture, imprisonment, fire and sword, and wild beasts. We must greet them all with enthusiasm, and meet evil bravely, having our Master as our model. For what (115) could be finer than to make both gods and men our enemies for no reason at all, and to have no enjoyment of any kind, to have no profit of our dear ones, to make no money, to have no hope of anything good at all, but just to be deceived and to deceive without aim or object? This is our prize, to go straight in the teeth of all the nations, to war on the gods that have been acknowledged by them all for ages, to say that our Master, who (was crucified) before our very eyes was God, and to represent Him as God's Son, for Whom we are ready to die, though we know we have learned from Him nothing either true or useful. Yes, that is the reason we must (b) honour Him the more — His utter uselessness to us — we must strain every nerve to glorify His name, undergo all insults and punishments, and welcome every form of death for the sake of a lie. Perhaps truth is the same thing as evil, and falsehood must then be the

opposite of evil. So let us say that He raised the dead, cleansed lepers, drove out daemons, and did many other marvellous works, knowing all the time that He did nothing of the kind, while we invent everything for ourselves, and deceive those we can. And suppose we convince nobody, at any rate we shall have the satisfaction of (c) drawing down upon ourselves, in return for our inventions, the retribution for our deceit.”

Now is all this plausible? Does such an account have the ring of truth? Can any one persuade himself that poor and unlettered men could make up such stories, and form a conspiracy to invade the Roman Empire? Or that human nature, whose characteristic element is self-preservation, would ever be able for the sake of nothing at all to undergo a voluntary death? (or) that our Saviour’s (d) disciples reached such a pitch of madness, that, though they had never seen Him work miracles, they with one consent invented many, and having heaped together a mass of lying words about Him were ready to suffer death to uphold them? What is that you suggest? That they never looked forward to or expected to suffer anything unpleasant because of their witness to Jesus, and so they had no fear in going forth to preach about Him? What, you think it unlikely, that men who announced to Romans, Greeks, and Barbarians the total rout of their gods, would expect to undergo extreme sufferings on behalf of their (116) Master? At least the record about them is clear in shewing, that after the Master’s death they were taken by plotters, who first imprisoned them, and afterwards released them, bidding them speak to none about the Name of Jesus. And discovering that after this they had publicly discussed the questions about Him before the multitude, they took them in charge and scourged them as a punishment for their teaching. It was then Peter answered them, and said: “It is right to obey God rather than men.” [[Acts v. 29.]] And after this Stephen was stoned to death for boldly addressing the Jewish populace, and an extraordinary (b) persecution arose against those who preached in Jesus’ Name.

Herod again later on, the King of the Jews, killed James the brother of John with the sword, and cast Peter into prison, as is written in the Acts of the Apostles. [[Acts xii.1-3]] And yet, though they had suffered thus, the rest of the disciples held tenaciously to Jesus, and were still more diligent in preaching to all of Him and His miracles.

Afterwards James, the Lord’s brother, whom of old the people of Jerusalem

called “the Just” for his extraordinary (c) virtue, being asked by the chief priests, and teachers of the Jews what he thought about Christ, and answering that He was the Son of God, was also stoned by them. Peter was crucified head downwards at Rome, Paul beheaded, and John exiled to an island. Yet though they suffered thus, not one of the others gave up his intention, (d) but they made their prayer to God that they themselves might suffer a like fate for their religion, and continued to bear witness to Jesus and His marvellous works with yet more boldness.

And even supposing that they combined together to invent falsehoods, it is surely wonderful that so large a number of conspirators should continue to agree about their inventions even to death, and that not one of them in alarm at what happened to those who had been already killed ever severed himself from the association, or preached against the others, and brought to light their conspiracy; nay, the very one who dared to betray his Master while He lived, dying by his own hand, at once paid the penalty for his treachery.

(117) And would it not be a most inexplicable thing that shift and unlettered men, unable to speak or understand any other language but their own, should not only take it into their heads to dare to go forth to the whole circle of the nations, but that having gone forth they should succeed in their undertaking. And note, what a remarkable thing it is that they all agreed in every point in their account of the acts of Jesus. For if it is true that in all matters of dispute, either in legal tribunals or in ordinary (b) disagreements, the agreement is decisive (in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word is established), [[Deut. xiv.15; 2 Cor.xiii.1]] surely the truth must be established in their case, there being twelve apostles and seventy disciples, and a large number apart from them, who all shewed an extraordinary agreement, and gave witness to the deeds of Jesus, not without labour, and by bearing torture, all kinds of outrage and death, and were in all things borne witness to by God, Who even now empowers the Word they preached, and will do so for ever.

I have thus concluded the working out of what would (c) follow if for the sake of argument a ridiculous hypothesis were supposed. This hypothesis was, to make suppositions contrary to the records, and to argue that Jesus was a teacher of impure words, injustice, covetousness, and all kinds of intemperance, that the disciples, profiting by such instruction from Him,

surpassed all men in cupidity and wickedness. It was, indeed, the height of absurdity, equivalent to saying that when Moses said in his laws: "Thou shall not kill, Thou shall not commit adultery, Thou shall not steal, Thou shall not bear false witness," he should be calumniated and accused falsely of speaking in irony and pretence, and of really desiring that (d) his hearers should kill and commit adultery, and do the opposite to what his laws commanded, and of merely putting on the appearance and disguise of a holy life for a pretence. In this way, too, any one might slander the records of all the Greek philosophers, their strenuous life and sayings, with the calumny that their disposition and mode of life was contrary to their writings, and that their choice of a philosopher's life was but a hypocritical pretence. And in this way, to speak generally, (118) one might slander all the records of the ancients, annul their truth, and turn them upside down. But just as no one who had any sense would not scruple to set down one who acted thus as a madman, so also (should it be) with regard to our Saviour's words and teaching, when people try to pervert the truth, and suggest that He really believed the opposite to what He taught. But my argument has been, of course, purely hypothetical, with the object of shewing the inconsistency of the contrary, by proving too much would follow from granting for the moment an absurd supposition.

This line of argument, then, being refuted, let me recur to the truth of the sacred writings, and consider the character of the disciples of Jesus. From the men as they stand, surely any sensible person would be inclined to consider them worthy of all confidence; they were admittedly poor men without eloquence, they fell in love with holy and philosophic instruction, they embraced and persevered in a strenuous and a laborious life, with fasting and abstinence from wine and meat, and much bodily restriction besides, with prayers and intercessions to God, (c) and, last but not least, excessive purity, and devotion both of body and soul.

And who would not admire them, cut off by their divine philosophy even from lawful nuptials, not dragged in the train of sensual pleasure, not enslaved by the desire of children and descendants, since they did not yearn for mortal but immortal progeny? And who would not be astonished at their indifference to money, certified by their not turning from but welcoming a Master, Who forbade the possession of gold and silver, Whose law did not even allow the acquisition of a second coat? Why, any one only hearing such a law might

reject it as too heavy, but these men are shewn to have carried out the words in fact. For once, when a lame man was begging from Peter's companions (it was a man in extreme need who begged for food), Peter, not having anything to give him, confessed that he had no belongings in silver or gold, and said: (119) "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have, give I unto thee: In the Name of Jesus Christ, arise and walk." [[Acts iii. 6.]]

When the Master gave them gloomy prophecies, if they gave heed to the things He said to them: "Ye shall have tribulation," [[John xvi. 33.]] and again: "Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice" [[John xvi. 20]] — the strength and depth of their nature is surely plain, since they did not fear the discipline of the body, nor run after pleasures. And the Master also, as One Who would not soothe them by deceit Himself, was like them in renouncing His property, and in His prophecy of the future, so open and so true, fixed in their minds the choice of His way of life. These were (b) the prophecies of what would happen to them for His Name's sake — in which He bore witness, saying that they should be brought before rulers, and come even unto kings, and undergo all sorts of punishments, not for any fault, nor on any reasonable charge, but solely for this — His Name's sake. And we who see it now fulfilled ought to be struck by the prediction; for the confession of the Name of Jesus ever inflames the minds of rulers. And (c) though he who confesses Christ has done no evil, yet they punish him with every contumely "for His Name's sake," as the worst of evil-doers, while if a man swears away the Name, and denies that he is one of Christ's disciples, he is let off scot-free, though he be convicted of many crimes. But why need I attempt to describe further the character of our Saviour's disciples? Let what I have said suffice to prove my contention. I will add a few words (d) more, and then pass to another class of slanderers.

The Apostle Matthew, if you consider his former life, did not leave a holy occupation, but came from those occupied in tax-gathering and over-reaching one another. [[Luke v. 27: Mark]] None of the evangelists has made this clear, neither his fellow-apostle John, nor Luke, nor Mark, but [[Matthew ii. 14.]] himself, who brands his own life, and becomes his own accuser. Listen how he dwells emphatically on his own name in the Gospel written by him, when he speaks in this way:

(120) "9. And as Jesus passed by from thence, he saw a man, called

Matthew, sitting at the place of toll, and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose, and followed him. 10. And it came to pass, as he sat at meat in the house, behold, many publicans and sinners came and sat down with Jesus and his disciples.” [[Matt.ix.9.]]

And again further on, when he gives a list of the disciples, he adds the name “Publican” to his own. For he says:

(b) “Of the twelve apostles the names are these: First, Simon, called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican.” [[Matt. x.2-3.]]

Thus Matthew, in excess of modesty, reveals the nature of his own old life, and calls himself a publican, he does not conceal his former mode of life, and in addition to this he places himself second after his yoke-fellow. For he is paired with Thomas, Peter with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew, and he puts Thomas before himself, preferring his fellow-apostle to himself, while the (c) other evangelists have done the reverse. If you listen to Luke, you will not hear him calling Matthew a publican, nor subordinating him to Thomas, for he knows him to be the greater, and puts him first and Thomas second. Mark has done the same. Luke’s words are as follows:

“And when it was day, he called his disciples unto him, and chose twelve whom he also named apostles, Simon whom he also called Peter, and Andrew his brother, James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas.” [[Luke vi.13]]

(d) So Luke honoured Matthew, according to what they delivered, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word. And you would find John like Matthew. For in his epistles he never mentions his own name, or call himself the Elder, or Apostle, or Evangelist; and in the Gospel, though he declares himself as the one whom Jesus loved, he does not reveal himself by name. Neither did Peter permit himself to write a Gospel through (121) his excessive reverence. Mark, being his friend and companion, is said to have recorded the accounts of Peter about the acts of Jesus, and when he comes to that part of the story where Jesus asked whom men said that He was, and what opinion His disciples had of Him, and Peter had replied that they regarded Him as (the) Christ, he writes that Jesus answered nothing, and said naught to him, except that He charged them to say nothing to any one about

Him.

For Mark was not present when Jesus spoke those words; and Peter did not think it right to bring forward on his own testimony what was said to him and concerning him by Jesus. But Matthew tells us what was actually said to him, in these words:

“15. But whom say ye that I am? 16. And Simon (b) Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. 17. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood have not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. 18. And I also say unto thee. That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. 19. And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever things thou shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever things thou shall loose on earth shall be [[Matt. xvi.15]] loosed in heaven.”

Though all this was said to Peter by Jesus, Mark does not record it, because, most likely, Peter did not include it in his teaching — see what he says in answer to Jesus’ question: (c) “Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ. And [[Mark viii.29.]] he straitly charged them that they should tell no man.” About this event Peter for good reasons thought it best to keep silence. And so Mark also omitted it, though he made known to all men Peter’s denial, and how he wept about it bitterly. You will find Mark gives this account of him:

“66. And as Peter was in the court, there cometh one of the maids of the high priest; 67. and when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked upon him and said, And thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth. 68. But he denied saying (I know not) neither understand what thou sayest; and he went into the outside porch, and the cock crew. 69. And the maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is one of them. 70. And he denied it again. And a little after, they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely thou art one of them: for thou art a Galilaean. 71. But he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not this man of whom ye speak. 72. And the second time the cock crew.” [[Mark xiv.66.]]

(122) Mark writes thus, and Peter through him bears witness about himself. For the whole of Mark’s Gospel is said to be the record of Peter’s teaching. Surely, then, men who refused (to record) what seemed to them to spread their

good fame, and handed down in writing slanders against themselves to unforgetting ages, and accusations of sins, which no one in after years would ever have known of unless he had heard it from their own voice, by thus placarding themselves, may justly be considered to have (b) been void of all egoism and false speaking, and to have given plain and clear proof of their truth-loving disposition. And as for such people who think they invented and lied, and try to slander them as deceivers, ought they not to become a laughing-stock, being convicted as friends of envy and malice, and foes of truth itself, who take men that have exhibited in their own words good proof of their integrity, and their really straightforward and sincere (c) character, and suggest that they are rascals and clever sophists, who invent what never took place, and ascribe gratuitously to their own Master what He never did?

I think then it has been well said: "One must put complete confidence in the disciples of Jesus, or none at all." And if we are to distrust these men, we must distrust all writers, who at any time have compiled, either in Greece or other lands, lives and histories and records of men of their own times, celebrated for noble achievements, or else we should be considering it reasonable to believe others, (d) and to disbelieve them only. And this would be clearly invidious. What! Did these liars about their Master, who handed down in writing the deeds He never did, also falsify the account of His Passion? I mean His betrayal by one of His disciples, the accusation of the false witnesses, the insults and the blows on His face, the scourging of His back, and the crown of acanthus set on His head in contumely, the soldier's purple coat thrown round Him like a cloak, and finally His bearing the very trophy of the Cross, His being nailed to it, His hands and feet pierced, His being given vinegar to drink, struck on the cheek with a reed, and reviled by those who looked on. Were these things and everything like them in the Gospels, (123) also invented by the disciples, or must we disbelieve in the glorious and more dignified parts, and yet believe in these as in truth itself? And how can the opposite opinion be supported? For to say that the same men both speak the truth, and at the same time lie, is nothing else but predicating contraries about the same people at the same time.

What, then, is the disproof? That if it was their aim to deceive, and to adorn their Master with false words, they would never have written the above accounts, neither would they have revealed to posterity that He was pained

and (b) troubled and disturbed in spirit, that they forsook Him and fled, or that Peter, the apostle and disciple who was chief of them all, denied Him thrice though untortured and unthreatened by rulers. For surely if their aim was solely to present the more dignified side of their Master they would have had to deny the truth of such things, even when stated by others. And if their good faith is evident in (c) their gloomier passages about Him, it is far more so in the more glorious. For they who had once adopted the policy of lying would have the more shunned the painful side, and either passed it over in silence, or denied it, for no man in an after age would be able to prove that they had omitted them.

Why, then, did they not lie, and say that Judas who betrayed Him with a kiss, when he dared to give the sign of treachery, was at once turned into a stone? and that the man who dared to strike Him had his right hand at once dried up; and that the high priest Caiaphas, as he conspired with the false witnesses against Him, lost the (d) sight of his eyes? And why did they not all tell the lie that nothing disastrous happened to Him at all, but that He vanished laughing at them from the court, and that they who plotted against Him, the victims of an hallucination divinely sent, thought they were proceeding against Him still though He was no longer present? But what? Would it not have been more impressive, instead of making up these inventions of His miraculous deeds, to have written that He experienced nothing of the lot of human beings or mortals, but that after having settled all things with power (124) divine He returned to heaven with diviner glory? For, of course, those who believed their other accounts would have believed this.

And surely they who have set no false stamp on anything that is true in the incidents of shame and gloom, ought to be regarded as above suspicion in other accounts wherein they have attributed miracles to Him. Their evidence then may be considered sufficient about our (b) Saviour. And here it will not be inappropriate for me to make use of the evidence of the Hebrew Josephus as well, who in the eighteenth chapter of *The Archaeology of the Jews*, in his record of the times of Pilate, mentions our Saviour in these words:

“And Jesus arises at that time, a wise man, if it is befitting to call him a man. For he was a doer of no common works, a teacher of men who reverence truth. And he gathered many of the Jewish and many of the Greek race. This was *Christus*; and when Pilate (c) condemned him to the Cross on the

information of our rulers, his first followers did not cease to revere him. For he appeared to them the third day alive again, the divine prophets having foretold this, and very many other things about him. And from that time to this the tribe of the Christians has not failed.”

If, then, even the historian’s evidence shews that He attracted to Himself not only the twelve Apostles, nor the seventy disciples, but had in addition many Jews and Greeks, He must evidently have had some extraordinary power beyond that of other men. For how otherwise could (d) He have attracted many Jews and Greeks, except by wonderful miracles and unheard-of teaching? And the evidence of the *Acts of the Apostles* goes to shew that there were many myriads of Jews who believed Him to be the Christ of God foretold by the prophets. And history also assures us that there was a very important Christian Church in Jerusalem, composed of Jews, which existed until the siege of the city under Hadrian. The bishops, too, who stand first in the line of succession there are said to have been Jews, whose names are still remembered by (125) the inhabitants. So that thus the whole slander against His disciples is destroyed, when by their evidence, and apart also from their evidence, it has to be confessed that many myriads of Jews and Greeks were brought under His yoke by Jesus the Christ of God through the miracles that He performed.

Such being my answer to the first division of the unbelievers, now let us address ourselves to the second body, (b) This consists of those, who while they admit that Jesus worked miracles, say that it was by a species of sorcery that deceived those who looked on, like a magician or enchanter. He impressed them with wonder.

CHAPTER 6

Against Those who think that the Christ of God was a Sorcerer.

OF course, such opponents must first of all be asked how they would reply to what has been already said. The question is about the possibility of a teacher of a noble and virtuous way of life, and of sane and reasonable doctrines, such as I have described, being a mere sorcerer in character. And supposing He was a magician and (c) enchanter, a charlatan and a sorcerer, how could He have become the source to all the nations of such teaching, as we ourselves see with our eyes, and hear even now with our ears? What sort of a person was He Who undertook to unite things which have never before been united? For a sorcerer being truly unholy and vile in his nature, dealing with things forbidden and unholy, always acts for the sake of base and sordid gain. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus, the Christ of God, was surely not open to such a charge. In (d) what sense could such a thing be said of One Who said to His disciples, according to their written record: “Provide neither gold nor silver in your girdles, nor a staff for the Matt.x.10. road, nor shoes”? How could they have heeded His sayings, and thought fit to hand them down recorded in writing, if they had seen their Master bent on making money, and Himself doing the opposite of what He taught others? They would soon have ridiculed Him and His words and left their discipleship in natural disgust, if they had seen Him laying down such noble laws for them, and Himself the Lawgiver in no way following His own words. Once more, sorcerers and real charlatans devote themselves (126) to the forbidden and the unholy in order to pursue vile and unlawful pleasures, with the object of ruining women by magic, and seducing them to their own desires. But our Lord and Saviour is devoted to purity beyond the power of words to say, for His disciples record that He forbade them to look on a woman with unbridled lust, saying:

“It was said to them of old time, Thou shall not commit adultery: but I say unto you, that every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.” [[Matt. v.27]]

And on one occasion when they saw Him conversing with (b) a woman of Samaria when it was the only possible way to aid and save many, they wondered that He spoke with the woman, thinking they saw something marvellous, such as they had never before seen. And surely our Saviour’s

words commend a serious and severe tone of behaviour: while of His purity the great evidence is that teaching of His, in which He taught men to attain purity by cutting away from the depth of the heart the lustful desires:

“There are some eunuchs who so were born, and there are eunuchs who we’re made eunuchs of men, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake.” [[Matt, xii.19.]]

The sorcerer again and the true charlatan courts notoriety (c) and ostentation in all his enterprises and actions, and always makes a boast of knowing more and having more than other people. But that our Lord and Saviour was not thirsty for notoriety, or a braggart or ostentatious, is shewn by His bidding those He cured to tell no one, and not to reveal Him to the crowd, so that He might escape notice, and also from His seeking periods of retirement in (d) the mountains, and shunning the vicious society of the crowd in cities. If then He neither devoted Himself to teaching for glory, nor money, nor pleasure, what ground of suspicion remains for considering Him a charlatan and a sorcerer? But once more think of this point. A sorcerer, when he shares the fruits of his wickedness with others, makes men resemble himself: how can he help making sorcerers and charlatans and enchanters in all ways like himself? But who has ever so far found the whole body of Christians from His teaching given to sorcery or enchantment? (127) No one would suggest that, but rather that it has been concerned with philosophic words, as we have shewn. What, then, could you rightly call One Who was the source to others of a noble and pure life and of the highest holiness, but the prince of philosophers and the teacher of holy men? And I suppose so far as every master is better than his pupils, our Lord and Saviour must be considered, so far from being a charlatan and a sorcerer, but philosophic and truly holy (b) If, then, He was such, He could only have attempted His miracles by divine and unspeakable power and by the highest piety towards the Supreme God, Whom He is proved to have honoured and worshipped as His Father in the highest degree, from the accounts of Him. And the disciples, who were with Him from the beginning, with those who inherited their mode of life afterwards, are to such an incalculable extent removed from base and evil suspicion (of sorcery), that they will not allow their sick (c) even to do what is exceedingly common with non-Christians, to make use of charms written on leaves or amulets, or to pay attention to those promising to soothe

them with songs of enchantment, or to procure ease for their pains by burning incense made of roots and herbs, or anything else of the kind.

All these things at any rate are forbidden by Christian teaching, neither is it ever possible to see a Christian using an amulet, or incantations, or charms written on curious leaves, or other things which the crowd consider quite permissible. What argument, then, can rank the disciples of such a Master with the disciples of a sorcerer and charlatan?

And yet the one great proof of the worth of any one who (d) promises to effect anything is found in the circle of his pupils. In the arts and sciences it is so, men always claim him who was the source of their skill to be greater than themselves; so medical students would witness to the excellence of their instructor in their own subject, geometricians will not regard any other as their master but a geometrician, and arithmeticians any but one skilled in arithmetic. In the same way, also, the best witnesses to a sorcerer are his pupils, who it may be presumed will themselves share in the character of their master. And yet through all these (128) years no disciple of Jesus has been proved a sorcerer, although rulers and kings from time to time have attempted by means of torture to extract the exactest information about our religion. No, in spite of all, none has admitted himself to be a sorcerer, though had he done so he might have gone free, and without any danger, only being compelled by them to offer sacrifice. And if not one of our own people has ever been convicted of sorcery, nor any of those ancient disciples of Jesus, it follows that their Master could not have been a sorcerer.

But that my argument may not be based solely on the (b) unwritten, hear the proofs also that I draw from the written record. The first disciples of Jesus in the Book of their own Acts, describe without doubt how the Gentiles thronging to their teaching (were so impressed), that many of those with a bad reputation for sorcery, changed their ways to such an extent that they had the courage to bring the forbidden books into the midst, and commit them to the fire in the sight of all. Hear how the Scripture describes it:

“And many of those who used curious arts, brought their books, and burned them before all, and they reckoned the price of the books, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver.” [[Acts xix 19]]

It shews what our Saviour's disciples were, it shews the extraordinary influence of their words when they addressed their audience, that they so

touched the depths of their souls, caught hold of and pierced the individual conscience, that men no longer hid anything away in concealment, but brought their forbidden things to light, and (d) themselves completed the indictment of themselves and their own former wickedness. It shews what their pupils were like, how pure and honourable in disposition, determined that nothing evil in them should lurk below the surface, and how boldly they prided themselves on their change from the worse to the better. Yes, they who gave their magic books to the flames, and voted for their complete destruction, left no one in any doubt that they would never again have anything to do with sorcery, and from that day forth were pure from the slightest suspicion of it.

If, then, our Saviour's disciples are seen to have been like this, must not their Master have been so long before them?

(129) And if in the widest sense you wish to deduce from the character of His followers the character of their Head, you have to-day a myriad disciples of the teaching of Jesus, great numbers of whom have declared war against the natural pleasures of the body, and guard their minds from the stroke of every base passion, and when they grow old in temperance provide bright evidence of the nurture of His words. And not men only live the life of wisdom in this wise for His sake, but innumerable myriads of women, too, throughout the world, like priestesses of the Supreme God, embracing the highest wisdom, enraptured with the love of (b) heavenly wisdom, have lost all joy of bodily progeny, and spending all their care on the soul, have devoted themselves entirely body and soul alike to the King of kings, the Supreme God, practising complete purity and virginity.

Of one shepherd, we know, who left his own country for the sake of philosophy the sons of Greece are ever carrying the story hither and thither. This was their Democritus. And Krates is the second man who is a miracle among (b) them, because, forsooth! he resigned his property to the citizens, and boasted that "Krates himself had freed himself." But the zealots of the teaching of Jesus are myriads in number, not one or two, who have sold their goods and given them to the poor and needy, a fact to which I can witness, as I am specially concerned in such matters, and can see the results of the discipleship of Jesus not only in their words, but in their works as well.

But why need I tell how many myriads of actual barbarians, and not

Greeks only, learning from the teaching of Jesus to despise every form of polytheistic error, have borne witness to their knowledge of the one God as Saviour and Creator of the Universe? Whom long ago, Plato was the only philosopher who knew, but confessed that he dare not carry His Name to all, saying in so many words: "To discover the Father and Creator of the Universe is a hard matter, and when He is found it is impossible to tell of Him to all." [[Timaeus]] Yes, to him the discovery seemed a hard matter, for it is indeed the greatest thing of all, and it seemed to him impossible to speak of Him to all, because he did not possess so great a power of holiness as the (130) disciples of Jesus, to whom it has become easy by the cooperation of their Master to discover and to know the Father and Creator of all, and having discovered Him to bear forth that knowledge, to unveil it, to supply it, and to preach it to all men among all races of the world, with the result that even now at the present time owing to the instruction given by these men there are among all the nations of the earth many multitudes not only of men, but of women and children, slaves and country-folk, who are so far away from fulfilling Plato's dictum, that they know (b) the One God to be the Maker and Creator of the Universe, worship Him only, and base their whole theology on Christ. This, then, is the success of the new modern sorcerer; such are the sorcerers who spring from Him Who is reckoned a charlatan; and such are the disciples of Jesus, from whose character we may deduce that of their Master.

But once more, let us follow the argument in this direction: You say, my friend, that He was a sorcerer, and dub Him a clever enchanter and deceiver. Would . you say, then, that He was the first and only discoverer of the (c) business, or that we must not, as would be done in similar cases, look for the original source of His work directly in His own teaching? For if nobody taught Him, and He was Himself the first and only discoverer of the enterprise, if He had no benefit at all from the teaching of others, if he did not share in the feast of the ancients, we ought surely to ascribe divinity to Him, as One Who (d) without books, or education, or teachers, self-taught, self-educated, is assumed to have discovered such a new world. We know that it is impossible to acquire the knowledge of a lower-class trade, or of the art of reasoning, or indeed of the elements of knowledge without the help of a guide or teacher, unless the learner transcends the powers of ordinary people. I am sure we have not yet had a teacher of literature who was self-taught, nor an

orator who had not been to school, nor a physician “born and not made,” nor a carpenter, nor any other kind of craftsman; and these things are relatively insignificant and human; what does it mean, then, to suggest that the Teacher of true religion to men, Who worked such miracles in the period of His earthly life, and did the extraordinary prodigies which I have lately described, was born actually endowed with (131) such power, and had not to share the feast of the ancients, nor to take advantage of the instruction of modern teachers, who had done like things before Him? What is it but to witness and confess that He was indeed divine, and that He altogether transcended humanity?

And supposing you say that He had foregathered with masters of deceit, and was acquainted with the wisdom of the Egyptians, and the secret knowledge of their ancient teachers, and that collecting His equipment from them, He appeared in the character that His story exhibits. (b) How is it, then, I reply, that no others have appeared greater than He, and no teachers antecedent to Him in time, either in Egypt, or anywhere else? Why has not their fame among all men preceded this accusation of Him, and why is not their glory even now celebrated in strains like ours? And what enchanter from the remotest age, either Greek or Barbarian, has ever been the Master of so many pupils, the prime mover of such laws and (c) teaching, as the power of our Saviour has shewn forth, or is recorded to have worked such cures, and bestowed such marvellous blessings, as our Saviour is reported to have done? Who has had friends and eye-witnesses of his deeds, ready to guarantee by the proof of fire and sword the truth of their witness, like the disciples of our Saviour, who have borne all insults, submitted to all forms of torture, and at last have sealed their witness about Him with their very blood?

Then, moreover, let him who supports the contention opposed to mine, inform me if any enchanter that ever existed has ever even taken it into his head to institute a new nation called after his own name? To go beyond the (d) mere conception, and to succeed in effecting it, is surely beyond the power of humanity.

What sorcerer has ever thought of establishing laws against idolatry in direct opposition to the decrees of kings, ancient legislators, poets, philosophers, and theologians, and of giving them power, and of promulgating them so that they should last on unconquered and invincible for long ages?

But our Lord and Saviour did not conceive and not dare to attempt, neither did he attempt and not succeed.

(132) With one word and voice He said to His disciples: “Go, and make disciples of all the nations in My Name, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you,” [[Matt. xxviii. 19.]] and He joined the effect to His Word; and in a little while every race of the Greeks and Barbarians was being brought into discipleship, and laws were spread among all nations opposed to the superstition of the ancients, laws inimical to daemons, and to all the deceits of polytheism, laws that have made Scythians, Persians, and the other barbarians temperate, and revolutionized every lawless and uncivilized custom, laws that have overturned the immemorial habits of the Greeks themselves, (b) and heralded a new and real religion. What similar daring has been shewn by the ancient sorcerers before the time of Jesus, or even after Him, which would make it plausible that He was assisted in His sorcery by others? And if the only answer to this is that no one has ever been like Him, for no one was the source of His virtue, surely it is time to confess that a strange and divine Being has sojourned in our humanity, by Whom alone, and for the first time in (c) man’s history, things unrecorded before in human annals have been effected.

In such wise I will conclude this part of the subject. But I must again attack my opposer, and inquire if he has ever seen or heard of sorcerers and enchanters doing their sorcery without libations, incense, and the invocation and presence of daemons. But no one surely could venture to cast this aspersion on our Saviour, or on His teaching, or on those even now imitating His life. It must be clear even to the blind that we who follow Jesus are totally opposed to such agencies, and would sooner dare to sacrifice our (d) soul to death than an offering to the dremons, yea, would sooner depart from life than remain alive under the tyranny of evil daemons. Who does not know how we love by the mere Name of Jesus and the purest prayers to drive away all the work of the daemons? The mere word of Jesus and His teaching has made us all far stronger than this invisible Power, and has trained us to be enemies and foes of daemons, not their friends or associates, and certainly not their slaves and tributaries. And how could He Who (133) has led us on to this, Himself be the slave of the daemons? How could He sacrifice to evil spirits? Or how could He have invoked the daemons to aid Him in His Miracles, when

even to-day every daemon and unclean spirit shudders at the Name of Jesus as at something that is likely to punish and torment its own nature, and so departs and yields to the power of His Name alone? So was it of old in the days when He sojourned in this life: they could not bear His Presence, but cried, one from one side and one from another: “Come, what have we to do with thee, Jesus, (b) Son of God? Art thou come to torment us before the time?” [[Matt. viii.29.]]

And a man whose mind was wholly devoted to sorcery, and in every way involved in the quest of the forbidden, would surely be (would he not?) unholy in his ways; scandalous, base, atheistic, unjust, irreligious. And if He were such, from what source, or by what means, could He teach others about religion, or temperance, or the knowledge of God, or about the tribunal and judgment of Almighty God? Would He not rather commend the (c) opposites of these, and act according to His own wickedness, deny God and God’s Providence, and God’s Judgment, and revile teaching about virtue and the immortality of the soul? And if one could see such a character in our Lord and Saviour, there would be no more to say. But (d) if instead we see Him calling on God the Father, the Creator of all things, in every act and word, and training His pupils to resemble Him, if He being pure Himself teaches purity, if He is a maker and herald of justice, truth, philanthropy, and every virtue, and the introducer of the worship of God the King of kings, surely it follows from this that He cannot be suspected of working His miracles by sorcery, and that we must admit that they were the result of unspeakable and truly inspired power. (134)

But if you are so far gone in folly as not to pay any heed to temperate argument and logical consistency of thought, and are not impressed by probable proofs, because you suspect me perhaps to be a special pleader — at least you will hear your own daemons, the gods I mean who give the oracles, hear them bearing witness to our Saviour, not like you of His sorcery, but of His holiness, His wisdom, and His Ascension into Heaven. What could be a more persuasive testimony than that written by our enemy in the third chapter of his book, *Concerning Philosophy from Oracles*, where he thus speaks in so many words.

CHAPTER 7

Oracles about Christ.

“WHAT I am about to say may seem surprising to some. It is that the gods have pronounced Christ to have been most holy and immortal, and they speak of Him reverently.”

And lower down he adds:

“To those asking the question, ‘Is Christ a God?’ the oracle replied:

That the soul goes forth immortal after (its severance from) the body.

Thou knowest, severed from wisdom it ever roams.

That soul is the soul of a man signal in holiness.”

He certainly says here that He was most holy, and that His soul, which the Christians ignorantly worship, like the souls of others, was made immortal after death. And when asked, “Why did He suffer?” the oracle replied:

The body of the weak has ever been exposed to torments,

But the soul of holy men takes its place in heaven.”

And he adds after the oracle:

“Christ, then, was holy, and like the holy, went to the (d) heaven. Wherefore you will say no evil about Him, but pity the folly of men.”

So says Porphyry even now. Was He then a charlatan, my friend? Perhaps the friendly words of one of your kidney may put you out of countenance. For you have our Saviour Jesus, the Christ of God, admitted by your own teachers to be, not an enchanter or a sorcerer, but holy, wise, the justest of the just, and dwelling in the vaults of heaven. He, then, being such, could only have done His miracles by a divine power, which also the holy writings bear witness that He had, saying that the Word of God and the highest Power of God dwelt in man’s shape and form, nay, even in actual flesh and body therein, and performed all the functions of human nature. (135) And you yourself may realize the divine elements of this power, if you reflect on the nature and grandeur of a Being who could associate with Himself poor men of the lowly fisherman’s class, and use them as agents in carrying through a work that transcends all reason. For having conceived the intention, which no one ever

before had done, of spreading His own laws and a new teaching among all nations, and of revealing Himself as the teacher of the religion of One Almighty God to all the races of men, He (b) thought good to use the most rustic and common men as ministers of His own design, because maybe He had in mind to do the most unlikely things. For how could men unable even to open their mouths be able to teach, even if they were appointed teachers to only one person, far less to a multitude of men? How should they instruct the people, who were themselves without any education?

But this was surely the manifestation of the divine will and of the divine power working in them. For when He called them, the first thing He said to them was: “Come, follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.” [[Mark i. 17.]] And (c) when He had thus acquired them as His followers, He breathed into them His divine power, He filled them with strength and bravery, and like a true Word of God and as God Himself, the doer of such great wonders, He made them hunters of rational and thinking souls, adding power to His words: “Come, follow me, and I will make you fishers of men,” and sent them forth fitted already to be workers and teachers of holiness to all the nations, declaring (d) them heralds of His own teaching. And who would not be amazed and naturally inclined to disbelieve a thing so extraordinary, for none of those who have ever won fame among men — no king, no legislator, no philosopher, no Greek, no barbarian — are recorded to have ever conceived such a design, or dreamed of anything at all resembling it? For each one of them has been satisfied, if he could establish his own system over his own land only, and if he were able to enforce desirable laws within the limits of his own race. Whereas He, who conceived nothing human or mortal, see (136) how truly He speaks with the voice of God, saying in these very words to those disciples of His, the poorest of the poor: “Go forth, and make disciples of all the nations.” [[Matt.xxviii. 19.]] “But how,” the disciples might reasonably have answered the Master, “can we do it? How, pray, can we preach to Romans? How can we argue with Egyptians? We are men bred up to use the Syrian tongue only, what language shall we speak to Greeks? How shall we persuade Persians, Armenians, Chaldeans, Scythians, Indians, and other (b) barbarous nations to give up their ancestral gods, and worship the Creator of all? What sufficiency of speech have we to trust to in attempting such work as this? And what hope of success can we have if we dare to

proclaim laws directly opposed to the laws about their own gods that have been established for ages among all nations? By what power shall we ever survive our daring attempt?"

But while the disciples of Jesus were most likely either saying thus, or thinking thus, the Master solved their difficulties, by the addition of one phrase, saying they should (c) triumph "In MY NAME." For He did not bid them simply and indefinitely make disciples of all nations, but with the necessary addition of " In my Name." And the power of His Name being so great, that the apostle says: "God has given him a name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth," [[Phil. ii. 9.]] He shewed the virtue of the power in His Name concealed (d) from the crowd when He said to His disciples: "Go, and make disciples of all nations in my Name." He also most accurately forecasts the future when He says: "For this gospel must first be preached to all the world, for a witness to all nations." [[Matt.xxiv.14.]]

These words were said in a corner of the earth then, and only those present heard it. How, I ask, did they credit them, unless from other divine works that He had done they had experienced the truth in His words? Not one of them disobeyed His command: but in obedience to (137) His Will according to their orders they began to make disciples of every race of men, going from their own country to all races, and in a short time it was possible to see His words realized.

The Gospel, then, in a short time was preached in the whole world, for a witness to the heathen, and Barbarians and Greeks alike possessed the writings about Jesus in their ancestral script and language. And yet who would not quite reasonably be at a loss to explain how the disciples of Jesus gave this teaching? Did they go into the (b) middle of the city, and stand there in the Agora, and call on the passers-by with a loud voice, and then address the populace? And what were the arguments in their address, which would have any chance of persuading such an audience? How could untrained speakers, quite deficient in education, give addresses at all?

Perhaps you suggest they did not speak in public, but in private to those they met. If so, with what arguments could they have persuaded their hearers? — for they had (c) a most difficult task, unless they were ready to deny the shameful death of Him they preached. And suppose they concealed it, and

passing over the nature and number of His sufferings at the hands of the Jews, retailed simply the noble and the glorious incidents (I mean His miracles and mighty works, and His philosophic teaching), they had even so no light problem to solve in gaining easily the adherence of listeners, who spoke strange tongues, and then for the first time heard novelties talked of by men who brought with them nothing sufficient to authenticate what they said. Yet such a Gospel would, perhaps, have (d) seemed more plausible.

But in fact they preached, first, that God came on an embassy in a man's body, and was actually the Word of God by nature, and had wrought the wonders He did as God. And next — a tale opposed to this, that He had undergone insult and contumely, and at last the Cross, the most shameful punishment and the one reserved for the most criminal of mankind; who would not have had ground for despising them as preaching an inconsistent message?

And who could be so simple, as to believe them easily when they said that they had seen Him after His death risen to life from the dead, One Who was unable to defend Himself when alive? Who would have believed common and uneducated men who told them they must (138) despise their fathers' gods, condemn the folly of all who lived in the ages past, and put their sole belief in them and the commands of the Crucified — because He was the only-beloved and only-begotten Son of the One Supreme God? I myself, when I frankly turn the account over in my own mind, have to confess that I find in it no power to persuade, no dignity, no credibility, not even enough plausibility, to convince iust one of the most simple, (b) But when I turn my eyes away to the evidence of the power of the Word, what multitudes it has won, and what enormous churches have been founded by those unlettered and mean disciples of Jesus, not in obscure and unknown places, but in the most noble cities — I mean in Royal Rome, in Alexandria, and Antioch, throughout the whole of Egypt and Libya, Europe and Asia, and in villages and (c) country places and among the nations — I am irresistibly forced to retrace my steps, and search for their cause, and to confess that they could only have succeeded in their daring venture, by a power more divine, and more strong than man's, and by the co-operation of Him Who said to them: "Make disciples of all the nations in my Name."

And when He said this He appended a promise, that would ensure their

courage and readiness to devote themselves to carrying out His commands. For He said to them: "And lo! I am with you all the days, even unto the end of the world." Moreover, He is said to have breathed into them a holy Spirit, yea to have given them divine and miraculous power — first saying: "Receive ye Holy Spirit," [[John xx.22]] and then: "Heal the sick, cleanse lepers, cast out demons; freely ye have received, freely give." [[Matt. x. 8.]]

You yourself will recognize what power their word has had, for the *Book of the Acts* agrees with their having these powers, and gives consistent evidence, where these men are reported by their power of working miracles by (139) the Name of Jesus to have astonished the spectators present.

They amazed the spectators first most probably by the miracles themselves; they then found men bent on inquiring Who He was, Whose power and Name had caused the wonder; then they taught them and found that their faith had preceded the teaching. For without persuasion by words, being first convinced by works, they were easily brought into the state that the words required. For some are said to have been about to offer sacrifices and libations to the disciples of Jesus, as if they had been gods. [[Acts xiv. 12.]] And the exhibition of their miracles so struck their minds, that they called one (b) Hermes and the other Zeus. And, of course, whatever they told about Jesus to men in such a state, was naturally after that considered the truth, and thus their evidence for His Resurrection after death was not given by simple or unproven words, but came with the persuasion of the very working, since they could shew forth the works of One living still.

And if they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, being with the Father before He came to earth, to this truth they were equally open, and would certainly have (c) thought anything opposed to it incredible and impossible, reckoning it impossible to think that what was done was the work of a human being, but ascribing it to God without any one telling them.

Here, then, in this and nothing else is the answer to our question, by what power the disciples of Jesus convinced their first hearers, and how they persuaded Greeks as well as barbarians to think of Him as of the Word of God, and how in the midst of cities, as well as in the country, they (d) instituted places of instruction in the religion of the One Supreme God.

And yet all must wonder, if they consider and reflect, that it was not by mere human accident, that the greater part of the nations of the world were

never before under the one empire of Rome, but only from the times of Jesus. For His wonderful sojourn among men synchronized with Rome's attainment of the acme of power, Augustus then first being supreme ruler over most of the nations, in whose time, Cleopatra being captured, the succession of the Ptolemies was dissolved in Egypt. And from that day (140) to this, the kingdom of Egypt has been destroyed, which had lasted from immemorial time, and so to say from the very beginnings of humanity. Since that day the Jewish people have become subject to the Romans, the Syrians likewise, the Cappadocians and Macedonians, the Bithynians and Greeks, and in a word all the other nations who are under Roman rule. And no one could deny that the synchronizing of this with the beginning of the teaching about our Saviour is of God's arrangement, if he considered the difficulty of the disciples taking their journey, had the (b) nations been at variance one with another, and not mixing together because of varieties of government. But when these were abolished, they could accomplish their projects quite fearlessly and safely, since the Supreme God had smoothed the way before them, and subdued the spirit of the more superstitious citizens under the fear of a strong central government.

For consider, how if there had been no force available to hinder those who in the power of polytheistic error were contending with Christian education, that you would have long ago seen civil revolutions, and extraordinarily bitter persecutions and wars, if the superstitious had had (c) the power to do as they willed with them.

Now this must have been the work of God Almighty, this subordination of the enemies of His own Word to a greater fear of a supreme ruler. For He wills it daily to advance, and to spread among all men. And, moreover, that it might not be thought to prosper through the leniency of rulers, if some of them under the sway of evil designed (d) to oppose the Word of Christ, He allowed them to do what was in their hearts, both that his athletes might display their holiness, and also that it might be made evident to all that the triumph of the Word was not of the counsel of men, but of the power of God. Who would not wonder at what ordinarily happened in times like those? For the athletes of holiness of old shone forth clear and glorious to the eyes of all, and were thought worthy of the prizes of God; while the enemies of holiness paid their meet penalty, driven mad with divine scourges, afflicted with (141)

terrible and vile diseases in their whole body, so that at last they were forced to confess their impiety against Christ. And all the rest who were worthy of the Divine Name, and gloried in their Christian profession, passing through a short discipline of trial, exhibited the nobility and sincerity of their hearts, received back again once more their own liberty, while through them the word of salvation shone out daily more brightly, and ruled even in the midst of foes.

And not only did they struggle against visible enemies, (b) but against the invisible, such evil daemons and their rulers as haunt the nebulous air around the earth, whom also Christ's true disciples by purity of life and prayer to God and by His Divine Name drove off, giving proofs of the miraculous signs, which of old were said to have been done by Him, and also, to eyes that could see, of His divine power still active.

And now that these preliminary topics are concluded, in their right order, I must proceed to handle the more mystical theology about Him, and consider Who He was that performed miracles through the visible humanity (of Jesus).

BOOK IV

CHAPTER 1

Of the Mystical Dispensation of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus, (144) the Christ of God.

As I have treated at sufficient length the topics connected with the Incarnation of our Saviour in the preceding Book, (b) the third Book of the *Proof of the Gospel*, it is now the place to approach more recondite doctrine, I mean the more mystical theology of His Person.

Now common to all men is the doctrine of God, the First and the Eternal, Alone, Unbegotten and Supreme Cause of the Universe, Lord of lords, and King of kings. But the doctrine of Christ is peculiar and common to the Hebrews and ourselves, and, though following their (c) own scriptures, they confess it equally with us. yet they fall far asunder from us, in not recognizing His Divinity, nor knowing the cause of His coming, nor grasping at what period of time it was predicted that He should come. For while they look forward to His Coming even now, we preach that He has come once already, and believing the predictions and teaching of the inspired prophets, pray that we may behold His second Coming in divine glory.

The account of our Lord is of two kinds: the one may (d) be called the later, brought but recently before mankind, the other is older than all time and all eternity.

For since God, Who is alone good and the Source and Spring of everything good, had willed to make many partakers of His own treasures, He purposed to create the whole reasoning creation, (comprising) unembodied, intelligent and divine powers, angels and archangels, spirits immaterial and in all ways pure, and souls of men as well endued with undetermined liberty of Free-willed Choice between right and wrong, and to give them whatever bodily organs they were to possess, suitable to the variety of their lives, with countries and places natural to them all. (For to those who had remained good He gave the best places, and to those who did not He gave fit abodes, places of discipline for their perverse inclinations.)

He, foreseeing the future in His foreknowledge, as God must, and aware that as in a vast body all these things about to be would need a head, thought that He ought to subordinate them all to One Governor of the Whole Creation, ruler and king of the Universe, as also the holy oracles of the earliest Hebrew theologians and prophets mystically teach. From which it is to be learned, that

there is one principle of the Universe, nay more, one even before the principle, and born before the first, and of earlier being than the Monad, and greater than every Name, Who cannot be named, nor explained, nor sought out, the good, the cause of all, the Creator, the Beneficent, the Prescient, the Saving, Himself the One and Only God, from Whom are all things, and for Whom are all things: "For in him we live and move, and have our being."

And the fact that He wills it, is the sole cause of all things that exist coming into being and continuing to be. For it comes of His will, and He wills it, because He happens to be good by nature. For nothing else is essential by nature to a good person except to will what is good. And what He wills, He can effect. Wherefore, having both the will and the power, He has ordained for Himself, without let or hindrance, everything beautiful and useful both in the visible and invisible world, making His own Will and Power as it were a kind of material and substratum of the genesis and constitution of the Universe, so that it is no longer reasonable to say that anything that exists must have come from the non-existent, for that which came from the non-existent would not be anything. For how could that which is non-existent cause something else to exist? Everything that has ever existed or now exists derives its being from the One, the only existent and pre-existent Being, Who also said: "I am the existent," because, you will see, as the Only Being, and the Eternal Being, He is Himself the cause of existence to all those to whom He has imparted existence from Himself by His Will and His Power, and gives existence to all things, and their powers and forms, richly and ungrudgingly from Himself.

CHAPTER 2

That we hold that the Son of God was before the Whole Creation.

AND then He makes first of all existences next to Himself (146) His child, the first-born Wisdom, altogether formed of Mind and Reason and Wisdom, or rather Mind itself, Reason itself, and Wisdom itself, and if it be right to conceive anything else among things that have come into being (b) that is Beauty itself, and Good itself, taking it from Himself, He lays it Himself as the first foundation of what is to come into being afterwards, lie is the perfect creation of a perfect Creator, the wise edifice of a wise Builder, the good Child of a good Father, and assuredly to them that afterwards should receive existence through Him, friend and guardian, saviour and physician, and helmsman holding the rudder-lines of the creation of the universe. In agreement with which the oracles in theological phrase call Him, “God-begotten,” as alone bearing (c) in Himself the image of the Godhead, that cannot be explained in word, or conceived in thought, through which image (they say that) He is God, and that lie is called so, because of this primary likeness, and also for this reason, too, that He was appointed by the Father His good Minister, in order that as if by one all-wise and living instrument, and rule of art and knowledge, the universe might be guided by Him, bodies and things without body, things living and things lifeless, the reasoning with the irrational, mortal with immortal, and whatever else coexists and is woven in with them, and as if by one force running (d) through the whole, all things might be harmonized together, by one living active law and reason existing in all and extending through all things, in one all-wise bond — yea, by the very Word of God and His law, united and bound in one.

CHAPTER 3

That we rightly teach that there are not many sons of the Supreme God, but One only, God of God.

(147) AND as the Father is One, it follows that there must be (b) one Son and not many sons, and that there can be only one perfect God begotten of God, and not several. For in multiplicity will arise otherness and difference and the introduction of the worse. And so it must be that the One God is the Father of one perfect and only-begotten Son, and not of more Gods or sons. Even so, light being of one essence, we are absolutely obliged to regard the perfect thing that is begotten of light to be one also. For what other thing would it be possible to conceive of as begotten of light, but the ray only, which proceeds from it, and fills and enlightens all things? Everything surely (c) that is foreign to this would be darkness and not light. And analogously to this there can be nothing like unto, nor a true copy of, the Supreme Father, Who is unspeakable light, except as regards this one thing only, Whom we are able to call the Son. For He is the radiance of the eternal light, and the unblurred mirror of the activity of God, and the image of His goodness. Wherefore it was said: “ Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person.” [[Heb. i. 3.]] Except that the radiance is inseparable from the light of sense, while the Son exists in Himself in His own essence apart from the Father. And the ray has its range of activity solely from the light, whereas (d) the Son is something different from a channel of energy, having His Being in Himself. And, moreover, the ray is coexistent with the light, being a kind of complement thereof; (for there could be no light without a ray:) they exist together and simultaneously. But the Father precedes the Son, and has preceded Him in existence, inasmuch as He alone is unbegotten. The One, perfect in Himself and first in order as Father, and the cause of the Son’s existence, receives nothing towards the completeness of His Godhead from the Son: the Other, as a Son begotten of Him that caused His being, came second to Him, Whose Son He is, receiving from the Father both His Being, and the character of His Being. And, moreover, the ray does (148) not shine forth from the light by its deliberate choice, but because of something which is an inseparable accident of its essence: but the Son is the image of the Father by intention and deliberate choice. For God willed to beget a Son, and established a second light, in all things made like unto

Himself. Since, then, the unbegotten and eternal light is one, how could there be any other image of it, except the ray, which itself is light, preserving in all respects its likeness to its prototype? And how could (b) there be an image of the One itself, unless it were the same as it in being one? So that a likeness is implied not only of the essence of the first, but also one of numerical quantity, for one perfect Being comes of the one eternal light, and the first and only-begotten Issue was not different or many, and it is this very Being to Which, after that Being which had no origin or beginning, we give the names of God, the Perfect, the Good: for the Son of a Father who is One must be also One. For we should (c) have to agree that from the one fragrance of any particular object that breathes it forth, the sweet odour shed forth on all is one and the same, not diverse and many. So it is right to suppose that from the first and only Good, Which is Almighty God, is supplied an odour divine and life-giving, perceptible by mind and understanding, which is one and not many. For what variation could there be from this complete likeness to the Father, except one that was a declension and an inferiority; a supposition that we must not admit into our theology of the Son: for He is (d) a breath of the power of God, and a pure effluence of the glory of the Creator. For a fragrant breath is poured forth from any sweet-scented substance, say from myrrh or any of the flowers and odorous plants that spring from the earth, beyond the original substance into the surrounding atmosphere, and fills the air far and wide as it is shed forth, without any deprivation, or lessening, or scission, or division of the said substance. For it still remains in its own place, and preserves its own identity, and though begetting this fragrant force it is no worse than it was before, while the sweet odour that is begotten, possessing its own character, imitates in the highest degree possible the nature (149) of that which produced it by its own [fragrance]. But these are all earthly images and touched with mortality, parts of this lower corrupt and earthly constitution, whereas the scope of the theology we are considering far transcends all illustrations, and is not connected with anything physical, but imagines with the acutest thought a Son Begotten, not at one time non-existent, and existent at another afterwards, but existent before eternal time, and pre-existent, and ever with the Father as His Son, and yet not Unbegotten, but (b) begotten from the Father Unbegotten, being the Only-begotten, the Word, and God of God, Who teaches that He was not cast forth from the being of the Father by

separation, or scission, or division, but unspeakably and unthinkably to us brought into being from all time, nay rather before all times, by the Father's transcendent and inconceivable Will and Power. "For who shall describe his generation?" he says, and "As no one knoweth the Father save the Son, so no one knoweth the Son save the Father that begat Him."

CHAPTER 4

That the Only-begotten Son of God must be considered necessarily Anterior to the Whole Universe.

BUT it seemed good to the Father, source of all goodness, that (His) One only-begotten and beloved Son should be the Head of the Creation of all things begotten, when He (d) was about to create One Universe, like a body one and vast consisting of many limbs and parts. . . .

And that He should not govern it from above, as merely depending on the greater Headship of the Divinity of the Father (for the Head of Christ is the Father), but as leader of and antecedent to all things after Him, being verily all the while the lasting agent of His Father's commands, and of the creation that was yet to be.

And therefore it is we say that He first before all things was made by the Father, as something one in form, the instrument of every existence and nature, alive and living, nay divine, lifegiving and all-wise, begetting good, Choregus of Light, Creator of the Heaven, Architect of the Universe, (150) Maker of Angels, Ruler of Spirits, Instrument of the Salvation of Souls, Source of Growth to bodies, all things foreseeing, guiding, healing, ruling, judging, proclaiming the religion of the Father.

CHAPTER 5

That we hold that there are Numberless Divine Created Powers but One Alone of the Son, whereby We describe Him as the Image of God the Father.

WHEREFORE we must recognize with awe throughout the whole of the sphere of creation generally one divine Power, and not suppose there to be many. For the general creative Power is One, and One is the Word, Creator of the Universe, in the beginning with God: Whom it truly behoves us not to ignore, but to worship and honour worthily, because not only at the beginning of the Creation did all things exist through Him, but since then for ever and now as well, and without Him nothing was made. For if there is life in things that exist, that life was what was begotten in Him. (For from Him and through Him is the life-power and the soul-power of all things.) Be it rhythm, beauty, harmony, order, blending of qualities, substance, quality, quantity, the one Word of the Universe holds all in union and order, and One Creative power of God is at the Head of all. And as in our own bodies there are great and various differences in the parts, but one creative power in the whole (for the nature of the head is not dependent on one power of God, that of the eyes on another, and that of ears and feet on other distinct powers), so also there is one general identical divine power governing the whole Universe, creative of the (151) heaven and the stars, the living things in earth and air and sea, the elements generally and individually, and all kinds of natural things in their genera and species. So there is not one force productive of fire, another of water, another again of earth and of air. But one and the same wisdom is craftsman of the whole, I mean this very creative Word of God of our theology, Who is the Maker of the Universe. The friendship of the elements for one another bears witness to this, proving the constitution of the Universe to be kindred and related and as it were the work of one Architect by the (b) mixing of blended qualities. Earth, for instance, the heavy element, floats on water, and is not drawn down below by its natural solidity, but always remaining on the surface and not immersed, bears witness to the Word of God and the Will and Power of God. The union of wet with dry, again, without producing corruption, and without completely swamping everything, being hindered by the awful will of God, shews the power of the Word of God, Who is One and the same.

And what of fire? Although its nature is burning and (c) destructive, it

lurks in logs, and is mingled in all living bodies; it is combined elementarily with earth and air and water, and thus supplying by proportion and measure to all things what they need in so far as it can aid each sister element, and forgetting its own proper power, does it not seem another instance of subservience to the Word of God and His Power?

When you behold the regular succession of day and night, the waxing and waning of hours and seasons, the circles of the years and the cycles of time, the wheelings of the (d) stars, the courses of the sun and the changes of the moon, the sympathy and antipathy of all things, and the one Cosmos formed of all, would you think it right to say that Unreason, and Chance, and random forces were the cause of all, or rather the Word which is truly God's Word and God's Wisdom and God's Power, and would you not hymn Its praise as one and not many? Then, again, in a man one soul and one power of reason may be creative of many things, since one and the same faculty by concentration can be applied to agriculture, to ship-building, to steering and to house-building. And the one mind and reasoning faculty in a man can acquaint him with many different spheres of knowledge, for the same man will know geometry and astronomy, and will lecture on grammar and medicine, and will excel in intellectual pursuits and handicraft as well. And yet no one has ever yet supposed that there are more souls than one in one body, or has thought it strange that man should have many faculties, through his interest in many studies.

And again, if one should find a shapeless piece of clay, and then softening it in his hands give it the shape of an animal, moulding with plastic art the head into one form, the hands and feet differently, the eyes again otherwise, and the cheeks as well, ears and mouth, nose, chest and shoulders, would you say, when many forms and limbs and parts have been framed in the one body, that one must reckon there to have been the same number of makers, or rather praise the craftsman of the whole complete figure, who worked out the whole thing with one reasoning faculty and one power? Why, then, in the case of the Universe, which consists of a unity in many parts, must we suppose many creative powers, and name many gods, and not confess that that which is truly "the power of God and the wisdom of God" in one power and goodness supports and gives life to all things at the same time, and gives to all from itself their various supplies? So also the light of the sun is one, and the same

rays at one and the same time irradiate the air, enlighten the eyes, warm the touch, enrich the earth, cause plants to grow, are the foundation of time, the guide of the stars, the patrol of the heavens, the joy of the Cosmos, shew the clear power of God in the whole Universe, and fulfil all those effects with one pulse of their being.

Fire, again, by its nature purifies gold, and melts lead: wax it dissolves, clay it hardens, wood it dries, by one burning force accomplishing so many changes. And thus, too, the heavenly Word of God, the Creator of sun and heaven and of the whole Cosmos, present in all things with effective power, and reaching through all things, showers light on sun and moon and stars from Its own eternal force, and having first formed the heaven to be the meekest likeness of Its own greatness rules over it for ever, and fills the powers of angels and spirits beyond the heaven and the Cosmos, and the beings who have mind and reason, at once (153) with life, and light, and wisdom, and all virtue, and every good thing from Its own treasures, with one and the same creative art. And It never ceases to bestow their special being to the elements, their mixings, combinations, forms, shapes and fashions, and their many qualities, in the animal and vegetable world, and in souls, and in bodies rational and irrational, varying Its gifts now in one way now in another, and supplying all things to all together at the same time, and dowering all mankind with self-conscious mind able to (b) contemplate Its wisdom, standing close by all and shewing beyond all doubt that the one Cosmos is the work of the one Cosmos-making Word.

Such, then, was the Son, sole-begotten of His will, Master of fair crafts and Creator of all things, Whom the Highest God, God and Father of the Creator Himself first before all begat, setting in Him and through Him the creative proportions of things about to be, and casting in Him the seeds of (c) the constitution and the government of the Universe. Do you not see with your eyes the whole Cosmos, which one heaven encircles, and the myriad dances and circlings of the stars around it? One sun again, and not many suns, veils the flashings of all things with excess of light. So, then, since the Father is one, the Son must be one also. And if one should find fault because there are not many, let such an one see that he find not fault because He made not more suns than one, or moons, or universes, or anything else, like a maniac attempting to turn what is right and good in nature out of its course.

CHAPTER 6

That from the First Constitution of the Universe the Christ of God has been the Invisible Guardian of Godly Souls.

THUS, then, as the one sun among things visible lights the whole Cosmos of sense, so also among the things of thought the one perfect Word of God gives light to the immortal and unembodied powers, the myriad existences of mind and reason, like stars and founts of light. And since it behoved that the law over all through the Universe, and the Word of God in all and reaching through all, should be one, so that in Him the likeness to the Father even in all respects might be preserved, in virtue, in power, in essence, in the number of the Monad and the Unit, since the essence of things about to be begotten would be of many forms and many kinds, subject through weakness of nature to many changes and variations, one at one time, another at another, and would fail of the highest power of the Father through the exceeding greatness of His nature inexpressible and infinitely vast to all, and fated for ever being itself but a begotten thing to be unable to mingle with the unbegotten and incomprehensible Godhead, or to look up and gaze upon the unspeakable flashings pouring out from the eternal light, it was above all necessary that the Father all-good and the Saviour of the Universe, that the nature of things soon to be might not in exile from His fellowship be deprived of the greatest good, should interpose the divine, all-strong, and all-virtuous power of His only-begotten and first-born Son. For though He was in the most certain and the closest association with the Father, and equally with Him rejoiced in that which is unspeakable, yet He could descend with all gentleness, and conform Himself in such ways as were possible, to those who were far distant from His own height, and through their weakness crave amelioration and aid (d) from a secondary Being, that they might behold the flashings of the sun falling quietly and gently on them, though they are not able to delight in the fierce might of the sun because of their bodily weakness.

Suppose, as the hypothesis of an argument, that the sun all-glowing came down from heaven and lived among men, it would be impossible for anything on earth to remain undestroyed, for everything alive and dead would be destroyed together by the rushing stroke of light, swiftly enough would he make blind the eyes of those that see, being far more the source of harm and

destruction than of (155) usefulness to all, not that it is his nature so to be, but that he would become such to those who would be unable from their own weakness to support his surpassing glare.

Why, then, are you surprised to learn the like about God (Whose work is the sun, and the whole heaven, and the Cosmos)? That it is impossible for any that exist to have fellowship in His unspeakable and inexplicable Power and Essence save for One alone, Whom the Father Himself in His Foreknowledge of the Universe established before all things, so that the nature of begotten things might not altogether through their own lack of energy and strength fall away, being severed from the Father's (b) unbegotten and incomprehensible Essence, but might endure and increase and be nourished, enjoying that mediated supply, which the Only-begotten Word of God ceases not to provide to all, and passing everywhere and through all provides for the salvation of all equally, whether they have reason or not, whether they be mortal or immortal, of heaven or of earth, both divine and invisible powers, and, in a word, of all things whatsoever that shared in being through His agency, and far more peculiarly still of those who possess reason and thought, for which things' sake (c) He does not at all despise the human race, but rather honours and cares for it, for the sake of the kinship and connection of their reason with Himself, inasmuch as it was said in the holy oracles that they were formed after His likeness. Yea, He, as being the Word of God, made His own image, all that is of thought and reason, the foundation of His own creation from the beginning, and set man, therefore, in a kingly and ruling relation to all living things on earth, and sent him forth free and with the power of undetermined choice between his good and evil inclinations. But man using his free-will badly, turning (d) from the right road, went wrong, caring neither for God nor Lord, nor distinguished between holy and unholy, with all manner of rude and dissolute actions, living the life of the irrational beasts. Then surely the All-Good, the King of kings, the Supreme, God Almighty, that the men on earth might not be like brute beasts without rulers and guardians, set over them the holy angels to be their leaders and governors like herdsmen and shepherds, and set over all, and made the head of all His Only-begotten and Firstborn Word. He gave Him for His own portion the angels (156) and archangels, and the divine powers, and the immaterial and transcendent spirits, yea, verily, of things on earth as well the souls among men beloved by God, called by the

names of the Hebrews, Jacob and Israel.

CHAPTER 7

That to the Hebrews alone of Old was the Knowledge of the True God revealed, being known by the Manifestation of the Christ.

INTO this truth Moses, the first mystic theologian, initiated the Hebrews of old, saying:

“7. Ask thy father, and he shall announce to thee, thine elders, and they shall tell thee. 8. When the Most High divided the nations, when he distributed the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. 9. His people Israel became the portion of the Lord: Israel was the line of his inheritance.”

In these words surely he names first the Most High God, the Supreme God of the Universe, and then as Lord His Word, Whom we call Lord in the second degree after the God of the Universe. And their import is that all the nations and the sons of men, here called sons of Adam, were distributed among the invisible guardians of the nations, that is the angels, by the decision of the Most (d) High God, and His secret counsel unknown to us. Whereas to One beyond comparison with them, the Head and King of the Universe, I mean to Christ Himself, as being the Only-begotten Son, was handed over that part of humanity denominated Jacob and Israel, that is to say, the whole division which has vision and piety.

For the one engaged in the contest of the practice of virtue, even now struggling and contending in the gymnasium of holiness, was called in Hebrew nomenclature Jacob: while he that has won victory and the prize of God is called Israel, one like that actual famed forefather of the whole race of the Hebrews, and his true sons and their descendants, (157) and their forefathers, all prophets and men of God. Do not suppose, I beg you, that the multitude of the Jews are thus referred to, but only those of the distant past, who were made perfect in virtue and piety.

These, then, it was, whom the Word of God, the Head and Leader of all, called to the worship of the Father alone, Who is the Most High, far above all things that are seen, beyond the heaven and the whole begotten essence, calling them quietly and gently, and delivering to them the worship of God Most High alone, the Unbegotten and the Creator of the Universe.

CHAPTER 8

That the Other Nations, assigned to Certain Angels, worshipped only the Stars of Heaven.

(c) BUT the angel-guardians and shepherds of the other races allowed them, inasmuch as they were not able with their mind to see the invisible, nor to ascend so high through their own weakness, to worship things seen in the heavens, the sun and moon and stars. For these, indeed, being the most wonderful of the things of the phenomenal world, invited upwards the eyes of those who see, and as near as possible to heaven, being as it were in the precincts of the King's court, manifesting the glory of Him that is the Source of all by the analogy of the vastness and beauty of created visible things. "For his invisible things," as the divine Apostle says, "from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." And this again the great Moses mystically says. For in exhorting the portion of the Lord to grasp with clear mind and pure soul that which is known to the mind only and unembodied, he prohibits all terror of the things seen in heaven, adding that "The Lord thy God has divided them for all the nations." And it is worth realizing why he says that they were divided. Since unseen by us they that bear the earthy and daemonic nature are everywhere wanderers, flying through the air around the earth unknown and undistinguished by men, and the good spirits and powers and, indeed, the divine angels themselves are ever at variance with the worse, there was but one way for those who failed of the highest religion of the Almighty to prosper, namely to choose the best of things visible in heaven. For there was no slight danger, lest seeking after God, and busy with the unseen world, they should turn towards the opposing daemonic powers amid the stress of things obscure and dark. So all the most beautiful visible created things were delivered to them who yearned for nothing better, since to some extent the vision of the unseen shone in them, reflected as in a mirror.

CHAPTER 9

Of the Hostile Power opposed to God, and of its Ruler; and how the Whole Race of Mankind was in Subjection thereto.

SUCH was their position. While those on the side of the opposing rebel power were either daemons, or vile spirits immersed more or less in wickedness, with the cunning ruler of them all the mighty daemon, who first failed of their reverence of the Divinity and fell from their own portion, when envy of man's salvation drew them the (d) contrary way, plotting with all sorts of evil devices against all the nations, and even against the Lord's portion in their jealousy of the good. It is this godless and unholy scheme of the great Daemon, which the prophetic spirit in Isaiah reproves in this way, saying:

"13. I will act in strength, and in the wisdom of understanding I will take away the boundaries of the nations, and will diminish their strength, 14. and I will shake inhabited cities. And the whole inhabited world I will take in my hand as a nest, and I will take them even as eggs that have been left; and none shall escape me or say me nay."

These are the words of God's antagonist, boasting in the strength of his wickedness, as he threatens to steal and obliterate the divisions of the nations delivered by the Most High to the angels, and loudly cries that he will spoil the earth, and shake the whole race of men, and change them from their former good order. But hear the same prophecy speak about him again, how he thought about himself and (b) how he bragged:

"How has Lucifer that rose at morn fallen from heaven: He is crushed to earth that sent to all the nations. But thou saidst in thy heart, 'I will go up to heaven, I will set my throne above the stars of heaven. ... I will ascend above the clouds, I will be like the Most High.' But now thou shalt go down to hell, and to the foundations of the earth."

Truly Scripture shews many things at once in this, the madness of the said spirit, his fall from the better to the worse, and the end of his fall. And having uttered terrible threats against all mankind, he discovered that men could be caught otherwise by his weapons, since they possessed in their power of free choice the ever-ready possibility of falling into evil from their own thoughts. Then he turned the conditions of states from the better to the worse, and drew away the souls of the multitude by the bait of pleasure to every form of

wickedness, and left no sort of device untried, and with base myths of the gods and impure stories he tempted his victims with what they loved and with what gave them pleasure, using the artful deceit of the daemons. And in this way he took the whole world and held it captive, and obliterated the boundaries of the nations, as he had threatened to do when he said: "I will remove the boundaries of the nations, and I will diminish their strength, and I will take the whole world in my hand as a nest." And from that day forward he ruled all men with deceit, and the evil demons were arrayed under their king in every place and city and land. And thus the whole of human life was enslaved by earthly powers and evil spirits instead of the earlier ministers of God, and all gave themselves over in throngs and swiftly to the snares of pleasure; so that they soon overleapt the bounds even of nature, in unnatural offences of one kind or another, and they not only did things of which it is wrong even to think, but connected them with their conceptions of their own gods, and worked their lust with all the more freedom as a thing supposed to please the gods. Hence soon, according to the holy Apostle, they took no heed of the works of God still bright in heaven.

“ They became vain in their reasonings: and their senseless heart was darkened. 22. Professing themselves (b) to be wise, they became fools. 23. And changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and of birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things.”
[[Rom. i. 21.]]

And that in the earliest age those upon earth worshipped only the lights of heaven, and knew no image, nor were concerned with the error of the daemons, there is satisfactory proof to be found in the evidence of those, who are strangers to my argument, which I drew upon in the first book of the *Preparatio* (which I wrote) before the present treatise; (c) they clearly prove that the earliest men did not serve idols fashioned by hand from lifeless matter, nor even invisible daemons, but only those beings, which are said in Holy Scripture to have been distributed among the nations. It is time for the Greeks themselves, therefore, whose statements I have arranged in the work mentioned, to agree that the superstition connected with idols was something more recent and novel, being introduced subsequently to the worship of the ancients, as well as the devotion to unseen spirits. All this was the work of the said antagonist of God, who plotted against all those on earth. And all (d) the

tribe of unclean spirits co-operated with him. Yea, he surely, the prince of evil himself, worked this result, fulfilling in very deed, in the madness of strange pride, the threats he had uttered against all men, raising the godless cry, "I will be like the Most High," and with the aid of impure and evil daemons offering oracles and cures and such like in response to human sorcery.

CHAPTER 10

That the Only-begotten Son of God made His Entry among Mankind of Necessity.

(161) THEY that were their guardian angels before were unable to defend in any way the subject nations now involved in such a flood of evil. They took care of the rest of the created world. They guarded the other parts of the Cosmos, (b) and served according to their wont the will of God the Creator of all. But they did not realize the fall of mortal men through the undetermined human choice of evil. Wherefore a sickness great and hard to heal overcame all on the face of the earth, the nations being driven now one way now another by the evil spirits, and falling into a depthless abyss of evil. Yea, now some thought it good to feast on the bodies of their dearest, like wild beasts that devour the raw flesh of men, and to lie shamelessly with (c) mothers, sisters and daughters, to strangle their old men, and cast their bodies to the dogs and birds. Why should I recall the cruel and terrible human sacrifices of the “gods,” I mean the evil daemons, into which they maddened the human race? I have dealt sufficiently with them previously in the *Prolegomena* to the present treatise. But it was when evils of such magnitude had fallen on the (d) whole world from the wicked and vile spirits and their king, and none of the guardian angels was able to defend them from the evils, that He, God the Word, the Saviour of the Universe, by the good will of His Father’s love to man, that the human race so dear to Him might not be seethed in the gulf of sin, sent forth at last some few and watery rays of His own light to shine through the prophet Moses and the godly men before and after him, providing a cure for the evil in man by the holy Law. It is exactly this that the Word says to the race of the Hebrews when giving the law by Moses:

“Ye shall not do according to the devices of Egypt, (162) in which ye dwelt, and according to the devices of the land of Canaan, into which I bring you shall ye not do, and ye shall not walk in their ordinances, ye shall observe my judgments, and ye shall keep my ordinances. I am the Lord your God.”
[[Lev. xviii. 2.]]

Then, having forbidden all unlawful marriage, and all unseemly practice, and the union of women with women and men with men, he adds:

“Do not defile yourselves with any of these things; (b) for in all these things the nations were defiled, which I will drive out before you. And the

land was polluted, and I have recompensed (their) iniquity upon it, and the land is aggrieved with them that dwell upon it.”

And again, he says:

“And when thou shalt have entered into the land which the Lord thy God gives thee, thou shalt by no means learn to do according to the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found in thee one who purges his son or his daughter in the fire, one who uses divination, and who deals in the omens, a sorcerer using incantations, a divining spirit, an observer of auguries, a questioner of the dead. For every one that doeth these things is an abomination to the Lord thy God. For because of these abominations the Lord will destroy them from before thy face. Thou shalt be perfect before the Lord thy God.”

These and many other holy teachings and commands God the Word gave to them of old by Moses, as delivering the elementary truths at the entry of the life of holiness, by means of symbols, and worship of a shadowy and external character, in bodily circumcision, and other things of that kind, which were completed on the earth. But since as time went on none of the prophets who succeeded Moses had the power to cure the evils of life owing to excess of wickedness, and the activity of the daemons daily waxed greater, so that even the Hebrew race was hurried along in the destruction of the godless, at last the Saviour and Physician of the Universe comes down Himself to men, bringing reinforcement to His angels for the salvation of men, since the Father had promised Him that He would give Him this boon, as He therefore teaches in the Psalms, when He says:

“ 7. The Lord said to me, Thou art my Son, This day have I begotten thee, 8. Desire of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, And utmost parts of the earth for thy possession.”

And thus He no longer claimed as under His own authority just and clear-sighted Israel, nor His own proper portion only, but all the nations on the earth, which before were allotted to many angels, and were involved in all sorts of wickedness, and He came announcing to all the knowledge and love of His Father, and promising the remission and forgiveness of their former ignorance and sins, which He also announced clearly when He said: “The strong have no need of a physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.” And He came, too, as overseer of

His own angels, who were first set over the nations: and they at once very distinctly recognized their helper and Lord, and came gladly and ministered to Him, as the Holy Scripture teaches, saying: "And angels came and ministered to him," and when, too, "a multitude of the heavenly host praising God said, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill among men.' " These, then, as being His own angels He thus received, since they were in need of His help, but those that of old had flown around the pursuits of men, the malicious daemons who both visibly and invisibly had tyrannized over those on earth, and the tribes of wild and merciless spirits, with their leader in all evil, that cunning and baneful one He put to flight and subdued with mighty and divine power, as certain of them that recognized Him said: "What have we to do with thee, Son of God? Hast thou come to torment us before the time?"

And these by His deeds and words He mightily plagued, while He healed and cured the whole human race with the gentle and kind medicines of His words, and with the tonic of His teaching. He freed them from all sorts of sicknesses and suffering of body as well as soul, He set all that came to Him free from age-long superstition, and the fears of polytheistic error, and from a low and dissolute life. He converted and changed those who listened to Him from lust to purity, from impiety to piety, from injustice to justice, yea, verily from the power of the malicious daemons to the divine acceptance of true holiness. In addition to all this He threw open the gates of heavenly life and of His holy teaching to all the nations of the world, and so greatly condescended, as not only to extend His saving hand to the sick and grievously afflicted, but also to save the half-dead from the very gates of death, and to loose from the bonds of death those who had been a long time dead and buried. And for this reason especially there was need for Him to be active, even as far as the resting-places of the dead, that He might be Lord not only of the living but of the dead as well.

So long, then, as He is with the Father, and steers the Providence of the Universe with divine power, the Divine Word and Wisdom and Power oversees and protects the heaven itself and the earth likewise, and the things by nature included in them, as well as the divine and unembodied essences beyond the heaven. He is their Ruler and Head and King, and is already hymned as God and Lord in the sacred oracles, and He gives light to the

unembodied and purely rational natures. And He is called Sun of Righteousness, and the True Light, carrying out and co-operating in His Father's commands, wherefore He is also styled minister of the Father and Creator, but since He alone in His ordained rank knows how to serve God, and stands midway between the unbegotten God and the things after Him begotten, and has received the care of the Universe, and is Priest to the Father on behalf of all who are obedient, and alone shews Himself favourable and merciful to all, He is called as well Eternal High Priest, and also the Anointed (Christ) of the Father, for so among the Hebrews they were called Christs, who long ago symbolically presented a copy of the first (Christ). And when as Captain of the Angels He heads them, He is called: "The Angel of Great Counsel," and as Leader of the Armies of Heaven: "Captain of the Host of the Lord."

But now descending to our world, receiving our rational nature, for the sake of His own likeness to it by the goodwill of the Father, as He is like to rule over infants and as it were over the flocks, He is named Shepherd of the Sheep, while as promising to care for sick souls, He would rightly be called Saviour and Physician. And this of course is the meaning of the name "Jesus" in Hebrew.

And since He needed a human organism, so that He could show Himself to men, and give true teaching of the knowledge of the Father and of holiness, He did not even refuse the way of the Incarnation; but assuming our nature in a moment He came among men, shewing the great Miracle to all of God in Man. So that He did not take command (b) imperceptibly and obscurely as a being without flesh or body, but seen by the very eyes of flesh, and allowing the eyes of men to see miracles even beyond the power of man, and moreover giving His teaching by tongue and articulate sound to the bodily ears, He manifested Himself — and truly it was a divine and miraculous thing, such as never before or since is recorded to have happened — the Saviour and the Benefactor, too, of all. So, then, God the Word was called the Son of Man, and was named Jesus, because He made His approach to us to cure and to heal the souls of men. And therefore in Hebrew the name Jesus is (c) interpreted Saviour. And He led the life which we lead, in no way forsaking the being that He had before, and ever in the Manhood retaining the Divinity.

Immediately, therefore, at the first moment of His descent among men, He

mingles with God the divine glory of our human birth, for while He is born like us, and arrayed like men with mortality, yet as One Who is not man, but God, He is born into the phenomenal world from an undefiled and unvedded maiden, and not of sexual union and corruption.

CHAPTER 11

That He passed through the Life of Men. (d)

AND He lived His whole life through in the same manner, now revealing His nature as like our own, and now that of God the Word, doing great works and miracles as God, (166) and announcing beforehand predictions of the future, and shewing clearly by His deeds God the Word Who was not seen by the multitude, and He made the end of His life, when He departed from men, in tune with and similar to its beginning.

CHAPTER 12

That the Laws of Loving-kindness called Him even to them that had been long dead.

Now the laws of love summoned Him even as far as Death and the dead themselves, so that He might summon the souls of those who were long time dead. And so because He cared for the salvation of all for ages past, and that “He might bring to naught him that hath the power of death,” as Scripture teaches, here again he underwent the dispensation in His mingled Natures: as Man, he left His Body to the usual burial, while as God He departed from it. For He cried with a loud cry, and said to the Father: “I commend my spirit,” and departed from the body free, in no wise waiting for death, who was lagging as it were in fear to come to Him; nay, rather, He pursued him from behind and drove him on, trodden under His feet and fleeing, and He burst the eternal gates of his dark realms, and made a road of return back again to life for the dead there bound with the bonds of death. Thus, too, His own body was raised up, and many bodies of the sleeping saints arose, and came together with Him into the holy and real City of Heaven, as rightly is said by the holy words: “Death has prevailed and swallowed men up”; and again: “The Lord God has taken away every tear from every face.”

And the Saviour of the Universe, our Lord, the Christ of God, called Victor, is represented in the prophetic predictions as reviling death, and releasing the souls that are bound there, by whom He raises the hymn of victory, and He says these words:

“From the hand of Hades I will save them, and from death I will ransom their souls. O Death, where is thy victory? O Death, where is thy sting? The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law.”

Such was the dispensation that brought Him even unto death, of which one that wishes to seek for the cause, can find not one reason but many. For firstly, the Word teaches by His death that He is Lord both of dead and living; and secondly, that He will wash away our sins, being slain, and becoming a curse for us; thirdly, that a victim of God and a great sacrifice for the whole world might be offered to Almighty God; fourthly, that thus He might work out the destruction of the deceitful powers of the daemons by unspeakable words; and fifthly also, that shewing the hope of life with God after death to His friends and disciples not by words only by deeds as well, and affording ocular proof

of His message, He might make them of good courage and more eager to preach both to Greeks and Barbarians the holy polity which He had established. And so at once He filled with His own divine power those very friends and followers, whom He had selected for Himself on account of their surpassing all, and had chosen as His apostles and disciples, that they might teach all races of men His message of the knowledge of God, and lay down one way of religion for all the Greeks and Barbarians; a way which announced the defeat and rout of the daemons, and the check of polytheistic error, and the true knowledge of the one Almighty God, and which promised forgiveness of sins before committed, if men no longer continued therein, and one hope of salvation to all by the all-wise and all-good polity that He had instituted.

CHAPTER 13

That even when He was made Man, He remained in the Nature that cannot suffer, or be harmed, or embodied.

AND since this is so, there is no need to be disturbed in mind on hearing of the Birth, human Body, Sufferings and Death of the immaterial and unembodied Word of God. For just as the rays of the sun's light undergo no suffering, though they fill all things, and touch dead and unclean bodies, much less could the unembodied Power of God suffer in its essence, or be harmed, or ever become worse than itself, when it touches a body without being really embodied. For what of this? Did He not ever and everywhere reach through the matter of the elements and of bodies themselves, as being the creative Word of God, and imprint the words of His own wisdom upon them, impressing life on the lifeless, form on that which is formless and shapeless by nature, stamping His own beauty and unembodied ideas on the qualities of matter, moving things by their own nature lifeless and immovable, earth, air, fire, in a wise and harmonious motion, ordering all things out of disorder, increasing and perfecting them, pervading all things with the divine power of reason, extending through all places and touching all, but yet receiving hurt from naught, nor defiled in His own nature. And the same is true of His relation to men (as well as nature). Of old He appeared to a few easily numbered, only the prophets who are recorded and the just men, now to one, now to another, but finally to us all, to the evil and unholy, to the Greeks as well as the Hebrews, He has offered Himself as Benefactor and Saviour through the surpassing goodness and love of the Father, Who is all-good, distinctly announcing it thus: "They that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick: I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Yea, the Saviour of all cried unto all, saying: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you." He called and healed ungrudgingly through the human organism which He had assumed, like a musician showing his skill by means of a lyre, and exhibited Himself as an example of a life wholly wise, virtuous, and good, unto the souls diseased in human bodies, just as the most clever physicians heal men with (169) remedies akin to and resembling them. For, now, He taught them truths not shared by others, but laid down as laws by Him or by the Father in

far distant periods of time for the ancient and pre-Mosaic Hebrew men of God. And now He cared as kindly for their bodies as for their souls, allowing them to see with eyes of physical sight the things done by Him in the flesh, and giving His teaching to their physical ears again with a tongue of flesh. He fulfilled all things by the Humanity that He had taken, (b) for those who only in that way were able to appreciate His Divinity. In all this, then, for the advantage and profit of us all the all-loving Word of God ministered to His Father's Counsels, remaining Himself immaterial and unembodied, as He was before with the Father, not changing His essence, not dissolved from His own nature, not bound with the bonds of the flesh, not falling from divinity, and neither losing the characteristic power of the Word, nor (c) hindered from being in the other parts of the Universe, while He passed His life where His earthly vessel was. For it is the fact that during the time in which He lived as a man, He continued to fill all things, and was with the Father, and was in Him too, and had care of all things collectively even then, of things in heaven and on earth, not being like ourselves debarred from ubiquity, nor hindered from divine action by His human nature. But He shared His own gifts with man, and received nothing from mortality in return . He supplied something of His (d) divine power to mortals, not taking anything in return for His association with mortals. He was, therefore, not defiled by being born of a human body, being apart from body, neither did He suffer in His essence from the mortal, being untouched by suffering. As when a lyre is struck, or its strings torn asunder, if so it chance, it is unlikely that he who played it suffers, so we could not say truly that, when some wise man is punished in his body, that the wisdom in him, or the soul in his body, is struck or burned. (170) Much less is it reasonable to say that the nature or power of the Word received any hurt from the sufferings of the body. For it was granted in our illustration of light that the rays of the sun sent down to earth from heaven are not defiled by touching all the mud and filth and garbage. We are not even debarred from saying that these things are illuminated by the rays of light. Whereas it is impossible to say that the sun is defiled or rendered muddy (b) by contact with these materials. And these things could not be said to be foreign to one another. Whereas the immaterial and unembodied Word of God, having His life and reason and everything we have said in Himself, if He touch aught with divine and unembodied power, the thing touched must necessarily live

and exist with the light of reason. Thus therefore, also, whatever body He touches, that body is made holy and illuminated at once, and all disease and weakness and all such things depart. Its emptiness is exchanged for the fullness of the Word. And (c) this was why a dead body, though but a small part of it came in contact with the power of the Word, was raised up to life, and death fled from life, and darkness was dissolved by light, the corruptible put on incorruption, and the mortal immortality.

CHAPTER 14

That renewing Humanity He afforded to us all the Hope of Eternal Good.

(d) Now it was actually the case that the whole Humanity was absorbed by the Divinity, and moreover the Word of God was God as He had previously been man, and He deified humanity with Himself, being the firstfruits of our hope, since He thought actual manhood worthy of eternal life with Him, and of fellowship in the blessed Godhead, and afforded to us all equally this mighty proof of an immortality and kingdom with Him.

CHAPTER 15

What the Advent of Christ is meant to shew forth, and that (171) He is called God and Lord and High Priest of the God of the Universe by the Hebrew Prophets.

THIS then was the object of His coming to men, to bring back (b) that which had of old wandered away from the knowledge of the Father to its own way, and to crown that which was thought worthy of being made in His own image as a relation and a friend with the joy of His own life, and to show that the humanity was beloved by and belonged to the Father, since for its sake the Word of God Himself consented to become man. And now to speak briefly, the doctrine connected with our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in its wonderful dispensation, shall be supported from the Hebrew prophecies, as presently their evidence will (c) shew; the new Scriptures shall prove the old, and the Gospels set their seal on the prophetic evidence.

But if this is so, it is now time to discuss His Name, why He is called Jesus and Christ, and saluted beforehand by name by so many prophecies. And first, let us inquire the meaning of the name Christ, before we begin a detailed collection of the prophetic passages connected with the present question I think it convenient to consider first the name “Christ,” and to distinguish the conception it (d) conveys, so that we may be well acquainted with all the questions usually associated with the subject.

Another writer, you will remember, whose ideas spring from modern times and our own day, has said that Moses was the first of all lawgivers to appoint that those who were to act as priests to God must be anointed with prepared myrrh, since he thought that their bodies ought to smell sweet and have a good odour: for as everything ill-smelling is dear to vile and impure powers, so contrariwise the sweet-smelling is dear to the powers that love good. And he therefore made the law as well that the priests should use every day in the Temple prepared incense, (172) that sweet smells might abound. So that while the air was mingled with it, and dispersed evil smells, a kind of divine effluence might mingle with those who prayed. And that for the same reason fragrant anointing oil was made by the perfumer’s art, for all to use who were going to take the leading place in the State on public occasions, and that Moses first gave the name of “Christ” to those thus anointed. And that this chrism was not only conferred on chief priests, but afterwards on prophets and

kings, (b) who alone were allowed to be anointed with the sacred unguent.

This account seems, no doubt, very obvious, but it is far removed from the actual intention of the divine and sublime prophet. For we may be sure that that wonderful man, and truly great Hierophant, knowing that the whole of earthy and material being was distinguished in its qualities alone, in no sense honoured one form above another, for he knew that all things were the product of one matter, never stable, having no firmness in its nature, which is (c) ever in flux, and hastening to its own destruction. He, therefore, made no choice of bodies for their sweetness, nor preferred the pleasure of the senses for its own sake. For this would be the condition of a soul fallen to the ground and under the power of bodily pleasure. There are, we know, many men effeminate in body, and in other ways vicious and lustful, who make use of superfluous unguents and a variety of things, but carry souls full of every horrible and offensive stench, while on the other hand the men of God, breathing out virtue, send forth a (d) fragrance that comes from purity, justice, and all holiness far better than the scents of earth, and hold the smell of material bodies of no account.

And the prophet, well understanding this, had none of these ideas that have been suggested about unguents or incense, but presented the images of greater and divine things, so far as he could, in an outward way to those who could learn the divine in that way only and no other. And that is exactly what the divine oracle is reported to have expressed, when it said: "See thou make (all) things according to the type shewn in the Mount.": Therefore, when completing the symbols of the other things, which it is usual to call types, it appointed the anointing with the unguent. The account of it loftily and mysteriously expressed as it is, so far as I can explain it, had this meaning, that the only good and only truly sweet and noble, the cause of all life, and the gift bestowed on all in their being and their well-being, that this One Being was believed by the Hebrew reason to be the first cause of all, and Itself the highest and the All-Ruling and the All-Creating God.

It is thus the power of this Being, the all strong, the all-good, the source of all beauty in the highest unbegotten Godhead, the Divine Spirit (which by the use of a proper and natural analogy) it culls the (Oil of God), and therefore it calls one who partakes of it Christ and Anointed. Do not think of oil as pity in this connection, nor as sympathy for the unfortunate, but as that which the

fruit of the tree affords, something unmixed with any damp matter, nourisher of light, healer of toilers, disperser of weariness, that which makes those who use it of a cheerful countenance, streaming with rays like light, making bright and shining the face of him who uses it, as holy Scripture says: "That he may rejoice my face with oil."

Therefore the prophetic word by this analogy referring to the highest power of God, the King of kings and Lord of lords, calls Him the Christ and the Anointed, Who is the first and only one to be anointed with this oil in its fullness, and is the sharer of the Father's divine fragrance communicable to none other, and is God the Word sole-begotten of Him, and is declared to be God of God by His communion with the Unbegotten that begat Him, both the First and the Greater. Wherefore in the Psalms the oracle says thus to this same Being anointed of the Father: (d)

"7. Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever:

A sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom:

8. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated injustice:

Wherefore God, thy God,

Hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."[[Ps. xlv. 7.]]

But the nature of the oil of olive is one, whereas the nature of the unguent shews a union of many in one. And so the original and unbegotten power of Almighty God, insofar as it is conceived of as simple, uncompounded, and unmingled with any other essence, is metaphorically compared with the simple essence of the olive oil. But insofar as it is inclusive of many ideas in the same, *i. e.* the (174) creative or kingly, the conceptions of providence, judgment, and countless others, such power as inclusive of many good qualities is more suitably likened to the unguent, which the holy Scriptures teach us that the true and only High Priest of God uses. And Moses himself having first been thought worthy to view the divine (realities) in secret, and the mysteries concerning the first and only Anointed High Priest of God, which were celebrated before him in His Theophanies, is (b) ordered to establish figures and symbols on earth of what he had seen with his mind in visions, so that they who were worthy might have the symbols to occupy them, previously to the full vision of the truth.

And when afterwards he set apart from all men on earth one man who was

fit to act as priest to God Himself, he from the first called him Christ, transferring the name from its spiritual meaning, and shewed that He was greater than (c) the rest of mankind by the sweet-smelling unction, clearly and emphatically proclaiming that the whole nature of the begotten, much more human nature, lacks the power of the Unbegotten, and craves the fragrance of the better. But it is allowed to no man to reach the Highest and the First; this prize is given to the Only-begotten and the Firstborn only. For those after Him there is only one way of grasping good, through the mediation of a second principle. So the symbol of Moses was of the Holy Spirit. "And there are diversities of gifts, hut the same spirit": of which Spirit he thought that prophets and kings before all others ought to be ambitious to partake, as being consecrated to God not for themselves only, but for all the people.

But now let us inquire somewhat more exactly about the symbols of Moses being symbols of the more divine(realities), and about the possibility of those who were endued with the Holy Spirit without the unction of earth being called Christs.

David in Ps. civ. when touching the stories of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the very men who were his godly ancestors, who lived before Moses' day, calls them Christs, for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, in which they shared, and for that alone. And when he tells how they were hospitably received by foreigners, and bow they found God was their Saviour when plots were laid against them, following Moses' account, he names them prophets also and Christs, although Moses had then not yet appeared among men, nor was his law about the prepared unguent laid down. Hear what the Psalm says:

"5. Remember the wonderful works, that he hath done,

His wonders and the judgments of his mouth

6. Ye seed of Abraham, his servants,

Ye children of Jacob, his chosen,

7. The Lord himself is your God,

His wonders are in all the world.

8. He remembered his covenant for ever

The law which he gave to a thousand generations,

9. Which he commanded to Abraham,

And the oath which he sware unto Isaac,

10. And established it to Jacob for a law,

And to Israel for an everlasting covenant.

11. Saying ‘ To you I will give the land of Canaan,
The lot of your inheritance.’ —
13. And they went from one nation to another,
From one kingdom to another people.
14. He suffered no man to do them wrong,
And reprov’d kings for their sake:
15. ‘Touch not my Christs,
And do my prophets no harm.’”

So David wrote. And Moses informs us what kings He reprov’d, saying:

“And God afflicted Pharaoh with great plagues because of Sarra, Abraham’s wife.”

And again he writes about the King of Gerar:

“And God came to Abimelech in a dream by night, and said, Behold thou diest for the woman thou hast taken; for she is the wife of Abraham.”

Of whom he says further on:

“And now give back the woman to her husband, for he is a prophet, and will pray for you.”

You see from these instances how David, or rather the Holy Spirit Who spoke through him, called the godly men of old and the prophets Christs, though they were not anointed with the earthly unguent. For how could they have been, since it was in after years that Moses commanded the unction of the High Priest?

Now listen to Isaiah prophesying in the clearest words thus about Christ, as one to be sent by God to men as their Redeemer and Saviour, and coming to preach forgiveness to those in bondage of spirit, and recovery of sight to the blind. For here again the prophet teaches that the Christ has been anointed not with a prepared unguent, but with the spiritual and divine anointing of His Father’s Divinity, conferred not by man but by the Father. He says then in the person of Christ:

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me. He has sent me to preach glad tidings to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives, to heal the broken in heart, and recovery of sight to the blind.”

Let this point then be regarded as certain, that Isaiah, equally with David, prophesies that He that should come to mankind to preach liberty to the

captives and recovery of sight to the blind would not be anointed with a prepared unguent, but with an anointing of the power of His Father Unbegotten and Perfect. And according to the manner of prophecy the prophet speaks of the future as past, and as one predicting about himself.

So far, then, we have learned that they who are called “Christs” in the highest sense of the term are anointed by God, not by men, and with the Holy Spirit, not with a prepared unguent.

It is now time to see how the teaching of the Hebrews shews that the true Christ of God possesses a divine nature higher than humanity. Hear, therefore, David again, where he says that he knows an Eternal Priest of God, and calls (c) Him his own Lord, and confesses that He shares the throne of God Most High in the 109th Psalm, in which he says as follows —

“The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, | till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet. | 2. The Lord shall send the rod of power for thee out of Zion, | and thou shalt rule in the midst of thine enemies. | 3. With thee is dominion in the day of thy power, | in the brightness of thy saints. | I begat thee from my womb before the Morning Star. 4. The Lord sware and will not repent, | Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek.” |
[[Ps. cix. i.]]

And note that David in this passage, being king of the (d) whole Hebrew race, and in addition to his kingdom adorned with the Holy Spirit, recognized that the Being of Whom he speaks Who was revealed to him in the spirit, was so great and surpassingly glorious, that he called Him his own Lord. For he said “The Lord said to my Lord.” Yea: for he knows Him as eternal High Priest, and Priest of the Most High God, and throned beside Almighty God, and His Offspring. Now it was impossible for Jewish priests to be consecrated to the service of God without anointing, wherefore it was usual to call them Christs. The Christ, then, mentioned in the Psalm will also be a priest. For how (177) could He have been witnessed to as priest unless He had previously been anointed? And it is also said that He is made a priest forever. Now this would transcend human nature. For it is not in man to last for ever, since our race is mortal and frail. Therefore the Priest of God, spoken of in this passage, Who by the confirmation of an oath received a perpetual and limitless priesthood from God, was greater than man. “For the Lord sware,” he said, “and will not repent, Thou art a priest after the order of Melchizedek.” For as

Moses relates that this Melchizedek was priest of the Most High God, not anointed with a prepared unguent, since he was priest of the Most High God long before the Institution of the Law, and far above the famous Abraham in virtue — for he says, “And Melchizedek, King of Salem, Priest of the Most High God, blessed Abraham.” “And without any contradiction,” says the apostle, “the less is blessed by the greater.” As therefore, Melchizedek, whoever he was, is introduced as one who acts as priest to the Most High God, without having been anointed with a prepared unguent, He that is prophesied of by David as of the order of Melchizedek. is also spoken of as a great Being surpassing everyone in nature, as being Priest of the supreme God, and sharing the throne of His unbegotten power, and as the Lord of the prophet; and He is not simply “priest,” but “eternal priest of the Father.” And the divine apostle also says, examining the implications of these passages:

“17. Wherein God, willing more abundantly to shew to the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath: 18. That of two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation.”

And again:

“21. For those priests were made without an oath: but this with an oath by him that said unto him: ‘The Lord sware and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.’”

And:

“23. They truly were many priests, because they were not suffered to continue by reason of death. 24. But this man because he continueth ever hath an unchangeable priesthood. 25. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.”

In this a divine Power is represented as being in existing things, and underlying things that are only grasped by the mind, Which according to the Hebrew oracles is Priest to the God of the Universe, and is established in the office of priesthood to the Most High, not by earthy and human unguent, but by holy and divine virtue and power. The Object of the Psalmist’s prophecy therefore is presented distinctly as an eternal Priest, and Son of the Most High God, as begotten by the Most High God, and sharing the throne of His Kingdom. And the Christ foretold by Isaiah has been shewn not to have been

begotten by man but by the Father, and to have been anointed by the Divine Spirit, and to have been sent to deliver men from captivity. This Being, then, it was that Moses had seen by the help of the Divine Spirit, when he established figures and symbols of Him, as suitable for men, anointing and hallowing the priest selected from among men with prepared unguents as yet, and not with the Holy Spirit, and calling him Christ and anointed, as a representation of the true. And who could give better evidence of this than Moses himself? In his own writings he distinctly says that the God and Lord Who answered him bade him establish a more material worship on earth according to the spiritual and heavenly vision that had been shewn him, which should form an image of the spiritual and immaterial worship. And so he is said to have sketched a kind of copy of the order of the angels of heaven and the powers divine, since the oracle said to him, “Thou shalt make all things according to the pattern shewed thee in the Mount.” So then he introduces the High Priest, as he did all the other elements, and anointed him with earth-born unguents, working out a Christ and a High Priest of shadow and symbol, a copy of the Heavenly Christ and High Priest.

Thus I think I have clearly proved that the essential Christ was not man, but Son of God, honoured with a seat on the right hand of His Father’s Godhead, far greater not only than human and mortal nature, but greater also than every spiritual existence among things begotten.

But moreover, according to what was previously said, the same David in Ps. xlv., using as inscription the words “Concerning the beloved, and those to be changed,” speaks of one and the same Being as God and King and Christ, writing thus:

“ 1. My heart has uttered a good matter: I declare my works to the King: My tongue is the pen of a ready writer, 2. Thou art more beautiful than the sons of men.”

To which he adds:

“ 6. Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom: 7. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.”

Now look a little more carefully, and see how in the inscription of the Psalm he prefaces that the subject is “ concerning the beloved,” adding the

words “for instruction” to prepare the hearers for what he is about to say. He shews also the reason of the Incarnation of the Word, with the words:

“ For the end, for the changed, with a view to understanding, for the beloved.”

And whom could you better regard as “those to be changed,” for whom the Psalm is spoken, than those who are going to be changed from their former life and conversation, to be transformed and altered by Him Whom the prophecy concerns? And this was the beloved of God, on whose behalf the Psalm’s preface advises us to have understanding with regard to the prophecy. And if you were at a loss about the Person of this Beloved One, with whom the prophecy in the Psalm is concerned, the word that faces you at the very beginning will inform you, which says: “My heart hath produced a good word.” It may surely be said that by this is meant the Word that was in the beginning with God, Whom the great Evangelist John shewed forth as God, saying: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.” And the words, “My heart hath produced a good word,” if it be spoken in the person of the Supreme God and Father, would suggest the Only-begotten Word of God, as being the Son of the Father, not by projection, nor by division, or scission, or diminution, or any conceivable mode of bodily birth; for such ideas are blasphemous, and very remote from the ineffable generation. And we must understand this according to our previous interpretation; as when it was said that He was born from the womb of God before the Morning Star, and we understood it figuratively, so we must understand this similar statement only in a spiritual sense. For in the words “My heart has produced a good word,” the (180) Holy Spirit inspires this saying also as purely spiritual. To which it seems right forme to add what I am accustomed to quote in every question that is debated about His Godhead, that reverent saying: “Who shall declare his generation?” even if the holy Scriptures are wont in our human and earthly language to speak of His Birth, and use the word “womb.”

For such expressions are connected with mental imagery alone, and are accordingly subject to the laws of metaphor. And so the words, “My heart hast produced a good word,” (b) may be explained as referring to the constitution and coming into being of the primal Word, since it would not be right to suppose any heart, save one that we can understand to be spiritual, to exist in

the case of the Supreme God.

One might also say that the Psalmist referred to “the Word that was in the beginning with God, “a Word rightly named “good” as being the offspring of a Father All-Good. And if we read a little further on in the Psalm we shall find that the subject of the prophecy, this very “beloved of God,” is anointed, once more not as by Moses, nor as by any human being, but by the Most High and Supreme God and (c) Father Himself. As he says further on, “Wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.” And by what name else could one call Him that is here acknowledged to have been anointed by the Supreme God Himself, but Christ? So we have here in this passage two names of the subject of the prophecy, Christ and the Beloved, the author of this (d) anointing being one and the same: and it shews the reason why He is said to be anointed with the oil of gladness, which will be plain to you, when we proceed a little further, and still more if you take into account the whole intention of the passage. For the Psalm addresses the subject of the prophecy, Christ the Beloved of God, in the words quoted a little before, in which it was said: “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated injustice: therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.” See, then, if these words are not addressed directly to God: He says,

“For thou, ὁ Θεός,” instead of ὃ Θεός. “Thy throne is for ever and ever, and a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy Kingdom.” And then, “Thou, O God, hast loved righteousness and hated injustice; therefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed thee,” and established Thee as Christ above all. The Hebrew shews it even more clearly, which Aquila most accurately translating has rendered thus: “Thy throne, God, is for ever and still, a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy Kingdom. Thou hast loved justice and hated impiety: wherefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness apart from thy fellows.” Instead therefore of “God, thy God” the actual Hebrew is, “O God, thy God.” So that the whole verse runs: “Thou hast, O God, loved justice and hated impiety: therefore in return, O God, the highest and greater God, Who is also thy God” — so that the Anointer, being the Supreme God, is far above the Anointed, He being God in a different sense. And this would be clear to any one who knew Hebrew. For in the place

of the first name, where Aquila has “Thy throne, O God,” clearly replacing ὁ Θεός by Θεέ, the Hebrew has Elohim. And also for “Therefore, O God, he has anointed thee” the Hebrew has Elohim, which Aquila shewed by the vocative ὦ Θεέ.

Instead of the nominative case of the noun, which would be “Therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee—” the Hebrew with extreme accuracy has Eloach, which is the vocative case of Elohim, meaning “O God,” whereas the nominative Elohim means “God.” So that the interpretation which says “Therefore, O God, thy God hath anointed,” is accurate.

And so the oracle in this passage is clearly addressing God, and says that He has been anointed with the oil of gladness beyond any of those who have ever borne the same name as He. Therefore in these words you have it clearly stated that God was anointed and became the Christ, not with prepared unguent nor at the hands of man, but in a way different from other men. And this is He Who was the Beloved of the Father, and His Offspring, and the eternal Priest, and the Being called the Sharer of the Father’s Throne. And Who else could He be but the Firstborn Word of God, He that in the beginning was God with God, (182) reckoned as God through all the inspired Scriptures, as my argument as it proceeds further will abundantly prove?

Now after this preliminary study of the coming into being and the appellation of the Christ, it remains for us to take up our previous subject, and consider in what a number of prophetic predictions the Christ was foretold by name.

CHAPTER 16

From Psalm ii.

In which Scriptures the Christ is foretold by Name as plotted against by Kings and Rulers, Nations and Peoples, being begotten of God Himself, and called the Son of Man, receiving the Inheritance of the Nations and of the Ends of the Earth from His Father.

[Passages quoted, Ps. ii. 1, 2, 7, 8]

IN these words the Holy Spirit very clearly addresses (d) Christ, and calls Him the Son of God, as has been said before, and at the same time indicates that there will be a plot against Him, and foretells the calling of the Gentiles as brought about through Him. And all this the course of events has shewn to be exactly fulfilled by the actual facts in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For even now nations, rulers, peoples and kings have not yet ceased their combined attack on Him and His teaching. And if the Jews prefer to refer these predictions to some time yet to come, they ought to agree that their expected Christ will again be plotted against, according to the present (183) oracle: "The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ." Which they would never grant, inasmuch as they expect the coming Christ to be a great Ruler, and an eternal King, and their Ransomer. But supposing their Christ should indeed come and suffer the same as He Who has already come, why ought we to believe or disbelieve in theirs rather than ours?

And if they cannot give an answer to this, but proceed (b) to refer the oracle to David or some one of the Jewish kings of his stock, even then we can shew, that neither David nor any other celebrated Hebrew is recorded to have been proclaimed as Son of God by the oracle, nor as begotten of God, as was the subject of the prophecy in the Psalm, nor to have ruled over nations, kings, rulers and people while involved in plots. Wherefore if none of them (c) is found so to have done, whereas all this agrees in actual fact in His case, both in His patience long ago, and in the attack made on Him to-day as the Christ of God by kings and rulers, nations and peoples, what hinders Him from being the subject of the prophecy in the words which said, "The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ"?

And what follows in the Psalm would agree with Him alone, where it says: “The Lord said to me, Thou art my Son. To-day have I begotten thee. Desire of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (d) the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession.” For surely only in Him has this part of the prophecy received an indubitable fulfilment, since the voice of His disciples has gone forth into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. And the passage distinctly names Christ, saying as in His own person, that He is the Son of God, when it says: “The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son. To-day I have begotten thee.” With which you may compare the words in the Proverbs, also spoken in His own Person: “Before the mountains were established, before all the hills he brings me forth.” And also the address by the Father to Him in Psalm cix.: “I begat thee from my womb before the Morning Star.” Understand then how the holy Scriptures prophesy that one and the same Being, Christ by name, Who is also Son of God, is to be plotted against by men, to receive the nations for His inheritance, and to rule over the ends of the earth, shewing His dispensation among men by two proofs: the one being the attacks upon Him, and the other the subjection of the nations to Him.

Psalm xix.

Christ named, receiving all His Requests from His Father.

“5. The Lord fulfil all thy requests. | 6. Now I know (b) that the Lord has saved His Christ, | and will hear him from his holy heaven. |”

Since it is now my object to shew in how many places the Christ is mentioned by name in the prophecies, I naturally set before you those which plainly foretell the Christ. And all this Psalm voices a prayer as spoken by holy men to the Person of Christ. For since for our sakes (c) and on our behalf He received insult when He had become man, we are taught to join our prayers with His as He prays and supplicates the Father on our behalf, as one who repels attacks against us both visible and invisible. And so we speak to Him as such in the Psalm.

“1. The Lord hear thee in the day of affliction |, the name of the God of Jacob shield thee. 2. May he send thee help from his holy (place) |, and strengthen thee from Zion. |”

And then, since it is fitting for Him, as being our great High Priest, to offer the spiritual sacrifices of praise and (d) words to God on our behalf, and since

as a priest He offered both Himself, and the Humanity which He assumed on earth as a whole burnt-offering for us, to God and the Father, we therefore say to Him:

“4. May he remember all thy sacrifice, | and fatten thy burnt sacrifice. |”

And since all that He plans is saving and useful to the world, we rightly call on Him:

“5. The Lord give thee thy heart’s desire,”

saying:

“And fulfil all thy mind.”

And afterwards remembering His Resurrection from the dead, we say:

(185) “6. We will exult in thy salvation.”

For what else could the salvation of Christ be, but His Resurrection from the dead, by which also He raises all the fallen? Next we say:

“8b. And we will triumph in the name of our God: and the Lord fulfil all thy requests.”

And to crown all we are taught to say:

“7. Now I know that the Lord has saved his Christ.”

As if we had not known it before, we understand His Salvation in perceiving the power of His Resurrection.

Psalm xxvii.

Christ named as having the Father as His Lord and Shield.

(b) “8. The Lord is the strength of his people, | and is the shield of salvation of his Christ.”

The Psalm we are considering also is referred to Christ, including the prayer of Christ which He prayed at the time of His Passion, and therefore in the opening of the Psalm He says:

“1. To thee, O Lord, have I cried: My God, | be not silent before me, | Lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit. |”

(c) And at the end He prophesies His Resurrection, saying:

“6. Blessed be the Lord, for He hath hearkened to the voice of my prayer. |
7. The Lord is my helper and my defender; | my heart hoped in him, and I was helped: | and my flesh has revived, | and I will gladly give him praise: |”

To which the divine and prophetic Spirit adds:

“8. The Lord is the strength of his people, and the shield | of his Christ.”

Teaching us that all the wonders of Christ written in the holy Scriptures,

done for man's salvation, whether teachings (d) or writings, or the mysteries of His Resurrection now referred to, were all done by the will and power of the Father defending His own Christ as with a shield in all His marvellous and saving words and works.

Psalm lxxxiv.

Christ described by Name as God the Overseer, and the One Day of His Resurrection, and the One House of God, His Church.

“9. Behold, O God, our defender, | and look upon (186) the face of thy Christ. | 10. For one day in thy courts is better than a thousand. | I have chosen to abase myself in the house of my God, rather than to dwell in the tabernacles of sinners | .”

They who know the Christ of God to be the Word, the Wisdom, the True Light and the Life, and then realize that He became man, are struck by the miracle of His Will, so that they exclaim:

“And we saw him, | and he had no form nor beauty. [Isa. liii. 2.] 3. But his form was ignoble, and inferior to that of the sons of men. He was a man in suffering, and (b) knowing the bearing of affliction, because he turned away his face, he was dishonoured.”

They rightly call on God to look upon the Face of the Christ, dishonoured and insulted for our sake, and to be merciful to us for His sake. “For He bore our sins, and on our behalf is pained.” Thus they beseech, altogether desiring and expressing in their prayer the desire to see the face of the glory of Christ, and to behold the day of His light. And this was the day of His Resurrection from the dead, which they say, as being the one and only truly Holy Day and the Lord's Day, is better than any number (c) of days as we ordinarily understand them, and better than the days set apart by the Mosaic Law for Feasts, New Moons and Sabbaths, which the Apostle teaches are the shadow of days and not days in reality. And this Lord's Day of our Saviour is alone said to shew its light not in every place but only in the courts of the Lord. And these must mean the Churches of Christ throughout the world, which are courts of the one House of God, in which he (d) who knows these things loves and chooses to be abased, prizing far more the time spent in them than that spent in the tabernacles of sinners. Unless we are to understand that everyone who chooses the synagogues of the Jews, which deny the Christ of God, or those of godless sectaries and other unbelieving heathen, professes them to be

better than the Churches of Christ.

Psalm lxxxviii.

Christ named as made of None Account, and suffering shamefully, and His People reviled by the Enemy in Exchange for Him.

(187) “39. But thou hast cast off and made of no account, | thou hast rejected thy Christ, | 40. and overthrown the covenant of thy servant, | Thou hast desecrated his sanctuary even to the ground. |”

And the context. To which he adds:

“51. Remember, Lord, the reproach of thy servants, | which I have borne in my bosom, even (the reproach) of many nations, | 52. wherewith thine enemies, O Lord, have reviled, | wherewith they have reviled those who suffer in exchange for thy Christ.”

Christ is here clearly mentioned by name, and the circumstances attending His Passion predicted. If I had time (b) I could shew by examining the whole Psalm that what is expressed can only apply to our Lord and Saviour, and no one else. But when Christ is named the second time here it refers to some one else than Him, in exchange for whom He is the one taken, and the Church is plainly meant, and indeed those who are called Christ's enemies have reviled it, and even now revile it. Yea, every one opposed to Christ's teaching is wont to revile us about the Sufferings of our Saviour, which He underwent for us, and especially about His Cross and Passion.

Psalm cxxxi.

Christ named as rising from the Seed of David, called the (c) Horn of David, bringing to Shame the Jews His Enemies, restoring the Sanctuary of the Father.

“11. The Lord sware to David the truth, and he will never set him at naught, | of the fruit of thy body I will set upon thy seat.”

And lower down,

“17. There will I lift up the horn of David, | I have prepared a lantern for my Christ: | 18. As for his enemies I will clothe them with shame, j but upon himself shall blossom my holiness. |”

Now here the Lord swears about one of the seed of David, (d) Whom He calls His seed and horn. And again addressing Christ by name, He says that He has prepared a lantern for Him, which seems to refer to the prophetic word, which shewed the coming of Christ before, Who alone, like the light of

the sun, has now risen on all men through the whole world. And David Himself was prepared as a lantern for the Christ, taking the place of a lantern in comparison with the perfect light of the sun. And then He says: “I will lift up the horn,” shewing the place where He means Christ to be born. For when David is praying that he may behold before in spirit the place of Christ’s birth, and saying: (188)

“3. I will not go into the tabernacle of my house, | I will not climb to the couch of my bed. | 4. I will not give sleep to my eyes, nor slumber to my eyelids, | nor rest to my temples, | 5. until I find a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob. |”

— the Holy Spirit reveals the place as Bethlehem. Therefore he proceeds:

“6. Behold we heard of it in Ephralha | (that is, Bethlehem), and we found it in the fields of the wood. | 7. We will go into his tabernacle, we will worship (b) in the place, where his feet stood. |”

And suitably after this revelation He adds:

“There will I lift up the horn of David, I have prepared a lantern for my Christ.”

(c) Maybe also the Body assumed by Christ at Bethlehem may be meant, since the Divine Power inhabiting it through His body as through an earthen vessel, like a lamp, shot forth to all men the rays of the Divine Light of the Word.

From Amos.

Christ announced by Name by God, and made known to All Men as liberating the Jewish Race.

[Passage quoted, Amos. iv. 12 — v. 2.]

God now proclaiming the Christ by name the seventh time is said to “strengthen the thunder” and “to create the wind,” the proclamation of the Gospel being called thunder from its being heard by all men, and similarly the spirit that Christ breathed on His apostles is meant; and also the Saviour’s sojourn among men has clearly fulfilled the prophecy in which God is said to make “morning” and “mist” together, morning for those that receive salvation, but for the Jews that disbelieve in Him the contrary. On (189) whom also Scripture foretells an extreme curse, adding a lamentation for the Jewish race, which actually overtook them immediately after their impiety against our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For of a truth from that day to this the House

of Israel has fallen, and the vision once shewn by God and the rejection have been brought to pass, concerning the falling of their house in Jerusalem, and against their whole state, that it should not be possible for any one to lift them up, who will never more be lifted up. (b) "There is," he says, "therefore no one to lift her up." For since they did not accept the Christ of God when He came, perforce He left them and turned to all the Gentiles, telling the cause of his turning, when He said with tears, as if almost apologizing:

"Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto her, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a bird gathereth her nestlings under her wings, and ye would not: behold, your house is left unto you desolate."

From Habakkuk.

Christ is named as preserved by His Father and saving His Own Christs.

"Thou wentest forth for the safety of thy people to save thy Christs: Thou hast brought death on the heads of transgressors."

Aquila: "Thou wentest forth for the safety of thy people, for the safety of thy people with thy Christ." As Aquila renders by the singular instead of the plural, saying that the Supreme God has made salvation for the people "with Christ," I have rightly set down the passage, which clearly supports my position. But there would be according to the Septuagint version more persons who are called Christs from Him and for the sake of Whom it is said: "Touch not my Christs, and do my prophets no harm," who believed on Him, and were thought worthy of the holy anointing of regeneration in Christ, and who were able to pay with the holy apostle: "We are become partakers of Christ."

From the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

Christ is named as plotted against by the Jews, and made known to the Gentiles.

"20. The breath of our countenance, the Lord Christ was taken in their destructions, of whom we said, In his shadow we shall live among the Gentiles."

The inspired prophets of God, knowing the future by the Holy Spirit, foretold that they themselves would live, and that their words would work among the Gentiles as the words of living men, but not in Israel. They said again that the Christ (Whom they named) as being He from Whom the prophetic spirit was supplied to them, would be taken in their snares. The

snares of whom? Plainly of the Jews who plotted against Him. And notice here that the prophecy says that the Christ will be taken, which would not correspond with the second Coming of Christ, which the prophecies predict will be glorious and bring in the Divine Kingdom. Wherefore it seems that (c) the Jews are wrong in taking the sayings about His second Appearance, as if they were about His first Coming, which the sense will in no way allow. Since it is impossible to regard Him as at one and the same time glorious and without glory, honoured and kingly, and then without form or beauty, but dishonoured more than the sons of men; and again, as the Saviour and Redeemer of Israel, while plotted against by them, and led as a sheep to the (d) slaughter, delivered to death by their sins. The prophecies about the Christ should be divided, as our investigation of the facts shews, into two classes: the first which are the more human and gloomy will be agreed to have been fulfilled at His first Coming, the second the more glorious and divine even now await His second Coming for their fulfilment. And a clear proof of the former is the actual progress of the knowledge of God through Him in all nations, which many prophetic voices foretell in various strains, like the one before us, in which it is said: "Of whom we said, In his shadow we will live among the Gentiles."

From the 1st Book of Kings [1 Samuel].

Christ is named as exalted by the Lord and Father.

"The Lord has ascended to the heavens and has thundered: he will judge the extremities of the earth, and he gives strength to our kings, and will exalt the horn of his Christ."

The words mean the return of Christ (Who is named) or of God to heaven, and His Teaching heard like thunder by all, and Holy Scripture foretells His future Judgment of all afterwards. And after this it is said that the Lord will give strength to our kings. And these would be the apostles of Christ, of Whom it is written in Ps. lxxvii.: "The Lord will give a word to the preachers of the Gospel with much power." Here, also, he mentions Christ by name, humanly known as our Saviour, Whose horn he says shall be exalted, meaning His invisible Power and Kingdom. For it is usual for Scripture to call a kingdom a "horn," It is found also in Ps. lxxxviii.: "And in my Name shall his horn be exalted."

From the 1st Book of Kings [1 Samuel].

Christ is named as receiving a faithful House from His Father; that is the Church, and as a Faithful High Priest for All Time leading His Church.

“Behold, the days come when I will destroy thy seed, and the seed of thy father’s house. And thou shalt not have an old man in thy house for ever.”

The oracle speaks these words to Eli, but adds these others:

“And I will raise up to myself a faithful priest, who shall do all that is in my heart and in my soul; and I will build him a sure house, and he shall dwell before my Christ for ever” (v. 35).

The divine Word after threatening doom and rejection on those who do not worship in the right way, promises that He will raise up another priest of another tribe, who He also says will come before His Christ, or “will walk in the person of my anointed,” as Aquila has translated it, or as Symmachus, “will continue before his Christ.” And who could this be? Surely every one who is enrolled in holiness in the priesthood of the Christ of God, to Whom the Supreme God promises that He will build the House of His Church, as a wise Architect and Builder, not meaning any house but the Church established in Christ’s Name throughout the whole world, wherein every one who is consecrated priest of the Christ of God is said in the spiritual worship to offer things acceptable and well-pleasing to God: the sacrifices of the blood of bulls and goats offered in the old religion of types, being admitted by the prophecy of Isaiah to be hateful to God.

Such are the many instances of the prediction of the Christ by name; but, as in most cases, the Sufferings of Christ are conjoined to His Name, we must return to what was said before about His Divinity, which I have showed previously to be touched on in the 45th Psalm, entitled FOR THE BELOVED, where Scripture, after first describing Him as King, proceeds to say other things about the Divinity of Christ:

“Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom: Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated injustice: therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.”

For, as I have already shewn, these words clearly imply that the God referred to is one and the same Being, Who loved righteousness and hated iniquity; and that because of this He was anointed by another greater God, His Father, with a better and more excellent unction than that foreshadowed by the

types, which is called “the oil of gladness.” And what else could He be properly named but Christ, Who is anointed with this oil, not by man but by God Most High? The same Person, therefore, is shewn to be called God, as indeed I have already shewn in the proper places. And we should here again remember Isaiah, who said:

“The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, for whose sake he hath anointed me. He has sent me to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind.”

And we have already shewn that the priests from among men, who in long distant times were consecrated to the service of God, were anointed with a prepared unguent. But he that is spoken of in the prophecy is said to have been anointed with the Divine Spirit. And this passage in its entirety was referred to Jesus the only true Christ of God, Who one day took the prophecy in the Jewish synagogue, and after reading the selected portion, said that what He had read was fulfilled in Himself. For it is written, that having read it:

“And closing the book, and giving it to the minister, he sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened upon him, 21. And he began to say unto them, This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.”

With all this we should again compare the records of Moses, who when he established his own brother as High Priest, according to the pattern that had been shewn to him, agreeably to the oracle which said to him: “Thou shalt make all things according to the pattern shewn to thee in the Mount,” plainly shews that he had perceived with the eyes of the mind and by the Divine Spirit the great High Priest of the Universe, the true Christ of God, Whose image he represented together with the rest of the material and figurative worship, and honoured the person named with the name of the real Christ.

And this has the support of the inspired apostle, who says when treating of the law of Moses: “Who serve under the example and shadow of heavenly things.” And again: “For the law having a shadow of good things to come.” And again: “16. Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days, 17. which are a shadow of things to come.” For if the enactments relating to the difference of foods, and the holy days and the Sabbath, like shadowy things, preserved a copy of other things, that were mystically true, you will say not without reason that the High Priest also represented the symbol of another

High Priest, and that he was called Christ, as the pattern of that other, the only real Christ: and so far was he from being the real one, that the real Christ hears from the Supreme God: “Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.” And: “Be thou ruler in the midst of thine enemies.” And: “The Lord sware, and will not repent. Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.” By which He was revealed clearly as eternal Priest, existing as Offspring and Son of God before the Morning Star and before the whole creation. And the Christ of Moses, like one who has acted the character in a drama for a short time, retires as one reckoned among mortals, and hands on the reality to the only true and real. While the real Christ needing not the Mosaic unction, nor prepared oil, nor earthly material, yet has filled the world with His goodness and His name, establishing the race of Christians, named after Him, among all nations. But Moses’ Christ, not that he was ever plainly so called among men, except through the writings of Moses — he, I say, some time long after the Exodus from Egypt purified with certain lustrations and sacrifices of blood was anointed with prepared oil, Moses anointing him. But the Christ, archetypal, and real from the beginning, and for infinite ages whole through the whole, and Himself ever like Himself in all ways, and changing not at all, was ever anointed by the Supreme God, with His unbegotten Divinity, both before His sojourn among men, and after it likewise, not by man or by any material substance existing among men.

And as we are examining His Name, the seal of all we have said may be found in the oracle of Solomon the wisest of the wise, where he says in the Song of Songs: “Thy name is as ointment poured forth.” Yea, he being supplied with divine wisdom, and thought worthy of more mystic revelations about Christ and His Church, and speaking of Him as Heavenly Bridegroom, and her as Bride, speaks as if to Him, and says, “Thy name, O Bridegroom, is ointment,” and not simply ointment, but “ointment poured forth.” And what name could be more suggestive of ointment poured forth than the Name of Christ? For there could be no Christ, and no Name of Christ, unless ointment had been poured forth. And in what has gone before I have shewn of what nature the ointment was with which Christ was anointed. So now that we have completed our examination of the Name Christ, let us proceed to consider the Name of Jesus.

CHAPTER 17

That the Name of Jesus was also honoured among the Ancient Friends of God.

MOSES was also the first to use the Name Jesus, when he changed the name of his successor and altered it to Jesus. For it is written: "These are the names of the men whom Moses sent to spy out the land, and Moses called Nauses, the son of Nave, Jesus, and sent them." And notice how the prophet, who was deeply versed in the significance of names, and had gone to the roots of the philosophy of the changed names of the inspired men in his record, and the reasons why their names were changed, introduces Abraham as receiving as a reward of virtue from God a complete change of name from that of his father, the meaning of which it is now the time to explain at length. And so, also, in naming Sara Sarra, and Isaac called before his birth "the laugh," and Jacob given as a reward of his struggle the name of Israel, and in exhibiting in many other cases connected with the power and significance of names superhuman insight in his inspired wisdom and knowledge, when no one of those before him had ever used the name Jesus, he first of all, impelled by the Holy Spirit, gives the name of Jesus to him whom he is about to constitute the successor of his rule over the people, changing the other name he had used before. He did not consider the name of his forefather given him when he was born sufficient (for his parents called him Nauses). But being the prophet of God he changed the name received by birth, and called the man Jesus at the bidding of the Holy Spirit; that he might lead the whole people after his own death, (with the knowledge that) when the law laid down by Moses some day should be changed and have an end, and should pass away like Moses himself, that no one else but Jesus the Christ of God would lead that other polity, which would be better than the former. And so Moses, the most wonderful of all the prophets, understanding by the Holy Spirit both the names of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, honoured the choicest of all his rulers by bestowing them as kingly crowns, naming worthily the two leaders and rulers of the people the high priest and his own successor, Christ and Jesus, calling Aaron Christ, and Nauses Jesus, as his successor after his death. In this manner, then, the writings of Moses himself are adorned with the names of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

From Exodus.

How Jesus, the Successor of Moses, called the Angel, and about to be the Leader of the People, is said to bear the Name of Christ.

“20. And behold, I send my angel before thy face, that he may keep thee in the way, that he may bring thee into the land which I have prepared for thee. Take heed to thyself and hearken unto him and disobey him not; for he will not give way to thee, for my name is upon him.”

“With my Name, who teach you these things,” says the Lord Himself, is he inscribed, who is to lead the people into the land of promise. And if He was Jesus and none other, it is plain how He says that His name is set on Him. Nor is it strange that he calls him Angel, since it is said of John also, who was but a man: “Behold, I send my angel before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee.”

From Zechariah.

That Jesus, the Son of Josedek the High Priest, was a Figure and Type of Our Saviour. Who turned to God the Slavery that of Old ruled the Souls of Men

[Passages quoted, Zech. iii. i — 6, 9; vi. 9-13.]

In this passage too the prophet-high-priest called Jesus presents, I think, a very clear picture and plain symbol of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, being honoured by bearing His Name, and made the leader of the return of the people from the Babylonian captivity. Since, also, our Saviour Jesus Christ is said by the Prophet Isaiah to have been sent to preach liberty to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to comfort all that mourn, and to give to all that mourn in Zion glory for dust, the ointment of gladness. You have, therefore, her two great High Priests, first the Christ in Moses, and second the Jesus of whom I am speaking, both bearing in themselves the signs of the truth concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

But Aaron, the “Christ” in Moses’ writings, having freed the people from slavery in Egypt, and led them in freedom and with all carefulness in their journey from Egypt, seems to present a picture of the real Lord, Who has redeemed us, who are of all nations, from Egyptian idolatry; while the Jesus in the prophet, the High Priest who was at the head of the return from Babylon to Jerusalem, also presents a figure of Jesus our Saviour, Whom we have as a great High Priest, that has passed through the heavens, through Whom also we ourselves, redeemed as it were in this present life from Babylon, that is from

confusion and slavery, are taught to hasten to the heavenly city, the true Jerusalem.

Jesus too, since he bore in himself the image of the true, was naturally clad in filthy garments, and the devil is said to stand at his right hand and to oppose him, since also Jesus, truly our Saviour and Lord, descending into our state of slavery took away our sins, and washed away the stains of humanity, and underwent the shame of the Passion, through His love for us. Wherefore, Isaiah says:

“He bears our sins, and is pained for us, and we thought him to be in labour, and smitten, and afflicted: He was wounded for our sins, and weakened for our iniquities.”

And John the Baptist also, seeing the Lord, said: “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins, of the world.” Paul also, writing in the same way about Him, says: “Him that knew no sin made sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him,” and “Christ has ransomed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.” All these things the inspired prophet referred to when he said, “And Jesus was clad in filthy garments.” But He put them from Him by His Ascension into the heavens, and the return from our condition of slavery to His own glory, and He is crowned with the diadem of His Father’s Divinity, and is girt with the bright robe of His Father’s light, and is glorified with the divine Mitre, and the other high priestly adornments. Nor is it difficult to explain the part about the devil, who even now is opposed to the teaching of Christ, and to His Church established throughout the whole world, and has ever been opposed to our Saviour, and marched against Him before, when He came to save us from our slavery to himself. He tempted Him also the first time, and the second time again, when by the Passion he arranged a plot against Him. But in all battles He triumphed over the devil, and all the unseen enemies and foes led by him, and made us who were slaves His own people, and built of us, as of living stones, the house of God, and the state of holiness, so that He exactly agrees with the oracle, which says:

“Behold a man, whose name is the Branch. And he shall spring up from below, and shall build the house of the Lord. And he shall receive virtue, and shall sit and rule upon his throne.”

Note, therefore, with care, in what manner in speaking mystically of the

Jesus of days of old, who bears the image of the true, he says: "Behold a man, whose name is the Branch." And a little later, it is said to Jesus himself then present, as if concerning some one else who was the Branch: "Hear, Jesus, the High Priest, thou and thy neighbour, for the men are diviners. Behold, I bring my servant the Branch."

If, then, the speech related to some one yet to come, who was more truly called the Branch than he that bore the name then, he must have been only an image of him that was yet to come, as he is not only called Jesus in figure, but the Branch as well, if this was said to him when present: "Behold a man, whose name is the Branch." He was, therefore, naturally because he was the image thought worthy of the name of the Saviour, as well as of the Branch: for the name of Jesus translated into Greek means "Salvation of God." For in Hebrew "Isoua" is "salvation," and the son of Nave is called by the Hebrews Joshua, Joshua being "Salvation of Jab," that is, Salvation of God. It follows that wherever the Salvation of God is named in the Greek versions, you are to understand that nothing but Jesus is meant. Having now brought to this point what I had to say concerning the Name of our Saviour, I will take up the argument from another starting-point, and pass on to the more important prophetic proofs about Him.

BOOK V

INTRODUCTION

Two ways of considering our Saviour Jesus Christ have (202) been illustrated in the previous book of the *Proof of the Gospel*: the first takes us above nature and beyond it: on its road we defined Him to be the Only-begotten Son of (b) God, or the Word Who is of the essence of God, the secondary cause of the Universe, or a spiritual substance, and the firstborn nature of God all-perfect, His holy and perfect Power before things created, or the spiritual image of the Unbegotten nature. The second was akin and more familiar to ourselves; on its road we defined Christ as the Word of God, proclaiming in human nature the holiness of the Father, according as He appeared in human form long before to those with Abraham, that famous ruler of the men of God, and was predicted to (c) appear again among men by human birth, and with flesh like ours, and to suffer the extremest shame.

This being so, the argument will proceed in its natural order, if I proceed to display the prophetic evidence about Him, if, that is to say, we make our chief aim to discover what was essential in the promises made, and justify the Divinity ascribed to Him in the Gospels from the ancient prophetic evidence. And it will be necessary (d) first to discuss the nature of prophetic inspiration among the Hebrews, from whom we learned beforehand what they proclaimed.

Greeks and Barbarians alike testify to the existence of oracles and oracular responses in all parts of the earth, and they say that they were revealed by the foresight of the Creator for the use and profit of men, so that there need be no essential difference between Hebrew prophecy (203) and the oracles of the other nations. For as the Supreme God gave oracles to the Hebrews through their prophets, and suggested what was to their advantage, so also He gave them to the other nations through their local oracles. For He was not only the God of the Jews, but of the rest of mankind as well; and He cared not more for these than those, but His Providence was over all alike, just as He has given the sun ungrudgingly for all, and not for the Hebrews only, and the supply of needs according to the seasons, and a like bodily constitution for all, and one (b) mode of birth, and one kind of rational soul. And, thus, they say he provided ungrudgingly for all men the science of foretelling the future, to some by prophets, to some by oracles, to some by the flight of birds, or by

inspecting entrails, or by dreams, or omens contained in word or sound, or by some other sign. For these they say were bestowed on all men by the Providence of God, so that the prophets of the Hebrews should not seem to have an advantage over the rest of the world.

(c) This, then, is their contention. Mine will meet it in this manner. If any argument could prove that the gods, or divine powers, or good daemons really presided over the oracles named, or over the omens from birds, or any of those referred to, I should have to yield to what was stated, that the Supreme God had given these things as well as the Hebrew prophecy to those who used them, for their good. But if by complete demonstration, and by the confessions of the Greeks themselves already given, that (d) they were daemons, and not good ones but the source of all harm and vice, how can they be the prophets of God? And my argument in *The Preparation for the Gospel* has convicted them of worthlessness, from the human sacrifices connected with their rites from ancient days in every place and city and country, from their deceiving their questioners through ignorance of the future, through the many falsehoods in which they have been convicted, sometimes directly, sometimes through the ambiguity of the oracles given, by which they have been proved over and over again to have involved their suppliants in a host of evils. And they have been before shewn to be a vile and unclean crowd from their delight in the low and lustful odes sung about them, the hymns, and recitals of myths, the improper (204) and harmful stories, which they were convicted of having stamped as the truth, though they knew that they told against them.

And the final proof of their weak nature is shewn by their extinction and ceasing to give responses as of old: an extinction which can only be dated from the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For from the time when the word of Gospel teaching began to pervade all nations, from (b) that time the oracles began to fail, and the deaths of daemons are recorded. All these reasons and many others like them were used then in that part of *The Preparation of the Gospel*, which is concerned in proving the wickedness of the daemons. And if they are so wicked, what possible ground can there be for thinking that the oracles of the daemons are prophecies of the Supreme God, or for comparing their position with that of God's prophets; of what sort (c) were the predictions they gave to their questioners, those even which seemed

to have some foundation? Were they not about low and common men, boxers for instance, and such people, whom they ordered to be honoured with sacrifices? What was their position about human sacrifice? For this question is the touchstone of the whole matter. What evil thing could surpass in absurdity the idea that the Gods, the very Saviours of men, and the good daemons, could command their suppliants and holy inquirers to slaughter their dearest, as if they were mere animals, actually (d) thirsting for human blood more than any wild beasts, and, could be convicted of being neither more nor less than drinkers of blood, cannibals, and friends of destruction. Or let him speak who will, if he has anything holy or worthy of the name of virtue to tell about them, any prophecies or predictions affecting mankind as a whole, any laws or enactments for the State, laying down general rules for human life, any philosophical doctrines and instruction provided by the gods for the lovers of philosophy. But it would be impossible to say that any such advantage ever accrued to human life from the famous oracles. (205) For if this had been the case, men having their laws laid down for them by the gods would not have used different and irreconcilable systems of law. For if the gods existed and were good they must surely have inspired the same enactments: they must have inspired pure and most just legal systems: and where would have been the need of Solon or Draco or any of the other Greek or barbarian legislators, if the gods were present and gave all necessary commands through the oracles? And if it should be said (b) that they alone are meant, who established laws for each separate race of men, I should ask who that god was, and what was his character, who, for instance, ordered the Scythians to devour human beings, or laid down laws to others that they should lie with their mothers and daughters, or enacted as, a good thing that they should throw their aged people to the dogs, or allowed men to marry their sisters and to defile one another. But why should I enumerate the lawless stones of Greeks and Barbarians, in order to prove that they were not gods, but (c) vicious and evil daemons, these famous oracle-mongers of theirs, driving the thrice-wretched race of men to incredible depths of unnatural crime, whereas the famous Greek gods and oracles are not proved to have brought any advantage or profit whatever for their souls' health to those who sought their aid? And if it was open to them to use their own gods for teachers, why did the Greeks ever leave what did them good at home and make for foreign lands, as if they

wanted to enjoy the merchandise of learning from (d) somewhere else?

And if it had been the gods or the good daemons, who gave the answers, sometimes shewing their own power by foreknowledge or in some other unexpected way, sometimes teaching true wisdom by the infallible truth of their instruction, what could have prevented the sons of the philosophers being instructed by them, and why did various schools of philosophy arise from the deep oppositions of those who procured conceptions of teaching, one from one source, one from another? And even if the multitude had given them no heed, yet surely religious and godly men would have procured infallible truth from the gift of the gods. Who, then, were they? Whoever (206) you say they were, those who take the other view will expose them as deceivers.

But it seems probable that the oracles were given by daemons, and were genuine up to the point of discovering a thief, or the loss of property, and things of that kind, which it was not unlikely that beings who passed their time in the air should have knowledge of: but they were never responsible for a good and wise philosophic saying, or for a state, or for a law laid down by right reason; nay, more, (b) if I may speak quite frankly, one ought to consider them all instigators of evil; for when they listened either to the odes and hymns and recitals of men, or to the secret rites of the mysteries, retailing their own Adulteries and unnatural crimes, their marriage of mothers and lawless union with sisters, and the many contests of the gods, enmities and wars of gods against gods, not one of them has ever, so far (c) as I know, been angry at what was said, as if it were only suitable for lustful, and not for pure, minds to think and say such things. And why need I enlarge, when from one most significant example I can crowd into one view their cruelty, inhumanity and real viciousness? I refer to the human sacrifices. Surely to delight not only in the slaughter of irrational beasts, but also in the destruction of men, overshot the highest limit of cruelty.

For, as I said in the *Preparation*, my evidence is drawn (d) from the Greek philosophers and writers themselves, who conclusively prove that the evil daemons perverted the human race by their involved intrigues, now by oracles, now by omens from birds, or signs or sacrifices or things of the kind. Wherefore it is altogether to be denied that the oracles came from the Supreme God. And so it is not allowable to class them with the Hebrew Prophets, whose first Hierophant and divine teacher was Moses. See, what

(207) a wealth of good he brought to human life. First he produced a sacred writing of evangelical and true doctrines about God the Maker and Creator of all things, and about the secondary Cause of the rational and spiritual essences after Him, and about the creation of the world and of man; and then he moved the obedient spirits of good men to ambition, by outlining like figures of virtue the stories of (b) the holy and godly Hebrews of long ago; he began the teaching of a legislation divine and suitable to the light they then had, and introduced a godly worship, and revealed predictions of all that was to take place in after years, as I hope presently to shew. Such was Moses. And following his steps the prophets who succeeded him foretold some things incidentally to inquirers if anything was asked relating to their daily life; but their prophecy in its main purpose (c) was concerned with great issues.

For they did not reckon it worthy of their divine duty to deal with those who sought oracles about daily matters or that actual time, or about slight and trivial things, but the illumination of the Holy Spirit in them including in its vast scope the whole race of mankind, promised no prediction about any particular man who was sick, nor about this present life so open to accidents and sufferings, nor about any one dead, nor, in a word, about ordinary and common (d) things, which when present make the soul no better, and when absent cause it no harm or loss. And, as I said, when their predictions referred to such things, it was not in the line of their main meaning, but as accompanying a greater conception. And the causes which were at the root of their prophetic inspiration involved a greater scheme than the things instanced.

If, then, one were to explore carefully the whole circuit of the writings of Moses and his successors, one would find it included exhortation and teaching of duty to the God of the Universe, Who is the Creator of all things, and the knowledge and divine teaching relating to the highest secondary Cause, and prohibition of all polytheistic error, (208) and then the memorial of the godly men of old days who began the said religion, and predictions and proclamations of those who would live in after days, as they themselves had lived, through the appearance and presence of God among men, I mean of the secondary Lord and God after the Supreme Father, Who Himself would become the Teacher of the same religion, and be revealed as Saviour (b) of the life of men, through Whom they foretold that the ideals of the ancient godly

Hebrews would be handed on to all nations. This was the Gospel that Moses foretold, as well as the sons of the other prophets, who all spake as with one mouth. And this was the reason of the descent of the Holy Spirit to men, to teach men the knowledge of God, and the loftiest theology of the Father and the Son, to train them in every form of true religion, to give a record of those who lived well long ago, and those who afterwards fell away from the religion of their forefathers, and to exhibit the case against them at great length: and then (c) to prophesy the coming of the Saviour and Teacher of the whole race of mankind, and to herald the sharing of the religion of the ancient Hebrews by all nations.

These were the unanimous proclamations of the prophets of old clays inscribed on table's and in sacred books: yea, these very things, which we see even now after long ages in process of fulfilment; they all in the power of the Holy (d) Spirit with one voice foretold would come to all men a light of true religion, purity of mind and body, a complete purging of the heart, which having first gained themselves by discipline, they urged upon the obedient, prohibiting their converts from every lustful action, and teaching them not to imitate the lawless ways of polytheistic error, and to avoid with one consent all intercourse with daemons, the popular human sacrifices of days gone by, and the base and secret tales about the gods. Against these they warned them and counselled them to set their hearts only on God (209) the Creator of all things, Who is as it were the Overseer and Judge of all human doings, and to remember the future Coming among men of the Christ of God, the Saviour of the whole human race, established to be the Teacher of the true religion to Greeks and Barbarians alike. This was the vast difference between those who were possessed by the Holy Spirit and those who pretended to prophesy under the influence of daemons.

Then, too, the evil daemon, being akin to darkness, (b) involved the soul in darkness and mist by its visitation, and stretched out him who was under its power like a corpse, divorced from his natural faculties of reason, not following his own words or actions, completely insensible and demented, in accordance with which perhaps they, may have called such a condition "Manteia," as being a form of "Mania," whereas the truly divine Spirit, Which is of the nature of light, or rather light itself, brings at once a new and bright daylight to every soul on whom It comes, (c) revealing it as far more clear and

thoughtful than ever it was before, so that it is sober and wide awake, and above all can understand and interpret prophecies. Wherefore we seem rightly and truly to call such men prophets, because the Holy Spirit gives them a sure knowledge and light on the present, as well as a true and accurate knowledge of the future. See, then, if it is not a far better and truer argument, which says that the Holy Spirit visits souls purified and prepared with rational and clear minds to (d) receive the divine, than that of those who shut up the divine in lifeless matter and dusky caves, and in the impure souls of men and women; yea, and rest it on crows and hawks and other birds, on goats and other beasts, ay, even on the movements of water, the inspection of entrails, the blood of hateful and ugly monsters, and in the bodies of poisonous creeping things, like snakes and weasels, and such things, by the help of which these strange people understood that the Supreme God revealed a knowledge of (210) future events. But this was the way of men who had no conception of the nature of God, and no idea of the power of the Holy Spirit, Who does not delight in lurking in lifeless things, or irrational beasts, nor even in rational beings, except ... in such virtuous souls, as my argument just now described the Hebrew prophets as possessing, whom we reckon worthy of the Holy Spirit, because of their great contribution to the progress of humanity throughout the world.

And if sometimes the knowledge of contemporaneous (b) events, unimportant and of no moment, followed them like a shadow, and the foretelling of the unknown opportunely to inquirers, it was because they were obliged to give such help to their neighbours of old time, to prevent those who were hungry for predictions having an excuse for turning to the oracles of foreign races through a lack of prophets at home.

But I will close here my vindication of the divine power of the Hebrew Prophets. For it is right for us to obey (c) them, if they teach us, as men inspired and wise, not according to humanity but by the breath of the Holy Spirit, and to submit to the discipline of their doctrine, and holy and infallible theology, which no longer involves any suspicion, that they include any elements alien to virtue and truth.

So, then, it now remains for me to take up the thread of my argument from the beginning, and rest the theology of our Saviour Jesus Christ on the prophetic evidence.

The Gospel evidence gives this theology of Christ: "In (d) the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made." It calls Him also "Rational Light," and it calls Him Lord, as if He were also God. And the prophetic Paul, as a disciple and apostle of Christ, agrees with this theology when he says this about Him: "Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature, because in him were created all things, things in heaven and things in earth, whether thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers. All things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by him all things consist."

He is also called "Power of God" and "Wisdom of God." It is our present task, therefore, to collect these same expressions from the prophetic writings of the Hebrews, so that by their agreement in each separate part the demonstration of the truth may be established. And we must recognize that the sacred oracles include in the Hebrew much that is obscure both in expression and in meaning, and are capable of various interpretations in Greek because of their difficulty. The Seventy Hebrews in concert have translated them together, and I shall pay the greatest attention to them, because it is the custom of the Christian Church to use their work. But wherever necessary, I shall call in the help of the editions of the later translators, which the Jews are accustomed to use to-day, so that my proof may have stronger support from all sources. With this introduction, it now remains for me to treat of the inspired words.

CHAPTER 1

That the Most Wise Solomon in the Proverbs knew of a Firstborn Power of God, which He calls the Wisdom and Offspring of God: just as we glorify It.

Passage quoted, Prov. viii. 12-31.]

THE divine and perfect essence existing before things begotten, the rational and Firstborn image of the Unbegotten nature, the true and Only-begotten Son of the God of the Universe, being One with many names, and One called God by many titles, is honoured in this passage under the style and name of Wisdom, and we have learned to call Him Word of God, Light, Life, Truth, and, to crown all, “Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.” Now, therefore, in the passage before us, He passes through the words of the wise Solomon, speaking of Himself as the living Wisdom of God and self-existent, saying: “I, Wisdom, have dwelt with counsel and knowledge, and I have called upon understanding,” and that which follows. He also adds, as who has undertaken the government and providence of the Universe: “By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes become great.” Then saying that He will record the things of ages past, He goes on to say: “The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works, he established me before time was.” By which He teaches both that He Himself is begotten, and not the same as the Unbegotten, one called into being before all ages, set forth as a kind of foundation for all begotten things. And it is probable that the divine apostle started from this when he said of Him: “Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature, for all things were created in him, of things in heaven and things in earth.” For He is called “Firstborn of every creature,” in accordance with the words: “The Lord created me as the beginning of his road to his works.” And He would naturally be considered the image of God, as being That which was begotten of the nature of the Unbegotten. And, therefore, the passage before us agrees, when it says: “Before the mountains were established, and before all the hills, he begets me.”

Hence we call Him Only-begotten Son, and the Firstborn Word of God, Who is the same as this Wisdom. In what sense we say that He is the Begotten of God would require a special study, for we do not understand this unspeakable generation of His as involving a projection, a separation, a

division, a diminution, a scission, or anything (c) at all which is involved in human generation. For it is not lawful to compare His unspeakable and unnameable generation and coming into being with these things in the world of begotten things, nor to liken Him to anything transitory and mortal, since it is impious to say that in the way in which animals are produced on earth, as an essence coming from an essence by change and division, divided and separated, the Son came forth out of the Father. For the Divine is without parts, and indivisible, not to be cut, or (d) divided, or extended, or diminished, or contracted, It cannot become greater, or worse or better than Itself, nor has it within Itself anything different from Itself that it could send forth. For everything that is in anything is either in it as (1) accident, as white is in a body, or (2) as a thing in something different from it, as a child is in the womb of its mother, or (3) as the part is in the whole, as the hand, foot and finger exist in the body, being parts of the whole body, and if either of them undergo any maiming or cutting or division, the whole of the body is rendered useless and mutilated, as a part of it has been cut off. But surely it (214) would be very impious to employ a figure and comparison of this kind in the case of the Unbegotten nature of the God of the Universe, and of the generation of His Only-begotten and Firstborn (Son).

For the Son was certainly not Unbegotten for ages infinite and without beginning within the Father, as one thing within another that differs from itself, being a part of Him which afterwards was changed and cast out from Him; for such a being would be subject to change; and there would also be according to this two Unbegotten Beings, He that cast forth and He that was cast forth. And which condition would be the better? Would not that before the change which caused a division by the (b) sending forth? It is, then, impossible to conceive of the Son coming from the Father as a part or a limb that had always previously been united to Him, afterwards separating and coming apart from the whole. For these are unspeakable and quite impious ideas, proper enough to the relations of material bodies, but foreign to a nature without body or matter. And, therefore, here again we had best say: Who shall declare His generation?

It is equally perilous to take the opposite road, and say thus without qualification that the Son was begotten of things that were not, similarly to the other begotten beings; for the generation of the Son differs from the Creation

(c) through the Son. But yet as Holy Scripture first says that He is the Firstborn of every creature, speaking in His Person, “The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways,” and then says that He is the Begotten of the Father in the words: “Before all the hills he begets me”; here we, too, may reasonably follow and confess that He is before all ages the Creative Word of God, One with the Father, (d) Only-begotten Son of the God of the Universe, and Minister and Fellow-worker with the Father, in the calling into being and constitution of the Universe.

For if there is anything in the nature of the Universe left unexplained and inconceivable for us, and we know that there are many, such things as are promised to the godly — which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man — according to the holy apostle, much further beyond our conception, unexplained and unnamed, inconceivable and unimaginable must be that which concerned the generation of the Only-begotten of God, since we have nothing else to say or to think of Him, except, “Who shall declare his generation?” And if one, greatly (215) daring, were led to compare things in all ways inconceivable with visible and physical likenesses, one perchance might say that, like a fragrance or a ray of light, the Son underlay from infinite ages or rather before all ages the Father’s Unbegotten Nature and ineffable Essence, and was one with Him, and was always united to the Father, as fragrance to an ointment and the ray to the light, but not (b) analogously in all senses to such likenesses, as was said before. For lifeless bodies hold their accidents in qualities; and the ray being of one origin with the nature of light, and being in essence the same as light, could not exist outside that in which it is. Whereas the Word of God has Its own essence and existence in Itself, and is not identical with the Father in being Unbegotten, but was begotten of the Father as His Only-begotten Son before all ages; while the fragrance being a kind of physical effluence of that from which it comes, and not filling the air around it by itself apart from its primary cause, is seen to be itself also a physical thing. We will not, then, conceive thus about the theory of our Saviour’s coming-into-being. For neither was He brought into being from the Unbegotten Being by way of any event, or by division, nor was He eternally coexistent with the Father, since the One is Unbegotten and the other Begotten, and one is Father and the other Son. And all would agree that a father must exist before and precede his son.

Thus also would the image of God be a kind of living image of the living God, in a mode once more that is beyond our words and reasoning, and existing in Itself immaterially and unembodied, and unmixed with anything opposite to Itself, but not such an image as we connote by the term, which differs in its essential substance and its species, but one which itself contains the whole of its species, and is like in its own essence to the Father, and so is seen to be the liveliest fragrance of the Father, in a mode once again beyond our words and reasoning. For everything that is true about Him could not be spoken in human words, and could not be reasoned with the reasoning of men according to strict logic. But the Scriptures give us such instruction as it is good for us to hear. Has not the holy apostle described himself and those like him as “a fragrance of Christ,” by their participation in the Spirit of Christ; and is not the heavenly Bridegroom in the Canticles addressed as “Ointment poured forth”? Wherefore all things visible and invisible, embodied and unembodied, rational and irrational participating in that outpouring of Him in due proportion are thought worthy of His presence, and have their lot in the communion of the divine Word. Yes, the whole universe imparts a share of His divine breath to those whose rational perception is not maimed, so that bodies by nature earthy and corruptible give forth an immaterial and uncorrupted fragrance; for as the God of the Universe wells down from above, Who, being Father of the Only-begotten Word, Himself must be the first and chief and only true good begetting good, so taking the second place the Son draws His supplies from the primary and original Essence, Who also is alone called the fragrance of His Father’s Essence by us who use the Scripture that teaches us concerning Him, that He is “a breath of the power of God, and a pure effluence of the glory of the Almighty, and a radiance of the everlasting light, and an unsullied mirror of the action of God, and an image of his goodness.”

But with regard to these questions, let men decide them as they will. It is enough for me to repeat again that true and blessed saying, and so conclude my quest, the saying which I have often repeated: “Who shall describe His generation? “For of a truth the generation of the Only-begotten of God is seen to be beyond the reach not only of men, but of the powers that are beyond every being, as also our Lord and Saviour Himself says in mystic language this very thing to His own disciples. “No one knows the Father save the Son.”

To which he adds “and no one knows the Son save the Father.” Since then the theology both of the Father and of the Son is equally unknown to all but Themselves, let us heed Wisdom speaking as it were in secrets in the passage of Solomon set before us: “Before the mountains were established, and the earth formed, and before all the hills he begets me.” And also He says that He was present with the Father when He formed the Heaven. “For when he formed the heaven, I was present with him.” And He reveals the eternity from endless ages of His presence with the Father, where He adds: “I was by him in harmony, I was that in which he delighted, and I daily delighted in his presence.” And we must either understand the abysses and founts of waters, the mountains and hills, and the other things which in this place are designated by common words, to refer to the constitution of the Universe, referring to the whole by its part, or interpreting more metaphorically, we must transfer the meaning to spiritual essences and divine powers, all of whom the Firstborn Wisdom and the Only-begotten and First-begotten Word of the Father, Whom we call Christ, preceded; so the apostle teaches us, who says, “Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.” And He is called hero probably by the Name of Wisdom, as He Who — the all-wise and prudent plans of the only wise Father

[There is a long lacuna at the end of this chapter, noted in the Paris MS., “ἐλλείπει πολλά”]

CHAPTER 2

[From Psalm xlv.]

. . . And in the second place he honours Him with the kingly sceptre. In the third he witnesses to the perfection of His virtue. And then in addition he teaches that He, this same Person, was anointed as God and King by the Highest God, and so that He was Christ. For what else could one be called, who was anointed not by men, but by Almighty God Himself? Of Him therefore he says, “O God (addressing the anointed one), thou hast loved righteousness and hated injustice; wherefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee.” As if he were to say, “The Almighty God has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows,” So that this ointment mentioned was nothing common or earthy, nothing resembling that ordained by the Mosaic Law, fashioned of corruptible matter, with which it was the custom to anoint Hebrew priests and kings. Hence we call him properly both Christ and God, being the only one anointed with the immaterial and divine ointment of holy joy and gladness not by men nor by human agencies but by the Creator of the Universe Himself. Wherefore He only has a just, an indefeasible, a good and peculiar right to the title of Christ beyond those who are called His fellows. And who could His “fellows” be but those who are able to say: “We are partakers of Christ,” of whom it is said, “Touch not my Christs, and do my prophets no harm.” So then as Christ by this is clearly revealed as Beloved, and as God, and as King, it is time to inquire, how so great a Being can be said to have enemies, and who they are, and for what cause He sharpened his arrows and sword against them, so that He subjected many peoples to Himself not by array of soldiers, but by truth, gentleness and righteousness.

A careful inquirer would do well to refer this to our Lord and Saviour Jesus the Christ of God, and to turn back again to the record, relating to His Presence among men, by which He routed the hostile invisible powers of evil and corrupt daemons and of wicked and impure spirits, and won very many peoples for Himself out of all nations. Whom also it were fitting to call for this reason the true Christ of God, as one not anointed with common oil like the priests of old days, for we have no record of anything of the kind about Him, but with a better divine unction, in reference to which Isaiah says: “The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because he hath anointed me.” Wherefore

also this one Christ is more famous among all, through all the world, than all those who ever were anointed with material ointment among the Hebrews; and has filled the whole world with those who are called Christians after Him. Now in the preceding book I have dealt sufficiently with the questions why we say He was anointed, what the unction was, and the mode of His anointing. Such grace was poured on His lips and on His teaching that in a short time it filled every place with the religion proclaimed by Him; so that now among all nations among those who receive His teaching, agreeably to the prophecy before us, He is clad with the glory of a king and of God, and is called Christ by all men.

And it is clear who are His enemies, not only those who were such of old, but those who are ever fighting against His word, whether they be men, or invisible powers, whom everywhere He has cleared away with unseen and hidden power, and has made all sorts of people from all nations subject to Him.

And that which follows in the Psalm, “Myrrh, aloes and cassia from his garments,” and the other words besides, which speak as of a princess leaving her father’s house, and being wedded to Him who has been foreshewn to be Christ and King and God, and calling Him her Lord, (b) might be referred to the Church of the nations, forsaking ancestral daemonic error, and purified and brought into the communion of the divine Word, if time allowed them to have their true interpretation.

CHAPTER 3

(d) That the same Prophet also plainly confesses Two Lords in Ps. cix.: the One, the First and Highest God; the Other, Whom He calls His Own Lord, and that He was begotten by God before the Foundation of the World, and He knows the Second God, and that He is the High Priest Eternal of the Father, shares the Throne of the God of the Universe, holding the same Faith as We about Christ.

[Passage quoted, Ps. cix. 1-5.]

THE Lord upon thy right hand! The Psalmist here calls “Lord,” our Lord and Saviour, the Word of God, “firstborn of every creature,” the Wisdom before the ages, the Beginning of the Ways of God, the Firstborn and Only-begotten Offspring of the Father, Him Who is honoured with the Name of Christ, teaching that He both shares the seat (220) and is the Son of the Almighty God and Universal Lord, and the Eternal High-Priest of the Father. First, then, understand that here this Second Being, the Offspring of God, is addressed. And since prophecy is believed by us to be spoken by the Spirit of God, see if it is not the case that the Holy Spirit in the prophet names as His own Lord (b) a Second Being after the Lord of the Universe, for he says, “The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand.” The Hebrews named the First Person Lord, as being universally the Lord of all, by the unspeakable Name expressed in the four letters. They did not call the Second Person Lord in a like sense, but only used the word as a special title. Naturally, then, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ Himself, the Son of God, when He inquired of the Pharisees, “What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he?” on their saying, “The son of David,” asked, “How then can David in spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand”? practically interpreting the text as not only calling Him the Lord of David, but the Lord also of the Spirit in the prophet. And if the prophetic Spirit, which we believe to be the Holy Spirit, confesses Him to be Lord, Who He teaches shares the Father’s Throne, and not generally but as “His own Lord,” how incomparably more certain is it that the rational powers, who come after the Holy Spirit, must say the same, and the whole visible creation, embodied and unembodied, of which of course the only Sharer of the Father’s Throne would be marked out as Lord, by Whose agency all things came into being, as the holy apostle says: “In him all things were created, of things in heaven, and things in earth, visible and invisible.” For He alone would have the authority of likeness to

the Father, as being the only Person shewn to be throned with Him.

It is therefore plain that it would be wrong to allot to any among begotten beings the sitting at the right hand of the Almighty's rule and kingdom, except to Him alone Whom I have shewn in many ways, by what I have laid before you, to be God. Understand then, that the Highest and Almighty Lord bestows on one and the same being the words, "Sit thou on my right hand," and also, "Before the morning-star I have begotten thee," and He delivers with an oath of confirmation the honour unshakeable and immutable of the continuous priesthood for ever and ever, "The Lord swore and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever." And who could be supposed — leaving human beings out of account — even of those of the nature of angels, to have been begotten of God, and made a priest for ever, but He alone Who also said in the former (b) prophecy, "The Lord created me as the beginning of the way for his works, before the ages he established me, in the beginning before the mountains were established, before all the hills he begets me." Give your careful attention to understanding the relations of the present Psalm to the words quoted in the previous passage; in this one the Most High God establishes to share His own throne the Second Lord, who is our Lord, saying, "Sit thou on my right hand," while in the preceding one the Scripture said that (c) His throne would remain for ever and ever, calling Him at the same time God when it says, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." Again, in the passage before us, it says, "The Lord shall send the rod of thy power out of Sion," and in the other, "The sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom"; and once more this passage says, "Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet, and thou shalt rule in the midst of thine enemies," and the former one, "Thy arrows are sharp, O mighty one, in the heart of the (d) king's enemies." So that what is said about His enemies in both is in agreement. Who, then, seeing with his eyes in the midst of cities, villages and countries throughout the world the Churches of our Saviour, the peoples ruled by Him, and the vast multitudes of those sanctified by Him encircled on all sides by enemies and foes of the teaching of Christ, some visible among men, some invisible and beyond the power of sight, would not wonder at this oracicle addressed to the person of the subject of the prophecy, which says, "Rule in the (222) midst of thine enemies"? And while in the previous passage we read, "Anointed with the oil of gladness above thy fellows" — it being the

Hebrew custom to anoint priests — the passage before us now pronounces Him priest in clearer terms, adding more teaching about Him, by which we learn that He unlike all previous priests is the Eternal Priest, an idea which cannot be associated with mere (b) humanity. He says that He is made a priest after the order of Melchizedek, in contradistinction to the ordinance of the Mosaic priesthood, held either by Aaron or any of his descendants, none of whom were priests until they had been anointed with a prepared ointment, and so became, as by type and symbol, a kind of shadowy and symbolical Christ. He was one of course that because of his mortality could not extend his priesthood long, and moreover was only consecrated for Jewish people, not for the other nations. He did not enter on his priestly duty under an oath of God, but was only honoured by the judgment of men, so that it was sometimes the case that something unworthy of God's service was found in them, as is recorded of Eli. And moreover besides all this, that ancient priest of the Mosaic order could only be selected from the tribe of Levi. It was obligatory without exception that he should be of the family descending from Aaron, and do service to God in outward worship with the sacrifices and blood of irrational animals. But he that is named Melchizedek, which in Greek is translated "king of righteousness," who was king of Salem, which would mean "king of peace," without father, without mother, without line of descent, not having, according to the account, "beginning of years, nor end of life," had no characteristics shared by the Aaronic priesthood. For he was not chosen by men, he was not anointed with prepared oil, he was not of the tribe of those who had not yet been born; and strangest of all, he was not even circumcised in his flesh, and yet he blesses Abraham, as if he were far better than he; he did not act as priest to the Most High God with sacrifices and libations, nor did he minister at the Temple in Jerusalem. How could he? it did not yet exist. And he was such of course because there was going to be no similarity between our Saviour Christ and Aaron, for He was neither to be designated priest after a period when He was not priest, nor was He to become priest, but be it. For we should notice carefully in the words, "Thou art a priest for ever," He does not say, "Thou shalt be what thou wert not before," any more than, "Thou wert that before, which thou art not now" — but by Him Who said, "I am that I am," it is said, "Thou art, and remainest, a priest for ever."

Since, then, Christ neither entered on His priesthood in time, nor sprang from the priestly tribe, nor was anointed with prepared and outward oil, nor will ever reach the end of His priesthood, nor will be established only for the Jews but for all nations, for all these reasons He is rightly said to have forsaken the priesthood after Aaron's type, and to be a priest after the order of Melchizedek. And the fulfilment of the oracle is truly wondrous, to one who recognizes how our Saviour Jesus the Christ of God even now performs through His ministers even to-day i sacrifices after the manner of Melchizedek's. For just as he, who was priest of the Gentiles, is not represented as offering outward sacrifices, but as blessing Abraham only with wine and bread, in exactly the same way our Lord and Saviour Himself first, and then all His priests among all nations, perform the spiritual sacrifice according to the customs of the Church, and with wine and bread darkly express the mysteries of His Body and saving Blood. This by the Holy Spirit Melchizedek foresaw, and used the figures of what was to come, as the Scripture of Moses witnesses, when it says:

“And Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought out bread and wine: and he was priest of the Most High God, and he blessed Abraham.”

And thus it followed that only to Him with the addition of an oath:

“The Lord God sware, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.”

Hear, too, what the apostle also says about this:

“17. Wherein God willing more abundantly to shew unto the heirs of the kingdom the immutability of his counsel mediated it by an oath: 18. That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong encouragement, who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us.”

And he adds:

“23. And they indeed have been made priests many in number, because that by death they were hindered from continuing. 24. But he, because he abideth, hath an unchangeable priesthood. 25. Wherein he is able to save to the uttermost them that come unto (b) God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them. 26. For such an high priest became us, who is holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens.”

And he adds:

“1. Now in the things which we are saying the chief point is this: We have such an high priest, who sat down on the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, 2. a minister of the holy things, and of the true tabernacle, which God has pitched, and not man.”

So says the apostle.

The Psalm too, continuing, shews in veiled phrase even the Passion of the Subject of the prophecy, saying: “He shall drink of the brook in the way, therefore shall he lift up his head.” And another Psalm shews “the brook” to mean the time of temptations: “Our soul hath passed through the brook, yea, our soul has passed through the deep waters.” He drinks, then, in the brook, it says, that cup, evidently, of which He darkly spoke at the time of His Passion, when He said: “Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.” And also, “If it be not possible for it to pass from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.”

It was, then, by drinking this cup that He lifted up His head, as the apostle also says, for when he was “Obedient to the Father unto death, even the death of the cross, therefore,” he says, “God hath highly exalted him,” raising Him from the dead, and setting Him at His right hand, far above all rule and authority and power and dominion, and every name which is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come. And He hath put all things in subjection under his feet, according to the promise made to Him, which He expresses through the Psalmist, saying, “Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet. Be thou ruler in the midst of thine enemies.”

It is plain to all that to-day the power of our Saviour and the word of His teaching rule over all them that have believed in Him, in the midst of His enemies and foes.

CHAPTER 4

That Isaiah also the Greatest of the Prophets dearly knew Him to be God in God, agreeing in His Words with Us Who glorify the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlv. 12-13.]

IN these words God the Creator of the Universe first foretells by the prophet a King and Saviour who will come to build up a holy constitution, and ransom all men who are enslaved by the errors of daemons. And next in order the prophetic Spirit darkly tells of the subjection of the different nations, which shall be subject to the One of Whom he prophesies, and how they will worship Him as God, how they will pray in His name, because of the greater God dwelling in Him, that is to say the Most High Father and God of the Universe. And this is how it is expressed.

“14. Thus saith the Lord: Egypt hath laboured for thee, and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabeans, great in stature, shall pass over to thee, and shall be thy servants; and they shall follow thee bound in fetters, and shall worship thee anew, and shall pray in thy name, because God is in thee, and there is no God but thee. 15. For thou art God, and we knew it not, God of Israel, Saviour. 16. All that are opposed to Him shall be ashamed and confounded, and shall walk in shame.”

This is the prophecy. And I do not think that any one, however deficient in judgment he may be, can fail to see how clearly and plainly the words evidently refer to God, Israel's Saviour, and another God in Him. “The just,” he says, “shall worship thee, and make their prayers in thee. Because God is in thee, and there is no God but thee. For thou art God, and we knew it not, the God of Israel, the Saviour.” And the words “we knew it not” spoken in the person of those of old who did not know Him, only occur in the Septuagint, for the Hebrew is different, and translated by Aquila, “God then is strong and hidden, God that saves Israel,” and by Theodotion, “Therefore a strong secret God preserves Israel.” It is remarkable how he calls Christ a hidden God, and gives the reason clearly, why he calls Him God alone among the ones begotten after the First and Unbegotten, viz. the dwelling of the Father in Him.

“For in him” according to the holy apostle “it pleased that all the fullness of the godhead should dwell.” This the passage plainly expresses when it says

“God is in thee, and there is no God but thee.” Instead of, “But thee” Theodotion has “But him,” translating: “There is no God but him,” that is to say, “But the God that is in thee, by whom thou also art God.”

According to Aquila it runs thus: “But a strong one is in thee, and there is none beside thee: God the strong and the one that hides himself preserving Israel.” And Symmachus, “God is in thee alone, and there is no other and exists no other God, verily thou art a hidden God, God preserving Israel,” in which the words clearly shew the reason of the Christ of God being God. It is where he says, “God is in thee and therefore thou art a strong and hidden God.” According to this, then, the true and only God must be One, and alone owning the Name in full right. While the Second, by sharing in the being of the True God, is thought worthy to share His Name, not being God in Himself, nor existing apart from the Father Who gives Him Divinity, not called God apart from the Father, but altogether being, living and existing as God, through the presence of the Father in Him, and one in being with the Father, and constituted God from Him and through Him, and holding His being as well as His Divinity not from Himself but from the Father. Wherefore we are taught to honour Him as God after the Father, through the Father dwelling in Him, as we see these prophecies before us intend.

For as the image of a king would be honoured for the sake of him whose lineaments and likeness it bears (and though both the image and the king received honour, one person would be honoured, and not two; for there would not be two kings, the first the true one, and the one represented by the image, but one in both forms, not only conceived of, but named and honoured), so I say the Only-begotten Son, being the only image of the Unseen (227) God, is rightly called the image of the Unseen God, through bearing His likeness, and is constituted God by the Father Himself: thus He is, with regard to essence, and gives an image of the Father that grows from His nature and is not something added to Him, because of the actual source of His existence. Wherefore He is by nature both God and Only-begotten Son, not being made such by adoption like those who were without, who only acquire an accidental right to the Name of God. But He (b) is celebrated as Only-begotten Son by nature and as our God, but not as the first God, but as the first Only-Begotten Son of God, and therefore God.

And the general cause also of His being God, would be the fact that He

alone is Son of God by nature, and is called Only-begotten, and that He completely preserves the living and vivid spiritual image of the One God, being made in all things like the leather, and bearing the likeness of His actual Divinity. Thus therefore Him also, as being the only Son and the only image of God, endued with the powers of the Father's Unbegotten and eternal essence (c) according to the example of likeness, and fashioned to the extremest accuracy of likeness by the Father Himself, Who is the most skilled and the wisest delineator and maker of life conceivable, the holy Scriptures salute as God, as One worthy of receiving this Name of the Father with His other (names), but as one Who receives it, and does not possess it in His own right. For the One gives, and the Other receives; so that strictly the First is to be reckoned God, alone being God by nature, and not receiving (divinity) from another. And the Other is to be thought of as secondary, and as holding a Divinity received from the Father, as an image of God, the Divinity in both being conceived of as one in type, God in Himself being one without beginning and unbegotten, but He is seen through the Son as by a mirror and image. And this is exactly the teaching of the prophetic oracle, which says that He is only to be worshipped as God, because the Father dwells in Him. For it says, "In thee shall they pray, because God is in thee, and Thou thyself art God, the Saviour of Israel, and therefore Thou art a strong and a hidden God. Since God is in Thee, and there is none beside Him."

Instead of "Egypt laboured," the Hebrew has, and the other translators render, "Labour of Egypt," so that the passage runs: "The Labour of Egypt and the merchandise of the Aethiopians shall worship Thee and be Thy slaves, and the Sabeans," by which I understand to be meant barbarous and obscure nations, in fact all those that long ago were a prey to daemonic superstition. For as the Egyptians seemed to be the most superstitious of all nations, and to have begun the errors of idolatry, it is natural that they should be represented as first coming under the yoke of Christ, and should represent all the rest of idolatry. And this was fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour, by the worship and service rendered to Him in all nations by many multitudes of nations throughout the world.

And I understand that the Ethiopians and Sabeans here foretold as worshipping Christ are also meant in Ps. lxxi., where it is said: "The Ethiopians shall fall down before him, and the kings of Arabia and Saba shall

bring gifts, and shall worship him.” And it is plain from the context that it is Christ Who it is there predicted will also be the Object of their worship.

CHAPTER 5

Psalm xxxii.

How David equally with Us knows the Word of God, Who is of His Essence, to be by the Command of the Father Creator of All Things; and how the Same Prophet witnesses that the Same Word of God was sent by the Father for the Saving of Men, and how He prophesies that in a Short Time the Whole World would be filled by His Teaching.

“By the word of the Lord the heavens were made firm, and all the power of them by the spirit of his mouth.”

And in Ps. cvi. it is said:

“He sent his word and healed them, and saved them from their destruction.”

And again in Ps. cxlvii.:

“He sendeth his oracle upon earth, his word runneth swiftly.”

Now it is evident that with the Psalm before us which says, “By the word of the Lord the heavens were made firm,” (229) the holy gospel exactly agrees when it says, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made.” The Gospel rightly calls Him God: for this same being who is now regarded as God, has been called in our previous quotations, the Word, the Wisdom and the Offspring of God, and the Priest, the Christ, King, Lord, God, and the Image of God. And (b) that He is other than the Father, and His Minister, so that He as the greater can bid Him to create, is added in the Psalm before us:

“8. Let all the earth fear the Lord, | and let all the dwellers on earth be moved by him. | 9. For he spake, and they were created, | he commanded and they were made. |”

For it is plain that a speaker must speak to some one else, and one who issues a command must issue it to another beside himself. And clearly since our Saviour's Incarnation many multitudes from all the earth, that is to say from all the nations of the earth, have ceased to fear daemons as before, and have feared the Lord Jesus, and all the inhabitants of the world have been moved at the Name of Christ, agreeably to the oracle which here says, “Let the earth fear the Lord: By him shall be moved all the inhabitants of the

world.” These, then, come from Ps. ii. and xxx. And you would find similar prophecies also in Ps. cxlviii., which teaches that not only things in earth, but also things in heaven, the whole creation in a word, came into being by the command of God. For it says:

“1. Praise the Lord from the heavens, | praise him in the height; | 2. Praise him all ye angels of his, | praise him all his powers, | 3. Praise him sun and moon, | Praise him all ye stars and light, | . . . 5. For he spake, and they were made, | he commanded, and they were created.”

For if He commanded, Who was great enough to receive such a command, but the Word of God, who in many ways has been proved to be God in this treatise, and naturally called the Word of God, because the Almighty has set in Him the words that make and create all things, delivering to Him the task of governing all things and steering them by reason and in order?

For of course no one should imagine that the Word of God is like to articulate and spoken speech, which among men consists of syllables, and is compounded of nouns and verbs: for we know that our speech consists essentially of sounds and syllables and their significations, and is produced by the tongue and the organs of the throat and mouth, whereas that of the eternal and unembodied nature, totally divorced from all our conditions, could not possibly involve anything human: It uses the name of speech and nothing more. Since we must not in the case of the God of the Universe postulate a voice that depends on the movements of the air, nor words, nor syllables, nor tongue, nor mouth, nor anything indeed that is human and mortal.

For His must be a Word of the soul, and quite incapable of existence or being apart from the soul. For human speech is in itself without essence and substance, and regarded generally is a self-movement and activity of thought. But the Word of God is other than this: It has its own substance (c) in Itself altogether divine and spiritual, It exists in Itself, It is active also in Itself, and being divorced from matter and body, and made like to the nature of the first Unbegotten and Only God, It carries in Itself the meaning of all begotten things, and the ideas of things visible, being Itself without body and invisible. Wherefore the divine oracles call It Wisdom and the Word of God.

CHAPTER 6

That Isaiah, as well as David, acknowledges Two Lords, and the (231) Second, as in David, is the Creator; as We also confess.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlviii. 12-15.]

(b) SEE now how He that says, “I am the first, and I am the last. He that established the earth and the heaven,” clearly confesses that He was sent by “the Lord, the Lord,” calling the Father Lord twice, and you will have undeniable evidence of what we seek. And He says that He is first among beings begotten in all reverence, since He allots Being, original, unbegotten, and beyond the first, to the Father. For the customary meaning of first in the sense of “first of a greater number,” superior in honour and order, (c) would not be applicable to the Father. For the Almighty God of course is not the first of created things, since the idea of Him does not admit of a beginning. He must be beyond and above the first, as Himself generating and establishing the First, and the Divine Word alone is to be called the First of all begotten things. So if we ask with reference to the words, “He spake and they were made, he commanded and they were created,” to which of the begotten beings He gave the command to create, we see now clearly that it was given to Him, Who said, “My hand has laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand has made the heaven strong”: Who also confesses that He was sent by One greater than Himself, when He says: “Now (d) the Lord, the Lord has sent me, and his Spirit.” And it must be the Word of God Who said also, “By the word of the Lord were the heavens made firm,” if we compare the Psalm. And yet though the Word of God is Himself proclaimed divine by the word “Lord,” He still calls One Higher and Greater His Father and Lord, using with beautiful reverence the word Lord twice in speaking of Him, so as to differentiate His title. For He says here, “The Lord, the Lord has sent me,” as if the Almighty God were in a special sense first and true Lord both of His Only- (232) begotten Word and of all begotten things after Him, in relation to which the Word of God has received dominion and power from the Father, as His true and Only-begotten Son, and therefore Himself holds the title of Lord in a secondary sense.

CHAPTER 7

From Genesis.

That Moses, God's Greatest Servant, knows the Father and God of the Universe to have been associated with Another in the Creation of Man: And that. We have learned already that this Being was the Divine Word.

“AND God said, Let us make man in our image, and likeness.” And also: “And God said, It is not good for man to be alone, let us make a helper for him.” And he at once shews that the Being addressed is not an angel of God, so that it may not be thought that this was said to angels, with the words: “And God made man, in the image of God he made him.”

CHAPTER 8

From the same.

That Moses clearly without Veil reveals God to be Two Lords,

“THE sun arose on the earth, and Lot entered Segor, and the Lord rained upon Sodom brimstone and fire from the Lord.”

It is clear here that the second “Lord” refers to him that was sent by the greater Lord to punish the ungodly. Yet if we unreservedly confess two Lords, we do not regard them both as God in the same sense. We are taught in all reverence to admit an order, that One is the Most High Father and God and Lord, and God and Lord of the Second: but that the Word of God is the Second Lord, Lord of those below Him, and yet not equally with the greater. For the Word of God is not Lord of the Father, nor God of the Father, but His Image, and Word, and Wisdom, and Power, and Lord and God of those that come after Him; whereas the Father is Father and Lord and God even of the Son. Wherefore a reverent theology in our opinion rightly recurs to one Source of being and to one God.

CHAPTER 9

From the same.

That the Same Servant of God shews a Second Being called God and Lord, and relates that He was seen in Human Shape and Form and answered Them of Old Time.

[Passages quoted, Gen. xii. 7; xvii. 1; xviii. 1, 17.]

AND again he adds to this, as if speaking of Another:

“For I knew that he will establish his children, and his house after him, and they will keep the ways of the Lord, to do righteousness and judgment, so that the Lord will bring on Abraham what things he spake to him.”

The Lord Who answers, Who is recorded to have said this to Abraham, is represented as clearly confessing another Lord to be his Father and the Maker of all things. At least Abraham, who as a prophet has a clear conception of the speaker, prophetically continues with the words:

“Wilt thou destroy the righteous man with the wicked, and shall the righteous be as the wicked? If there be fifty righteous in the city, wilt thou destroy them? Wilt thou not spare [all] the place, because of the fifty righteous? Be it far from thee to fulfil this word, and destroy the righteous with the wicked, and that the righteous should be as the wicked. In no way let him, that judgeth all the earth, not do judgment.”

I hardly think that this could have been said suitably to angels or to any of God’s ministering spirits. For it could not be regarded as a minor duty to judge all the earth. And he is no angel who is named in the previous passage, but One greater than an angel, the God and Lord who was seen beside the before-mentioned oak with the two angels in human form. Nor can it be thought that Almighty God Himself is meant. For it is impious to suggest that the Divine changes and puts on the shape and form of a man. And so it remains for us to own that it is the Word of God who in the preceding passage is regarded as divine: whence the place is even to-day honoured by those who live in the neighbourhood as a sacred place in honour of those who appeared to Abraham, and the terebinth can still be seen there. For they who were entertained by Abraham, as represented in the picture, sit one on each side, and he in the midst surpasses them in honour. This would be our Lord and Saviour, Whom though men knew Him not they worshipped, confirming the

Holy Scriptures. He then thus in person from that time sowed the seeds of holiness among men, putting on a human form and shape, and revealed to the godly ancestor Abraham Who He was, and shewed him the mind of His Father.

CHAPTER 10

From the same.

That the same Prophet shews more clearly in the Matter of Jacob the said Person to be Lord, Whom also He calls God, and an Angel of God Most High, in addressing Him.

[Passage quoted, Gen. xxviii. 10-19.]

THIS Being who here answers him at such length, you will find, if you read on, to be Lord and God, and the Angel of God, from the words Jacob himself says to his wives:

“And the angel of the Lord said to me in sleep, Jacob. And I said, Here am I.”

And also:

“I have seen, he says, all that Laban doeth to thee. I am the God, that was seen of thee in the place where thou anointedst the pillar for me, and offeredst prayer to me.”

Therefore He that said before, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy Father, and the God of Isaac, to whom godly Jacob raises the pillar, was indeed God and Lord: for we must believe that which He Himself says. Not of course the Almighty, but the Second to Him, Who ministers for His Father among men, and brings His Word. Wherefore Jacob here calls Him an Angel: “The Angel of God said to me, speaking in my sleep, ‘ I am the God who was seen by thee in this place.’ “ So the same Being is clearly called the Angel of the Lord, and God and Lord in this place. And by Isaiah the Prophet he is called “Angel of Great Counsel,” as well as God and Ruler and Potentate, where His Incarnation is prophesied in the words:

“For unto us a child is born, and to us a son is given, on whose shoulder shall be the rule, and his name shall be called the Angel of Great Counsel, Prince of Peace, the Mighty God, the Potentate, the Father of the Age to Come.”

CHAPTER 11

That Jacob also beholds the Before-named as Both God and Lord, and also as an Angel in Human Form in Common with Abraham, in the Course of the History that so tells.

[Passage quoted, Gen. xxxii. 22-31.]

IT was said to Moses, No one shall see My face and live. (But here Jacob saw God not indefinitely but face to face. (And being preserved, not only in body but in soul, he was thought worthy of the name of Israel, which is a name borne by souls, if the name Israel is rightly interpreted “Seeing God.” Yet he did not see the Almighty God. For He is invisible, and unalterable, and the Highest of all Being could not possibly change into man.

But he saw Another, Whose name it was not yet the time to reveal to curious Jacob. And if we were to suppose that he saw an angel, or that one of the divine spirits in heaven whose duty it is to bring oracles to the holy, we should clearly be wrong; firstly, because He is called Lord and God, for certainly Holy Scripture calls him God in distinct terms, and names Him Lord, honouring Him with the name signified by the Tetragram, which the Hebrews only apply to the unspeakable and secret name of God: and secondly, because when Scripture desires to speak of angels, it clearly distinguishes them as such, as when the God and Lord Who replies to Abraham no longer thinks the sinners of Sodom worthy of His presence, and Holy Scripture says:

“And the Lord departed, and ceased speaking with Abraham. And the two angels departed to Sodom at evening.”

And to Jacob:

“ There came two angels of God: and he saw them, and said, It is the camp of God. And he called the name of that place, Encampments.”

Here, then, the godly man clearly distinguished the nature of the visions, since he now called the name of the place Encampments, from his seeing the encampments of the angels. Whereas when he communes with God, he calls the name of the place, Sight of God, adding, “For I have seen God face to face.”

And when an angel appears to Moses, Holy Scripture also makes it plain, saying: “The angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire in a bush.” But when it refers to the actual being who replies, it calls him God and Lord, and no longer an angel. It is equally clear in its distinction between the angel

and the Lord in the account of what happened at the Red Sea, where it says:

“And the angel of the Lord that went before the children of Israel, removed and went behind them; and the pillar of the cloud also removed from before them.”

And as in the former passage the Lord is introduced as answering the men of the old time in human form, so also is He here by the cloud. For it is said afterwards:

“And it came to pass in the morning-watch, that the Lord looked upon the camp of the Egyptians in a pillar of fire and cloud. And God answered Moses in the pillar of the cloud through the whole of the wanderings in the wilderness.”

So Scripture is quite exact when the nature of an angel is meant, for it calls him neither God nor Lord, but simply Angel. But when it knows that He that appears was Lord and God, it clearly uses those terms. And that by Lord and God they do not mean the First Cause, the passages of Holy Scripture clearly shew which call Him the Angel of God, Who had previously been called Lord and God in the part concerning Jacob. It only remains for Him then to be God and Lord among beings, after the Almighty God of the Universe. And He would thus be the Word of God before the ages, greater than all angels, but less than the First Cause.

CHAPTER 12

Thai again in the Story of Jacob the Story supposes a Secondary God.

[Passage quoted, Gen. xxxv. 1-3.]

HERE the very God of the Universe, the only Unbegotten (239) and Most High (not seen, for He answers Jacob invisibly, and moving him by His unspeakable power), speaks clearly of Another than Himself. God then said to him, “Make an altar to the God that appeared to thee.” I have already shewn Who this was that was described before as appearing to him, and proved that it was the Word of God.

CHAPTER 13

From Exodus.

That the Almighty God, being He that answered Moses by an Angel, teaches that He was seen by the Fathers, not by means of an Angel, but by His Son.

[Passages quoted, Exod. iii. 1, 2, 4, 5, 14; vi. 2-4.]

IN the case of the Prophets, Isaiah, say, or Jeremiah, or those like them, a man was seen, and God prophesied through him that was seen, as by an instrument; and now the Person of Christ, now that of the Holy Spirit, and now that of Almighty God, answered through the prophet. So we must suppose the Most High and Almighty God now prophesies the things before us to Moses who is under (240) instruction by the angel that appeared to him. The intention of which must have been of this nature: "To you, O prophet, as one being instructed and not fit for aught but angelic visions, hitherto I have willed to send my angel; and I make my Name clear to thee alone, teaching thee that I am what I am, and that my Name is the Lord; but I not only showed this to thy fathers, but I gave them a greater gift, I appeared to them." I have already shewn Who it was that appeared to the fathers, when I shewed that (b) the angel of God was called God and Lord. It will naturally be asked how He that is beyond the universe, Himself the only Almighty God, appeared to the fathers. And the answer will be found if we realize the accuracy of Holy Scripture. For the Septuagint rendering, "I was seen of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, being their God." Aquila says, "And I was seen by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as a sufficient God," clearly shewing that the Almighty God Himself, Who is One, was not seen in His own Person; (c) and that He did not give answers to the fathers, as He did to Moses by an angel, or a fire, or a bush, but "as a sufficient God": so that the Father was seen by the fathers through the Son, according to His saying in the Gospels, "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father." For the knowledge of the Father was revealed in Him and by Him. But in cases when He appeared to save men, He was seen in the human form of the Son, giving an earnest before the time to the godly of that salvation which should come (d) through Him to all men; whereas when He was going to be the avenger and chastiser of the wicked Egyptians, He appeared no longer as a sufficient God, but as an angel ministering punishment, and in form of fire and flame, ready at once to devour them like

wild and thorny undergrowth. So they say that the bush darkly refers to the wild, savage, and cruel character of the Egyptians, and the fire to the avenging power of the chastisement that overtook them. (241)

CHAPTER 14

That God the Word appeared in the Form of a Cloud to Moses and All the People, as in Human Form to the Patriarchs.

[Passages quoted, Exod. xix. 9; xxxiii. 9; Num.xii. 5.]

The people then beheld the pillar of cloud, and it spoke (c) to Moses. But who was the speaker? Obviously the pillar of cloud, which before appeared to the fathers in a human form. And I have already shewn that this was not the Almighty God, but another Being Whom we name, as the Word of God, the Christ Who was seen for the sake of the multitude of Moses and the people in a pillar of cloud, because it was not possible for them to see Him like their (d) fathers in human shape. For, surely, it was reserved for the Perfect to be able to see beforehand His future Incarnate appearance among men, and since it was impossible then for the whole people to bear it, He was seen now in fire in order to inspire fear and wonder, and now in a cloud, as it were in a shadowy and veiled form ruling them, as He was also seen, by Moses for their sake.

CHAPTER 15

That it was not an Angel, who gave Answers to Moses, but Some One More Excellent than an Angel.

[Passages quoted, Exod. xxiii. 20, 21; xxxii. 34; xxxiii. i.]

IT will be plain to all that these could not be the words of a mere angel of God. But of what God could they (c) be, but of the One seen by the forefathers, whom Jacob clearly called the Angel of God? And He we know was the Word of God, being called both the Servant of God, and God Himself and Lord.

CHAPTER 16

(d) That the same Lord teaches of another Lord, namely, His Son. (243)

[Passage quoted, Exod. xx. 2, 5, 7.]

From the Decalogue.

HERE, too, the Lord Himself teaches in the passage before us about another Lord. For He says: “I am the Lord thy God,” and adds: “Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God.” The second Lord is here mystically instructing His Servant about the Father, that is to say, the God of the Universe. And you could find many other similar instances occurring in Holy Scripture, in which God gave answers as if about another God, and the Lord Himself as if about another Lord.

CHAPTER 17

*That this Lord again Who gave Answers to Moses, knowing another Lord Greater than Himself as
Father, called Him the True God.*

(d) [Passages quoted, Exod. xxxiii. 17-18; xxxiv. 5-8.]

NOTICE, then, here how the Lord that descended in the cloud, and stood by Moses in the name of the Lord, called Another beside Himself, Who is twice called Lord, in a common form of reduplication, as one reckoned as God to be His own Master and Master of all others, and His Own Father, and that here it is not Moses, as might be supposed, but the Lord Himself Who calls another Lord His Father; for He speaks first, and say to Moses: "I will pass before thee in my glory, and will call upon the name of the Lord." And when He has so said, Scripture goes on in narrative form: "And the Lord descended in a cloud, and stood beside him there, and called on the name of the Lord."

Thus the Lord Himself in fulfilment of His promise descends and passes before the face of Moses. And the Lord Himself calls and says: "O Lord, the God of pity and mercy," and that which follows, clearly teaching His servant Who He was, and teaching mystically the knowledge of a Lord greater than Himself. And Moses implies this, when in his prayer for the people he records the words of the Lord before us, that the Lord spoke them, and not he himself, when he says:

"And now let the hand of the Lord be exalted, as thou saidst, The Lord is long-suffering and very pitiful and true, taking away sins and injustice, and iniquity, and will not clear the guilty with purification, avenging the sins of fathers upon their children to the third and fourth generation."

Notice the way in which the Lord Himself addressing the Father in these words as "long-suffering and of tender mercy," calls Him also "true," agreeing with the words: "That they may know thee the only true God," spoken in the Gospels by the same Being, our Saviour. Yea, with exceeding reverence He calls the Father the only true God, given meet honour to the Unbegotten Nature, of which Holy Scripture teaches us He is Himself the Image and the Offspring.

CHAPTER 18

From Numbers.

That Holy Scripture teaches that God was seen by Israel, darkly meaning the Word of God.

IN the Book of Numbers Moses prays, saying: “Since thou art the Lord of this people that art seen of them face to face.”

For which Aquila substitutes: “Since thou art the Lord in the hearts of this people, which sees thee, O Lord, face to face.” And Symmachus: “Since thou art, O Lord.”

And it is said in Exodus: “And Moses, and Aaron, and Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel went up, and saw the place where the God of Israel stood.” Instead of which Aquila says: “And they saw the God of Israel.” And Symmachus: “And they saw in a vision the God of Israel.”

From the text: “No man has seen God at any time,” perhaps it might be thought that the above quotation contradicts the Saviour’s words, as implying that the invisible is visible. But if they be understood, like our former quotations, of the Word of God, Who was seen by the fathers “in many ways and in sundry manners,” no contradiction is involved.

The God of Israel here seen is shewn to be the same Being Who was seen by Israel, when a man wrestled with Him, Who first changed his name from Jacob to Israel, saying: “Thou hast power with God,” and when, also, Jacob appreciating His divine power called the place of the struggle the Sight of God, saying: “I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.” I showed in the proper place that this was no other than the Word of God.

CHAPTER 19

From Joshua, the son of Nave.

That God the Word, Who answered Moses, appeared also to the Forefathers of Old Time, and to Joshua, Moses' Successor, in Human Form.

[Passage quoted, Josh. v. 13-15.]

THE same words, you will remember, were said by the same Lord to Moses at the beginning of the vision of the Bush, for Scripture says:

“4. And when the Lord saw that he drew nigh to see, He called him from the midst of the Bush, saying, Moses, Moses, come not near here; loose thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.”

So, then, the command that was given shews that the God Who answered on both occasions was one and the same. Though here He prophesies through the Chief and Captain of His power, and to Moses by the vision of the angel. And of the heavenly armies, celestial powers and invisible spirits, holy angels and archangels ministering to God the King of kings and the Lord of lords (as Daniel says: “Thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him”), what other could be highest of all but the Word of God, His Firstborn Wisdom, His Divine Offspring? Rightly, then, He is here called Chief Captain of the Power of the Lord, as also elsewhere “Angel of Great Counsel,” “Throned with the Father,” “Eternal and Great High Priest.” And it has been proved that the same Being is both Lord and God, and Christ anointed by the Father with the oil of gladness. Thus, appearing to Abraham by the oak in human form, He reveals Himself in a calm and peaceful guise, foreshowing by it His future Coming to save mankind; He appeared to Jacob, as to an athlete and a champion destined to wrestle with enemies, in the form of a man, and to Moses and the people in the form of cloud and fire, and led them, shewing Himself terrible and shadowy.

And as Joshua, the successor of Moses, was about to fight against the former possessors of Palestine his enemies, foreign and most ungodly races, He rightly appears to him with a sword drawn and pointed against the enemy, shewing by the vision that He Himself is about to attack the ungodly with an unseen sword and with divine power, the fellow-soldier and the fellow-combatant of His people. Wherefore He gives Himself the name of Chief and

Captain of the Lord to suit the occasion.

CHAPTER 20

How the Creator of the Universe, the Word of God, answered Job, and is said to have appeared to Him, just as He (b) did to the Fathers.

[Passages quoted, Job xxxviii. 1, 4, 7, 8, 14-17; xlii. 4-6.]

IT is easy to distinguish that the words before us are the Words of the Lord the Creator, not only from what has previously been considered but from the impression they make on you. And, moreover, that the passages: “Hast thou gone to the source of the sea, and trodden in the footprints of the deep?” and: “Do the gates of death open to thee for fear, and did the fortress of hell quake when they saw thee?” prophesy our Saviour’s descent into Hades I will prove in the proper place, only now . remarking that it is more reasonable to refer this passage to God the Word than to the God of the Universe.

(248) Job certainly afterwards bears witness that he has seen with his own eyes, as the fathers did the Lord Who spoke to him through the whirlwind and the clouds, saying:

“Hear me, Lord, that I also may speak: and I will ask thee, and teach thou me. I have heard of thee by the report of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee; wherefore I have humiliated myself and have melted, and I reckon myself dust and ashes.”

But how could a soul clothed in flesh and mortal eyes (b) behold the Most High God, the Being beyond the Universe, the Unchangeable and Unbegotten Essence, unless we could say that here also God the Word proved to be Lord in varying instances shews Himself as passing from His own proper majesty? This we may learn to be so from the oracles themselves, in which the Lord again narrating the story of the devil, under the name of the Dragon, to Job, insisted, Do not you fear because he is prepared for me? For what Lord ought we to think that the Dragon (c) was prepared, but our Saviour the Divine Word? He it was that destroyed the Prince of this world, who of old besieged the human race, loosing the pains of death, as He Himself also shews, saying: “Didst thou come to the spring of the sea, and trodest thou the traces of the depth? Did the doors of death open to thee in fear, and the warders of hell seeing thee tremble?” and He naturally gave this answer to Job after the great trial and contest through which He had gone, teaching him that though he has struggled more than his share, a greater and sterner (d) battle and contest is

reserved for the Lord Himself against the time of His Coming to earth to die.

CHAPTER 21

From Psalm xc.

That this Psalm knows Two Lords.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xc. 9-13.]

THESE are the words that the devil uses in the Temptation (249) of our Saviour. Notice, then, how the Psalm says to the Lord Himself: “For thou, O Lord my hope, hast made the Most High thy refuge.” For Thou Thyself, he says, my hope, O Lord, hast made thy refuge One greater than Thyself, God Himself the Most Highest over all and Thine own Father; wherefore evils shall not come upon Thee, (b) and no scourge shall come nigh Thy dwelling. And although wicked men attempt to scourge Thee, when Thou shalt become man, and to put Thee to death, yet for all that the scourge of God shall not come nigh Thy dwelling, that is Thy body, which Thou shalt wear for our sakes having become man. In the same way you will refer to Him all the remainder of the Psalm, which I will consider also in its fit place.

CHAPTER 22

From Hosea.

About the Word of God and about the Father, as about a Lord.

[Passage quoted, Hos. xi. 9.]

IN these words God the Word says when He has become man to those who confess Him to be a holy man, but not God: "I am God and not a holy man among you." And, then, having called Himself God, He shews the Almighty Lord and God, His Father, adding: "I will go behind the Lord." And the words: "I will not enter into the city," are of one who refuses to take part in the common and vulgar life of men, from which also He dissuades his own disciples: "Go not on a road of the Gentiles, and enter not into a city of the Samaritans."

CHAPTER 23

From Amos.

(b) Of Our Saviour as of a Lord, and of His Father as of God, and. of the Destruction of the Jewish People.

[Passage quoted, Amos iv. ii.]

AND here the Lord Himself says that some God has caused the destruction of Sodom, since He Himself must plainly be a different Being from the One of Whom He speaks. Therefore two Lords stands out in the destruction (c) of Sodom and Gomorrah, when the Lord rained the fire of the Lord on them. You also, he says, will suffer a destruction such as Sodom underwent for its unnatural wickedness, and even so did not turn to Me. Scripture generally regards the future as past, so that we must understand the past to be meant in spite of the tense. The future “I will overthrow” must be understood for the past “I overthrew,” and “ye will not turn,” for “ye did turn.”

This is levelled at the Jewish race, and only received its fulfilment in their case, after their plot against our Saviour, (d) Their ancient holy place, at any rate, and their Temple are to this day as much destroyed as Sodom. Yet though they have suffered in accordance with the prediction, they have not hitherto turned to Christ, on Whose account they have suffered so much. And so the prophecy before us is justly inspired to say: “And neither so have ye returned to me, saith the Lord.”

CHAPTER 24

From Obadiah.

Of the Two Lords, Father and Son, and of the Call (b) of the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Obad. 1.]

THE Lord God has heard a report from the Lord. And this report was about the call of the Gentiles.

CHAPTER 25

From Zechariah.

That God the Word being Lord confesses that He was sent (c) by a Greater Lord.

[Passage quoted, Zech. ii. 8.]

IF, then, the Lord that sent (Him) is Lord Almighty, and He that says He was sent is so also, surely there are Two; And He that was sent as Almighty Lord of the nations says clearly, “He sent me.”

CHAPTER 26

The same, and concerning the Call of the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Zech. ii. 10, 11.]

AND this prophecy is like the former one, telling of the coming of the Christ to men, and the call of the Gentiles to salvation through Him.

“For I the Lord myself will come,” He says, “and at My coming no longer Israel of old, nor one single nation of the earth alone, but many nations shall take refuge in the greater and high Lord, the God of Me Myself and of the Universe, to Whom fleeing the nations shall reap the great harvest of being called and actually becoming the people of God, and of dwelling in the midst of her that is called the daughter of Zion.”

So it is common in Holy Scripture to call the Church of God on earth, as being as it were a daughter of the heavenly Zion. And this good news is told in the oracle which says:

“Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Zion, because I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee.” For we believe that God the Word dwells in the midst of the Church. As indeed He promised when He said, “Lo, I am with you all the days, until the end of the world” — and, “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” And when, He says:

“I the Lord Myself, do come and dwell in the midst of you; thou shalt receive a greater knowledge of God, for I the Lord will refer the cause of My being sent to men to My Father who sent Me. Thou shalt know that the Lord Almighty has sent Me unto you.”

And then in such words as these the Lord Himself speaks about another Lord and God, “And I will strengthen them in the Lord their God, and in my name shall they boast, saith the Lord.” Who then are those who boast in the Lord?

CHAPTER 27

How again the Lord narrates concerning another Lord, and this is clearly His Father. (253)

[Passage quoted, Zech. iii. 1.]

AND here again the Lord says that another Lord will rebuke the devil. The Lord that is speaking with Him is not himself the rebuker, but tells of another Lord. Wherein I consider there is clear proof of the existence of two Lords, the Father and God of the Universe, and One after the Father, Who has received the lordship and dominion of all things begotten.

CHAPTER 28

From Malachi.

That the Almighty God calls the Angel of the Covenant Christ, and the same Being Lord.

[Passage quoted, Mal. iii. 1-2.]

THIS, too, is like the former prophecies. For the Lord God (c) Himself, the Almighty, says that a Lord will come in His own temple, speaking of another: And He surely means God the Word. And after this also He names Him “the Angel of the Covenant” of Whom, too, Almighty God teaches that He will Him send forth before His face, saying, “Behold, I send forth my angel before my face.” And this same Being, Whom He has called “My angel,” He calls Lord directly after, and adds, “The Lord shall suddenly come, and the Angel of the Covenant.” Thus having (d) referred to one and the same Being, He proceeds, “Behold he comes, and who will abide the day of his coming?” meaning His Second and Glorious Coming. And the Lord who makes this prophecy is God, the Sovereign of the Universe.

CHAPTER 29

That the God of the Universe names Christ the Sun of Righteousness.

[Passage quoted, Mal. iv. 2.]

HE that has often been named Lord, and God, and Angel, and Chief Captain, Christ and Priest, and Word and Wisdom of God, and Image, this same Being is now called Sun of Righteousness. And we see that the Father that begat Him proclaims that He will rise not on all, but only on those that fear His Name, giving them the light of the Sun of Righteousness as a reward for their fear. He, then, must be God the Word, Who said, “I am the Light of the world”; for He was “the light that lighteth every man coming into the world.” He of course, and not the sun of nature, perceptible to all alike whether they have reason or not, He that is divine and spiritual, and the cause of all virtue and justice, God says in this passage, will rise only on those that fear Him, hiding Himself from the unworthy. Concerning which He says somewhere else, “And the sun shall set upon the prophets that deceive my people.”

CHAPTER 30

From Jeremiah.

That God the Word, being Lord, prays to His Father, prophesying the Conversion of the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Jer. xvi. 19-21.]

THE Lord prays to another Lord, clearly His Father and the God of the Universe, and says in the opening of His prayer, “O Lord, thou art my strength,” and that which follows. And He clearly prophesies the conversion of the Gentiles from idolatrous error to godly religion. And this prophecy, moreover, has been shewn most clearly to have been fulfilled after the Coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ to men.

But now that we have, by thirty prophetic quotations in all, learned that our Lord and Saviour the Word of God is (b) God, a Second God after the Most High and Supreme, we will pass to another topic in connection with the theology of His Person, and prove from the holy books of the Hebrews that it was necessary for this same God to come to men.

BOOK VI

(237) IN my fifth book of the *Proof of the Gospel* the doctrine of the Father and the Son has been clearly defined in the confession of one Almighty God, and in the proof of a Second Being coming after Him as Head of all begotten things, Whom the Holy Scriptures named of old the Firstborn Wisdom of God, the Only-begotten Son, God of God, the Angel of Great Counsel, the Leader of the Host of Heaven, the Minister of the Father, yea, even Lord of the Universe, Word of God and Power of God, and if now the witness of the prophets should shew that they foretold that God intended to come to men, it will be abundantly evident to whom we must apply this prediction, especially as according to what I have said already, the Word of God, under the Name of Lord and God, appeared to human eyes, to the pious men of Abraham's day, made in the form and likeness of man.

So let us now examine any such predictions of the Hebrew oracles, that now the Ford, now God, would descend to men and again ascend in their sight, and the causes of His descent: and you will note that some prophecies are veiled and some clearly expressed. I hold that the secret prophecies were delivered in a disguised form because of the Jews, as the predictions concerning them were unfavourable; because they would most probably have destroyed the writing, if it had plainly foretold their final ruin; just as history shows that they attacked the prophets, because they rebuked them. But the prophecies that are clear include beyond all doubt the call of the Gentiles, and announce the promises of the reward of holiness not only to the Jewish race, but to all men throughout the world. As this is so, we must now hear the divine oracles.

CHAPTER 1

(238) *Of the Sojourn of the Word of God with Men.*

From Psalm xvii.

The Shewing forth of the Coming of God to Men, and the Consequent Call of the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xvii. 9-11.]

I CONSIDER that we have here an express prophecy of God's Descent from heaven. For after telling many divine truths he adds the above. In saying "He bowed the heavens and came down," he notes that humiliation of the Divine Glory, which the divine apostle expressed, when he said:

"Who being in the form of God, did not consider it a prize to be equal with God, but emptied himself, and took the form of a servant."

And by the words, "He rode upon Cherubim and flew," I believe he presents darkly the return to Divine Glory, which He made surrounded by troops of angelic and divine powers. And this also seems to be intended by, "He flew upon the wings of the wind." And by "making darkness his secret-place, and darkness under his feet," is signified the hidden and secret dispensation, under which He accomplished all this. What shall we understand by "round about him was his tabernacle" but His Holy Catholic Church, either the earthly, or the heavenly? And afterwards at the end of the same Psalm, there is a prophecy of the rejection of the former people coincident with the call of the Gentiles:

"43. Save me from the gainsayings of the people, thou wilt make me the head of the Gentiles. A people whom I have not known shall serve me.

"44. At the hearing of the ear they obeyed me: the strange children lied to me.

"45. The strange children waxed old: and grew lame from their paths."

I will examine in the proper place what meaning is to be attributed to this.

CHAPTER 2

Psalm xlv.

The Ascent of God Who had First descended, and the Calling of all the Gentiles thereafter, to know the One and Only God.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xlv. 1-9.]

WHAT can the Ascension of the Lord God here mentioned imply, but a Descent previous to His Ascension, after which the calling of all the Gentiles is again prophesied, and good news of joy and gladness announced to all nations in their future knowledge of God, when the Lord Himself, He that is the one Most High God and King of all the earth, is said to subdue the peoples under us. And who are meant by “us”? Surely those who give the prophecy: which will be clearly seen to be fulfilled, when all the nations that believe in Christ are subdued to the teaching of the prophets.

Or they might be spoken in the person of our Saviour’s apostles, who also could say, “He has chosen out an inheritance for us.” And what else could be understood by “his inheritance,” but the calling of all nations, which the Christ of God shewed forth Himself, when He said: “The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son: to-day have I begotten thee . . . Desire of me and I shall give the heathen for thine inheritance, and the bounds of the earth for thy possession? “This inheritance, then, that was given Him by the Father He subordinated to His apostles and prophets, by subduing those that believed on Him to their words agreeably to the above prophecies.

And the Word of God, of Whom I have discoursed so much, after accomplishing all things in His appearance among men, “ascended with a shout.” This is interpreted by the apostle, who says: “That he ascended, what is it but that he also descended first to the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same as He Who ascended far above all heavens.” And he says that He ascended with a shout, because of the companies of angels proclaiming His Divinity as He went up, who also said: “Open your gates, ye rulers, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in.”

And you would not err in identifying the sound of the trumpet with the preaching of the Gospel heard in all the world. For as the trumpet is the loudest of all musical instruments, it seems a fit symbol to shew forth that the

teaching given to all men about Christ is proclaimed in stronger and louder tones than any other teaching has ever been, by which as by a trumpet for the hearing of all men the Holy Spirit shouts and cries what follows in this Psalm, “Sing to the Lord, sing, sing to our King, sing, That God is King “not only of the Jewish race in the future, he says, but “of all the earth, sing with understanding.”

No more the daemons of old, he says, no more the earth-bound and weak spirits, but God Himself rules over all the nations, God Himself, Who sits upon His holy seat.

I have already in the preceding book treated of the throne of God the Word, on which the Father bade Him sit, “Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.” And we can still more clearly refer the words, “The princes of the peoples were gathered together with the God of Abraham,” to the Gentile rulers of the Christian Church coming into the inheritance of God’s pious prophets of old, who, waxing strong by the power of the Saviour, have been lifted up, no man being able to cast them down or humble them because of the right hand of God that raises them and gives them power. But of this I will give fuller treatment when I have leisure.

CHAPTER 3

From Psalm xlix.

How it is said that God will come dearly to Men, and will call all Races of Men to Himself.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xlix. 1-14.]

HERE the divine prediction clearly prophesies that God will come manifestly, meaning none other but the Word of God. And it shews the reason of His coming, again emphasizing the calling of all nations of the world. For it says, “He (d) has called the earth from the rising of the sun to the setting”; and it teaches that the rejection of the outward worship according to the Mosaic Law will follow hard after His Manifestation and the calling of the Gentiles, a worship which actually ceased after the manifestation of the Word of God to all men. For from that day to this all men throughout all the world have been called, and all the nations of the east and west. And the Jewish worship has ceased (262) and been abolished, all men being called to worship according to the new Covenant of the preaching of the Gospel, and not according to the Law of Moses. We might also apply these prophecies to our Saviour’s second and glorious Coming.

CHAPTER 4

From Psalm lxxxiii.

That God is said to be about to be seen on Earth through the Manifestation of the Christ to Men.

[Passage quoted, Ps. lxxxiii. 7.]

AFTER saying that the God of gods shall be seen, he prays that His Manifestation may take place quickly, teaching in what manner He will be seen in the words, “Look on the lace of thy Christ,” as if he said more clearly, “Manifest thyself to us in the person of Christ.” For since “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father that sent me,” He naturally promises that the God of God who dwells in Christ will manifest Himself in the Person of Christ.

CHAPTER 5

From Psalm xcv.

The Coining of Christ on Earth, and His Kingdom over the Gentiles, and the New Song which shall be given, not to Israel but to the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xcv. 1-13.]

(b) HERE again the Coming of the Lord to men is foretold, and that a new song shall be sung at His Coming, by which is meant the new Covenant, by the whole earth, not by the Jewish race; and that the good news will be no longer for Israel, but for all the nations, since it says that the Lord Who is to come will be their King. But who could this be but God the Word, Who, intending to judge the world in righteousness and the human race in truth, reckons all men in the world equally worthy of His call, and of the salvation of God consequent thereon?

CHAPTER 6

From Psalm xcvi.

The New Song, the Knowledge of the Heathen of the Lord's Righteousness and His Own Coming as Judge of the Universe.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xcvi. 1-8.]

IT is prophesied here that the Coming of the Lord will be the cause of great benefits to the nations, which have been proved to have actually accrued to them, through the manifestation of our Saviour. For of a truth from then and not before the new song of the new Covenant has been sung among all men, and His wonders have been known (264) and heard by all men through the written gospels. Yea, and salvation also, by the Resurrection of the Lord from the dead, has been revealed to all nations, and the true righteousness, by which it has been clearly proved, that God is not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles. "Since there is one God," in the words of the holy apostle, "who will judge the circumcision from their faith, and the uncircumcision through faith." And the words, "for he cometh to judge the earth," might refer also to His second Coming."

CHAPTER 7

From Psalm cvii.

The Word of God sent forth for the Healing and Salvation of Souls Long Time afflicted with Evil.

[Passages quoted, Ps. cvii. 15-19, 32-36.]

THIS clearly gives the good news of the Descent of God the Word from heaven, Who is named, and of the result of His Coming. For it says, “He sent his Word and healed them.” And we say distinctly that the Word of God was He that was sent as the Saviour of all men, Whom we are taught by the Holy Scriptures to reckon divine. And it (265) darkly suggests that He came down even unto death for the sake of those who had died before Him, and in revealing the redemption of those to be saved by Him it shews the reason of His Coming. For He saved without aid from any one those that had gone before Him even to the gates of death, healed them and rescued them from their destruction. And this He did simply by breaking what are called the gates of death, and crushing the bars of iron. And (b) then the prophecy proceeds to predict the state of desolation of those who rejected Him when He came. For it says, “He turned rivers into a wilderness, and rivers of waters into thirst, a fruitful land into saltness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein”: which you will understand if you behold Jerusalem of old, the famous city of the Jewish race, her glory and her fruitfulness, despoiled now of her holy citizens and pious men. For (c) after the coming of Christ she became as the prophet truly says without fruit or water, and quite deserted, “saltness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.”

To this is added quite in the prophetic manner a veiled prediction of the change of the long-time desert and thirsty land, referring either to the individual soul, or to the turning of the Gentile Church to holiness, and of its fertility in divine words. This is clearly predicted in a veiled way, when it says, “He made the desert into pools of water,” and that which follows. But to understand this one must have wisdom from God; according to the monition at the end of the Psalm, which says, “Who is wise, and he will (d) keep this? “and that which follows.

CHAPTER 8

From Psalms cxvii. and cxviii.

The Calling of the Gentiles, God Manifested, and Pressed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord.

[Passages quoted, Pss. cxvii. 1 and cxviii. 25.]

(266) HOLY Scripture records that this prophecy was fulfilled when our Lord and Saviour Christ entered Jerusalem, and a great multitude of men and children went before Him (b) crying with joy, “Hosanna to the Son of David, Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest.” For instead of, “O Lord, save us,” as expressed in the Psalm, they cried out the Hebrew “Hosanna,” which is translated by “save.” And the words, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,” explain the words that follow, “The Lord is God and hath appeared to us.” It was, then, one and the same Lord God that appeared to them, that is to say the Word of God, as He Who is therefore blessed, because He came among men in the name of the Lord His Father that sent Him. It was therefore in reproof of the Jews that disbelieved in Him, that He said: “I came in the name of my Father, and ye received me not. But if one come in his own name, him will ye receive.” So the Holy Spirit suitably addresses the opening verses of the Psalm not to the Jewish people, but to all the nations.

CHAPTER 9

From Psalm cxliii.

The Descent of the Lord from Heaven for Men's Salvation, (d) and the New Song sung thereafter, which is the Song of the New Covenant.

[Passages quoted, Ps. cxliii. 3, 5, 9.]

I CONSIDER this to be connected with my present subject. (267) For in his wonder at the knowledge of God the Word coming to men, the Psalmist is astonished above measure at the love by which He descends from His Divinity, and lessens His natural Majesty, and reckons the human race worthy of bearing Him. So here he prays, saying, "Lord, bow the heavens and descend." While in the Seventeenth Psalm it is written, "And he bowed the heavens, and descended, and it was dark under his feet. And he rode upon Cherubim, and flew, he flew upon the wings of the winds," wherein there is a prophecy of His Ascension (b) from earth to heaven. And when there is a fit opportunity I will shew that we must understand the Descent and Ascension of God the Word not as of one moving locally, but in the metaphorical sense which Scripture intends in the use of such conventional terms.

But we should also note here the new Covenant, into which the Coming of Christ was about to invite men. And the new Covenant is that which succeeds the old and is given to all nations. And so the oracle before us says, "O God, I will sing a new song to thee." The words, (c) "Touch the mountains and they shall smoke," I think are a veiled prophecy of the burning and abolition of all forms of idolatry, which had its chief seats among the ancients in mountains, it being a common charge against the Jews themselves, that they worshipped idols on every high mountain in imitation of foreign nations.

CHAPTER 10

(d) From Psalm cxlvii.

The Word of God sent on Earth, and in a Short Time running through All Nations.

[Passage quoted, Ps. cxlvii. 12, 15.]

“HE that sendeth his word on earth, until his word runs swiftly.” He that sends is evidently distinct from Him that (268) is sent. You have then, here, both the Sender, the Almighty God, and also the Word that was sent, Who having many names is called by the holy oracles now Wisdom, now Word, now God, and also Lord. And as you know how in a very short time the word of His teaching has filled the whole world, I am sure you will wonder at the fulfilment of the prophecy, “Till his word runs swiftly.”

CHAPTER 11

From the Second Book of Kings [= 2 Samuel].

(c) *The Lord descending from Heaven, Leader of the Nations that before knew Him not, and about to cast off the Jewish Nation.*

[Passages quoted, 2 Sam. xxii. 1, 10-12, 44-46.]

(d) THE God that bowed the heavens and came down, Who mounted upon the man whom He had chosen, called here Cherubim by Scripture, flew up with Him making His Ascension with the divine spirits as His bodyguard, and these are called the wings of the winds. And it suggests that this was done darkly and in obscurity by some secret and hidden words, when it says, “And he made darkness his secret place.” What follows agrees with the Incarnation of Christ and shews the opposition of the Jewish people to Him, and the obedience of the Gentiles to His teaching.

You will find similar sayings in the Seventeenth Psalm, about which I have already given my views.

CHAPTER 12

From the Third Book of Kings [= First Book of Kings].

God descending from Heaven, and dwelling with Men on Earth.

[Passage quoted, 1 Kings viii. 26, 27.]

THIS is also found in the same words in Chronicles. God then promised David He would raise up a king from His body, and would be His father, so that the offspring of the seed of David should be called the Son of God, and should have His throne in an eternal kingdom. This was prophesied to David by Nathan in the Second Book of Kings as follows:

“And it shall come to pass when thy days shall have been fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, that I will raise up thy seed after thee, who shall come from thy body, and I will prepare his kingdom. He shall build a house to my name, and I will establish his throne for ever. I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son.”

The same is also said in Chronicles. And in the 88th Psalm it is written:

“27. He shall call on me, Thou art my Father, my God and the helper of my salvation. | 28. And I will will make him my firstborn, | high among the kings of the earth. | 29. I will keep my mercy for him for ever, | and my covenant shall stand fast with him, | 30. and I will make his seed last for ever and ever, | and his: throne as the days of heaven.” |

And again:

“4. I have sworn | to David my servant, | 5. I will prepare thy seed for ever, | and I will build thy throne from generation to generation.” |

And once more:

“36. I have sworn once by my holiness that I will not lie to David. | 37. His seed shall remain for ever, | and his throne is as the sun before me, | 38. and as the moon that is established for ever.” |

And Psalm 131, too, when it records this, refers the matter to Christ. Hear what it says:

“1. Remember, Lord, David and all his gentleness; |
2. how he sware to the Lord and vowed a vow unto the God of Jacob.” |

To which he adds afterwards:

“11. The Lord sware the truth to David, and he will not abolish him. | Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy seat.” |

And a little lower down he names more definitely Him that is to arise of the fruit of David’s body, as follows:

“17. There will I raise up the horn of David, I have prepared a lantern for my Christ. | 18. His enemies I will clothe with shame; | but on him shall his glory flower.” |

And so Solomon being unique in wisdom, understanding this oracle given to his father, and perceiving it to be no slight thing, but something beyond human nature, and more suitable to God than to himself, son of David though he was, and knowing who was meant by God by the Firstborn, and who was clearly foretold as the Son of God, was overjoyed at the message, and prayed that the words of the prophecy might be confirmed, and that He that was foretold might come, calling Him Firstborn and Son of God. So he says, “And now, O God of Israel, let thy word be confirmed which thou spakest to thy servant David my father: Shall God truly dwell with men on earth, if the heaven and the heaven of heavens will not suffice thee?”

CHAPTER 13

From Micah.

Concerning the Descent from Heaven to Men, and concerning the Fall of the Jewish Nation at His Coming, and the Incorporation of All the Other Nations.

[Passage quoted, Micah i. 2-5.] (271)

HERE, too, in this passage the Descent of the Lord coming forth from His place is proclaimed plainly. This must mean (b) the Word of God, Whom I have proved in the previous books to be alone God and Lord after the Supreme and Almighty God. His place you would rightly understand to be the kingdom of heaven, and the glorious throne of His Divinity, of which the prophet sang in praise of God, saying, “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,” on which the Father bade Him sit as being His Only-begotten Son, saying, “Sit thou on my right hand.” For I have already shewn (c) that these words can only be referred to our Saviour, God the Word. So, then, the prophecy before us says that He conies forth from His place, and will descend upon the high-places of the earth. How are we to understand this? Shall we take it literally of the hills and mountains of Israel, which are the subjects of so many prophecies, Jerusalem itself and Mount Sion, in which our Lord and Saviour spent so much time? If so, their destruction and ruin at (d) the descent of Christ would be prophesied. And it is the fact that after the Saviour’s coming and the treatment He received all the hills mentioned were besieged, and utterly desolated. But the rulers of the Jewish people as well, and their kingdom that existed previously, their sacrificial system and the seats of their teachers, here called Mountains metaphorically, are said to be shaken by the Descent of the Lord from heaven. And who could deny that this was fulfilled after the time of our Saviour Jesus Christ, when he sees all these things not only shaken, but abolished? And the valleys even now melting are the Jewish synagogues established in all cities instead of Jerusalem and Mount (272) Sion, which are full of lamentation and wailing, and melting as wax at the fire with grief and extreme sorrow for the desolation of their homes and their long and lasting slavery. And the coming of the Word of God regarded in another light took place not in chasms and valleys, nor in lowly and earth-bound thoughts, but in exalted souls. And so the Lord Himself is said in a wider metaphor to be about to descend on the high-places of earth. Then the

mountains shaken under Him will be those very heights whither He “was led by the spirit to be tempted of the devil,” “when the devil leadeth him to an exceeding high mountain, and he was with the wild beasts.” Or the mountains again might represent in metaphor the idolatry practised formerly on mountains, and the principalities and powers working there invisibly, which our Saviour’s teaching was to shake and overthrow in no small degree. For His inspired word and His miraculous and wondrous strength have insensibly destroyed the powers which from far ages have attacked mankind. In like manner also the hills melting like wax from the presence of the fire would be the infernal and earth-bound daemons, against whom He sent forth fire to consume their lust, saying, “I came to cast fire upon the earth, and what will I if it be already kindled?” Burned by which fire, and unable to bear the torture of its unseen flame, they withdrew from the bodies of men, and acknowledged that which controlled them and drove them out, crying, “Let us alone, what have we to do with thee, Son of God? Hast thou come to torment us before the time? We know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.” And these He chiefly chastised, and destroyed their princes, because not content with the corruption of the other nations, whereby they had cast them all into the errors of polytheism, they had also plotted against God’s ancient people, those of the Circumcision, and had endeavoured to seduce even them from their God to all manner of impiety. And this was the chief reason why the Lord descended from heaven. Wherefore He says next, “For the iniquity of Jacob is all this done, and for the transgression of my people Israel.” And then He gives an additional reason for the Descent of the Word, recounting the impiety of the Jews, and the destruction falling upon them, and heralding the calling of all nations throughout the world. For these things’ sake the Word of God came down from heaven to earth. Hear this passage:

“5. For the impiety of the House of Jacob is all this done, and for the transgression of the House of Israel. What is the impiety of the House of Jacob? Is it not Samaria? And what is the sin of Judah? Is it not Jerusalem? 6. And I will make Samaria a lodge of the field, and a plantation of a vineyard, and I will draw down to chaos the stones thereof, and will hide the foundations thereof.”

And He adds:

“12. Evil hath descended from the Lord on the gates of Jerusalem, the

noise of chariots and horsemen.”

And again:

“15. O glory of the daughter of Jerusalem, shave and cut off thy choice children. Enlarge thy widowhood, as an eagle, when thy captives are led from thee.”

And moreover:

“Sion shall be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall be as a granary, and the mount of the house as a grove of the wood.”

Sion and Jerusalem and the so-called “mount of the house” are what were represented before in, “And the mountains shall be shaken from beneath him, and the valleys shall be melted as wax before the fire for the iniquity of Jacob.” For the mountains and the dwellers thereon were besieged for the iniquity they had wrought against Him soon and not long after Mount Sion was burned and left utterly desolate, and the Mount of the House of God became as a grove of the wood.

If our own observation has any value, we have seen in our own time Sion once so famous ploughed with yokes of oxen by the Romans and utterly devastated, and Jerusalem, as the oracle says, deserted like a lodge. And this has come to pass precisely because of their impieties, for the

sake of which the Heavenly Word has come forth from His own place.

And I have already said that the Word of God came down from heaven and descended on the high places of the earth for other reasons, both that the mountains which of old lifted themselves up and exalted themselves against the knowledge of God might be shaken beneath Him (that is to say the opposing powers, which before His coming enslaved the Hebrew race as well as the rest of mankind in the practice of impiety and idolatry), and also that the evil daemons called valleys (through their living in gloomy chasms, and in the recesses of the body) might melt as wax before the fire and flee away from men by the power of the divine Word. And there was another additional reason by no means fortuitous for the descent of the Lord from heaven, which this prophecy recognizes, namely that all the nations on earth, the daemons being banished and the ruling spirits shaken, recovering from the cruel and ceaseless tyranny which had long afflicted them, might attain the knowledge of Almighty God. And the voice of the same prophet proclaims the same things further on as follows, uniting them in the same manner under one head:

“And in the last days the Mount of the Lord shall be glorious, prepared upon the tops of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and peoples shall haste unto it, and many nations shall come and say, Come, let us go up to the Mount of the Lord, and the house of the God of Jacob, and they will shew us his way, and we will walk in his paths. For out of Sion shall come forth a law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he will judge in the midst of the nations.”

One can learn at one's leisure in what sense such prophecies of the Call of the Gentiles are to be understood, and that they were only fulfilled after the coining of our Saviour. And the opening of the prophecy is in full agreement with I the truth that the Lord descended not only for the salvation of the Jewish race, but for that of all nations, in proclaiming to all peoples and all the inhabitants of the earth, saying, “Hear all peoples, and let the earth attend, and all that are therein.” And it darkly foretold the witness of the Passion of our Lord, adding, “And the Lord our God shall be for a witness.”

And after this the same prophet, having prepared the way by telling of what related to the fact of the Descent of God the Word from heaven, and foretold what should be the causes of His coining, proceeds to relate His birth among men, and to name the place where He should be born, in the following words:

“2. And thou, Bethlehem, house of Ephratha, art the least to be among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall come forth for me a leader, to be for a ruler in Israel, and his goings-forth are from the beginning from the days of eternity.”

Note with care how he says that the goings forth of Him that shall appear at Bethlehem are from above and from eternity, by which he shews the pre-existence and essential origin of Him that is to come forth from Bethlehem. Now if any person can apply the oracle to any one but Jesus, let him shew who it is; but if it is impossible to find any one but our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the only Person after the date of this prophecy Who came forth thence and attained to fame, what should hinder us from acknowledging the truth of the prophecy, which directs its prediction on Him only? For He alone of all men is known to have come forth from the before-named Bethlehem after the date of the prophecy, putting on a human shape, and what had been foretold was fulfilled at His coming. For at once and not after a long time the woes

that were foretold fell on the Jewish nation, and blessings in accordance with the prophecies on the nations as well, and He Himself, our Lord and Saviour Who came from Bethlehem, was shewn to be the ruler of the spiritual Israel, such being the name of all people of vision and piety. Note too that it is said that the goings-forth of His Divine Pre-existence are from the beginning and from the days of eternity, which would not agree with mere humanity.

Then the word of the prophet, a little further on, suggests again the curtailing and abolition of the ancient ritual of the Law, speaking in the person of the people:

“6. Wherewithal shall I reach the Lord, and lay hold of my God most high?. Shall I reach him by whole burnt-offerings, by calves a year old? 7. Should I give my firstborn for my ungodliness, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?”

And he makes this answer to them in the person of God:

“8. Has it not been told thee, O man, what is good? And what does the Lord require of thee, but to do judgment, and to love mercy, and to be ready to walk after thy God?”

You have then in this prophecy of the Descent of the Lord among men from heaven, many other things foretold at the same time, the rejection of the Jews, the judgment on their impiety, the destruction of their royal city, the abolition of the worship practised by them of old according to the Law of Moses; and on the other hand, promises of good for the nations, the knowledge of God, a new ideal of holiness, a new law and teaching coming forth from the land of the Jews. I leave you to see, how wonderful a fulfilment, how wonderful a completion, the prophecy has reached after the Coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER 14

From Habakkuk.

That it was prophesied that the Word of God that cometh will come and will not tarry.

[Passage quoted, Hab. ii. 2.]

AND here it is clearly foretold that the subject of the prophecy who is coming will come. Who could this be but he who is referred to above in the words, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, the Lord God also has shone upon us”? With which also Zechariah agrees, when he says: “Behold a man, the Dawn is his name, and he shall rise from below.” The same prophet, too, noting the time adds, “At eventide it shall be light. If he delays, wait for him.” Instead of which Aquila reads, “If he tarry expect him, for he that cometh will come, and will not tarry.” And the Epistle to the Hebrews has this in mind when it says:

“Cast not away then your confidence, which has great recompense of reward. For ye have need of patience, that, doing the will of God, ye may receive the promise. For yet a little while, and he that cometh will come, and will not tarry. And the just shall live by my faith. And if he draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him.”

And note how clearly the Epistle arranges what was obscure in the prophetic writing, because of the inversion of the clauses. For the prophecy says,” He that cometh will come and will not tarry, and adds, “If he draw back, my soul hath no pleasure in him,” and this addition would seem to refer to him that cometh and doth not tarry, which is absurd. For how could it be said of him that God takes no pleasure in him? But the placing side by side of the divided clauses by a change in the arrangement of them preserves the sense. For after, “Yet a little while and he that cometh will come and shall not tarry,” it adds next, “The just shall live by my faith. Then what was first in the prophecy it places second in, “And if he draw back my soul taketh no pleasure in him.” For as Scripture has already once foretold through the prophecy, that the light promised, to all nations by Christ’s Coming “shall rise late and in the evening, and shall not deceive” (for so Aquila interprets instead of “come to nothing,”) it next exhorts to patience, because the coming of the subject of the prophecy is to be late and in the evening, in the words, “If he tarry await him,

or if he delay expect him, for he that cometh will come and will not tarry,” and encourages the hearer to trust the prediction, saying, that he that trusts it, shewn by his very faith to be just, shall live the life according to God, as on the other hand he that does not trust, drawing back through lack of boldness, and putting no faith in the words, “My soul hath no pleasure in him.” So, then, if we follow this course and place the first clause last, and the last first, we shall preserve the sense of the passage, putting, “The just shall live by my faith,” after, “For he that cometh will come and will not tarry,” by transposing the clauses, and (278) adding to this, “If he draw back my soul taketh no pleasure in him.” And Aquila agrees with this interpretation saying, “If he delay, expect him, for he that cometh will come, and will not tarry. Lo, if he be sluggish, my soul is not true in him, and the just shall live by his faith.”

CHAPTER 15

From the same.

That the Hearing about the Descent of the Lord from Heaven is Terrible, and His Works Wonderful, and at His Coming the Whole Earth shall be filled with His Praise, when the Word of His New Covenant shall pervade all Men.

[Passage quoted, Hab. iii. 2-5.]

(d) LISTENING to himself, or rather to the divine prophetic spirit within him, which said of the subject of the prophecy, “He that cometh will come, and will not tarry, and the just shall live by my faith,” and believing as a just man in the oracle, the holy prophet says in the passage before us, “O Lord, I have heard thy report, and I was afraid,” and the words that follow in which he clearly announces that God will come to men.

And who could this be who was known of old, and was to be known afterwards when the time drew near, and (279) was to be shewn forth at the date predicted, but that same Being before shewn to be the second Lord of the Universe, who agreeably to the prophecy at the end of the ages has been proclaimed for all to hear? It was surely His works that are written in the Holy Gospels, and it was clearly His Birth from the Virgin Tabernacle whence he sprang, and how “being in the form of God, he thought it not a thing to be grasped at to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave,” and it was the miracles He performed among men, and the insults offered to Him by the Jewish race that the prophet anticipated with the eyes of his soul; and learning of the Holy Spirit his Teacher what would accrue to minds purified from sin, he confessed that he was astonished and afraid at what he heard, and said, “Lord, I have heard thy report, and I was afraid, I understood thy works, and was astonished.”

Our Lord and Saviour, too, the Word of God Himself, “was known between two lives.” The word ζῶν is plural and accented with circumflex on the last syllable as the plural of the singular noun ζωή (life). It is not ζῶων *accented acute on the penultimate* from ζῶον (a living creature), but *with circumflex on the last syllable* (ζῶν) from nominative plural ζῶαί (lives). He says, therefore, He was known between two *lives*. One life is that according to God, the other that according to man; the one mortal, the other eternal. And the Lord having experienced both, is rightly said to have been made known

between two lives in the LXX translation. Aquila translates differently: “In the nearing of the years, cause it to live.” What does “it” mean here but “thy work”? And Theodotion says: “In the midst of the years, cause him to live,” and Symmachus renders: “Within the years, revive him.” They all by the use of ζῶωσον (cause to live) shew clearly that the word in the original does not refer to irrational or rational animals. And so following the rendering of the Septuagint, “He was made known between two lives,” and not the commentators who have preceded me, I understand that the two lives of the Subject of the prophecy are referred to, the Divine and the Human.

To this the prophet adds: “When my soul is troubled thou wilt in wrath remember mercy,” teaching that when he foresaw the time of the Passion of the Subject of the prophecy he was troubled in spirit. Yet at that very time, he says, in which I was troubled in spirit, though at no other time such anger ever threatened men for the impiety dared against their Lord, the Lord of Love Himself in place of wrath remembered mercy, as the Son of the good Father. For His Passion became to all the world the ground of God’s salvation and mercy.

To this is added: “God will come from Thaeman.” And Thaeman translated into Greek is “consummation,” so that it means simply, “God will come at the consummation.” For at the consummation of the age and in these last days the kindness of the God of the Universe has been made evident to us through our Saviour.

But perhaps he foretells also His Second Coming in glory, in which case a fresh beginning is made at’ “God will come from Thaeman,” as shewing that at the consummation of the age He will come from the southern part of the heaven. For Thaeman is translated “south.” Wherefore Theodotion translates thus: “God will come from the south.” And you will understand the sentence that follows if you compare with it these words in Zechariah:

“8. I saw the night, and behold a man sitting on a bay horse, and he stood in the midst of the shady mountains.”

I believe this rider on the bay horse who stands in the midst of the shady mountains to be the same person mentioned in the prophecy before us, which says that the Holy One will come from a thick and shady mountain.

In each passage shady mountains are mentioned, and I believe they refer to the Paradise of God, which He planted eastward in Eden, or perhaps to the

Heavenly Jerusalem. For “there are mountains around it, and the Lord is in the midst of his people.” And these mountains are said to be shady, because they are full of divine powers and holy spirits, as of trees planted there and far-spreading. But in Zechariah clearly the vision was of a man riding on a bay horse, by which the Incarnation of our Saviour was meant, and the flesh in which He rode: while here “God a Holy One” is named. For to mark that it was from God that He made His approach to men, and that He arrived from diviner regions, it is said, “God came from Thaeman, and the Holy One from a thick and shady mountain.” And then it adds: “His glory covered the heavens, and the earth is full of his praise, and his ray shall be as light.” In which both the glory of His Heavenly Kingdom is shewn, and also the increase of the praise of the teaching about Him that will be spread through all the earth. And the expression, “horns in his hands,” shews the symbols of His rule, wherewith He drives away the invisible and opposing powers by pushing and butting them. And agreeing with this he adds: “He made the love of his power strong”: and the greatest sign of His strong affection and love to men was “that his Word should go before his face,” meaning the Gospel of Salvation, which should come forth and scour the plains, so that soon all the world should be filled with the salvation offered by Him to all men according to the prophecy which said, “Before his face shall his Word go forth, and shall go out into the plains.” His Word will bring a further and more exact fulfilment to this prophecy and its context at His Second Coming, which it is not now the place to expound.

CHAPTER 16

From Zechariah.

That the Almighty Lord states that He is sent by Another Almighty Lord for the Destruction of the Wicked.

[Passage quoted, Zech. ii. 8.]

IN these words the Almighty Lord Himself says that He has been sent, and teaches who it was that sent Him, saying, "And ye shall know that the Almighty Lord has sent me." Here, then, you have clearly two Persons using one Name, the Almighty Lord that sent, and Him that is sent having the same Name as the Sender. And whom else could you suppose Him that is sent to be, but Him that we have so often called God the Word, Who states that He is sent by the Father, and says clearly, "After his glory he has sent me," shewing that though pre-existing in the glory of the Father He was sent afterwards unto the nations that spoiled you? For the Word of God was sent unto the nations, who before were hostile to the people of God, and subjected them to Himself, making a spoil of them by His disciples, who belonged to the Jewish nation, which the Gentiles had long spoiled enslaving it to their own idolatry. This, then, He says that the nations will suffer, as He ordained. For as they perverted the people of God from their ancestral religion, and made them a spoil for their own daemons, so some day shall they be made spoils from their fathers' idolatry to them who of old have served them, and be brought under the yoke of the Jewish religion. And the Lord says that this will be done by Himself, as He will be sent by His Father to accomplish it. It might also be said that certain invisible spiritual powers are meant by the nations which spoiled and enslaved the souls of men, which the Word of God here says He loves as the apple of His eye. And the proof of His great love to the human race is that He did not draw back, though He was the Word of God and in the glory of the Father, but agreed to live with men and govern them.

CHAPTER 17

From the same.

How the Lord foretells that He will come from Heaven and dwell among Men, and that the Nations will flee to Him, and He states that He was sent by Another Almighty Lord stronger than Himself.

[Passage quoted, Zech. ii. 10.]

As it is now my object to unfold from the prophets the second cause of our Lord's living our life on earth, the prophecy before us appears to state it so clearly that it hardly needs any elaboration. You will notice that He gives the cause of His coming, where He says, "And many nations shall flee unto the Lord in that day, and they shall be to me for a people." And the Word announces this to the daughter of Sion, calling the Church of God by this name, through her seeming to be the daughter of the heavenly Jerusalem, she that is the mother of the Saints, according to the holy apostle. Or the Church of God might be called the daughter of Sion for another reason as one separated from the former congregation of the Jews by the apostles and evangelists, who also were the children of a mother divorced for her own impiety, and a widow because she had driven away her Husband, Who rebuked her by the prophets and said, "Hast thou not called me as a husband, and father, and leader of thy virginity?" And accusing their mothers ways also to them that were born of her He says: "Where is the bill of thy mother's divorcement, by which I rejected her?" And again: "Judge the cause of your mother, judge it, because she is not my wife, and I am not her husband."

So, then, this prophecy rightly announces the presence of the Lord to those who had rejected their mother (calling them) the daughter of the Lord. And it is the Church of the Gentiles that is reckoned by the apostles of our Saviour to have taken the place of her that before was daughter.

CHAPTER 18

From the same.

Of the Coming of the Lord, and of the Events of His Passion.

[Passage quoted, Zech. xiv. 1-10.]

AFTER the first siege of Jerusalem, and its total destruction and desolation by the Babylonians, and after the Return of the Jews from their enemies' land to their own, which came to pass in the time of Cyrus king of Persia, when Jerusalem has just been restored, and the Temple and its Altar renewed by Darius the Persian, the present prophecy foretells a second siege of Jerusalem which is to take place afterwards, which it suffered from the Romans, after its inhabitants had carried through their outrage on our Saviour Jesus Christ. Thus the coming of our Saviour and the events connected therewith are very clearly shewn in this passage — I mean what was done at the time of His Passion, and the siege that came on the Hebrew race directly after, the taking of Jerusalem, the call of the Gentiles also, and the knowledge attained by all nations of the one and only God. But the inspired prophet pathetically bewails the woes of the Jews as those of his own people, and begins his prophecy with a cry against them. He means by “days of the Lord,” here as well as in other places, the time of our Lord’s presence among men. And he clearly shews how the Lord Himself, as being the true Light, will become some day the maker of His own days, and will shine on all men in the world, all the nations receiving Him and the rays of His light, when all nations are enlightened, according to the words, “I have set Thee for a light to the Gentiles, for a covenant of my race,” and the Jewish nation through their unbelief will fall into great trouble.

For such is the meaning of “Behold the days of the Lord come, and thy spoils shall be divided within thee, and I will gather all the Gentiles to Jerusalem to war. And the city shall be taken, the houses plundered, and the women ravished, and half of the city shall go into captivity.”

And after the siege of Jerusalem, and the captivity of the Jews which succeeds it, he next adds a prophecy of good things for all: “And the Lord shall be King over all the earth.” And again: “There shall be one Lord, and his name one, encircling all the earth and the wilderness.”

But who would not be surprised at the fulfilment of a prophecy which

revealed that the Jewish people would undergo these sufferings in the days of the Lord? For as soon as Jesus our Lord and Saviour had come and the Jews had outraged Him, everything that had been predicted was fulfilled against them without exception 500 years after the prediction: from the time of Pontius Pilate to the sieges under Nero, Titus and Vespasian they were never free from all kinds of successive calamities, as you may gather from the history of Flavius Josephus. It is probable that half the city at that time perished in the siege, as the prophecy says. And not long after, in the reign of Hadrian, there was another Jewish revolution, and the remaining half of the city was again besieged and driven out, so that from that day to this the whole place has not been trodden by them.

Now if any one supposes that this was fulfilled in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, let him inquire if the rest of the prophecy can be referred to the times of Antiochus — I mean the captivity undergone by the people, the standing of the Lord's feet on the Mount of Olives, and whether the Lord became King of all the earth in that day, and whether the name of the Lord encircled the whole earth and the desert during the reign of Antiochus. And how can the fulfilment of the remainder of the prophecy in the days of Antiochus be asserted? But, according to my interpretation, they are fulfilled both literally and also in another sense. For after the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, their city, Jerusalem itself, and the whole system and institutions of the Mosaic worship were destroyed; and at once they underwent captivity in mind as well as body, in refusing to accept the Saviour and Ransomer of the souls of men, Him Who came to preach release to those enslaved by evil daemons, and giving of sight to those blind in mind. And while they suffered through their unbelief, those of them who recognized their Ransomer became His own disciples, apostles and evangelists, and many others of the Jews believed on Him, of whom the apostle says, "So also now there is a remnant according to the election of grace." And "If the Lord of Sabaoth had not left unto us a seed we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorra." They were preserved safe from the metaphorical siege, and also from the siege literally understood. For the apostles and disciples of our Saviour, and all the Jews that believed on Him, being far from the land of Judaea, and scattered among the other nations, were enabled at that time to escape the ruin of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And the prophecy anticipated

and foretold this where it said, “And the remnant of my people shall not be utterly destroyed.” To which it adds afterwards, “And the Lord shall go forth, and shall fight for those nations, as a day of his battle in the day of war.” For which nations will the Lord fight, but for those that shall besiege Jerusalem? The passage shews that the Lord Himself will fight for the besiegers, being among them and drawn up with them, like their general and commander warring against Jerusalem. For it does not say that the Lord will fight against the nations. With whom and against whom, then, will He fight? Surely against Jerusalem and her inhabitants, concerning whom it is spoken.

And the words, “And his feet shall stand in that day on the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem to the eastward,” what else can they mean than that the Lord God, that is to say the Word of God Himself, will stand, and stand firm, upon His Church, which is here metaphorically called the Mount of Olives? For as “My Beloved had a vineyard,” and “There was a vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth,” are used in a figurative sense of “the house of Israel and the plant of Judah His beloved vine,” so also we may say in the same sense that the Church of the (d) Gentiles has become an olive-garden to the Master, which of old He planted with wild olives, and grafted them on the apostolic roots of the good olive after cutting away the old branches, as the apostle teaches. And the Lord planted it for Himself, saying as much in the prophecy: “The Lord hath called thy name a beautiful and shady olive.” For when the first vineyard should have brought forth grapes it brought forth thorns, and not justice but a cry, God rightly withdrew from it as unfruitful, its mound and its wall, and gave it to its enemies, “to rob and to tread down,” according to the prophecy of Isaiah, but established another field for Himself, here named “the olive-garden,” as that which had obtained God’s mercy, and been planted by Christ with ever-flourishing plants, that is with souls that are holy and nourish the light, which can say, “I am like a fruitful olive-tree in the house of God.”

And this Mount of Olives is said to be over against Jerusalem, because it was established by God after the fall of Jerusalem, instead of the old earthly Jerusalem and its worship. For as Scripture said above with reference to Jerusalem: “The city shall be taken, and the nations that are her enemies and foes shall be gathered together against her, and her spoils shall be divided,” it could not say that the feet of the Lord should stand upon Jerusalem. How

could that be, once it were destroyed? But it says that they will stand with them that depart from it to the mount opposite the city called the Mount of Olives. And this, too, the prophet Ezekiel anticipates by the Holy Spirit and foretells. For he says:

“22. And the Cherubim lifted their wings, and the wheels beside them, 23. and the glory of the God of Israel was on them above them, and he stood on the mount which was opposite to the city.”

Which it is possible for us to see literally fulfilled in another way even to-day, since believers in Christ all congregate from all parts of the world, not as of old time because of the glory of Jerusalem, nor that they may worship in the ancient Temple at Jerusalem, but they rest there that they may learn both about the city being taken and devastated as the prophets foretold, and that they may worship at the Mount of Olives opposite to the city, whither the glory of the Lord migrated when it left the former city. There stood in truth according to the common and received account the feet of our Lord and Saviour, Himself the Word of God, through that tabernacle of humanity He had borne up the Mount of Olives to the cave that is shewn there; there He prayed and delivered to His disciples on the summit of the Mount of Olives the mysteries of His end, and thence He made His Ascension into heaven, as Luke tells us in the Acts of the Apostles, saying that while the apostles were with Him on the Mount of Olives:

“While they beheld he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight. And as they gazed steadfastly into heaven while he went up, behold two men stood by them in white apparel, who also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing into heaven? This same Jesus that is taken up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven.”

To which he adds: “Then they returned from the mount called the Mount of Olives, which is opposite to Jerusalem.” The Mount of Olives is therefore literally opposite to Jerusalem and to the east of it, but also the Holy Church of God, and the mount upon which it is founded, of which the Saviour teaches: “A city set on a hill cannot be hid,” raised up in place of Jerusalem that is fallen never to rise again, and thought worthy of the feet of the Lord, is figuratively not only opposite to Jerusalem, but east of it as well, receiving the rays of the divine light, and become much before Jerusalem, and near to the Sun of Righteousness Himself, of Whom it is said: “And on them that fear me

shall the sun of righteousness arise.”

And if it says next: “That the Mount of Olives shall be divided, half of it to the east and towards the sea, a very great chasm, and half of it shall lean towards the north, and half of it towards the south,” it possibly shews the expansion of the Church throughout the whole inhabited world, for it has filled the east, and the western and eastern nations; it stretches to the western sea, and the isles therein; yea, it has reached to west and south, and to north and north-east. On all sides and everywhere the Church figuratively called the Olive of the Lord is planted. And it is possible that by its division is figuratively meant the schisms and heresies and moral declensions in everyday life that have taken place in the Church of Christ, and are even now taking place; for it says, the mountain shall be divided, half of it towards the east and the sea, a very great chasm, and half of it shall lean towards the north, and half of it towards the south, as being divided into four parts, two of which are worthier and better, and two the reverse. And note in this passage how the part to the east and the part to the south may refer to two sections of those who have made progress in the things of God, the first those who are perfected in knowledge and reason and the other graces of the Holy Spirit; and the second, those who live a good life but pass their time in ways self-chosen. And the other two parts separated from the first, one to the sea and one towards the north, both signify tendency to evil. For “from the face of the north,” he says, “shall be burned the evil of all the inhabitants of the earth,” while the Dragon is said to have his home in the sea. So that, probably, two kinds of character in those that fall away from the Church, the morally sinful, and the one who slips away from healthy and orthodox knowledge, are here figuratively represented by the prophecy as divisions in the Mount of Olives.

To this he adds afterwards: “And the valley of my mountains shall be closed up, and the cleft of my mountains shall be joined unto Asael, and shall be closed up as it was blocked up in the days of the earthquake in the days of Ozias king of Judah.”

What can God’s “valley of mountains” mean here, but the outward Jewish worship according to the Mosaic Law practised for long ages before in Jerusalem, which the present prophecy foretells is to be cut off, as if it were closed up, saying: “And the valley of my mountains shall be closed up, and the cleft of mountains shall be joined unto Asael, and shall be closed up”?

Instead of which Symmachus translated: “And the valley of my mountains shall be closed up, and also the cleft of mountains shall approach that which is beside it, and shall be closed up,” shewing the cause of the closing up of the valley. And what was this’, but that it came near and approached what was beside it? And this mount of the Lord was the before-named Mount of Olives, which is called Asael in the Septuagint. And this word means in Hebrew “Work of God.”

And so, he says, the ancient valley coming near to the mountains, and to the Christian Church, and to the work of God, will be closed up and shut off, as it was closed up before the earthquake in the days of Ozias king of Judah. Though I have set myself to the task of inquiring, and gone through the Holy Scripture to discover if the valley mentioned here was “closed up before the earthquake” in the days of Ozias, I have found nothing in the Books of Kings, for there was no physical earthquake in his time, nor is anything recorded in those books such as is here told about the valley.

But Ozias is described as at first having been righteous, and then it is related that he was lifted up in mind, and dared to offer sacrifice to God Himself, and that his face (b) became leprous in consequence. This is what the Book of Kings establishes. But Josephus carefully studied the additional comments of the expounders as well, and a Hebrew of the Hebrews as he was, hear his description of the events of those times. He tells how:

“Though the priests urged Ozias to go out of the Temple and not to break the law of God, he angrily threatened them with death, unless they held their peace. And meanwhile an earthquake shook the earth, and a bright light shone through a breach in the Temple, and struck the king’s face, so that at once it became leprous. And before the city at the place called Eroga, the western half of the Mount was split asunder, and rolling four stadia stopped at the eastern mountain, so as to block up the royal approach and gardens. [Jos., *Ant.* ix. 10, 4.]

This I take from the work of Josephus on Jewish Antiquities. And I found in the beginning of the Prophet Amos the statement that he began to prophesy “in the days of Ozias, king of Judah, two years before the earthquake.” What earthquake he does not clearly say. But I think the same prophet further on suggests this earthquake, when he says: “I saw the Lord standing on the altar. And He said, Strike the altar, and the doors shall be shaken, and strike the

heads of all, and the remnant I will slay with the sword.”

Here I understand a prediction of the earthquake, and of the destruction of the ancient solemnities of the Jewish race, and of the worship practised by them in Jerusalem, the ruin that should overtake them after the coming of our Saviour, when, since they rejected the Christ of God, the true High Priest, leprosy infected their souls, as in the days of Ozias, when the Lord Himself standing on the altar gave leave to him that struck, saying: “Strike the altar.” For He shewed this in effect, when He said: “Your house is left unto you desolate.” Concurrently, too, with His Passion “The veil of the Temple was rent from the top to the bottom,” as Josephus records as happening also in the time of Ozias. Then, first the courts were shaken, when the earth was shaken at the time of His Passion, and not long after, they underwent their final ruin, the striker received authority and struck upon the heads of all.

And so we see how at this time the valley of the mountains of God was closed up, as was done in the days of Ozias. Actually and literally in the siege by the Romans, in the course of which I believe such things happened, and figuratively, also, when the outward and lower worship of the Mosaic Law was prevented any longer from activity by the earthquake which according to his prophecy came upon the Jewish race, and by the other causes recorded.

After this the prophecy recurring to the Coming of the Lord announces it more clearly, saying: “And the Lord my God shall come, and all His holy ones with Him,” referring either to His apostles and disciples as holy ones, or certain invisible powers and ministering spirits, of whom it was said: “And angels came and ministered to him.” And then of the Coming of the Lord, he says: “It shall be day, and it shall not be light, and cold and frost shall I be for one day.” Instead of which Symmachus translated:

“And in that day there shall be no light, but frost and cold shall be for one day, which is known to the Lord, not day nor night, but at eventide it shall be light.”

See how clearly this description of the day of our Saviour’s Passion, a day in which “there shall be no light,” was fulfilled, since “from the sixth hour to the ninth hour there was darkness over all the earth.” And also the “frost and cold,” since according to Luke:

“They led Jesus to the palace of the high priest. And Peter followed afar off. And while they kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, he sat clown,

according to Mark, with the others to warm himself. And John, too, especially mentions the cold, saying, The servants and the ministers stood, having made a fire of coals, for it was cold, and they warmed themselves.”

And this day, he says, was known to the Lord, and was not night. It was not day, because, as has been said already, “there shall be no light”; which was fulfilled, when “from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour.” Nor was it night, because “at eventide it shall be light” was added, which also was fulfilled when the day regained its natural light after the ninth hour. And this was fulfilled figuratively as well, generally in the Jewish race, darkness, cold, and frost coming on them after their outrage on the Christ, their understanding being darkened, so that the light of the Gospel should not shine in their hearts, and their love to God waxing cold, and then at eventide the light of the knowledge of the Christ arose, so that they who sat of old in darkness and the shadow of death saw a great light, in the words of the prophet Isaiah.

And in that day it says: “Living water shall come forth out of Jerusalem.” This is that spiritual, sweet, life-giving and saving drink of the teaching of Christ, of which He speaks in the Gospel according to John, when instructing the Samaritan woman:

“If thou knewest who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.”

This was the living water, then, that came forth from Jerusalem? For it was thence that its Gospel went forth, and its heralds filled the world, which is meant by the words: “The living water shall go forth to the first sea and the last sea,” by which is meant the bounds of the whole world, that toward the Eastern Ocean being called “the first sea,” that toward the West being meant by “the last sea,” which, indeed, the living water of saving Gospel teaching has filled. Of which He also taught, when He said: “Whosoever shall drink of the water, which I shall give him, shall never thirst.” And again He says: “Rivers of living water shall flow out of his belly, springing up into everlasting life.” And again: “If any thirst, let him come unto me and drink.”

Then after the refreshing saving spiritual blood has fallen on every race of mankind from Jerusalem, which is more clearly described in another place in the words: “A law shall go forth from Sion, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and it shall judge in the midst of the nations,” it says: “The Lord

shall be King.” He shall not be King in Jerusalem, nor of the Jewish race; but, over all the earth in that day. And this agrees with what I have quoted from the Psalms, where it was said: “The Lord reigneth over the nations,” and also: “Tell it among the nations, the Lord reigneth.” The prophecy is that this will be fulfilled in the days of the Lord. For the whole prophecy opens with: “Behold, the days of the Lord come, and these things shall come to pass.” And what is meant by “these things,” but the siege of Jerusalem, and the passing of the Lord to the Mount of Olives, according to the words, “The Lord shall come,” and the events of the day of His Passion, and the living water, flowing in all the world, and to crown all, the Kingdom of the Lord ruling over all the nations, and His One Name, filling all the earth — in short, what I have briefly shown to be fulfilled?

It is also quite clear that the name “Christian,” derived from the name of the Christ of God, has filled the whole world. This, too, the prophecy foretells, when it says: “And his name shall be one, encircling all the earth,, and the wilderness.” And you can test each expression at leisure for yourself, and carry the interpretation still further.

CHAPTER 19

From Baruch.

It is prophesied that the God of the Prophets, having laid down the Complete Way of Knowledge by the Mosaic Law to the Jews, will some Day afterwards be seen on Earth, and mingle among Men.

[Passage quoted, Baruch iii. 29-37.]

I NEED add nothing to these inspired words, which so (295) clearly support my argument. (c)

CHAPTER 20

From Isaiah.

It is prophesied that the Christ will come into Egypt, and What Things will come to pass at His Coming. (d)

[Passage quoted, Isa. xix. 1-4 and the context.]

HERE the prophecy before us states that the Second after (296) the God and Lord of the Universe, I mean the Word of God, will come into Egypt, and will come not imperceptibly nor invisibly, nor without any bodily vesture, but riding on a light cloud, or better “on light thickness”: for such is said to be the meaning of the Hebrew word. Let the sons of the Hebrews tell us, then, on what occasion after Isaiah’s time the Lord visited Egypt, and what Lord he was. For . the Supreme God is one: let them say how He is said to ride on “light thickness,” and to alight locally on any part of the earth. And let them interpret “light thickness,” and (b) explain why the Lord is said not to visit Egypt without it. And also when the words of the prophecy are recorded to have been fulfilled, the shaking of the idols of Egypt made by hand, I mean, and the warring of Egyptians with Egyptians through the Coming of the Lord. And their gods, that is to say the daemons, that were so mighty of old, when did they have power no more, and refrain from answering their (c) inquirers through fear of the Lord? And into the hands of what cruel lord, let them say, and of what kings was Egypt delivered after the coming of the Lord that was foretold, and why when the Lord came they were delivered to evil rulers? And let him, who likes, interpret the rest of the prophecy in the same way. But I contend that it can only be understood consistently, of the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ to men. For He, being Word of God and (d) Power of God, fulfilled the aforesaid prediction both literally and metaphorically, visiting the land of the Egyptians on a light cloud. The name, “light cloud,” is allegorically given to the visitation He made by means of the Body, which He took of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit, as the Hebrew original and Aquila clearly suggests, when he says, “Behold the Lord rides on light thickness, and conies to Egypt,” naming the body that came from the Holy Spirit, “light thickness.” And surely this part of the prophecy was literally fulfilled, when the Angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph and said: “Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and stay there (297)

until I tell thee.” For then, the Lord God the Word, uniting with the child’s growth, and present in the Flesh that had been furnished Him of the Holy Virgin, visited the land of the Egyptians. (His flesh was “thick” as representing bodily substance, “light” again through its being better than ours, and it is called “a light cloud “because it was not formed of the sensuous passions of corruption, but of the Holy Spirit.) But the cause of His journey thither is as follows. When it is remembered that the first origin of idolatrous error was in Egypt, and the Egyptians seemed to (b) be the most superstitious of men, and bitter enemies of the people of God, and as far removed from the prophets as possible, we can see why the Power of God came to them first of all. And therefore the word of Gospel teaching has waxed stronger among the Egyptians than among any other men. Hence this prophecy foretells that the Lord will sojourn among them. But it does not say that the Egyptians will come to the land of the Jews, nor worship him at Jerusalem, nor become Jewish proselytes there according to the enactments of Moses, nor sacrifice at the altar in Jerusalem. It says naught of this, but that the Lord will (c) Himself visit the Egyptians, and will think these men worthy of His Presence, and will be the occasion of great blessings to them. For His sojourn would accomplish those very things, which we see to have been actually fulfilled after the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Let us see what these were. The evil and noxious daemons who infested Egypt before, inhabiting images for long ages, and enslaving (d) the souls of the Egyptians with all manner of deceitful superstition, when they became aware of a strange divine power sojourning among them, were all at once disturbed and tossed to and fro, and their heart and power of thought was minished within them, yielding to and conquered by the invisible power that drave on them and consumed them with its sacred word as with fire. Yea, the daemons suffered thus invisibly when our Saviour Jesus Christ sojourned in Egypt in flesh and blood; and, again, when afterwards His (298) Gospel was preached openly to the Egyptians as well as to the other nations, for His unseen power was with His Apostles imperceptibly working with them, co-operating, announcing by their tongues His holy teaching, exhorting men to worship only the one and true God, and rescuing the victims from the daemons that of old had been deceived by them. Hence, soon among the Egyptians as among (b) other nations, revolution and civil war arose, between those who gave up polytheistic error and turned to

the Word of Christ, and those who warred with them, urged on by their own daemons, so that brothers were parted one from the other, and the dearest fought together because of the Gospel of Christ, for the oracle says, “And Egyptians shall rise against Egyptians, and a man shall fight with his brother, and a (c) man with his neighbour.” And our Saviour Himself confirms the prophet’s prediction, saying in the Gospels:

“Brother shall deliver brother to death, and father child, and children shall rise up against their parents and slay them.”

And again:

“Think not that I came to give peace on earth. I say not so unto you, but division. For there shall be from this time five in one house divided, three against two and two against three: For the father shall be divided from his son, and the son from his father, the mother against her daughter, and the daughter against her mother, the mother-in-law against the bride, and the bride against her mother-in-law.”

(d) How do those words differ from the prophet’s cry concerning the coming of the Lord to Egypt: “Egyptians shall rise against Egyptians, and man shall war against his brother”?

And the law of the new Covenant of Christ was raised against the law of polytheistic superstition, when the law of idolatrous nations warred against the teaching of Christ, and the city and polity of the Church of Christ took the place of the polities of the heathen nations. And this explains “city against city, and law against law.” It is the fact also that all the Egyptian idolaters, and the spirit of idolatry working in them, are even now conscious of their confusion, and though they make many plans against the teaching of Christ, to quench it, and abolish it from among (299) men, yet they are ever scattered by God, as it is said in the prophecy, “And the spirit of the Egyptians shall be disturbed within them, and I will scatter their counsel.”

And they who make many inquiries and ask endless questions against us of the oracles and diviners of their gods, and of the daemons that haunt the idols, and the familiar spirits who were of old so powerful among them, get no more profit of them. For Scripture says:

“And they will inquire of their gods, and their idols, (b) and the familiar spirits.”

But when they flee, it says, to them that falsely appear to be gods, they will

receive no help, for then will God chiefly deliver them to cruel kings and rulers, when under the influence of their daemons, and in their power, they arouse persecutions against the Churches of Christ. And, please, notice the fact, that until the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ all Egypt had its own kings, as a separate (c) and responsible state, and the Egyptians were autonomous and free, and their dynasty was great and famous through long ages, and it was after that date, when Augustus, in whose time our Lord was born, being the first Roman to subjugate Egypt, captured Cleopatra the last of the Ptolemies, that they came under the Roman power, laws, and enactments, losing their former autonomy and freedom. So that here also the prophecy is true, regarding first the governors (d) and rulers sent out to those places, and the other officials in their several positions, saying, “And I will deliver Egypt into the hand of cruel rulers,” and also in what follows regarding the general conduct of the government.

Instead of which Aquila says, “And a mighty king shall reign over them.” And Symmachus, “And a strong king shall reign over them.” Thus the kingdom of Rome seems to be meant, which has bound with bridle and bond not only the Egyptians, the most superstitious of men, but all other men as well, so that they dare no longer to blaspheme against the Church of our Saviour Jesus Christ. And after (300) this the prophecy proceeds to darker and disguised sayings, which require longer and more profound allegorical interpretation, which in the proper place shall receive their proper exposition at leisure when with God’s help I treat of the promises.

CHAPTER 21

From the same.

A Promise of Good Things to the Church of the Gentiles, that before was deserted, and to Sick Souls the Manifest (c) Presence of God, and Marvellous Saving Acts.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xxxv. 1-7.]

HERE also the Coming of God for salvation, bringing many blessings, is precisely foretold. The prophet says that there will be a cure for the deaf, sight for the blind, yea, even healing for the lame and tongue-tied, and this was only fulfilled at the Coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by Whom the eyes of the blind were opened, and the deaf regained their hearing; why need I say, how many palsied and deaf and lame also received physical cure by the hands of His (301) disciples? And how many others, afflicted with various diseases and maladies, received of Him healing and salvation, according to the inspired prediction of prophecy, and according to the unimpeachable testimony of the Holy Gospels? And the prophecy here disguises under the name of “desert” the Church of the Gentiles, which for long years deserted of God is being evangelized by those of whom we are speaking, and it says that besides other blessings the glory of Libanus will be given to the desert. Now it is customary to call (b) Jerusalem Lebanon allegorically, as I will show, when I have time, by proofs from Holy Scripture. This prophecy before us, therefore, teaches that by God’s presence with men the glory of Libanus will be given to that which is called “desert,” that is to say, the Church of the Gentiles. And for, “And the honour of Carmel,” Aquila says, “the beauty of Carmel, and of Sharon, they shall see the glory of (c) the Lord.” Symmachus, “The grace of Carmel and of the plain, those shall see the glory of the Lord.” And Theodotion, “The beauty of Carmel and of Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord.” In which I think the prophet means, figuratively, not that Jerusalem, nor Judaea, but the land of the Gentiles will be counted worthy of divine knowledge. For Carmel, and that which is called Sharon were places that belonged to foreign races. That would be the literal meaning: but figuratively, even to-day, they that were before so blinded in soul, as to bow down to wood and stone and other lifeless substances, earth-bound daemons, (d) and evil spirits instead of the God of the Universe, and they that were deaf

in the ears of their mind, and lame, and palsied in all their life, are even now being released from all these and many other sufferings and weaknesses by the teaching of our Saviour Jesus Christ, receiving far better healing and benefit than that of the body, and shewing forth clearly the divine and superhuman power of the presence of the Word of God among men.

CHAPTER 22

From the same.

How the First and Everlasting Word of God, the Creator of (302) the Universe, confesses that He is even now sent by the (b) Lord His Father.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlviii. 12 and 16.]

You have here the Lord sent and the Lord sending, that is to say the Father and God of the Universe, entitled Lord twice as was usual.

CHAPTER 23

From the same.

How the Lord rebukes the Jewish People, because They will not receive Him when He comes, nor hear His Call, and what He will suffer at Their Hands.

[Passages quoted, Isa. 1. 1, 2 a, b.]

HERE the Lord Himself recording plainly His Coming among (303) men rebukes the Jewish people, because they will not receive Him when He comes, nor hear Him when He calls. And He teaches, as if by way of apology, that this is the cause of their own rejection. "For when I came," He says, "I was not among you as a man: I called, and there was none that heard: therefore," He says, "ye were sold for your sins, inasmuch as ye were of yourselves divorced from my call, not that I had given you a bill of divorcement." This is clearly (b) addressed to the Jews, and at the same time reveals their outrages on Him at His Passion, when it says: "I gave my back to scourges, and my cheeks to blows," and that which follows. But these words shall be properly interpreted at leisure.

CHAPTER 24

From the same.

How the Same Lord that spake in the Prophets will come Among Men and be seen by Their Eyes, and be known to the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Isa. lii. 5-10.]

THE prophecy of Christ's Passion immediately succeeds this in one and the same passage, which I shall expound at leisure. One and the same Lord, who said in the previous (304) quotation to the Jewish people, "You were sold for your sins, and for your iniquities I sent away your mother, because I came, and there was no man: I called and there was none to hear," says in the passage before us to the Jews again: "Because of you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles."

Then, as though having another people besides them, he adds, "Therefore my people shall know my name," and teaches that not another, but the same Lord that spoke in the prophets, will sojourn some day in our life, saying, "I am he that speak; I will come." And the words, "As a season upon the mountains, as the feet of one preaching a message of peace, as one preaching good things, I will make thy salvation known, saying, Sion, thy God reigneth," the other translators make it clearer. For Aquila says: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of Him that preacheth the gospel, who publisheth peace, who preacheth the gospel of good things, publishing salvation, saying to Sion, Thy God reigneth."

And Symmachus says, "How lovely on the mountains are the feet of him that preacheth the gospel, making peace known, publishing good things, making salvation known, saying to Sion, Thy God reigneth": and instead of "The voice of thy guards is lifted, and they shall rejoice with the voice together, because they shall see eye to eye." Symmachus translates thus: "The voice of thy guards; they have raised their voice. Together, will they praise: For they will see openly." By "guards" would here be meant the holy apostles of our Saviour, who also saw openly Him that was foretold, and raised their voice preaching to all the world. Sion and Jerusalem that here have the good news told them the apostle knew to be heavenly, when he said, "But Jerusalem that is above is free, that is the mother of us," and, "Ye have come to Mount Sion, and the city of the: living God, heavenly Jerusalem, and to an

innumerable company of angels.” Sion might also mean the Church established by Christ in every part of the world, and Jerusalem the holy constitution which, once established of old time among the ancient Jews alone, was driven into the wilderness by their impiety, and then again was restored far better than before through the coming of our Saviour. Therefore the prophecy says, “Let the waste places of (305) Jerusalem break forth into joy together, for the Lord has pitied her, and saved Jerusalem.”

Nor would you be wrong in calling Sion the soul of every holy and godly man, so far as it is lifted above this life, having its city in heaven, seeing the things beyond the world. For it means “a watch-tower.” And in so far as (b) such a man remains calm and free from passion, you could call him Jerusalem — for Jerusalem means “Vision of Peace.”

After this the call of the Gentiles to the worship of God is very clearly shown in the words, “And the Lord God will reveal His holy arm before all nations; and the high places of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.” And consider that the arm of the Lord is nothing else but the Word and Wisdom, and the Lord Himself, Who is the Christ of God.

It is easy to shew this from many instances. In the Exodus you have Israel saved by the arm of God from (c) slavery to the Egyptians. While the prophecy before us says that that same arm of the Lord, which of old appeared to save His people will be revealed to all nations, as if it formerly were hidden from them. And “the salvation, which “he says “all the high places of the earth shall see,” and which he mentioned before when he said, “I will make my salvation known,” know that it is the Hebrew for the name of Jesus.

CHAPTER 25

From the same.

How, again, the Coming of God the Word and the Gathering of All Nations is foretold.

[Passage quoted, Isa. lxvi. 18, 19.]

HERE also the Coming of the Lord to men is exactly foretold. And as it said, “He will come as fire,” our Saviour rightly says, “I came to cast fire on the earth, and what will I, if it be already kindled?” You may say His “chariots” are His attendant divine powers, and the holy angels chosen to minister to Him, of whom it is said, “and angels came and ministered to Him,” and His holy apostles and disciples, borne up by whom, the Word of God with divine invisible power ran through all the world. One might also literally in another way connect fire and chariots with His coming, through the siege that attacked Jerusalem after our Saviour’s Advent, for the Temple was burned with fire not long after, and was reduced to extreme desolation, and the city was encircled by the chariots and camps of the enemy, after which too the promises to the Gentiles were fulfilled in harmony with the prophecy. Who would not wonder hearing the Lord say by the prophet, “I come to bring together all nations and tongues,” and then seeing throughout the whole inhabited world the congregations welded together in the Name of Christ through the Coming and the Call of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with the tongues of all nations in varying dialects calling on one God and Lord? To crown all, who beholding all them that believe in Christ using as a seal the sign of salvation, would not rightly be astounded hearing the Lord saying in days of old, “And they shall come and see my glory, and I will leave my sign upon them”?

We see in part, indeed, now with our own eyes the fulfilment of the holy oracles as to the first Epiphany of our Saviour to man. May it be seen completely as well in His second glorious Advent, when all nations shall see His glory, and when He comes in the heavens with power and great glory.

To that day the remainder of the prophecy must be referred, as I shall show in my own argument.

As I have in this Book collected so many passages concerning the prophecies of the coming of God, my next task should be to connect with

them an account of what was foretold as to the nature of His entry into human life.

BOOK VII

(308) WE have learned in the preceding Book from the words of the prophets that God would come to men and would live among men on earth, and that the two chief signs of His presence would be the calling of the nations of the world to receive the true knowledge of God, and the ruin and desolation of the Jews through their unbelief in Him ; and we have investigated how the prophecies were fulfilled. (309) We will now attempt in this Seventh Book of *The Proof of the Gospel* to treat in due order of the way in which He says that He is to make His entrance into humanity. So then our present object is to see what kind of prophecies were made of God's coming among men, where it was predicted He should be horn, and from what race it was proclaimed that He should come.

CHAPTER 1

(b) *From Isaiah.*

The Manner of the Lord's Stay among Men.

A prediction of the Jews' unbelief in Christ, and the sign (c) that was given them by the Lord. It was this : A Virgin giving birth to God, at Whose Birth the complete destruction of the Jewish race was foretold, the subjection of their land to foreign enemies, and the flourishing of that, which before was desert, under divine cultivation. Thus the Church of the Gentiles was shewn forth. As the great Evangelist St. John, teaching of our Lord and Saviour as the very Word of God full of supernatural power, begins his holy Gospel, by setting side by side His Divinity and His Humanity in His presence among men, saying, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him," and adding after this, "and the Word became flesh, and tabernacled among us"; so in the same strain the inspired prophet, about to proclaim God born of a Virgin, tells first the vision of His Divine glory, when he thus describes the Being of God:

"1. I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne high and exalted. And the house was full of his glory. 2. And Seraphim stood round about him: each one had six wings: with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he did fly. 3. And they (310) cried one to another and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of his glory."

And he adds also:

"8. And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go to this people? And I said, Behold, Here am I. Send me. 9. And he said, Go and say to this people, Ye shall hear indeed, but shall not understand; and ye shall see indeed, but not perceive. 10. For this people's heart has become gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. 11. And I said, How long, O Lord? And He said, Until the cities be deserted, by reason of their being uninhabited, and the houses by reason of there being no man."

What Lord may we say the prophet saw but Him Whom we have proved to have been seen and known by the fathers with Abraham in previous days? He,

we have already learned, was both God and Lord, and Angel and Captain of the Lord's power as well. So then in approaching the account of His Coming to men the prophecy before us tells first of His divine kingdom, in which it says that the prophet saw Him sitting on a throne high and exalted. This is that throne which is mentioned in the Psalm of the Beloved, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever," on which the Most High Creator of the Universe, His God and Father, bade his Only-begotten sit, saying, "Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." John the Evangelist supports my interpretation of this passage, when he quotes the words of Isaiah, where it is said, "For this people's heart is become gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed," referring them to Christ, saying, "This said Isaiah, when he saw his glory, and bare witness of him." The prophet then seeing our Saviour sitting on His Father's throne in the divine and glorious kingdom, and moved by the Holy Spirit, and being about to describe next His coming among men and His Birth of a Virgin, foretells that His knowledge and praise would be over all the earth, by introducing the song of the Seraphim (311) round His throne: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth, the whole earth is full of his glory. And who are the Seraphim around the Christ of God? Perhaps the choirs of angels and divine powers, perhaps the prophets and apostles. For the translation of Seraphim is "Rule of His Mouth." The prophets and apostles would bear this name, because from their mouth were the firstfruits of the preaching of salvation. So also the powers of the Holy Spirit are called (b) "Wings," as hiding the beginning and the end of the knowledge of God, as being secret and inconceivable in nature, but they reveal the central parts of his dispensation, since these alone are knowable by men; that which is beyond and that which comes after them is left unsaid. And the divine and heavenly powers are signified by the Seraphim, according to another rendering of the word, as (c) "fires." As it is said, "He maketh his angels spirits and his ministers a flame of fire." These cry and shout one to another according to their power, shewing forth the holiness of the Being acclaimed as God, and, strangest of all, they do not acclaim His Godhead because heaven and the things of heaven alone are full of His glory, but because all the earth also shares in His power by His Coming from heaven to men as prophesied, in the prediction which follows, announcing His Birth of a Virgin and His glory spread through all the earth.

Lord of Sabaoth is translated “Lord of Powers.” And He is the Captain of the Powers of the Lord, Whom also the divine powers salute as Lord of Sabaoth in the 23rd Psalm, foretelling His return from earth to heaven: “Lift up your gates, ye princes, and be lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. Who is the King of glory? The Lord of Powers, He is the King of glory.”

In the Hebrew He is here again called Lord of Sabaoth. (312) And since He is the King of glory, and by His sojourn here the whole earth would be filled with His glory, both in the psalm and in the prophecy the fulfilment is rightly placed in the present: in the prophecy in the words, “The whole earth is full of his glory,” in the psalm at the beginning where it says, “The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof, the world and all that dwell therein.” After this prophecy, the prophet next proceeds to bear witness, that though the whole earth shall be full of His glory, yet the Jewish race shall not participate, where he says, “And the Lord said (that is to say, the Lord of Sabaoth in the vision), Whom shall I send, and who will go to this people? And I said, Behold, here am I. Send me. And He said, Go and say to this people, Ye shall hear, and shall not understand. And ye shall see and not perceive: For this people’s heart is become gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed, lest they should hear with their ears, and see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.” Here he expressly foretells the opposition of the Jews to Him, and how they will see Him, and not understand Who He is; how they will hear Him, speaking and teaching them, but will be quite unable to grasp Who it is that speaks with them, or the new teaching He offers them. And John the Evangelist witnesses to the fulfilment of these words referring to Our Saviour, where he says, “Though he had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on Him, that Isaiah the prophet’s words might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?

“Therefore they were not able to believe, because again Isaiah said, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart, so that they should not see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. These things said Isaiah, when he saw His glory, and bare witness of Him.” Thus the Evangelist most certainly referred the Theophany

in Isaiah to Christ, and to the Jews who did not receive the Lord that was seen by (313) the prophet according to the prediction about Him. To the prophet, then, who had seen the Lord of Sabaoth the oracle says that he is to tell the Jewish race, that they shall see Him at some future time, but shall not understand Who He is, and shall hear Him speak and teach among them, but shall not know Him, because of the hardening of their hearts. Then Isaiah, after the prophecy here quoted, describes in the course of his record the enemy's attack on Ahaz, who at that time held the kingdom of the Jewish people, and declares that the destruction of their visible (b) enemies will be at no distant date. And he shews that the defeat of their spiritual and unseen foes will be as complete, those daemons and unseen powers, of whom I treated at the beginning of this work, for having involved not only the Jewish race but the whole of mankind in every form of evil, and especially in godless idolatry; and that could only be achieved by the sojourn of the Word of God among men as prophesied, and His receiving His earthly tabernacle (c) from a pure Virgin. Why this was necessary, it is now the time to explain.

Concerning the Sojourn of Our Saviour.

Since the apostle said, "By man death entered into the world," it was surely essential that the victory over death should be achieved by man as well, and the body of death be shewn to be the body of life, and the reign of sin that before ruled in the mortal body be destroyed, so that it should no longer serve sin but righteousness. And since long ago man fell through the sins of the flesh, the standard of victory over his enemies was rightly upraised again by one that was sinless and undefiled of all evil. And who were these enemies, but they who of old had overcome the human race by the pleasures of the flesh? And moreover men required that the Word of God coming to dwell with them, and to give holy teaching to their earthly ears, and to shew the power of God clearly to their eyes by signs and (314) wonders, should accomplish His work through our natural equipment, for it is only possible for men to see bodily things with their eyes, and to hear that which is spoken by the tongue. It was then in order that we might receive the knowledge of spiritual and unembodied things by our bodily senses that God the Word employed a speech that was akin and familiar to us, and shewed forth all the salvation given through Him to those who themselves could (b) hear and see His divine words and works. And this He did, not being like ourselves bound

down by the limitations of the body, nor experiencing aught below or above His Divinity, nor hampered as a human soul is by the body so as to be unable to act as God, or to be omnipresent as the Word of God, and to fill all things and to extend through all: but He incurred no stain or corruption or pollution from the body He had taken, because, as the Word of God, He remained by nature without body, or substance, or flesh, and went through the whole dispensation of His Incarnation with divine power and in ways unknown to us, sharing (c) what belonged to Him, but not receiving what belonged to others. What, then, was there to fear in the dispensation of the Incarnation, since the undefiled was incapable of defilement, and the pure of being soiled by the flesh, and the passionless Word of God of corruption by the proper nature of the body, any more than the rays of the sun are harmed by touching corpses and all sorts of bodily things? Nay, on the contrary, the corruptible was transformed by the divine Word, and was made holy and immortal, even (d) as He willed: yea, and so it ministered to the divine purpose and works of the Spirit. And all this was done by a loving God and by the Word of God for the curing and salvation of all men, in accordance with the words of the prophets who had foretold from ancient days His wondrous Birth of a Virgin. And quite necessarily the prophet prefaces Christ's Birth of a Virgin by an exhortation to attention, crying aloud to his hearers, "If ye will not believe, neither (315) shall ye understand."

And then he adds the following words:

"10. And the Lord added to speak unto Ahaz saying, 11. Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God in the depth or in the height. 12. And Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt God. 13. And he said, Hear now, house of David; is it a small thing to you to strive with man, and how do ye strive with the Lord? 14. Therefore the Lord shall give you a sign: Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel: 15. Butter and honey shall he eat, before he knows to choose the good and refuse the evil. 16. Wherefore before the child know good or evil, he does not obey wickedness, that he should choose the good. And the earth shall be forsaken, on account of that which thou fearest, of her two kings."

Such is the prophecy. But the opening of the prophecy (c) is worthy of our study, which bears witness to those that read it, "If ye do not believe, neither will ye understand." And it is above all necessary to note that the words shew

that its readers need not only intellect but faith, and not only faith but intellect. Hence the Jews who do not believe in Christ, though they are even now hearers of these words, have not even yet understood Him of Whom the prophecy was given, so that in their case the prediction has its primary fulfilment. For though they hear daily with their ears the prophecies about Christ, they hear them not (d) with the ears of their mind. And the sole cause of their ignorance is unbelief, as the prophecy truly reveals of them and to them. For it says, “If ye will not believe, neither shall ye understand.”

And if they say that she who conceived is called not a virgin but a young woman in Scripture (for so it is said it is explained among them) what worthy sign of the promise of God, we answer, would this be, if like all women after union with a man a young woman were naturally to conceive? And how could he that were born of her be God? And not simply God, but “God with us”? For that is the meaning of Emmanuel, which name it says the child is to be called. “For behold a virgin,” it says, “shall conceive (316) and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted God with us.” Where would be God’s struggle, where His labour and difficulty, if a woman were to bring forth in the accustomed manner?

For in our versions translated by the Seventy, men of Hebrew race, experts in the accuracy of their knowledge of their national language, we find: “Is it a small thing for you to contend with man? And how will ye contend with God also? Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign: Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, who (b) shall be called God with us.” (For as I said this is the meaning of Emmanuel.) And in the versions of the Jews according to the transcript of Aquila [Aquila was a proselyte, and not a Jew by birth] we have a rendering to the same effect, “Hear then, house of David; is it a small thing with you to weary men that ye would weary my God also? Therefore He will give you this sign: Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and thou shalt call His name Emmanuel.” In Symmachus it stands thus — [Symmachus is said to have been an Ebionite. There was a sect of the Jews so designated said to have believed in Christ, to which Symmachus belonged, and his rendering is as follows]— “Hear, house of David, is it not enough for you to weary men, that ye weary my God? “Therefore the Lord Himself will give you this sign: “Behold a young woman conceives and bears a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel.” For since the hardness of the Jewish (d)

character and their disinclination for holiness caused sweat and toil, and no common labour and struggle to the prophets of old time, therefore he says, “Is it not enough for you to weary the prophets of God, and to contend with men: but now will ye even weary my God, and contend even with my God also?” Such is Theodotion’s translation. Thus the prophet calls the God, Who is like to be wearied and challenged to contend, his own God, and not the God of those whom he addresses, which he could hardly do if he referred to the Supreme God of the Jews, among whom it had been handed down from their Fathers that they must (317) preserve the worship of God the Creator of all things. And what could the contest and labour or the toil of this God in the prophecy refer to but His entry by human birth, as I and the Septuagint interpret it, of a virgin, or even according to the current Jewish rendering, of a young woman? For you will find in Moses the phrase “young woman “used of one who is undoubtedly a virgin, at least he uses the word of one who has been violated by one person after her betrothal to another.

(b) But also Emmanuel, the child of the Virgin, is to be endowed with more than human power, He is to choose the good before He knows evil, and to refuse evil in choosing the good: and this not in manhood but in childhood. Therefore it runs, “Before the child knows good or evil, he shall refuse evil in choosing the good,” which shews that He is completely immune from evil. And He (c) bears a greater than any human name, God with us. And this is why the sign connected with Him is said to have depth, and also height: depth, by reason of His descent to humanity, and His presence here even unto death: height, by reason of the restitution of His divine glory from the depth, or because of the divine nature of His pre-existence. Emmanuel can only be He Who has already been proved to be God the Lord, Who was seen by Abraham in human shape. And if the Jews refer the prophecy to Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, saying that his birth was thus (d) predicted to his father, we answer that Hezekiah was not God with us, nor was any sign shewn forth in him of a divine nature. Nor was there any divine struggle or labour attendant on his birth. Hezekiah, moreover, can be shewn to be excluded by the date of the prophecy. For this prophecy was given about future events when his father Ahaz was actually king, whereas Hezekiah is known to have been born before Ahaz came to the throne. And if the prophecy we are considering has no reference to him, it is still further from referring to any other Jew who lived

after its date, except to the birth of the true Emmanuel, that is, (318) God born with us, and to the sojourn among men of our Saviour the Word of God. For the land of the Jews was left desolate by the loss of its two kings, as the oracle said would come to pass as follows: "The land shall be deserted from the face of two kings"; and this actually and literally took place. For in the time of King Ahaz and Isaiah son of Amos at the date of this prophecy, the king of Syria in Damascus, and the king of Israel in Samaria, not the king (b) who ruled at Jerusalem, but the king of the multitude of Jews who revolted from the law of God, made a compact one with another, and besieged them that were under the sovereignty of David's successors. The prophecy foretells the destruction of both these kings, both the Jew and the one of foreign race, who had combined together against the Lord's people, and says that they will swiftly be severed and give up the war: and that their kingdom and succession (c) will be completely destroyed and extinguished after the birth of Him who is foretold as "God with us."

Now recognize at what date the kingdoms of Damascus and Judaea both ceased to exist, and at what period the land of the Jews was left without a king, as well as the land of the Damascenes, once so powerful, formerly the great overlord of all Syria. For the probability is that at the time of their destruction Emmanuel would be born, and He that was foretold would come. If we to-day could see the (d) kingdoms referred to still in existence, it would be vain to inquire further, we could only extend our hopes into the future; but if their destruction is actually evident, so that our time sees no kingdom either of Damascus or of Judaea, it is clear that the prophecy has been fulfilled which said, "And the land shall be deserted from the face of two kings, whom thou fearest, from their face," — kings being used for "kingdoms." For Symmachus says, "The land shall be left, from which you suffer ill, by the face of her two kings." And Aquila, "The land shall be left, which thou disdainest, from the face of her two kings." And Theodotion translates thus, "The land shall be left, which thou hatest, from the face of her two kings." Do you see how it is prophesied that the land shall be left kingless? What land, but that of Damascus, and that of Israel? For the kings to whom the prophecy refers ruled these lands. It was their lands that Ahaz despised or hated, wearied and suffering under their attacks. When then did they fall? For if this part of the prophecy was fulfilled, the foregoing part must have also taken

place, and this was, that a Virgin should bear “God with us.”

Now if we inquire of history it is abundantly clear that the line of kings of Damascus was uninterrupted up to the date of the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The holy apostle mentions Aretas, King of Damascus, and the kingship of the Jews continued untouched even until then, though it was irregular: for Herod and his successors in the time of our Saviour did not inherit the throne as being of David’s line.

And it was after His Appearing, and the preaching of the Gospel of the Virgin’s Son to all mankind, that the land was “left of the face of two kings.” For from that date by the rule of the Roman Emperor over all nations, all local dominion in city and state ceased, and the prophecy before us in common with the others was fulfilled.

Such was the literal fulfilment. But the prophecy also shews figuratively the stability, the calmness and peace of every soul, who receives the God that was born, Emmanuel Himself. For now that the one Christ, and the Word (d) proclaimed by Him, rule as kings over the souls of men, the old enemies have been put to flight, the two forms of sin, the one that leads men into idolatry and into a diversity of varied beliefs, the other that tempts them to moral ruin. Of these I say the earthly kings of old above-named were symbols. Of these the king of Damascus was the picture of the Gentile errors with regard to idols. And the other, of those who had rebelled from Jerusalem, that is to say from the worship of God according to the Law.

That we should understand the passage figuratively can (320) also be seen from what follows, where it is prophesied that in the time of Emmanuel certain flies and bees will attack the Jews, some from Egypt, some from Assyria, and that a man will shave their head and feet and beard, and that a man will nourish a heifer and two sheep, and other things destined to happen at one and the same time, which it is impossible to understand literally, but only figuratively. (b)

This, then, is so. And the proof that the Scripture before us foretold the manner of the Birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, is supported by the Evangelist, who wrote:

“18. The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise. When his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost. 19. And Joseph her husband being a just man, and not willing

to make her a public example, was minded to put her away secretly. 20. And while he thus intended, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared to him saying, Joseph, Son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost. 21. And she shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. For he shall save his people from their sins. 22. And all this was done that the word of the Lord spoken by the prophet might be fulfilled, saying, Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel, which is being interpreted, God with us.”

And thus according to our teaching the reality of the divine foreknowledge is confirmed by the course of events, otherwise the truth of the prophecy could not have been shewn. Let us now consider the important things which it is said in the next part of the prophecy will happen in that day, that is to say at the time of Christ’s appearing.

(321) [Passage quoted, Isa. vii. 18-25.]

Such are the events included by this prophecy in its prediction of the day of Emmanuel. I will now go through the revelations they give us, epitomizing their meaning. “The Lord,” it says, “will hiss for flies in that day, which shall rule over part of the river of Egypt, and for the bee which is in the land of the Assyrians.”

The souls of the men who before worshipped idols, or the impure and horrid powers, I think, are called flies, and flies of Egypt, as delighting in sacrifices and the blood of idols. And the bee is an animal armed with a sting, that knows how to rule and to obey and to fight, and can defend itself and wound its enemies. These two then combining together, the one from the land of the Rulers (which is the meaning of “Assyrians”) the other from the land of the idolaters, will be bidden, it says, as by the hissing of the Lord God of the Universe, to rule the whole of Judaea, because of their unbelief in Christ, in the day of Emmanuel. And it means by this that a foreign military power will occupy Jerusalem and Judaea. This too our Saviour foretold more definitely, when He said, “And Jerusalem shall be trodden by the Gentiles.” This was fulfilled not long after our Saviour spoke, when the Romans took the city, and settled strangers there, and established them on its site.

It is also said that the same Lord will shave with the razor of the Assyrian king, that is to say with the discipline of the Prince of this world, the head and the feet and the beard of what can only mean the Jewish race. That is to say

He will take away their order and beauty by the might (322) of some universal Empire, He disguises the Romans in this way. For I believe that under the name of Assyrians he means the rule of races, that gain Empire at each period of history, because Assyrians in Hebrew means Rulers. And the Romans are now such Rulers.

And in truth the God of the Universe has taken away all the glory of the Jews, which was as their hair, and all their manhood, signified by their beard and the hairs of their feet, by means of the Roman razor, that is to say their (b) statecraft and military power. And it was only after the Birth of our Saviour, Emmanuel Himself, that God took away all their glory through the Roman rule.

Aquila translates, "By the kingdom of Assyria," for "of the king of Assyria," Theodotion and Symmachus, "By the king of the Assyrians," making it clear that there is no threat to shave the head of the king of Assyria, but that by means of his razor and by means of the king of Assyria the things prophesied will fall on the Jewish nation. And the event (c) justified the prophecy. And one could note carefully at leisure many other sayings in the prophecies apparently directed against the Assyrians, which are quite inapplicable to them, since they refer to the rule of the dominant nation at some particular period. We have thus already seen the Persians called Assyrians by the Hebrews; and so we may conclude that the prophecy here refers to the Roman Empire. For (d) we see them as Rulers under the Rule of God in the period after our Saviour's coming. Yet no one must understand me to say that every reference to the Assyrians in Holy Scripture refers to the Romans; that would be foolish and absurd. But I will shew in the proper place that there are certain prophecies concerned with the witness to Christ, which are to be understood of the Romans under the name of Assyrians, since the meaning of the word always implies the dominant Power of an epoch.

For my part, and I have thoroughly reasoned out the grounds of my opinion, I am persuaded that the only (323) reason why the prophetic writings abstain from naming the Romans is that the teaching of our Saviour Jesus Christ was going to shine throughout the Roman Empire on all mankind, and that the books of the prophets would be popular in Rome itself, and among all the nations under Roman rule. It was therefore to prevent any offence being taken by the rulers of the Empire from a too clear reference to them, that the

prophecy was cloaked in riddles, in many (b) other contexts, notably in the visions of Daniel, just as in the prophecy we are considering, in which it calls them Assyrians, meaning Rulers.

It is then with their razor that it prophesies that after the birth of Emmanuel the whole order of the Jews will be abolished.

And also on that day, I mean the day of Emmanuel, or of Christ's Appearing, "A man, it says, will rear a heifer, and two sheep. And it shall come to pass from the abundance of milk, he that is left on the land shall eat butter and honey." By this he suggests the hunger and extreme penury of the Jews, not enjoying their natural food of corn, neither ploughing, sowing, nor reaping, possessing no flocks of sheep nor herds of cattle, but only possessing two sheep and a heifer to provide them with milk. Or perhaps he means figuratively, that those Jews left in the land, the choir of apostles and evangelists of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, each one of whom was a remnant according to the election of grace, and therefore called "he that is left" in the land, will rear a heifer and two sheep, three orders in each church, one of rulers, two of subordinates, since the Church of Christ's people is divided into two divisions, the faithful, and those not yet admitted to the laver of regeneration, to whom the holy apostle says, "I have fed you with milk, not with strong meat"; while he aptly calls those who are in a state of greater perfection a heifer, because they are the offspring of the more perfect bulls, like the apostle himself, who says of his own labour and that of his fellow-workers, "Does God take care for oxen, or is this said altogether for our sakes?" Thus the whole order of the leaders of the Church is called a heifer, for they are occupied in ploughing and sowing the souls of men, being the offspring of the ways and teaching of the apostles, who are said so to abound in virtue, that they provide of their fruitfulness fruitful and spiritual milk in elementary teaching, and nourish many besides themselves.

And it predicts also of those that shall be left in the land, that something else will happen in that day, that is to say at the time of Emmanuel's presence. What is it? Every place, it says, of the people of the Circumcision, where there were 1000 vines for 1000 shekels, shall be dry and thorny. For with arrow and bow they shall come there (obviously the enemy) and the land shall be dry and thorny.

And note that everything the prophecy predicts will fall on the Jewish race

in the day of Emmanuel, I mean at the time when the spiritual light of our Saviour's gifts shines on all men. He says that unclean and hostile powers which worked of old among the Gentiles, in Egypt and the land of the Assyrians, when the Lord hisses, and as it were urges them on and encourages them, will come upon their land, because they deserved the visitation. And it says that these powers will rest in valleys, and in caves of the rocks, in caverns, and in all their clefts, both figuratively understood of their souls, their bodily senses, their reason, and their divided minds, and directly in a literal sense of the whole country. Who would not wonder, when he sees how enemies have taken possession of every part of Judaea, and how foreigners and idolaters rest in all their cities and country? And the prophecy says that He will not only treat them thus, but will shave their head, the hairs of their feet and their beard, that is to say the whole order that of old was theirs, with the razor of the king of the Assyrians, as I have interpreted him.

At the same day and at the same time he threatens that he will plunge them into an extreme poverty of godly riches, so that they are devoid of rational bread, and of solid spiritual food, and are all content to be nourished with the milk of infants, and with elementary teaching. And to crown all, their vines will be dry. For when, as the same prophet says, their farmer and master expected them to bring forth a bunch of grapes, and they brought forth thorns, and not justice, but a cry, it is said that he will take away his mound and destroy the wall, and turn the vineyard into a dry place, and will deliver it to enemies, who, he says, will come there with arrow and bow, receiving their authority from God, Who delivers it to them not unjustly, but most justly, because all their land is become dry and thorny. Therefore, then, since they have made themselves dry and thorny, men will come, he says, with arrow and bow, with authority against them. Wonder not if this is expressed in dark and riddling figures. For I have already attributed the cause of such economy of Scripture to the desire to hide the final destruction of the Jewish race, so that they might preserve the Scriptures for our benefit and use. For if the prophets had openly predicted destruction for them, and prosperity for the Gentiles, none of the Jews would have loved them, but they would have destroyed their writings as hostile and opposed to them, and it would have been impossible for us Gentiles to have made use of the prophetic evidence about our Saviour and ourselves. But yet when all this shall have happened to

the Jewish race in Emmanuel's day, according to my interpretation of the prophecy, a scanty remnant of them is said to be left, of which the apostle says: "There was a remnant according to the election of grace." This it is surely, which shall rear a red heifer and two sheep, and from the abundance of their milk feed on butter and honey. And I have shewed according to my second interpretation that this describes the whole apostolic choir of the disciples of our Saviour Jesus Christ. But as those who are left behind are thus described in the prophecy, so also when the whole land of the Jewish nation and their vineyard has been transformed into sand and thorns, and therefore delivered to the enemy, it is prophesied in direct opposition to this that every arable (326) mountain shall be ploughed. And I think that the Church of our Saviour Jesus Christ is thus suggested, of which He also says: "A city set on a hill cannot be hid." For I think that the exalted, high, and lofty constitution of the Church is here called a mountain. It is, then, this arable mountain that it says shall be ploughed, so that no fear may attack it, and that it shall be so far changed from its former desolation, aridity, and thorns, as to be fit for "a pasture for sheep, and a place for cattle to tread."

(b) And we can remember, that the Church of Christ which of old was dry and thorny, has undergone by His grace such a transformation, that it grows such a crop of the grass and fodder of spiritual harvest, that the sheeplike and simpler souls can delight in it, and that those who have reached a more perfect development, here called bulls, can plough and till it, as I shewed that the holy apostle taught, when he said:

"Doth God take care for oxen, or doth he say it altogether for your sakes? For your sakes was it written, that he that plougheth should plough in hope, (c) and he that harroweth in hope to share therein."

Thus the land that was before desert and dry has been transformed after the coming of Christ, so that it is fit for those, whom I understand as the bulls, to cultivate suitably.

And notice how the Virgin Birth is prophesied under the same figure, by which at the same time the prophecy says that the land that of old bore fruit worth a thousand shekels will be dry and thorny, and all the land because it is so dry and thorny will be delivered to those that attack it with (d) arrow and bow; while to every mountain the opposite will happen. They will be transformed from their previous dry and thorny state into a pasture of flocks

and a place for cattle to tread, and no fear shall enter there. Whereby I think our Saviour's Virgin Birth is clearly meant, and all that happened after it both to the whole Jewish community and to the other nations. The prophecy plainly foretells the change of each of these divisions to the opposite of what they were before, the change of the Jewish nations from better to worse, and the change of the Gentile Church from its old desolation to a divine fruit-fulness, both of which are to be brought to pass according to the prophecy at the same time, that of the appearance of (327) Emmanuel, and are shewn to have actually been fulfilled after our Saviour's birth, and at no other time, both by the events in Jewish history which have been clearly told, and by the existence of the Gentile Church.

For if after the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ Himself the kingdoms of Damascus and Judaea had not come to an end, and if we could not see with our own eyes their lands released from them, and given over to foreign idolaters to inhabit; and, moreover, if the old (b) stately beauty of their very Temple had not become sand and thorns, and if no impure idolaters had come as their enemies to attack them with bow and arrow, urged on by the Lord Himself from abroad, and stayed in their country making every place and every city their own; and on the other side, if by the teaching of our Saviour no nations brought to believe in Him had changed from the sands and thorns of their ancient barrenness and brought forth a holy and godly spiritual harvest; and again, if they who saw Christ with their eyes had not rejected Him, if they who heard Him speak had not turned a deaf ear to Him, and if the rest of the prophecy could not be proved to have been most exactly fulfilled from the days of Jesus our Saviour — then He would not be the subject of the prophecy. But if the fulfilment of the prophecies is, as the saying is, clear to a blind man, as only brought to pass from the period of His coming, why need we any longer be in doubt about the Virgin Birth, or refuse by wise reasoning to base our belief in that which was the beginning of this matter, on the evidence of what we can even now see? And what do we even now see, but the Jews' disbelief in Him, so clearly fulfilling the oracle, which said: "Hearing ye shall hear and not understand, and seeing ye shall see and not perceive, for the heart of this people is waxed hard," and the siege of Jerusalem, and the total desolation of their ancient Temple, and the settling of foreign races on their land, enslaving them with stings, that is to say with

harsh enactments — for this is meant by the figures of the flies and bees — and above all the transformation of the heathen world from its former desolation into the field of God. Who would not be struck with astonishment at these spectacles? And who would not agree that the prediction is truly inspired, when he heard that these words were consigned to books and taken care of by our ancestors a thousand years ago, and only brought to a fulfilment after our Saviour's coming? If, then, the prediction was wonderful, and the result of the prediction yet more wonderful, and beyond all reason, why should we disbelieve that the actual entrance of Him that was foretold was allotted a miraculous and superhuman kind of birth, especially as the clear evidence of the other miracles, as marvellous (as the Birth itself) in their sequence from that Birth compels us to accept the evidence of the other wonders connected with Him.

But following this, after, For a pasture of flocks, and a place for cattle to tread, a second prediction is attached, to the foregoing: "And the Lord said to me, Take a book (c) for thyself," which we will consider, when I have quoted it.

From the same.

Concerning a New Writing, that is to say the New Covenant; a Prophetess is said to conceive of the Holy Spirit and bear a Son, Who, conquering Foes and Enemies, shall be rejected by the Jews, and will be a Saviour to the Gentiles. And what the Nation of the Jews will suffer after their Disbelief in Him, is shewn at the Same Time.

[Passage quoted, Isa. viii. 1-4.]

This prophecy is connected with the preceding. For she that was there called a Virgin, and was said to bear God with us, is here called a Prophetess. And if it be asked whence she should conceive being unmarried, the prophecy now gives teaching on this point, for it says: "And I went in to the prophetess; and she conceived and bare a son." This must be understood of the Holy Spirit, under Whose Divine influence the prophet spoke. The Holy Spirit then Himself confesses that He went in to the prophetess: and this is clearly fulfilled in the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, when:

"The angel Gabriel was sent by God to a city of Galilee, named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man, whose name was Joseph, of the house and lineage of David. And he said to her, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the

Lord is with thee, blessed art thou among women.”

And again:

“Fear not, for thou hast found favour with God. And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bear a son, and shall call his name Jesus. And Mary said, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?” He answered, “The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee. Wherefore the holy thing that is born shall be called Son of God.”

(d) And in the preceding prophecy, coincident with the birth of Emmanuel, before the Child knows good or evil, it is said that the land is forsaken by the two kings that are attacking it, namely the kings of Samaria and Damascus; while in this prophecy it says that before the Child calls on His father or mother, He shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria, whose kings He previously prophesied would be destroyed at the birth of Emmanuel.

I have already pointed out that actually in the time of Ahaz two kings made a covenant and attacked those ruled by David’s successors; the one, ruler of the idolatrous Gentiles of Damascus; the other, king of the Jewish people in the city of Palestine called Samaria, which we (330) call Sebaste. Concerning whom God said to Ahaz: “Fear not, let thy heart not be sick, for these two smoking firebrands.” And he foretells that the destruction of these men will be immediate, and proceeds to prophesy that on the birth of God with us, both their kingdoms will be utterly extinguished and destroyed. And we know from history that until the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ (b) the kingdoms of Judaea and Damascus continued, but that after His appearance to all men, they ceased in accordance with the prophecy, for the Roman Empire absorbed them concurrently with the preaching of our Saviour.

And after this literal prediction the prophecy passes to a figurative and generally more spiritual form of revelation, and it understands two ranks of invisible enemies and hostile daemons, warring in different ways against humanity, one active always and everywhere in promoting idolatry and false beliefs among mankind, the other occasioning the (c) corruption of morals. And taking the type of idolatrous error in the king of Damascus, and of the decline of the pure and healthy life in the king of Samaria, it says that the earth, meaning thereby the men who inhabit it, will only be released from

their power, when God appears on earth as Emmanuel. When He has shone forth and ruled over the soul of man, none of the old tyrants will be left. Thus, then, you will understand that here it refers to the (d) same beings, when it says: “He will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria,” for our Saviour Jesus Christ’s power conquers completely all our unseen enemies, who for long ages besieged all men with their aforesaid godless and harmful activities. And in the literal sense as well you may see the power of Damascus destroyed concurrently with the Birth and appearance of our Saviour, and the spoils of Samaria taken, that is to say their kingdoms, which continued up to the time stated, but in the fulfilment of the divine prediction have ceased from then till now. (331)

Some say, interpreting otherwise, that the Magi, who came from the East to worship Christ, the young Child, are meant by the “power of Damascus”: and you might say more universally that all who have rejected godless, polytheistic idolatry, and obeyed the word of Christ, especially if they be furnished with this world’s reason and wisdom, are those meant by the “power of Damascus.” And by the “spoils of Samaria” you will in this case understand our Saviour’s Jewish apostles and disciples, (b) whom as it were He took as His spoils from the hostile Jews who attacked Him, and armed for the conflict with the king of the Assyrians, by whom again the Prince of this world is figuratively meant. But as Aquila has translated more clearly: “The adversary of the king of the Assyrians” by “In the face of the king of the Assyrians,” it is worth considering whether here the Roman Empire is not meant, if the translation given a little before of “Assyrians” as “rulers or ruled” be correct. As then (c) here, also, the king of the Assyrians is connected with the appearing of our Saviour, it is probable that here also the Roman Empire is intended, through their being directed by God to subject the nations to themselves. It is therefore prophesied that the child that is born will take the power of Damascus, and the spoils of Samaria, and will deliver them against the face of the Assyrians, and before the eyes of those ruled by God, and that He will do this at the time of His Birth, directing the fate of humanity with secret divine power, while physically still a babe. (d)

The prophet commands all this to be delivered in a new and great book in the writing of a man, by which is meant the new Covenant. And he adds as witnesses of his sayings a priest and a prophet: his word thus teaching us, of

the necessity of using in Christian evidences the witness of the sacrificial system in the law, and of the prophets who succeeded it; and he desires, for other reasons, that there should be eye-witnesses of the Child's birth, that we might be able to understand what is prophesied of Him. For it was said above: "For if ye will not believe, neither will ye understand," and (he writes) that the one should have (332) "the Light of God" (this is the meaning of Uriah), and that the other being "the Son of Blessing" should bear the "memory of God in himself" (this is the meaning of Zachariah son of Barachiah).

Such is my exposition of the passages, and if any of the Jews does not agree with me, let him point out to me who at any time was born in this nation as Emmanuel, and how the prophet, came in to the prophetess, and who she was, and how she conceived immediately, and who was the child that was born of the prophetess, whom the Lord (b) Himself named: "Take the spoil speedily, keenly rob," and why the child was so called. They must shew, too, that the child, before he called on his father and mother, took the power of Damascus, and the spoils of Samaria against the king of the Assyrians. For we, understanding these sayings both literally and figuratively, hold that they were fulfilled in our Saviour's Birth, shewing that you must deal with the prophecies first in their literal and (c) obvious sense, and next allegorically. Immediately after the aforesaid words another prophecy follows in disguised language.

[Passage quoted, Isa. viii. 5-8.]

It is clear that the only way to preserve the sense of this passage is to explain it figuratively. Thus it means by the water of Siloam that goes softly, the Gospel teaching of the word of salvation. For Siloam means "sent." And this would be God the Word, sent by the Father, of Whom Moses also says, A ruler shall not fail from Juda, nor a prince from his loins, until he come for whom it is stored up, and he is the expectation of nations. For instead for whom it is stored up, the Hebrew has "Siloam," the word (333) of prophecy using the same word Siloam there and here, which means "the one that is sent."

And Raashim again was king of the idolatrous Gentiles in Damascus, as was also the son of Romelias of the Jews in Samaria who deserted the Jewish worship of their ancestors. And so God threatens that on those who will not accept Siloam, that is to say Emmanuel, who is sent to them, and the Son born

of the prophetess, and His pleasant and fruitful Word, but reject it, though it flows softly and (b) gently, and choose for their own selves the prince of idolatrous Gentiles or the leaders of the apostasy of God's people, He will bring the strong and full flood of the river, which the word of the prophecy interprets for us to be the king of the Assyrians: meaning here again either figuratively the Prince of this world, or the power of Rome actually dominant, to which they were delivered who rejected the said water of Siloam that went softly, and (c) embraced beliefs utterly hostile to good teaching. At once surely and without delay on those who rejected the Gospel of our Saviour, and refused the water of Siloam that went softly, the Roman army came under God's direction through all their valleys, trod down all their walls, took away from Judaea every man who could raise his head, or was able to do anything at all, and so great was their camp that it filled the whole breadth of Judrea. (d)

So the prophecy was literally fulfilled against them. Learn why it was if you desire to know. Because Emmanuel, God with us, the Child of the Virgin, was not with them, for if they had had Him, they would not have suffered thus. Wherefore the prophet next cries to the Gentiles, saying, "Emmanuel, God with us: know ye nations and yield." And this I have interpreted, so as to shew that most prophecies can be explained either literally or figuratively. Hence we must proceed to consider the remainder of the prophecy before us in both ways. And if the Jews say that even now (334) we are to expect the fulfilment in the future, expecting these things to be accomplished actually and literally by the Christ they look for, let us ask them, how he that is to come will take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria against the king of the Assyrians, inasmuch as Samaria at the present time is destroyed, and no longer exists, and the power that bore the name of Damascus is abolished, and so is the Assyrian Empire, which the Medes (b) and Persians destroyed and superseded between them? And as none of these people hold empire, how is it possible to look for their destruction in the future?

Neither is it possible to claim that they were fulfilled at any other time in the distant past. No Hebrew sprung from the union of a prophetess with the prophet Isaiah ever (c) took the spoils of Samaria and the power of Damascus warring against the king of Assyria, as the literal sense would imply. So that everything compels us to agree that the fulfilment has only been in the way I

have described, and at no other time than that of the appearance of Jesus our Saviour, in Whose day I have proved that the things aforesaid were fulfilled.

And there was therefore written according to the prophecy on His appearing a new book, the word of the new Covenant containing the birth of the Son of the prophetess, (d) Who also has literally by secret and divine power delivered the kingly power of both Damascus and Samaria and their spoils as explained by me into the hands of the Roman Empire: and figuratively of course as well, He has drawn up His Jewish disciples, claiming them as it were for His spoils, girding them with arms of spiritual strength, against the face of the said king of the Assyrians, and made them into heavy-armed soldiers, as His own soldiers. But those who refused the fruitful and life-giving water of His own teaching, which goes softly, and preferred what is hostile and opposed to God, He has handed over to the king of (335) the Assyrians, by whom they are even now enslaved. For verily He has gone up all their valleys, and all their walls, and taken away from Judaea every ruler and king, denominated “head,” and every one capable of doing anything, with the result that from that time to this they have possessed no head, no able man of God, as were their ancient saints, whether eminent for prophecy, or even for righteousness and godliness.

And it is evident that their whole country is even now (b) subject to their enemies, and that this was all completed when Emmanuel came. Thus, then, the Hebrew Scriptures contain the double message that Emmanuel would be rejected by the Jews and cause their great miseries, and that He would be accepted by us Gentiles and prove Himself our source of salvation and of the knowledge of God. Wherefore the next saying is, “God is with us: know ye Gentiles and yield.” How truly do we yield, we Gentiles that believe on Him, vanquished by the truth and power of Him Who is God with us, and conquered we obey Him (c) everywhere alike, even though we dwell in the very ends of the earth, according to the prophecy which says, “Obey even at the ends of the earth.” Yet though we obey Him and hear His call, the prophecy as it proceeds must refer to those nations that do not yet believe, saying, “Ye that were strong be vanquished. For if ye again be strong, ye shall again be vanquished, and whatever word ye take, shall not remain among you, for God is with us. Thus saith the Lord to them that disbelieve with strong hand.” (d)

In which words the prophecy says clearly to them that are restive under and rebel against Christ's teaching and put no trust in His strong hand, that they will have no strength if they attempt to war with the God with us, and that whatever counsel they take against Him shall not abide with them, because Emmanuel is with us, and it is easy for us who see the threats directed against us and the attacks of rulers in these days, to realize the truth of the conclusion, and that they can never carry out their threats because God is with us. (336)

From the same.

That the Son to be Born of the Virgin prophesied of, or Prophetess, is Called God, Angel of Great Counsel, and by Other Strange Names, and that His Birth is the Occasion of the Light of Holiness to the Gentiles.

[Passage quoted, Isa. ix. 1-7.]

This is the third prophecy of the Child, making known the same thing in different ways. As our present object is to exhibit the manner of God's coming to men, note the number of ways in which He is shewn forth. First, He was set before us under the name of Emmanuel, God born of a Virgin; secondly, as the Child of the prophetess and the Holy Spirit, being none other than the before-named; thirdly, in the present passage, being one and the same as in the former, wherein His Name is said to be, according to the Septuagint, Angel of Great Counsel, and as some of the copies have, "Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, (337) Potentate, Prince of Peace, Father of the World to Come." In the Hebrew, as Aquila says:

"For unto us a child is born, to us a son is given, and a measure was upon his shoulders. And his name was called Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty, Powerful, Father, even Prince of Peace, and of his peace there is no end."

And as Symmachus:

"For a youth is given to us, a son is given us; and his instructions shall be upon his shoulders, and his name shall be called Miraculous, Counselling, Strong, Powerful, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace, and of his (b) peace there is no end."

In the Septuagint it is not simply Angel, but that he should be born as Angel of Great Counsel, and Wonderful Counsellor, and Mighty God, and Potentate, and Prince of Peace, and Father of the World to Come, and it was there prophesied that He should be a Child. He is referred to that was previously called differently the Word of God, and God and Lord, and also

named the Angel of His Father, and the Captain of the Lord's Host. But who can this be who, in Aquila's version and those even now current among (c) the Hebrews, is "begotten among men, and become a child, Wonderful and Strong, Counsellor, Powerful, and Father, yea even Prince of peace, Whose peace, he says, will never end?" or in that of Symmachus, "Miraculous, Counselling, Strong, Powerful, Eternal Father, Prince of peace, and that endless and infinite"; or in Theodotion's "Counselling wonderfully, Strong, Powerful, Father, Prince of peace, for increasing instruction, of Whose peace there is no end."

And that which follows I leave you to consider by yourself, only remarking that this Being Who is called Eternal Father, (d) and Prince of Endless Peace, and Angel of Great Counsel is prophesied of as being begotten and becoming a child, and on His birth among men wills that they shall be burnt with fire who grudge the salvation He wins for the Gentiles, be they evil daemons, or be they wicked men, of whom He says, "That every garment and raiment wrought by guile, they will repay with interest." And who can these be, but those of whom it was elsewhere spoken in the person of our Saviour, "They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots"? And they who are partakers of their sin, who will also desire, when they shall see their own judgment at some future time, that they had been burnt with fire before they sinned, before the Angel of Great Counsel had been sinned against by them?

Now consider yourself whether it does not overstep the limits of human nature that His peace should be said to be endless, and that He should be called Eternal Father; and also that He should be called not simply Angel, but Angel of Great Counsel, and Mighty God, and the other names in the list. And it says too that the kingdom of David will be restored by Him, which you will understand thus: there were many promises given to David, in which it was said:

"And I will set his hand in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers: he shall call upon me, Thou art my father, my God, and the helper of my salvation, And I will make him my firstborn, high above the kings of the earth. For ever I will keep my mercy for him, and my covenant shall stand firm with him, and I will make his seed for ever and ever, and his throne as the days of heaven."

And again:

“Once have I sworn by my holiness, I will not fail David, his seed shall remain for ever, and his throne is as the sun before me, and as- the moon established for ever.”

God promised all this to David in the Psalms, but through the sins of his successors the opposite actually happened — for the kings of David’s seed lasted until Jeremiah, and ceased on the siege of the holy city by the Babylonians, so that from that date neither the throne of David nor his seed ruled the Jewish nation. And the Holy Spirit thus foretells the failure of the promises made to David in the same passage of the Psalm:

“But thou hast rejected, and made of no account, thou hast cast down thy Christ: Thou hast destroyed the covenant of thy servant, and cast his glory to the ground, thou hast broken down all his strongholds.”

And a few verses later:

“Thou hast broken down his throne to the ground, thou hast lessened the days of his time, thou hast proved dishonour upon him”;

a course of events which has been begun and carried to its conclusion from the Babylonian captivity of the Jews up to (339) the Roman Empire and Tiberius. For no one of the seed of David appears to have sat on the throne of the Hebrews in the intervening period up to the coining of Christ. But when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who was of David’s seed, was proclaimed King of all the world, that very throne of David, as though renewed from its degradation and fall, was restored in the divine kingdom of our (b) Saviour, and will last for ever; and even now, like the sun in God’s Presence, is lighting the whole world with the rays of His teaching, according to the witness of the Psalm and the prophecy before us, which says concerning the Child that should be born, on the throne of David (that is to say, the eternal and lasting throne promised to David), He should sit in His kingdom, to guide it, and uphold it in (c) justice and judgment from now even for ever. The Angel Gabriel should be a sufficient teacher that this was fulfilled, when he said in his sacred words to the Virgin:

“Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour with God; and behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.”

[[Luke.i. 30.]]

(d) And the prophet expecting this birth of Christ in the aforesaid Psalm, and regarding its postponement and delay as if it were the cause of the fall of David's throne, cries in disgust, "But thou hast refused, and made of no account, and cast off thy Christ." And he prays as though doubting the Divine Being, that the promise may be somehow swiftly fulfilled: "Where is thine ancient pity, Lord, which thou swarest unto David in thy truth? "which same things his prophecy most clearly says will be fulfilled at the birth of the Angel of Great Counsel. "Wherefore they will wish," he says, "to have been burnt with fire, those before named for unto us a child is born, and to us a son is given, the Angel of Great Counsel." To us, that is, who in Galilee of the Gentiles have believed on Him, to whom He has brought light and joy, and the new and fresh drink of the mystery of the new Covenant: according to the prophecy which says:

"First drink this, drink quickly — land of Zabulon, (340) and land of Nephthalim, and the rest who dwell by the coast, across Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles: O people that sat in darkness, behold a great light, and to them that sat in darkness and the shadow of death a light is risen."

These are they who from the Gentiles believed in the Christ of God, and the disciples and apostles of our Saviour, whom He called from the land of Zabulon and Nephthalim, and chose for the preachers of His Gospel. To them therefore who believed, the Angel of Great Counsel is given as a son to bring them salvation, but to them who disbelieved (b) fire and burning.

He says that the ground of this whole dispensation is the zeal of the Lord, "The zeal of the Lord of Sabaoth will do this." What is the character of this zeal? Is it not that recorded by Moses, where he says:

"They have provoked me to jealousy, but not according to God. They have angered me with their idols. And I will provoke them to jealousy by a nation which is not. By a foolish nation I will anger them "? [[Deut.xxxii. 21.]]

But as I have by God's help solved the problems of the (c) sojourn on earth of Him that was prophesied, and also the character of His coming from prophetic evidence, it is now the time to investigate the place where He should be born, His race, and the Hebrew tribe from which it was predicted He should come. These, then, shall be our next subjects.

CHAPTER 2

From Micah.

(341) Of the Place of the Birth of the God fore-announced, and how He will come forth from Bethlehem, a Town of Palestine, being from Eternity, as Governor of the Race of the Holy, and how it is foretold that the Lord will feed them that have believed in Him unto the Ends of the Earth.

[Passage quoted, Micah v. 2-6.]

EMMANUEL, which is interpreted God with us, has been clearly shewn in the passages quoted to have been born of (b) the Virgin, and the Angel of Great Counsel to have become a child. But the place of His Birth had also to be pointed out. It was therefore prophesied that a ruler would come forth from Bethlehem, whose goings forth were from eternity. And this could not be referred to a human being, but only to the nature of Emmanuel and the Angel of Great Counsel.

For eternal existence can be assumed only of God. A person who exists from eternity, then, is predicted as about to come forth from Bethlehem, a Jewish town not far from (c) Jerusalem. And we find that the only famous man who was born there was David, and then later our Lord and Saviour, Jesus the Christ of God, and besides them no other. But David, who came before the date of the prophecy, was dead many years before the prediction: nor were his goings forth from the days of eternity. It only remains that the words were fulfilled in Him that was born afterwards from Bethlehem, the true Emmanuel, God the Word going forth before the whole creation, and called (d) “God with us,” especially as His Birth at Bethlehem undoubtedly shewed God’s Presence, by the wonders connected with it: for St. Luke writes its record thus:

[Passage quoted, Luke ii. 1-18.]

So Luke writes. And Matthew tells the story of our Saviour’s birth as follows:

[Matt. ii. 1-12.]

I have quoted these passages in full to shew that what happened at Bethlehem at the Birth of our Saviour furnishes adequate evidence that He was the Person meant by the prophecy. And to this day the inhabitants of the place, who have received the tradition from their fathers, confirm the truth of

the story by shewing to those who visit Bethlehem because of its history the cave in which the (c) Virgin bare and laid her infant, as the prophecy says:

“Therefore he shall give them until the time of her that brings forth: She shall bring forth, and the rest of their brethren shall turn to them.”

And by “her that brings forth” he means accordingly her that in the former prophecies was called a Virgin, and the prophetess who was delivered of Emmanuel and the Angel of Great Counsel. For until her day and that of Him she bare the old conditions of the nation were unaltered, the prescription being laid down until the time of “her that (d) brings forth,” “that is, until the miraculous Birth of Him that was born of the Virgin; but after His day their kingdom was taken away, and the remnant of their brethren, those, that is to say, who believed in the Christ of God, became apostles and disciples and evangelists of our Saviour, whom, when they turn to Him, the Lord Himself is said to feed, not as before by angels or men that served him, but by Himself personally, so that thus they might be glorified to the ends of the earth. For they were glorified when “their voice went into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.” It is clear what a great flock of spiritual human sheep has been won for the Lord throughout the whole world by the apostles: and this flock the Lord Himself is (314) said personally to look after and feed with His strength, being both Shepherd and Lord of the flock, so that the sheep are protected by the strong hand and mighty arm of their Master and Shepherd, from danger of attack from wild and savage beasts.

Such is the character of the events at Bethlehem, and of the Coming of the God that was fore-announced. But the account of the Coming from Heaven to men of the Lord and (b) Shepherd Himself I have already quoted from the prophecy we have before us, in which it is said:

“Hear all peoples, and let the earth attend, and all that are therein, and the Lord shall be a witness to you, the Lord from his holy house. Wherefore behold the Lord, the Lord comes forth from his place, and shall descend,”

(and that which follows); to which he adds, “For the sin of Jacob is all this done, and for the transgression of the house of Israel.” But it is clear, from what the same prophet goes (c) on to say, that it was not only because of the sin of the Jews, that the Lord came down, but also for the salvation and calling of all nations. For he proceeds to say:

“And the mountain of the Lord shall be visible to the end of the days, and

many peoples shall haste to it, and many nations shall come and say, Come, let us go up to the Mount of the Lord.”

And therefore, after the proclamation that the Eternal shall come forth from Bethlehem, he says that he will no more rule only over Israel, but over all men together even unto the ends of the earth; for he says:

(d) “And he shall stand and see, and shall feed his flock with the strength of the Lord, and they shall live in the glory of the name of the Lord God: wherefore now they shall be glorified even unto the ends of the earth, and this shall be peace.”

Who shall have this peace, but the earth, in which the flocks of the Lord shall be glorified? And it is plain to all that this was fulfilled after the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

For before Him there was great variety of government, all nations being under tyrannical or democratic constitutions, as for instance, Egypt was ruled by its own king, (345) and so were the Arabs, the Idumueans, the Phoenicians, the Syrians and the other nations; there were risings of nations against nations and cities against cities, there were countless sieges and enslavements carried through in every place and country, until the Lord and Saviour came, and concurrently with His coming, the first Roman Emperor, (b) Augustus, conquered the nations, variety of government was almost completely ended, and peace was spread through all the world, according to the prophecy before us which expressly says of Christ’s disciples: “Wherefore they shall be glorified to the ends of the earth, and this shall be peace.”

And the oracle in the Psalms, which says about Christ, “There shall rise in his days justice and peace,” is in agreement with this. And I think that is why He is called “Prince of Peace” in the prophecy that I quoted before this. And I would ask you to notice that the prophet we are considering says at the outset that the Lord will come from heaven, and that the subject of the prophecy will only pasture his flock *after* His birth at Bethlehem. And (c) the Evangelist, whose words I have cited, furnishes the evidence that this was the case with regard to our Lord and Saviour.

The Christ is called the governor and shepherd of Israel, in accord with the custom of Holy Scripture to give the name of the true Israel figuratively to all who see God and live according to His Will: just as contrariwise it calls the Jews, when they sin, by names that suit their ways, Canaanites, and seed of

Canaan not Judah, Rulers of Sodom, and people of Gomorrah. Though, of course, (d) also, all our Saviour's life was literally passed with the Jewish race, and He was the Leader of many gathered out of Israel, as many of the Jews as knew Him and believed in Him.

Such, then, was the fulfilment of the prophecy quoted. But one must start fresh in considering that which succeeds it, which runs thus:

“When the Assyrian shall attack your land, and come against your country, there shall be raised up against him seven shepherds, and eight ‘bites’ of men,”

with that which follows, whose meaning we are not now called upon to unfold.

Now it might be said that after the expedition of the Assyrians into Judaea, when they overcame the Jews, the number of rebellions against them is shewn by the seven shepherds and the eight “bites”: and that historians of (346) Assyria would know this, and at the end of their rule the one foretold was born at Bethlehem, after the seven shepherds and the eight “bites” had happened to the Assyrians in the period after their expedition against Judaea. But we must not now devote more time to what would entail a long inquiry.

From Psalm cxxxi.

To David, inquiring where should be the Birthplace of the Predicted God, Ephratha, which is Bethlehem, is made known by the Holy Spirit.

(c) [Passages quoted, Ps. cxxxi. 1-7, 10, 11, 17.]

This prophecy agrees with the preceding in stating that the God about whom the prophecy is made will come forth from Bethlehem. And it is about this place that David first prays God to teach him, since he does not know it, (347) and then after his prayer he is taught. For when he has received the oracle addressed to him in the Psalm which said: “Of the fruit of thy body I will set upon thy seat,” and, “There will I raise up a horn for David, I have prepared a lantern for my Christ,” he rightly falls down before God, and there fallen to the earth worships, and with yet greater intensity of prayer swears that he will not enter the tabernacle of his house, nor allow his eyes to sleep, nor his eyelids to slumber, nor ascend the couch of his bed, (b) but will lie on the ground worshipping and adoring, until he finds a place for the Lord, and a tabernacle for the God of Jacob — that is, until he learns by the Lord's revelation to him the birthplace of the Christ.

So having prayed and desired to learn it, not long after he beholds by the Holy Spirit what will be in the future; for God has promised to His people that he will hear them even while they speak. So his prayer being heard he (c) is favoured with an oracle which cries “Bethlehem,” that being the place of the Lord, and the tabernacle of the God of Jacob. And so when the Holy Spirit prophesied that this was within him, he, listening to his inner voice, adds: “Lo, we heard of it in Ephratha.” And Ephratha is the same as Bethlehem, as is clear from Genesis, where it is said of Rachel, “And they buried her in the Hippodrome of Ephratha,” and this is Bethlehem. And the previous prophecy ran: “And thou, Bethlehem, house of Ephratha.” “Behold,” he says, “we have heard it! “ — evidently (d) meaning the birth of Christ and the entering of the God of Jacob into His tabernacle. For what else could the tabernacle of the God of Jacob be but the Body of Christ, which was born at Bethlehem, in which, as in a tabernacle, the divinity of the Only-begotten dwelt? And the habitation is not said to be simply of God, but is qualified as of the God of Jacob, that we may know that it is the God that dwells therein, Who was seen by Jacob in human form and shape, wherefore he was deemed worthy of the name, Seer of God, for such is the translation of his name. And I have established in the early part of this work that He that was seen by Jacob was none other than the Word of God. Bethlehem was therefore revealed to David when he prayed and desired to know the place and the habitation of the Lord and God of Jacob, wherefore he said: “Behold, we heard it at Ephratha,” and added: “Let us worship at (348) the place where his feet stood.” Therefore in these words the Lord God of Jacob Himself foretold that His own place and habitation would be in Ephratha, which is Bethlehem, agreeing with the prophecy of Micah, which said: “And thou, Bethlehem, house of Ephratha, out of thee shall come a governor, and his goings forth are from eternity,” which, when we lately examined, we found could only apply to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Who was born at Bethlehem according to the predictions. For (b) it is certain that no one else can be shewn to have come forth from there with glory after the date of the prophecy: there was no king, or prophet, or any other Hebrew saint who can be shewn to have been of David’s seed, and also born at Bethlehem, except our Lord and Saviour, the Christ of God. We must, therefore, own that He, and no one else, is the subject of this prophecy, and (c) for the additional reason that further on the same

Psalms proves it, calling Him Christ by name, where it says: "For the sake of David thy servant, turn not away the face of thy Christ." And again: "There will I raise up a horn for David, I have prepared a lantern for my Christ, his enemies I will clothe with shame, but upon him my holiness shall flower." Where else does he say: "I will raise up a horn for David," but in Bethlehem — Ephratha? (d) For it was there the horn of David, the Christ according to the flesh, arose like a great light, and there the God of the Universe prepared the lantern of the Christ. And the human tabernacle was the lantern as it were of his spiritual light, through which, like an earthen vessel, as if through a lantern, He poured forth the rays of His own light on all who were oppressed by ignorance of God and thick darkness.

Yes, indeed, I think that it was clearly revealed here that the God of Jacob, from the beginning the Eternal, would dwell among men, and that He would be born nowhere else but in the place at Bethlehem, near Jerusalem, in the spot that is even now pointed out, for there no one is witnessed to by all the inhabitants as having been (349) born there in accordance with the Gospel story, no one remarkable or famous among all men, except Jesus Christ. And Bethlehem is translated, "House of Bread," bearing the name of Him Who came forth from it, our Saviour, the true Word of God, and nourisher of spiritual souls, which He Himself shews by saying: "I am the Bread that came down from heaven." And since it was David's mother-town as well, the Son of David according to the (b) flesh rightly made His entrance from it according to the predictions of the prophets, so that the reason is clear why He chose Bethlehem for His mother-town.

But He is said to have been brought up at Nazara, and also to have been called a Nazarene. We know that the Hebrew word "Naziraion" occurs in Leviticus in connection with the ointment which they used for unction. And the ruler there was a kind of image of the great and (c) true High Priest, the Christ of God, being a shadowy type of Christ. So there it is said about the High Priest according to the Septuagint: "And he shall not defile him that is sanctified to his God, because the holy oil of his God hath anointed him": where the Hebrew has *nazer* for oil. And Aquila reads: "Because the separation, the oil of God's unction, is on him"; and Symmachus: "Because the pure oil of his God's anointing is on him": and Theodotion: "Because the oil *nazer* anointed by his God is upon him." So that *nazer* according to the

Septuagint is “holy,” according to Aquila “separation,” according to Symmachus “pure,” and the name Nazarene will therefore mean either holy, or separate, or pure. But the ancient priests, who were anointed with prepared oil, which Moses (d) called *Nazer*, were called for that reason Nazarenes; while our Lord and Saviour having naturally holiness, purity, and separation from sin, needed no human unguent, yet received the name of Nazarene among men, not because He was a Nazarene in the sense of being anointed with the oil called *Nazer*, but because He naturally had the qualities it symbolized, and also because He was called Nazarene from Nazara, where He was brought up by His parents according to the flesh and passed His childhood. And so it is said (350) in Matthew:

“Being warned of God in a dream [Joseph is referred to] he departed into the regions of Galilee, and came and lived in a city called Nazara, that the saying of the prophets might be fulfilled, He shall be called a Nazarene.”

For it was altogether necessary that He Who was a Nazarene naturally and truly, that is holy, and pure and separate from men, should be called by the name. But since, needing no human unction, He did not receive the name from the oil *nazer*, He acquired it from the place named (b) Nazara.

This proof being thus complete, let us now investigate from what race, and from which Hebrew tribe, it was foretold that the Saviour of our souls, the Christ of God, should come. And I will first quote the Gospel passages about it, and then add the prophets’ evidence to theirs, like seals that agree together. Matthew thus gives the genealogy of Christ according to the flesh:

“The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. Abraham begat Isaac, and Isaac begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Juda,” and that which follows.

And the apostle agrees with this, when he says:

“Separated to the gospel of God, which he had before promised by his prophets in the holy scriptures concerning his son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh.”

These words would agree with the corresponding predictions.

CHAPTER 3

From the Second Book of Chronicles.

From what Race and from what Hebrew Tribe it was foretold that the Christ should come.

[Passages quoted, 1 Chron. xvii. 11-13; Ps. lxxxviii. 26; verses 4, 35, 29; and cxxxi. 11.]

THERE is no doubt that Solomon was the son of David and his successor in the kingdom. And he first built the Temple of God at Jerusalem, and perhaps the Jews understand him to be the subject of the prophecy. But we may fairly ask them whether the oracle applies to Solomon, which says, "And I will set up his throne for ever," and also where God swore with the affirmation of an oath by his holy one, "The throne of him that is foretold, shall be as the sun, and the days of heaven." For if the years of the reign of Solomon are reckoned, they will be found to be forty and no more. Even if the reigns of all his successors be added up, they do not altogether come to 500 years. And even if we suppose that their line continued down to the final attack on the Jewish nation by the Romans, how can they fulfil a prophecy which says, "Thy throne shall remain for ever, and be as the sun and the days of heaven"? And the words, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son," how can they refer to Solomon, for his history tells us much about him that is foreign and opposed to the adoption of God? Nay, hear the indictment against him:

"And Solomon loved women, and took many strange wives, even the daughter of Pharaoh, Moabites, Ammonites, and Idumaeans, Syrians and Chatteans, and Amorites, from the nations of whom the Lord said to the children of Israel, that they should not go in to them."

And in addition to this:

"And his heart was not right with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father; and Solomon went after Astarte, the abomination of the Sidonians, and after their king, the idol of the sons of Ammon. And Solomon did evil before the Lord."

And again further on he adds:

"And the Lord raised Satan against Solomon, Ader the Idumaeon."

Now who would venture to call God his father, who, lay under such

grievous charges, and to call himself the firstborn son of the God of the Universe? Or how could these sayings apply first to David, and then to his seed? But they do not even apply to David, if you reflect. Therefore we require some one else, here revealed, to arise from the seed of David. But there was no other born of him, as is recorded, save only our Lord and Saviour Jesus the Christ of God, Who alone of the kings of David's line is called through the whole world the Son of David according to His earthly birth, and Whose Kingdom continues and will continue, lasting for endless time. It is attacked by many, but always by its divine superhuman power proves itself inspired and invincible as the prophecy foretold. And if you hear God swear by His holy one, hear Him swear as Father by the Word of God, existing before all ages, His Holy and Only-begotten Son, of Whose divinity the passages I have quoted have spoken in many ways, by Whom His God and Father swears as by His dearly beloved, that He would glorify Him that was of the seed of David for ever.

And this came to pass when the Word became flesh, and took and made divine Him that was of David's seed. Wherefore he calls him Son, saying, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son." And again, "And I will make him my firstborn." From this it is then clearly explained that the firstborn Son of God will be of the seed of David, so that the Son of David is one and the same as the Son of God, and the Son of God one and the same as the Son of David. And thus it was prophesied that the Firstborn of the whole creation, Himself the Son of God, was to become Son of man.

The Scripture of the Gospel sets its seal on this oracle, where it says that the Angel Gabriel, standing by the holy Virgin, spake thus concerning our Saviour:

"He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give to him the throne of his father David, and he shall rule over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end."

And after a little, Zacharias the father of John, prophesies thus concerning Christ in the same gospel:

"Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and wrought redemption for his people, and hath raised a horn of salvation for us in the house of David his son, as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets from ages past."

The fact that our Lord and Saviour Jesus the Christ of God, and none other, has received the throne promised for ever to David, has then been adequately proved by the prophecies quoted, and by the words of Gabriel and Zachariah, in which He is regarded as of the seed of David according to the flesh.

But the reason why the holy evangelists give the genealogy of Joseph, although our Saviour was not His son, but the son of the Holy Ghost and the holy Virgin, and how the mother of our Lord herself is proved to be of the race and seed of David, I have treated fully in the First Book of my *Questions and Answers concerning the genealogy of our Saviour*, and must refer those interested to that book, as the present subject is now occupying me.

From Psalm lxxii.

Of Solomon and of His Seed that is to come.

[Passages quoted, Ps. lxxii., i, 5-8, 16b.]

As this Psalm is addressed to Solomon, the first verse of (354) the Psalm must be referred to him, and all the rest to the son of Solomon, not Rehoboam, who was king of Israel after him, but Him that was of his seed according to the flesh, the Christ of God: for all who are acquainted with the Holy Scriptures will agree that it is impossible to connect (c) what is said in this Psalm with him or his successors, because of what they reveal about him. Nay, how is it possible to apply to Solomon, or his son Rehoboam, the burden of the whole Psalm? — for instance, “He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth.” And “He shall remain as long as the sun, and before the moon for ever,” and other similar statements. Yet the words at the beginning of the Psalm are at once seen to apply to Solomon, which say, “O God, thou wilt give judgment to the king.” And the addition, “And thy justice to the king’s son,” to the Son of Solomon, not his (d) firstborn who succeeded him in the kingdom (for he only ruled the Jewish nation seventeen years, being a wicked king), nor any of the successors of Rehoboam, but only to one of the seed of David, who could thus be called the son both of David and Solomon. And this is our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For His Kingdom and its throne will stand as long as the sun. And He alone of men, as the Word of God, existed before the moon and the creation of (355) the world, and He alone came down like dew from heaven on all the earth: and it was said in our quotation a little above, that He had risen on all men and that His justice would remain even until the consummation of life, which is called the

removal of the moon. And our Saviour's power is supreme from the eastern sea to the west, beginning its (b) activity at the river, which is either the Sacrament of Baptism, or from Jordan, where He first appeared to benefit mankind. Yea, from that time His kingdom has spread and extended through the whole world. And Jerusalem being meant by Libanus, as is made clear by many prophecies, because of its ancient altar and temple, and the offerings thereon to the honour of God like Libanus, the Church of the Gentiles the fruit of Christ is said to be (c) about to be exalted above Libanus. And if the studious consider this Psalm in its literal sense at leisure, they will find that its contents only apply to our Lord, and not to Solomon of old, or any of his successors on the throne of Judaea, who reigned but a few years, and only over the Jewish land.

(d) From Isaiah.

Of Jesse, and the Seed to be born of Him.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xi. 1-10.]

(356) This Jesse was David's father. As, then, in the preceding prophecies it was foretold that one should come forth of the fruit and seed of David, and also of the seed of Solomon, in the same way here it is prophesied that one will come forth of the seed of Jesse, that is to say of David, many years after the death of both David and Solomon. And this (b) passage decides the quibble of the Jews already noticed with regard to Solomon. For Isaiah writes this prophecy about some one other than him many years after the death of Solomon, who should arise from the stem of Jesse, and the seed of David. And I do not think it can be doubted that the words apply only to our Saviour, the Christ of God, considering the promise in the prediction, which says, "And (c) there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that riseth to rule the nations, in him shall the nations trust," and the way in which our Saviour fulfils them.

For He alone, after His Resurrection from the dead, intended here I think by the word "Arise," ruled not only the Jews but all nations, so that the prophecy does not lack fulfilment, as it is quite clear that the words, "In Him shall the Gentiles trust," are fulfilled in Him, as well as the other prophecies.

And the references to the animals and wild beasts becoming tame and laying aside their fierce and untameable nature through His sojourn here will be allegorically understood of men's rough and wild ways and fierce characters being changed by Christ's teaching from irrational savagery. They

must certainly be allegorically understood, especially (d) if one understands the root of Jesse mentioned by the prophet, and the rod, figuratively, and expounds in an intelligible way, “Justice shall be the girdle of his loins, and truth the girdle of his reins.” For if one can only interpret this allegorically it follows that one must treat the passages that refer to the animals necessarily in a figurative way as well.

From Jeremiah. (357)

A Righteous Rising from the Seed of David upspringing, and the same a King of Men, and a New Name to be given to those ruled by Him, and the Forgiveness of their Former Sins.

[Passages quoted, Jer. xxiii. 6-8, xxx. 8, 9.]

Jeremiah prophesies thus long after the death of David and even the time of Solomon concerning a king who is to arise from the seed of David, whom he first calls “the rising,” not simply but with the adjective “just,” as though he were to shine forth from the sun of righteousness, of whom I treated in my evidences about the Second Cause, where I shewed that the pre-existent Word of God besides (d) many other names was called Sun of Righteousness, quoting the prophecy which said, “To them that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise.” Therefore the prophecy in the present passage is that God will raise up “a righteous rising” to David, in the sense of a sun of righteousness. And he calls the same Being an understanding king, and one who does judgment and justice on the earth. He gives him too the same name as David, who died very long before. For you must note carefully how at the beginning he says, “And I will raise up to David a righteous rising,” (358) and adds at the end, “And I will raise up David to be his king.” Whose, but David’s? — for it was to him that he said He would raise up a righteous rising.

And Zechariah prophesying of the same Being likewise calls Him “arising,” saying, “Behold I will raise up my servant, the rising,” and also, “Behold a man whose name is ‘The Rising,’ and beneath him springs righteousness.”

But no one, it is certain, arose after the time of Jeremiah among the Jews who could be called “a righteous rising” and “an understanding king doing judgment and righteousness on the earth.” For if it be suggested that Jesus son of Josedec is meant, it must be answered that the (‘-’) prophecy is inapplicable

to him. For he was neither of David's seed nor did he reign as king. How could this apply to him, "And I will raise up David to be his king," when he was of the tribe of Levi, and of high-priestly rank, and of another tribe than David, and is never recorded to have been king? We conclude that, as no other can be discovered, we must agree that the subject of this prophecy (c) can only be our Lord and Saviour, called in other places "the light of the world," and "the light of the nations." He therefore must be the subject of this prophecy, and the prediction is absolutely true. For He alone of David's seed and figuratively named after his ancestor, for David means "strong-handed," preached judgment and justice by His teaching to all men on earth, and alone of all that ever lived is king not of one land only, but of the whole world, and alone has caused righteousness to arise over all the world, according to what is said of Him in the Psalm: "Righteousness shall arise in his days, and abundance of peace."

And Judah and Israel were to be saved in His days, that (d) is to say all the Jews who through Him reached holiness, His apostles, disciples and evangelists, or perhaps all who represent the Jew mystically understood and the true Israel which sees God spiritually.

"For he is not a Jew," the apostle says, "that is one outwardly, nor circumcision the outward circumcision in the flesh, but he is a Jew which is one in secret, and circumcision is of the heart in the spirit not the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God."

It is these, then, the secret Jew and the true Israel, that he says are through Christ's calling to be named by a new name, neither Jew nor Israel, but one quite different from these. For He says that the Lord will call them by the (359) name of Josedekaim, which means, "The Lord's just ones."

And I ask you to consider whether this name Josedekaim, by which the disciples of Jesus are called by God, be not formed from Joshua; they would thus be named by men from the name of Christ which is Greek (*i. e.* Christians), and by the prophets, from Jesus, in the Hebrew tongue, because they are saved by Him, Josedekaim. So it is said, "And this is the name by which the Lord shall call them, (h) Josedekaim among the prophets." So, then, we see that the people that are to become through the subject of the prophecy the spiritual Jews and the true Israel, will be called Josedekaim from Joshua, and they will be called by this name, he says, not by men, but by God, and by

His prophets. For you must note carefully the passage that says, “And this is the name which the Lord shall call them, Josedekim by his prophets.” And its translation in Greek is. as I said, “God’s just ones.” And God promises that (c) He will break from those who are thus to be saved the old heavy yoke of bitter daemons and shatter the bonds of the sins by which they were held of old, so that they will no more serve strange gods, but bear fruit and please Him only. Compare with this the oracle in the Second Psalm concerning the Coming of Christ and the calling of the Gentiles, which says: “Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast off their yoke from us.” To which, I think, this we are considering is akin when it says:

“In that day, saith the Lord, I will break the yoke from off their necks, and shatter their bonds, and they (d) shall not serve other gods, but shall serve the Lord their God.”

But in proof that it was predicted that the Christ of God should be born of the fruit of David’s body, and of the seed of Solomon, as actually was the case, since the Holy Scriptures call Him David as well as by many other names, I have given sufficient confirmation.

And it should raise no question, that He is said to come from the tribe of Judah, for that was the tribe to which David belonged.

But I will give the oracle of Moses that states this, though it is already proved sufficiently. It runs thus:

From Genesis.

How from the Tribe of Judah shall be born the Christ of God, and shall be established as the Expectation of Nations.

[Passage quoted, Gen. xlix. 8-10.]

The whole Hebrew race consisted of twelve tribes, one of which had Judah for its ancestor and head, to whom the above words were addressed, telling him that the Christ should spring from him. And if you compare with this prophecy the other prophecies I have quoted, you will find all through them that the same Being is proclaimed by a sign common to all. For one said of Him that springs from the root of Jesse, “And there shall be one arising to rule the nations, on him shall the nations trust.” Another said of the son of Solomon, “He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the world, and in him all nations shall be blessed.” And the one before us similarly says, “Until he come for whom it is laid up, and he shall be the

expectation of nations.”

If, then, the predictions about the nations are in accord, and the previous ones have been proved to refer to our Saviour, nothing prevents us referring this one to Him as well, if these prophecies are agreed to be in harmony, especially with regard to the fact that the kings and rulers of the Jewish nation continued in the same line of succession until the period of Christ’s appearing, but failed directly He appeared, and by the prediction of Jacob the expectation of the nations demanded a satisfaction.

Christ therefore is foretold here also, as destined to come from the tribe of Judah, and since He has been shewn to have been born of David, Solomon, and the root of Jesse, it is evident He came from the same tribe as they. For David was son of Jesse, and Solomon of David, both of the tribe of Judah. Our Lord and Saviour must therefore spring from it, as the wonderful evangelist Matthew states in his genealogy, “The Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham. Abraham begat Isaac, Isaac begat Jacob, Jacob begat Judah.”

And now that I have adequately proved these points, it is time to consider the period of the fulfilment of the prophecies.

BOOK VIII

INTRODUCTION

(362) I HAVE proved by how many prophecies the coming of the Word of God to men was foretold, and that it was announced by the Hebrew prophets whence He should (b) come, and where and how He should be seen by men on earth, and that He was actually the Person, the eternal pre-existent Son of God, Whom we have learned to recognize by the other names of God and Lord and Chief Captain, and Angel of Great Counsel and High Priest. And I begin at this point, in continuance of the preceding proof, to give the evidence with reference to the period of His Appearing drawn again from prophetic predictions.

(363) The Holy Scriptures foretell that there will be unmistakable signs of the Coming of Christ. Now there were among the Hebrews three outstanding offices of dignity, which made the nation famous, firstly the kingship, secondly that of prophet, and lastly the high priesthood. The prophecies said that the abolition and complete destruction of all these three together would be the sign of the (b) presence of the Christ. And that the proofs that the times had come, would lie in the ceasing of the Mosaic worship, the desolation of Jerusalem and its Temple, and the subjection of the whole Jewish race to its enemies. They suggest other signs of the same times as well, an abundance of peace, the overturning in nation and city of immemorial local and national forms of government, the conquest of polytheistic and daemonic idolatry, the knowledge of the religion of God the one Supreme Creator. The holy oracles foretold that all these changes, which had (c) not been made in the days of the prophets of old, would take place at the coming of the Christ, which I will presently shew to have been fulfilled as never before in accordance with the predictions. I have already, you will remember, accounted for the Christ coming in these last times and not long ago, but I will here shortly repeat myself. In the old days the souls of men were tyrannized over by squalid folly and sin, and a strange godlessness ruled (d) over all human life, so that men were like wild and untamed beasts. They knew nothing of cities, or constitutions, or laws, nor anything honourable or progressive; they set no store on arts and sciences, they had no conception of virtue and philosophy, they lived in lonely deserts, in mountains, caves, and villages; they preyed on their neighbours like robbers, and gained their livelihood mostly by

tyrannizing over those weaker than themselves. But though they did not know the Supreme God, nor the path of true religion, yet inspired by conceptions of natural religion they agreed in self-taught principles about the (364) existence of a divine power, regarded it as and called it God, and considered the name one of salvation and beneficence, but they were not yet able to realize anything beyond a Being transcending the world of visible nature. Wherefore some of them ——

25. “worshipped and served the creature rather than the creator; 21. and they became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened; 23. and they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things.”

And so they made images of their kings and tyrants long dead, and paid them divine honours, and by imputing divinity to them sanctified their wicked and lustful deeds as works of the gods.

How could the wise and good word of Christ, instilling the (c) quintessence of wisdom, be in harmony with men in that condition, and involved in such depths of evil? So that holy and all-seeing Justice, pruning them like a wild and dangerous wood, now afflicted them by floods, now by fire, now delivered them to wars, butchery and sieges at one another’s hands, urged on as they were to war against (d) each other by those very daemons whom they regarded as their gods, with the result that human life in those days admitted no neighbourly intercourse, mutual association or union. Those were few, as might be expected in such days, and easily numbered, who, as the Hebrew oracles tell us, were found to be godly; with such, Justice met by the use of oracles and theophanies, she took them by the hand and cared for them with the elementary but helpful Mosaic legislation.

But when at last by the legislation laid down for them, and by the later teaching of the prophets poured out like a sweet smell upon all men, the character of the people became civilized, and constitutions and legal systems were (365) established among most nations, and the name of virtue and philosophy became popularly honoured, as if their old savagery had ceased and their wild and cruel life were transferred to something gentler: then at length, at the fitting time, the perfect and heavenly teacher of perfect and heavenly thoughts and teaching, the leader to the (b) true knowledge of God,

God the Word, revealed Himself, at the time announced for His Incarnation, preaching the Gospel of the Father's love, the same for all nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, to every race of men, moving all to a common salvation in God, promising the truth and light of true religion, the kingdom of Heaven, and eternal life to all.

Such, then, is my account of the reasons why the Christ (c) of God shone forth on all men now and not long ago.

We will now, retracing our steps, examine in detail the signs portending His Coming, first noting what is said in the Gospels about the date of His Birth. Matthew then records the date of His appearance in the flesh, thus: "When Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judrea, in the days of Herod the king"; and a little later, he says: "Hearing that Archelaus reigned over Judaea, instead of Herod his father." And Luke shewed the date of His teaching and (d) manifestation, saying :

"In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, Herod tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother, Philip, tetrarch of Ituraea and the land of Trachonitis; and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being High Priests."

With these we shall do well to compare the prophecy of Jacob given by Moses to this effect.

CHAPTER 1

Of the Time of His Appearance among Men. How at the Time which the Hebrews fail of their Kingdom, the Expectation of the Gentiles shall approach, which also came to pass at Our Saviour's Appearing.

From Genesis.

1. “Jacob called his sons and said, Come together (b) and hear what shall befall you at the end of the days. Come together and hear, ye sons of Jacob, hear your father.”

Then, after rebuking his elder sons, one for one thing, one for another, as being unworthy because of their sins (c) of the prophecy about to be given, he prophesies thus to his fourth son, as having shewn himself a better man than his brothers:

8. “Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee, | thy hands shall be on the back of thy enemies, | the sons of thy father shall bow down to thee. | 9. Judah is a lion's whelp, | Thou hast sprung up, my son, from a slip. | Lying down thou didst sleep as a lion and a whelp, | Who shall arouse thee? | 10. A ruler shall not fail from Judah, | nor a governor from his loins, | until the things laid up for him come, | and he is the expectation of the nations.”

First, consider what is meant by “the things laid up for him,” and see if they be not the prophecies about the calling of the Gentiles, that God gave to those with Abraham. For it is written, that God said to Abraham :

“And thou shalt be blessed, and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee: and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.”

And again:

“Abraham,” he says, “shall become a great and mighty nation, and in him shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.”

Similar oracles were spoken to Isaac in this wise :

“And I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and in thy seed shall all nations of the world be blessed.”

And also to Jacob this is said :

“I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac, fear not.”

And then :

“And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.”

And at another time God said to him :

“I am thy God, increase and multiply: nations and assemblies of nations

shall come out of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins.”

Jacob, who knew the predictions of God concerning the calling of the nations, having twelve sons, called them all together to his deathbed, to discover in the line of which son God’s predictions would be fulfilled. And, then, having laid rebukes on the three first for their wrongdoings, he tells them also that the fulfilment of the prophecies will not come about through them because of their wicked deeds. But coming to the fourth, who was Judah, he at once prophesies to him that the oracle, which says, “kings shall come from thy loins,” will be fulfilled in his descendants. For it was plain that the kingly family was established in the tribe of Judah: and (c) he shews at the same time at what period the prophecies of God and the promises to the Gentiles will fall due, and he teaches that one will come forth from him who will cause all nations and tribes to be admitted to the blessings of Abraham. All these things, then, were “the things laid up for him,” that is to say, the ancient prophecies concerning the nations, and the words, “kings shall come (d) out of thee,” whereby his tribe has precedence of those of his brethren, as royal and pre-eminent.

Directly the whole nation was organized in the time of Moses God gave his tribe the chief rank among the tribes. For it is written:

“And the Lord spake to Moses and Aaron, saying, Let the children of Israel encamp fronting one another, every man keeping his own rank, according to their standards, according to the houses of their families before the Lord, around the tabernacle of witness; and they that encamp first towards the east, shall be the order of the camp of Judah with their host.”

And later in the part that refers to the renewing of the sanctuary:

“The Lord said to Moses, One prince each day shall offer their gifts. And he that offered the first day was Naason, son of Aminadab, prince of the tribe of Judah.”

And in the Book of Joshua, son of Nave, when the land of promise was divided by lot among the other tribes, the tribe of Judah took its own portion of the land without casting lots, and first of all. And, moreover, “After the death of Joshua the children of Israel inquired of the Lord, saying, Who shall go up for us against the Canaanite, leading our fighting against him? And the Lord said, Judah shall go up. Behold, I have given the land into his hands.” These words, then, make it clear that God (b) ordained the tribe of Judah to

be the head of all Israel, and the account goes on: “And Judah went up, and the Lord delivered the Canaanite and Perizzite into his hand.” And also: “And the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem and took it, and the sons of Judah came down from fighting against the Canaanite.” And again: “And Judah went up with Symeon, his brother.” And then: “And the Lord was with Judah, and gave him the Mount as his portion.” And after this: “And the sons of Joseph went up, they also who were in Bethel, and Judah with (c) them.” And in the Book of Judges, when different men at different times were at the head of the people, though individually the Judges were of different tribes, yet speaking generally the tribe of Judah was head of the whole people, and much more so in the times of David and his successors, who belonged to the tribe of Judah, and continued to rule until the Babylonian Captivity, after which the leader of those who returned from Babylon to their own land was Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, of the tribe of Judah, who also built the Temple. Hence, too, the Book of Chronicles, when giving the genealogies of the twelve tribes of Israel, (d) begins with Judah. And you will see it follows from this that, in the days that succeeded, the same tribe had the headship, although different individuals had temporary leadership, whose tribes it is impossible to decide with accuracy, because there is no sacred book handed down to give the history of the period from then to the time of our Saviour. But it is true to say that the tribe of Judah continued so long as the free and autonomous constitution of the whole nation lasted under its own leaders and kings. And this was the case from the beginning until the time of Augustus, (369) when, after our Saviour’s appearance among men, the whole nation became subject to Rome. And then instead of their ancestral and constitutional rulers they were ruled first by Herod, a foreigner, and next by the Emperor Augustus. And so long as there had not yet failed a prince from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, the dates of the prophecies are given from the reigns of the kings. Thus Isaiah prophesies in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. As did Hosea. Amos, in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah, and in the days of (b) Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel; and Zephaniah in the days of Josiah, son of Amos, king of Judah. And Jeremiah too. But when a prince failed from Judah, and a governor from his loins, when the expectation of the Gentiles foretold in Christ was just about to shine on human life, there were no longer any rulers styled kings in Judah or governors

in Israel. And since they had failed at the appointed time in accordance with prophecy, Augustus first, and then Tiberius, was called king of the Jewish nation, in common with the other nations, and under (c) them were procurators and tetrarchs of Judaea, and Herod of course, who, as I have already said, was not a Jew by birth, and received his authority over the Jews from Rome.

After these observations, we will now attempt a consideration of the prophecy: "Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee." Jacob had twelve sons, the fourth being Judah, who as I have said already, was the one and only head of the Hebrew tribes. But it will be evident, that (d) the words addressed to him by his father did not refer to him as an individual man, if we consider the words of Holy Scripture, and especially the speech of Jacob to his sons:

"And Jacob called his sons to him, Come together and I will tell you what shall come to pass in the last days. Gather together and hear, ye sons of Jacob, hear Israel your father."

For he clearly promises here to predict what will happen to them a long time afterwards, or, in his own words, in the last days. And for other reasons what Jacob said could not apply to the first individual who bore the name of Judah. His brethren did not praise him: for what great deed of his could they have done so? It would have been more applicable, if it had been addressed to Joseph, for (370) we know that Judah himself with his other brethren bowed down to him, except of course that this happened before the prophecy; but afterwards there is no record of anything of the kind connected with Joseph, or Judah. And the words, "Thou didst fall and sleep as a lion and a lion's whelp," seem to call for a wider interpretation than one concerning Judah. The words that follow, too: "There shall not fail a prince from Judah, nor a governor from his loins, until that come which is laid up for him, and he is (b) the expectation of nations," seem to me to give in a disguised form the time of the coming of the subject of the prophecy. For the one event, he says, will not take place, until the other does. The kings and rulers of the Jewish nation, that is, will not cease before the expectation of the nations shall come, and that which is laid up for the subject of the prophecy. Theodotion agrees with this rendering of the Septuagint, but Aquila thus translates:

"The sceptre shall not be removed from Judah, and he who knoweth exactly from between his feet, until also there come to him a congregation of

people.”

(c) And this saying, “There shall not fail a prince from Judah,” cannot be referred to Judah as an individual man any more than, “Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee.” For there were rulers and governors of the Jewish nation at many times who were not descended from him. Moses, for instance, its first ruler, was not of the tribe of Judah but of Levi. Joshua was of the tribe of Ephraim; after whom their ruler was Deborah, of the tribe of Ephraim, and Barak

(d).of the tribe of Naphthali, then Gedeon of Manasseh, then Gedeon’s son, and after him Thola of the same tribe, then Esebon of Bethlehem, and then Ailon of Zabulon, Labclon of Ephraim, and Samson of Dan; then there being no regular ruler, Eli the priest, of the tribe of Levi, was their leader, All these Judges judged Israel, not in the line of succession from Judah, but one from one tribe and one from another. And they were followed by the first king, Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin. How, then, can the words, “there shall not fail a prince from Judah, nor a governor (371) from his loins,” be referred, as one would suppose they should be, to rulers and governors of the tribe of Judah, when from the time of Jacob’s death, for nearly a thousand years, they do not appear to have been drawn from the tribe of Judah only, but some from one tribe, some from another, up to the time of David? And if it be true that David and his successors sprung from the tribe of Judah ruled the Jewish nation, after so many others, yet we must remember that they did not continue to rule the (b) whole people for the whole of those five hundred years, but only three tribes, and not the whole of them, for during their reigns other kings governed the larger part of the nation — that is to say, the whole of the other nine tribes. For after the death of Solomon, since the whole nation was divided from Judah, the successors of David, as I said, did not rule the whole Jewish nation up to the time of the Babylonian Captivity. And in their times the heads of Samaria, which was the name of the State held by the nine tribes, were not drawn from Judah, but now from one tribe, now from (c) another, the first being Jeroboam, of the tribe of Ephraim, and those immediately after him, so that in the period between David and the Babylonian Captivity, kings of the line of Judah never ruled the whole nation.

There is no need to add that after the return from Babylon for more than five hundred years again until the birth of Christ the Jewish constitution was

aristocratic, the high priests, for the time being, acting as heads of the State, none of whom came from the tribe of Judah. So from all these reasons it is proved that there is no reference here to Judah the original individual, to his descendants, nor in the oracle that said: "A prince shall not fail from Judah, (d) nor a governor from his loins," but that the only consistent interpretation of the passage is the one I have already given, that we must understand it of the tribe as a whole. The tribe most certainly was leader of the whole nation from the very beginning, from Moses' own time. And in accordance with such headship, as being designed by God from the outset, the country is even now called Judaea after the tribe, and the whole race are known as Jews. We must, therefore, understand it to mean what would be expressed more clearly, if it were said that the tribe of Judah would never lose its headship of the whole nation. So Symmachus says: "The power shall not be taken away (372) from Judah," shewing of course the authority and the royal position of what was afterwards to be the tribe of Judah. From it neither "the sceptre," as Aquila says, this being the symbol of royal rule, nor "the power," according to Symmachus, shall be taken away, the prophecy affirms, "until he come," it says, "for whom it is laid up, and he shall be the expectation of the nations." What expectation was this, but that of which Abraham and those after him had received the prophecies? First, is it not very striking that (b) though there were twelve Hebrew tribes, the race even now has its name from none but Judah? It can only be explained by the prophetic oracle, which attached the royal position to the tribe, of Judah. And it is for this same reason that their fatherland is called Judaea. For why was not the nation called after the eldest of the twelve, I mean (c) Reuben, according to the divine law of primogeniture? Why not from Levi, who was greater than Judah in order of birth, and also in receiving the priesthood? Why not, even more, was the race and the country not called after Joseph, from his acquiring rule not only over the whole of Egypt, but over his own relations, and because his descendants, long years after, were to rule as many as nine tribes of the nation, on whose account it was far more probable that the whole race and the country would have been named after their ancestor? And who would not agree (d) that they might reasonably have been called from Benjamin, since their famous mother-city and the all-holy Temple of God was in the portion of his tribe? But yet, in spite of all, the name of the Lord and of the whole nation was . drawn from

none of them but Judah, as the prophecy foretold. I have, therefore, referred the words, “A prince shall not fail from Judah,” to the tribe, and only in that sense is the prediction true. For from the time of Moses there has not failed a continued line of rulers of part of the nation, drawn as I said from different tribes, but the tribe of Judah has all along stood forth as the head of the whole (373) nation. An illustration will make what I have said clear. Just as the procurators and governors appointed in the Roman Empire over nations, their praefects and military chiefs, and their highest kings, are not all drawn from Rome nor from the seed of Remus and Romulus, but from many different races, and yet all their kings and the rulers and governors below them are all called Romans, and their power is named Roman, and the rule of them all generally has this appellation, in the same way we (b) should think of the Hebrew state, where you have the name of the tribe of Judah applied generally to the whole nation, though there be kings and governors of divisions from different tribes, but all honoured with the name of Judah. We understand then that the prophet’s words: “Judah, thy brethren shall praise thee,” were to be applied to the whole tribe. For he knew that being marked out for precedence it would be honoured more than the other tribes, and since it was best in warfare, and the sole leader of the whole nation in operations against the enemy, he rightly continues: “Thy hands shall be on the back of thy (c) enemies.” Then for its ruling and royal position he calls it, “a lion’s” whelp.” And as ancestor and prophet, glorying in the reputation of the tribe, he adds: “From a seed, my son, thou hast ascended”; while the words: “Falling down thou hast slept as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp,” shew its character of terror and bravery, its utter fearlessness of external attack, and contempt of its foes. He being such, (d) or rather, his tribe being such, who, he says, shall arouse it? He suggests that the Person who is to remove the tribe in question from its throne, and move it from its royal position, will be some one great, wonderful, unusual, and hard to imagine. Then he tells us who it is to be, telling us that it is He Who is the Expectation of nations, of Whom it is predicted that He will only appear among men, when the ruler fails, and the governor is changed, and the tribe of Judah is removed from its position of power. Who is this, but our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? — at Whose birth, as the prophecy before us (374) predicted, the rulers and governors set over their nation from the Jews themselves would fail, the tribe of Judah lose the dominant and royal

position that it had held over the nation for so long, and be subject to the Romans, their rulers from that day to this, who overcame the Jewish (b) nation together with the rest of the world, and under whom Herod, a man of alien birth apart from their race, was appointed king by Augustus and the Roman Senate. For Herod was son of Antipater, and Antipater belonged to Ascalon, and was son of some temple-server at the Temple of Apollo, who married a woman named Kuprine, of Arab race, and begat Herod. He, you will remember, being sprung from this family, got rid of and slew Hyrcanus, the last of the line of ruling high-priests, with (c) whom the government of the Jews by native rulers came to an end, Herod being, as I say, the first foreigner to be called the King of the Jews. In his time Jesus Christ was born, and at one and the same time the position of the tribe of Judah was taken away, the authority of the kingdom of the Jews destroyed, and the prophecy preceding this fulfilled: "There shall not fail a prince from Judah, nor a governor from his loins, until there come the things laid up for him," who, he says, will not only be the expectation of the Jews, but of the Gentiles. As, therefore, the expectation of the call of the Gentiles, prophesied long (d) before to Abraham, was "laid up," until the rulers and governors of the Jewish race should have ceased, and their independent government should have been changed to submission to Rome, and to the Gentile Herod, the Evangelist Luke, noting the date of the cessation of Jewish rulers, tells us that the teaching of Christ began in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea; and Matthew says the same in a disguised form. For having described the birth of our Lord and Saviour, he adds: "And when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judrea, in the days of Herod the king, behold wise men came from the East to Jerusalem, saying, Where is that which is born king of the Jews?" wherein he shews clearly enough both that they were under (375) foreign rule, and also the calling of the foreign nations from the East by God. For foreigners ruled over the Jews, and foreigners coming from the East recognized and worshipped the Christ of God, Who had been prophesied of old. The prophecy of Jacob is thus seen clearly to have been fulfilled, being brought to pass at the end of the national existence of the Jews, even as he predicted to his sons, saying: "Come together, that I may announce to you, what shall happen to you at the end of the days." (b) For we must understand by the end of the days the end of the national existence of the Jews. What,

then, did he say they must look for? The cessation of the rule of Judah, the destruction of their whole race, the failing and ceasing of their governors, and the abolition of the dominant kingly position of the tribe of Judah, and the rule and kingdom of Christ, not over Israel but over all nations, according to the words, “This is the expectation of the nations.”

And who would not agree that all this has been definitely (c) fulfilled in the coming of our Saviour, when they who of old before Christ’s birth, with their native rulers and governors and wise hearers of the holy oracles, prided themselves in their own kings, high priests and prophets, and when the tribe of Judah, being the royal tribe, the conqueror of their enemies, the leader and ruler of the whole nation, with its men of old renown has from that day to this lain under the heel of Rome? For the Christ of God was definitely manifested, and from that day the said expectation of the Gentiles is preached to all nations, (d) Or who can deny, that concurrently with the appearance of our Saviour Jesus the solemnities of the Jews, their city with its Temple and the worship performed therein, have come to an end, together with their native rulers and governors, and that from that time the hope and expectation of the nations through all the world has been made known, since the things laid up in the Lord have come. What are these things, but those set forth by Judah?

“Thy brethren shall praise thee, thy hands shall be on the back of thine enemies, lion of the tribe of Judah. O my son, thou hast ascended from a seed, falling thou hast slept as a lion and as a lion’s whelp: who shall awake thee?”

(376) But the words, “The things laid up for him,” have another sense; let us now consider them, only premising that the Holy Scriptures are accustomed to give the Christ different names. Sometimes they call Him Jacob:

“Jacob, my son, I will help thee; Israel, my chosen, my soul hath received him, he shall bring judgment unto the nations,”

and that which follows. To which is added, “Till he place judgment on the earth, and in his name shall the Gentiles (b) hope.” Sometimes they name Him Solomon or David: Solomon as in the 71st Psalm, inscribed to Solomon, whose contents evidently refer to Christ. For the words, “He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the world’s end, and all the nations shall serve him,” and the contents of the Psalm that follow, can only apply to the Christ.

Christ, again, is called David in the 88th Psalm, for expressions therein are only applicable to Him, and not to David, for instance:

“He shall call me, Thou art my father, and I will make him my firstborn, high above the kings of the earth. I will keep my mercy for him for ever.”

(c) And again:

“His seed shall remain for ever, and his throne is as the sun before me, and as the moon fixed in the heaven.”

So, then, besides the many other names given to Christ by the Holy Scriptures, it is possible that He may be called Judah also in the passage before us, especially as He sprang from the tribe of Judah. For the apostle certifies the fact (d) that our Lord and Saviour sprang from the tribe of Judah. For Him, then, were “the things laid up for Judah” figuratively intended in the prophecy. And what were they? First, the praise of His brethren; second, to lay his hands on the back of His enemies; third, to be worshipped by the sons of His Father. And they came to pass, for His performance of miracles and wondrous prodigies aroused wonder, and He was praised and worshipped by His own disciples and apostles, whom He shrank not from calling brethren, saying by the Psalm, “I will declare thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the Church I will praise thee,” and also when He bids the women with Mary announce the news to them as His brethren, for He says, “Make known to my brethren that I ascend to my Father, (377) and your Father, and to my God, and your God.” Thus then, His brethren at first praised Him only as a remarkable man because of His miracles, believing Him most likely to be one of the prophets; but when meanwhile they saw His wonderful miracles, and how He destroyed the enemy and the avenger, and death the prince of this world, together with the other unseen hostile powers, thenceforth they (b) believed Him to be God and worshipped Him. And the hands of our Saviour were upon the back of His enemies, when He directed all His deeds and powers and miracles to the destruction of the daemons and evil spirits. Yea, when too He spread out His hands on the Cross, even then His hands were on the back of His enemies, since they fled and turned their backs on Him, and even more, when yielding up His spirit to the Father, disembodied and (c) stripped of that flesh, which He had assumed, He went to the place of His enemies, having life in Himself, to loose death, and the powers arrayed against Him, which perhaps at first conceived that He was an ordinary man

and like all men, and so encircled Him and attacked Him as they would any one else, but when they knew that He was superhuman and divine, they turned their backs and fled from Him, so that He laid His hands on them, and drave them on with His divine and sharpened arrows, as is here said, “Thy hands shall be on the backs of thy enemies.”

And if to-day many enemies of our Saviour attempt from (d) time to time to war against His Church, these too He routs with invisible hand and divine power, even as it is said of them, “His hands shall be on the back of his enemies.” And since also He has received the trophies of victory over His enemies, the words, “The sons of thy father shall worship thee,” are also fulfilled: that is to say, all the angels of heaven, and the ministering spirits, and the divine powers, and on earth the apostles and evangelists, and after them those of all nations who through Him are enrolled under the one and only true God and Father, have learned that Christ is God the Word, and have consented to worship (378) Him as God.

But as it was necessary for the mysteries of both His Birth and Death to be included in the prophecy concerning Him, Jacob rightly proceeds to add to what has gone before:

“Judah is a lion’s whelp. From a seed, my son, thou hast ascended, falling down thou hast slept as a lion and a lion’s whelp: who shall arouse thee?”

He calls Him then a lion’s whelp because of His being born of the royal tribe. For He was of the seed of (b) David according to the flesh. “From a shoot thou hast grown, my son,” he says, because He was born of the seed and root of Jacob who foretold it, being primarily God the Word, and becoming secondarily the Son of man, through the dispensation He undertook for us. And the words, “Falling down thou didst sleep as a lion and a whelp,” are significant of His Death, because Scripture is accustomed, as is shewn in many other places, from the conviction of their kinship to call death a sleep. And “Who shall awake him?” is a wonderful reference to His Resurrection from the dead. For he who said, “Who will awake him?” (c) knew quite well that He would be awaked. And it is remarkable that he should add, “Who then shall do this and raise him up?” “so as to impel us to ask who it was that raised up our Lord Who died on our behalf. For Who else was it, but the God of the Universe, His Father, to Whom the Saviour’s Resurrection is solely to be attributed, according to the Scripture which says, “Whom the Father raised

from the dead “?”

Instead of, “Judah is a lion’s whelp, from a shoot, my (d) son, thou hast ascended, falling down thou hast slept,” Aquila says more plainly, “Judah is a lion’s cub, from destruction, my son, hast thou ascended, bending thou hast laid down.” And Symmachus says, “Judah is a lion’s whelp, from capture, my son, hast thou ascended, having knelt thou hast been established.” By which the Resurrection of the dead is clearly meant, and the escape of our Saviour from Hades, as from a trap for wild beasts. The kneeling and the being established instead of falling, signify death by the kneeling, and not being dragged away like the souls of other men by “being established.” All this then was laid up before for Christ. But while this remained unfulfilled, the Jewish nation lasted, and their rulers and governors and they who were wise interpreters of the sacred oracles about the Christ stood out among them; but when (379) that which had been laid up for Judah had come, and He appeared on earth of Whom it was foretold that He should spring from the seed and shoot of the prophet himself, after falling down and sleeping, or “kneeling,” according to Symmachus, He was established and raised up, laying His hands on the back of His unseen spiritual enemies; and His brothers and disciples first praising Him and wondering, afterwards were convinced that He was God, and worshipped Him as God; then were fulfilled the things laid up for Him, for because of this the answer was given, “Until there come the things laid up for him.” For (b) from that day to this, the things laid up for Him being come, the rulers and governors of the Jewish nation have ceased, the rulers of the Gentiles have been placed at their head, and the nations on the other hand knowing the Christ of God have made Him their Saviour and Hope. After all this there follows:

“Binding his foal to the vine, and the foal of the ass to the branch, he shall wash his robe in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grape. His eyes shall be cheering from wine, and his teeth white as milk.”

Here I should understand by the foal, the choir of apostles and disciples of our Saviour, and by the vine to which the foal is bound, His divine and invisible power, as He Himself taught when He said, “I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.” And the branch of the said vine is the teaching of the Word of God, by which He bound the foal of the ass — that is to say, the new people of the Gentiles, (d) the offspring of His Apostles. And you

may say that this was literally fulfilled, when, according to Matthew, the Lord said to His disciples:

“Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied, and a colt with her; loose them and bring them to me.”

And there is real food for wonder if one studies the account in the prediction of the prophet, that he should have foreseen by the Holy Spirit, that the subject of his prophecy would not come riding on chariots and horses like some distinguished man, but on an ass and a foal, like a poor common man of the people. And this raised another prophet’s wonder, who said: (380)

“Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion, behold thy King cometh unto thee meek, sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.”

And the words, “He will wash his garments in wine, and in the blood of the grape his girdle,” will shew you surely how as in a secret way He suggests His mystic Passion, in which He washed His garment and vesture with the washing wherewith He is revealed to wash away the old stains of them that believe in Him. For with the wine which was indeed the symbol of His blood, He cleanses them that are baptized into His death, and believe on His blood, of their old sins, washing them away and purifying (b) their old garments and vesture, so that they, ransomed by the precious blood of the divine spiritual grapes, and with the wine from this vine, “put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new man which is renewed into knowledge in the image of Him that created him.”

The words, “His eyes are cheerful from wine, and his teeth white as milk,” again I think secretly reveal the (c) mysteries of the new Covenant of our Saviour. “His eyes are cheerful from wine,” seems to me to shew the gladness of the mystic wine which He gave to His disciples, when He said, “Take, drink; this is my blood that is shed for you for the remission of sins: this do in remembrance of me.” And, “His teeth are white as milk,” shew the brightness and purity of the sacramental food. For again, He gave Himself (d) the symbols of His divine dispensation to His disciples, when He bade them make the likeness of His own Body. For since He no more was to take pleasure in bloody sacrifices, or those ordained by Moses in the slaughter of animals of various kinds, and was to give them bread to use as the symbol of His Body, He taught the purity and brightness of such food by saying, “And his teeth are white as milk.” This also another prophet has recorded, where he says,

“Sacrifice and offering hast thou not required, but a body hast thou prepared for me.”

But these matters should be examined at leisure, for they require deeper criticism and longer interpretation. For the present I must refuse to enter on that great task, in order that I may incorporate in this work the evidence that the time of the Saviour’s Coming from above was known to the (381) ancient prophets, and clearly handed down in writing.

CHAPTER 2

From Daniel.

How after the Period of Seven Times Seventy Years, or 490 Years, the Christ having appeared to Men, the Jewish Prophets and their surpassing Temple Worship will be dissolved, and They Themselves will be taken by Mutual Sieges as by a Flood, and their Holy Temple undergo its Final Desolation.

[Passage quoted, Dan. ix. 20-27.] (Given in full on account of wide divergence from S.)

(c) “20. AND while I yet spake and prayed and confessed my sins and the sins of my people Israel, and casting my misery before the holy Mount of my God, 21. and while I yet spake in prayer, behold the man Gabriel, whom I had seen at the beginning came flying, and he touched me about the time of the evening sacrifice. 22. And he instructed me and spake with me, saying, O (d) Daniel, 23. I am now come forth to impart to thee understanding. At the beginning of thy supplication the word came forth, and I am come to tell thee, for thou art a man greatly beloved: therefore consider the matter, understand the vision, for thou art a man greatly beloved. 24. Seventy weeks have been decided on for thy people, and for the holy city, for sin to be ended, and to seal up transgressions, and to blot out iniquities, and to make atonement for iniquities, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal the vision and the prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. 25. And thou shalt know and understand, that from the going forth of the command for the answer and for the building of Jerusalem until Christ the Prince shall be seven (382) weeks, and sixty-two weeks; and then it shall return, and the street shall be built, and the wall, and the times shall be exhausted. 26. And after the sixty-two weeks, the Anointing shall be destroyed, and there is no judgment in him, and he shall destroy the city and the sanctuary together with the coming prince; they shall be cut off in a flood, and, to the end of the war which is rapidly completed, in desolations. 27. And one week shall establish the covenant with many: and in the midst of the week my sacrifice and drink-offering shall be taken away: and on the temple shall be an (b) abomination of desolations: and at the end of time shall an end be put to the desolation.

When the captivity of the Jewish people at Babylon was near its end, the Archangel Gabriel, one of the holy ministers of God, appeared to Daniel as he

prayed, and told him that the restoration of Jerusalem was to follow without the slightest delay, and he defines the period after the restoration by numbering the years, and foretells that after the predetermined time it will again be destroyed, and that after the second capture and siege it will no longer have (c) God for its guardian, but will remain desolate, with the worship of the Mosaic Law taken away from it, and another new Covenant with humanity introduced in its place. This was what the Angel Gabriel revealed to the prophet as by secret oracles. So then he says to Daniel:

“I am now come forth to impart to thee understanding, at the beginning of thy supplication the word came forth, and I am come to tell thee, for thou art a man greatly beloved. Consider the matter, understand the vision”; (d)

clearly urging him to a deeper consideration and understanding of the meaning of his words. He calls it then a vision from its involving deeper consideration, and more than common understanding: wherefore we, too, if we call on Him who gives understanding, and pray that the eyes of our understanding may be enlightened, should trust confidently in the vision of this passage:

“Seven times seventy weeks,” he says, “have been decided on for this people and for thy holy city, for sin to be ended, and to seal up transgression, and to blot out iniquities, and to make atonement for iniquities, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal the vision and the people, and to anoint the most holy.”

(383) It is quite clear that seven times seventy weeks reckoned in years amounts to 490. That was therefore the period determined for Daniel’s people, which limited the total length of the Jewish nation’s existence. And he no longer calls them here “God’s people,” but Daniel’s, saying, “thy people.” Just as when they sinned and worshipped idols in the wilderness, God called them no more His people, but Moses’, saying, “Go, descend, for thy people has sinned.” (b) In the same way here too he explains why the definite limit of time is determined for them. It was that they might know they were no longer worthy to be called the people of God. And he adds, “And for thy holy city”: where we hear again the unusual “thy,” for he says, “for thy people, and for thy holy city,” as much as to say, “the city you think to be holy.” The original Hebrew and the other translators (c) agree in the addition of “thy” both to the people and the city. For Aquila has, “On thy people, and on thy sacred city”;

and Symmachus, “Against thy people, and thy holy city”: wherefore in accurate codices of the Septuagint “thy” is added with an asterisk. For since Daniel had often called the people “the people of God “in the words of his prayer, and the place of the city “the holy place of (d) God,” the One who answers in contrast says that neither people nor city are God’s, but “thine,” who hast prayed and spoken thus of the people and the place and the city. Daniel’s words run thus: “16. Let thy anger be turned away, even thy anger from Jerusalem thy city, thy holy mountain.” And, “Thy people is a source of ridicule to all that are round about them.” And again, “17. Shew thy face upon the desolation of thy sanctuary.” And once more, “18. Behold the ruin of thy city, which is called by thy name,” followed by, “19. That thy name may be named upon thy city, and upon thy people.” After this prayer he adds: “20. And while I was yet speaking and praying, behold Gabriel, whom I saw in my vision, came flying, and touched me, and said what is written above.” (384)

The prophet then clearly called the city not a city pure and simple but “God’s city,” and the sanctuary, “God’s sanctuary,” and the people “God’s people,” from his feeling for the people. But Gabriel does not describe them in this way; on the contrary, he says, “for thy people,” and “for thy holy city,” shewing in so many words that city, people, and sanctuary were unworthy to be called God’s.

So, then, he first defines the length of time determined (b) for the people, and then for the city. And it is seen to be the period from the restoration of Jerusalem, which was in the reign of Darius, King of Persia, until the reign of Augustus, Emperor of Rome, and of Herod the foreign King of the Jews, in whose times our Saviour’s Birth is recorded, as the prophecy goes on to shew. And he adds next:

“For sin to be ended, and to seal up transgressions, and to blot out iniquities, and to make atonement for (c) iniquities, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal the vision and the prophet, and to anoint the most holy.”

Instead of, “For sin to be ended, and to seal up transgressions,” Aquila translated, “For ending disobedience, and for completing transgression.” I think that our Saviour’s words to the Jews, “Ye have filled up the measure of your fathers,” are parallel to this. For the transgression of the Jewish nation culminated in the plot they dared to make against Him, and what Aquila calls

their “disobedience “to God reached its end. For many times of old the long-suffering of God had borne with their transgressions before the Saviour came, as is shewn by the prophet’s words: but just as in the case of the ancient (d) foreign inhabitants of the land of promise it was said to Abraham, “The sins of the Amorites are not yet fulfilled,” and if they were not yet fulfilled they could not yet be driven from their native land, but when they were fulfilled, they were then destroyed by Joshua, the successor of Moses: so also you will understand in the case of the before-mentioned people. For while their sins were not fulfilled, the patience and long-suffering of God bore with them, calling them many times to repentance by the prophets. (385) But when, as our Saviour said, they had filled up the measure of their fathers, then the whole collected weight worked their destruction at one time, as our Lord taught again when He said:

“All the blood poured forth from the foundation of the world, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias, shall come upon this generation.”

For presuming last of all to lay their hands on the Son of God they completed their disobedience and completed their sins, according to Aquila’s translation, or according to the Septuagint, “Their sin was bound and sealed.” But since He came not only for the falling but for the rising again of many in Israel, as is said of Him, “Behold, he is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel,” Daniel rightly proceeds to add, “And for the blotting out of (c) transgressions and for making atonement for iniquities.” For since it was impossible for the blood of bulls and of goats to take away sins, and the whole race of mankind needed a living and true offering, of which the Mosaicallly designed propitiation was a type, and our Lord and Saviour was this Lamb of God, as it was said of Him, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world; and again, “He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but for those of the whole world “; He brings redemption (d) also, according to Paul’s words, “Who is become wisdom to us from God, and righteousness and sanctification and redemption” — he naturally teaches that His coining is at once the fulfilment and the completion of the sin of those who have sinned against Him, at the same time as it is the blotting out and purification of sins, and the propitiation for the transgressions of them that believe in Him.

And Aquila to the words, “For the fulfilling of their disobedience and the completion of their sin,” added, “For the propitiation of their transgression,” clearly suggesting that He would be the propitiation for all transgressions of old time done in ignorance. Next to this comes, “For the bringing in of everlasting righteousness.” The Word of God is in truth Himself eternal Righteousness, Who is made unto us by God Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption, in the words of the Apostle. But further by His own Presence also He shared Righteousness with all men, shewing by His works that God is not only the God of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles: for (386) there is one God, Who will judge the Circumcision from their faith, and the Uncircumcision by faith. Wherefore Peter wondering at those with Cornelius being thought worthy of receiving the Holy Spirit says, “Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with him.” And Paul also says that the Gospel is of righteousness, saying, “For it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and also to the Gentile. For the righteousness of God is revealed in it.” And it is said of Christ in the Psalms: (b) “In His days shall arise righteousness, and abundance of peace.” And His coming shewed clearly the righteousness of God, who reckoned the whole of mankind worthy of the calling of God. Such was not the Mosaic dispensation, which was given to the Jews only: wherefore having appeared for a time it has passed away. But the (c) righteousness proclaimed by our Saviour is fitly called eternal righteousness, as Gabriel said, “And to bring in eternal righteousness.”

Instead of “Seal the vision and the prophet,” Aquila gives, I think, a more suitable rendering, viz. “And for fulfilling vision and prophet.” For our Lord Jesus Christ did not come as it were to seal up the visions of the prophets, for He rather opened and explained those that were of old obscure and sealed, tearing away so to say the seals impressed on them, and taught His disciples the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. Hence He says, “Behold, (d) the lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed, and he has opened the seals that were set on the book,” in John’s Apocalypse. What are these seals but the obscurities of the prophets? Isaiah knew them well and definitely says too: “And these words shall be as the words of the sealed book.” The Christ of God did not come then to shut up the vision and the prophet, but rather to open them and

bring them to the light. Hence I prefer Aquila's rendering, (387) "For fulfilling the vision and the prophet." And it agrees also with our Saviour's words, "I have not come to destroy the law or the prophets, I have not come to destroy but to fulfil." "For the end of the law is Christ," and all the prophecies concerning Him we know remained unfulfilled and uncompleted, until He came and brought fulfilment to the prophecies about Himself. It is possible, too, for the version of the Septuagint, "To seal up the vision and the prophet," to bear this meaning: "For the Law and the prophets continued until John," and from his day the ancient inspiration of the Jewish race has ceased, and its predictions of the Christ, and they who in the Holy (b) Scriptures saw genuine visions have come to an end, as if divine grace were shut up and bound with seals: and so it is the case that from that day there has been no activity of prophet or seer among them; this has altogether ceased from the time named till our own day.

He proceeds, "And to anoint the Most Holy"; and this also is plain for the same reason, that until the time of our Saviour the Most Holy, the High Priests were anointed (c) following the ritual performed according to the Mosaic Law, but from that date they have ceased to be, as the prophecy foretells. So too the words of Jacob to Judah foretold the cessation of the princes and rulers of the Jewish nation, as I have already stated. Now since the prophets' and priests' primacy of the people was very much later than that of the kings, the oracle in the prophecy first quoted foretells the destruction of the princes and governors of the Jewish nation, while the one we are considering predicts (d) the cessation of the prophets and priests as well, who were of old their chief ornament, which the Coming of our Saviour actually fulfilled. And as Aquila translates, "For the anointing the most consecrated," it might be thought that the ancient Jewish High Priest was meant, since many of the inferior priests were called "holy," but only the High Priest "Most Holy." And this idea at first sight is tempting. For up to the times of our Saviour the High Priests in continuous line at the same time ruled the people, (388) as they continuously performed the service of God according to the ritual ordained by Moses; but from our Saviour's times their order was first thrown into confusion, and shortly afterwards altogether abolished. But as I find nowhere in the Holy Scriptures the High Priest called "Most Holy," I am of opinion that in this passage only the Only-begotten Word of God is meant, who is properly and

truly worthy of that name. For if men excel and reach all attainable virtue they should be content to be called “holy,” sharing and participating in the character of Him Who said, “Be ye holy, for I the Lord am Holy.” But what human being could rightly be called “Most Holy,” except the one Beloved Son of the Father, called Holy of holies as also King of kings and Lord of lords? For to Him only, as excelling whoever of Moses’ ordaining that were anointed with earthly and manufactured oil, was it said, “Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness beyond thy fellows.”

Being anointed wherewith, He says in His own Person in Isaiah: “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me.” Since, then, it is evident that our Saviour was anointed uniquely beyond all that ever were with the excellent spiritual, or rather divine unction, He is rightly called “Holy of holies,” as one might say, “High Priest of high priests,” and “Sanctified of the sanctified” according to the oracle of Gabriel. (d)

And all these things were fulfilled when the seventy weeks were completed at the date of our Saviour’s Coming. So when the aforesaid Angel had given this summary prediction to the prophet, he again returns to the subject of the seventy weeks, explaining accurately and in detail at what point the weeks must begin to be counted, and what will happen at the time said. He therefore says: “And thou shalt know and understand, that from the going forth of the command for the answer and for the building of Jerusalem shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, and then it shall return, and the street and wall shall be built.” (389) And with regard to this I think it right not to leave unknown the studies of a predecessor on this subject, but to quote from them as suitable to my readers. For it is a good saying that “the goods of friends are common.” And as it is right to use what others have expressed well in a right spirit, and not to deprive fathers of their children, or the first begetters of their own offspring, I will quote his exact words. This extract from Africanus is to be found in the Fifth Book of his *Chronography*, and it runs as follows:

(b) “The section thus expressed gives much strange information. But here I will make the necessary examination of the times and the matters connected with them. It is clear, then, that the coming of the Christ is foretold as to occur after seventy weeks. For in the time of our Saviour, or after His time, sins are done away and transgressions ended. And by this remission iniquities are

blotted out (c) by a propitiation together with unrighteousness, eternal righteousness is published beyond that of the law, visions and prophecies (last) until John, and the Holy of holies is anointed. For these things existed in expectation only before our Saviour's Coming. And the angel explains we must count the numbers, that is to say the seventy weeks, which are 490 years, from the going forth of the word of answer and from the building of Jerusalem. This took place in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, King of Persia. For Nehemiah his cup-bearer made the request, (d) and received the answer that Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and the order went forth to carry it out. For till that date the city lay desolate. For when Cyrus after the seventieth year of the Captivity spontaneously allowed every one who wished to return, those with Joshua the High Priest and Zerubbabel went back, and those afterwards with Ezra, and were at first prevented from building the Temple, and the wall of the City, as no order had been given for it; and so there was a delay until Nehemiah and the reign of Artaxerxes and the one hundred and fifteenth year of the Persian Empire. And this was 185 years from the taking of Jerusalem. It was then that King Artaxerxes gave the order (390) for it to be built. And Nehemiah was sent to take charge of the work, and the street and wall were built, as it had been prophesied. And from that date to the coming of Christ is seventy weeks. For if we begin to count from any other point but this, not only the dates will not agree, but many absurdities arise. If, for instance, we begin counting the seventy weeks from Cyrus and the first Mission, the period will be too long by more than a century, if from (b) the day the angel prophesied to Daniel still longer, and longer still if we start from the beginning of the Captivity. For we find the length of the Persian Empire to be 230 years, and of the Macedonian 300, and from then to the sixteenth year of Tiberius Caesar 60 years. And from Artaxerxes to the time of Christ seventy weeks are (c) completed according to Jewish reckoning. For from Nehemiah, who was sent by Artaxerxes to rebuild Jerusalem, in the one hundred and fifteenth year of the Persian Empire, and in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, and in the fourth year of the eighty-third Olympiad up to that date, which was the second year of the two hundred and second Olympiad, and the sixteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, there are 475 years, or 490 according to Hebrew reckoning. For they reckon years by the course of the moon, I ought to (d) tell you, counting 354 days, while the course of the sun is $365 \frac{1}{4}$ days,

twelve lunar revolutions, being exceeded by one solar by $11\frac{1}{4}$ days. Therefore the Greeks and the Jews add three intercalary months to every eighth year. For eight times $11\frac{1}{4}$ days makes three months. So then 465 years, in eight-year cycles, makes fifty-nine years and three months. Since adding the three intercalary months every eighth year, we have a few days short of fifteen years. And these added (391) to the 475 years complete the seventy weeks."

This, then, is from Africanus. And if I may make an apposite comment myself on the passage, I would say that the prophecy does not make the division of the seventy weeks without an object or haphazard. For having divided them into the first seven, and another sixty-two, it adds the last one after a quantity of intermediate matter, and thus (b) determines the number of seventy weeks. And so it says, "And thou shalt know and understand from the going out of the word of answering and of building Jerusalem until Christ the governor there are seven weeks and sixty-two weeks." Then having interposed other matter, it adds the last saying, "And He shall make a covenant with many one week." I do not think that any one who regards these as the words of God, can suppose that these statements have no object, or are scattered without the divine intention. I thought it was right first to draw attention to this, and then to give a more (c) elaborate solution of the problem to my readers. And if I must reveal what is in my mind, I would say that according to another meaning or interpretation, he that is called in the preceding extract "Christ the governor" (viz. "From the going forth of the word of answering and the building of Jerusalem until Christ the governor"), is none other than the roll of the high priests who governed the people after (d) the prophecy and the Return from Babylon, whom Scripture commonly calls Christs. For I have shewn that they were the only governors of the nation, beginning with Joshua, son of Josedec, the Great Priest, after the return from Babylon, and up to the date of the Coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For I think that the fact that the intermediate period of their primacy, during which they governed, is meant, is shewn by the words, "From the going forth of the answering and the building of Jerusalem, until Christ the governor, is seven weeks and sixty-two weeks." And the weeks of years make 483 years added together from the reign of Cyrus up to the Roman Empire, when Pompeius (392) the Roman general attacked Jerusalem and took the city by siege, and the whole city became subject to Rome, so that thenceforward it

paid taxes, and obeyed the Roman enactments.

At this period, then, is concluded the 483 years, when they came to an end who held, according to the Mosaic Law, the primacy of the nation, and the priesthood, whom I understand the Holy Scriptures to call here “Christ the governor.” And if it be necessary to publish a roll of the succession of the high priests who held office during this (b) intermediate period, I have no objection so to do in confirmation of my statements. First, then, after Daniel’s prophecy, in the reign of Cyrus, King of Persia, after the Return from Babylon, came Joshua son of Josedec, called the Great Priest, with Zerubbabel from captivity, and laid the foundations of the Temple, but since he was hindered in the work by the neighbours, the first seven weeks of years named by the prophet came to an end, during which the building of the Temple remained unfinished. This is why (c) the divine word separates the first seven from the remaining weeks, saying *seven weeks*, and then after an interval adding, *and sixty-two weeks*. For from Cyrus to the completion of the building of the Temple are seven weeks of years. Hence the Jews attacking our Saviour said, “Forty and six years was this Temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days?” These men, you say, said that the Temple was built in forty-six years. So they reckoned (d) from the reign of Cyrus first, who first permitted those of the Jews who wished to go up to their own land, to the sixth year of King Darius, in whose reign the Temple was finally completed. But Josephus, a Jewish author, says that three more years were spent in completing the surrounding outside buildings, so that it seems probable that the seven first weeks were divided in the prophet’s words into nine years and forty years, and that the remaining sixty-two were counted from the reign of Darius, in whose time Joshua, son of Josedec, and Zerubbabel, son of Salathiel, who were still alive, were both at the head of the rebuilding of the (393) Temple, when Haggai and Zechariah were prophets, after whom Ezra and Nehemiah, who also came up from Babylon, built the wall of the city, when Joiachim was high priest. He was son of Joshua, son of Josedec, and Eliashib succeeded him in the high-priesthood, then Joiada, after him Jonathan, and after him Jaddua. The books of Ezra record them, saying, “And Jeshua begat Joiakim, Joiakim begat (b) Eliashib, and Eliashib begat Joiada, and Joiada begat Jonathan, and Jonathan begat Jaddua.”

In the time of this Jaddua, Alexander of Macedon conquered Alexandria,

and, as Josephus relates, came to Jerusalem and worshipped God. And Alexander died at the beginning of the 114th Olympiad, 236 years after (c) Cyrus, who began to rule over the Persians in the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad.

Now after the death of Alexander of Macedon, and after the said High Priest, Onias ruled the nation, also enjoying the high-priestly office: in whose day Seleucus conquered Babylon and put on the crown of Asia, twelve years after Alexander's death, and the whole period from him to Cyrus is 248 years. From that point the Book of Maccabees begins to count the years of the Hellenic Empire. And after Onias, the High Priest Eleazar ruled the Jews, in whose time the Seventy translated the Holy Scriptures and deposited (d) them in the Library of Alexandria. And after him a second Onias, followed by Simon, in whose day flourished Jesus, son of Sirach, who wrote the excellent book called Wisdom. After him a third Onias ruled, in whose time Antiochus besieged the Jews and compelled them to hellenize. After whom Judas, called the Maccabee, was at the head of the State, and cleansed the land of the unholy, being succeeded by his brother Jonathan. And then Simon, to whose death the First Book of Maccabees reckons 177 years from the beginning of the Syrian rule, and ends its history at that date. So that the period from (394) the first year of Cyrus and the Persian Empire up to the end of the record of the Maccabees and the death of Simon is 425 years. And then Jonathan held the high-priesthood, according to Josephus, for twenty-nine years. After him Aristobulus ruled for a year, who was the first to assume the royal diadem besides the high-priesthood after the return from Babylon. Alexander succeeded him, as both king and high priest, and was at the head of the State for twenty-seven years. To whose date is comprised in all, (b) from the first year of the reign of Cyrus and from the return of the Jews from Babylon, 482 years, in which period the high priests ruled, who I believe are called in the prophecy "Christs and governors." After whom, when the last of them the High Priest Alexander died, the State of the Jews was left without king or leader, so that the kingdom came to a woman. And when her two sons, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, were quarrelling with each other, Pompey, the (c) Roman general, attacked Jerusalem, and took the city by siege, denied its holy places, and even entered the Holiest of all. And this came to pass in the first year of the 179th Olympiad, 495 years after the empire of Cyrus, who began

to rule in the fifty-fifth Olympiad. And Pompey, then, having taken Jerusalem by force, sent the before-named Aristobulus a prisoner to Rome, bestowing the High-Priesthood on his brother Hyrcanus, and the whole nation was from that date subject to Rome. Then after this, Herod, (d) the son of Antipater, destroyed Hyrcanus, and was entrusted with the Jewish kingdom by the Roman senate, being the first ruler of a foreign stock, and he destroyed the order of the Mosaic High-Priesthood. For the divine Law ordained that the most high high-priest should hold office for life; but Herod preferred to the office men who were not of the priestly tribe nor otherwise suitable, who were alien and strange to the priestly line of succession, and he gave the position not even to them for life, but only for a short and limited time, sometimes to one, sometimes to another; so (395) that the first seven weeks must be reckoned from Cyrus to Darius, and the remaining sixty-two from Darius to Pompey the Roman general.

And if you reckon the period of the seven and sixty-two weeks in another way a third time, they will comprise 483 years, up to Augustus and Herod, the first king of foreign (b) stock, in whose reign the Birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ is recorded to have occurred, if you begin to reckon from Darius and the completion of the Temple. For the prophet Zechariah shews that the seventy years of the Desolation of Jerusalem were completed in the second year of Darius, when he says: "On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh (c) month (this is the Sabbath), in the second year of Darius, the word of the Lord came to Zechariah son of Barachiah." And then he adds, "And the Angel of the Lord answered, and said, O Almighty Lord, how long wilt thou not pity Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, which thou hast despised these seventy years past?"

This, then, was the very time that Daniel, inspired by the divine spirit, marked when he said, "I Daniel understood in the books the number of the years, what was the word of the Lord to Jeremiah the prophet, for the fulfilment of the desolation of Jerusalem seventy years, and I turned my face to the Lord my God, to present my prayer and petition." Then after his prayer the Angel prophesied to (d) him of the seventy weeks, and told him at what point to begin to reckon the time, saying, "And thou shalt know and understand from the going forth of the word of answering and from the building of Jerusalem until Christ the governor." The first answer allowing

Jerusalem to be rebuilt was of course that of Cyrus, but it did not take effect, because the neighbours interfered. But when Darius gave his order afterwards, and the building of the Temple was also completed in his reign, from that date began to be fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel, which said, "From the going forth of the word of answering and from the building (396) of Jerusalem," and that which said, "I Daniel understood in the books the number of the years, which was the word of the Lord to Jeremiah the prophet, for the fulfilment of the desolation of Jerusalem seventy years." The completion of the period of seventy years is therefore shewn to have been reached in the second year of Darius, so that we must anyway reckon the seventy weeks from the sixty-sixth Olympiad, and from the second year of Darius, in which the building was completed. And if you reckon the succeeding (b) period from that date up to King Herod and the Roman Emperor Augustus, in whose times our Saviour was born on earth, you will find it amounts to 483 years, which are the seven and sixty-two weeks of the prophecy of Daniel. From the sixty-sixth Olympiad to the 186th Olympiad there are 121 Olympiads, or 484 years, an Olympiad consisting of four years, during which time Augustus the Roman Emperor, in the fifteenth year of his reign, gained the (c) kingdom of Egypt and of the whole world, under whom Herod was the first foreigner to ascend the Jewish throne, and our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born, the time of His birth synchronizing with the fulfilment of the seven and sixty-two weeks of Daniel's prophecy.

And afterwards comes the one remaining week, separated from them and divided by a long interval, during which occurred all the other events that are predicted in between, all of which being foretold in the middle of the oracle were fulfilled; they run in the following way: "After the seven (d) and sixty-two weeks the Uncion shall be cast out, and there is no judgment in it. And he will destroy the city and the Holy Place with the leader that cometh, and they shall be cut off as by a flood, and until the end of the completion of the war by destructions."

And this was evidently fulfilled in the time of Augustus and Herod, at whose day I say the seven weeks foretold were summed up. The regular and orderly Uncion of the High Priest continued uninterrupted until the time of Herod and Augustus, and the ancient line of the High-Priesthood was ended with Alexander, the Father of Hyrcanus; and Herod, after murdering

Hyrcanus, is said to (397) have conferred the office no longer on members of the ancestral line, but on obscure and unknown men. This the oracle foresaw and predicted, when it said, “And after the seven and sixty-two weeks, the Uncion shall be cast out, and judgment shall not be in it.” And this is made clear by the other translators: for Aquila says, “And after the seven weeks and the sixty-two, he that is anointed shall be cast out, and there is no place for him.” And Sym-machus, “And after the weeks the seven and sixty-two the Christ shall be cut off, and shall not belong to him:” which (b) seems strong confirmation of my interpretation of “Christ the Governor.”

It says then that Christ shall be cast out after the completion of the said weeks. Who can this be but the governor and ruler of the high-priestly line? He remained therefore until the weeks were fulfilled; and when they came to an end, the ruler of the nation in the line of succession (c) was cut off as the prophecy foretold. And this was Hyrcanus, whom Herod murdered, and seized the kingdom on which he had no special claim, and he was its first king of alien stock. And moreover Hyrcanus was not only personally cut off as the last anointed successor of the ancient high-priests, but the line as well which descended from those ancient high-priests was itself cut off, and the Legal Uncion was no longer used according to judgment, but in a confused and disorderly way not according to the Mosaic enactments. And these events happened concurrently and fulfilled the prediction, “The Uncion shall (d) be cast out, and there is no judgment in it.” Josephus, himself a Hebrew, is sufficient evidence of this, giving the history of those times in the Eighteenth Book of the Archaeology of the Jews:

“Herod was then made king by the Romans, but did no longer appoint High-Priests out of the family of Asamonaeus, and these were called Maccabeans, but made certain men to be so that were of no eminent families, but only of the Hebrew race, excepting that he gave that dignity to Aristobulus; for he made this Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, high priest, and took his sister Mariamne to wife, aiming at winning the goodwill of the people through their memory of Hyrcanus. Yet did he afterwards, out of his fear lest they should (398) all bend their inclinations to Aristobulus, put him to death in Jericho, and that by contriving to have him suffocated while swimming, as I have already related. But after this man he never entrusted the High Priesthood to the descendants of Hyrcanus. Archelaus also acted like his

father Herod in the appointment of the High-Priests, as did also the Romans, who took the government over the Jews into their hands afterwards.”

And again in another place he says of them: (b)

“But when Herod came to be king he rebuilt this tower, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner, and called it Antonia, and he took the high-priestly vestments, which he found lying there, and kept them, believing that while he had them the people would not revolt against him. And Herod’s example was followed by Archelaus his son, who was made king after him, after whom the Romans when they entered on the government took possession of the high-priestly vestments, and had them laid up in a stone chamber under a seal.”

I think it must be clear to all that this was the fulfilment (c) of the oracle, which said, “And after the seven and sixty-two weeks the Uncion shall be cast out, and there is no judgment in it.”

And you may see better the meaning of the words, “And there is no judgment in it,” if you consider the haphazard appointments of the high-priests after Herod’s time and in the time of our Saviour. For whereas by the divine Law (d) it was ordained that a high-priest should hold office all his life and be succeeded by his legitimate son, in the period in question, when the Uncion had been cast out as the prophecy foretold, Herod first, and after him the Romans, appointed what high-priests they liked haphazard or not according to the Law, bestowing the dignity on common and unknown men, selling and peddling the office, giving it now to one now to another for a year. And the Evangelist St. Luke seems to imply this, where he says, “In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, and Herod, Philip and Lysanias being tetrarchs, Annas and Caiaphas being high-priests.” For how could they both be high-priest at the same time unless the rules of the high-priesthood were disregarded? “In witness whereof Josephus writes: (399)

“Valerius Gratus the Roman General, after closing the high-priesthood of Ananus, appointed Ismael the son of Pheba, and removing him shortly afterwards appointed Eleazar son of Ananus the high-priest. A year later he removed him, and gave the office to Simon son of Gathimus. He did not remain high priest more than a year, when Josephus, son of Caiaphas, took his place.”

(b) I was obliged to give this quotation because of the words “The Unction shall be cast out, and there is no judgment in it,” which seem to me proved by it beyond any doubt.

After this the prophecy says, “And the city, and the holy place, he will destroy, with the governor that cometh.” Here again I understand the rulers of foreign stock who succeeded him to be meant. For as above he named the High-Priests, Christs and Governors, saying, “Until Christ the Governor,” in the same way after their time and after their abolition there was no other ruler to come but the (c) same Herod of foreign stock, and the others ruled the nation in order after them, in whose company and by whose aid, using them as his agents, that hateful bane of good men is said to have destroyed the city and the Holy Place. And indeed he destroyed of a truth the whole nation, now upsetting the established order of the priesthood, now perverting the whole people, and encouraging the city (which (d) stands metaphorically for its people) in impiety. And Aquila agrees with my interpretation of the passage, translating thus, “And the people of the governor that cometh will destroy the city and the holy place.” Meaning that the city and the Holy Place are not only to be ruined by the leader to come, whom I have identified in my interpretation, but also by his people. And you would not be far wrong in saying, too, that the Roman general and his army are meant by the words before us, where I think the camps of the Roman rulers are meant, who governed the nation from that time, and who destroyed the city of Jerusalem itself, and its ancient venerable Temple. For they were cut off by them as by a flood, and were at once involved in destruction until the war was concluded, so that the prophecy was fulfilled and they suffered utter desolation (400) after their plot against our Saviour, which was followed by their extreme sufferings during the siege. You will find an accurate account of it in the history of Josephus.

But after the prophecy of the events that happened to the Jewish nation in the intermediate period between the seven and sixty-two weeks, there follows the prophecy of the new Covenant announced by our Saviour. So when all the intermediate matter between the seven and the sixty-two weeks is finished, there is added, “And he will confirm (b) a Covenant with many one week,” and in half the week the sacrifice and the libation shall be taken away, and on the Holy Place shall come the abomination of desolation, and until the

fullness of time fullness shall be given to the desolation. Let us consider how this was fulfilled.

Now the whole period of our Saviour's Teaching and working of Miracles is said to have been three-and-a-half years, which is half a week. John the Evangelist, in his Gospel, makes this clear to the attentive. One week of years therefore would be represented by the whole period of His association with the Apostles, both the time before His Passion, and the time after His Resurrection. For it is written that before His Passion He shewed Himself for the space of three-and-a-half years to His disciples and also to those who were not His disciples: while by teaching and miracles He revealed the powers of His Godhead to all equally whether Greeks or Jews. But after His Resurrection He was most likely with His disciples a period equal to the years, being seen of them forty days, and eating with them, and speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God, as the Acts of the Apostles tells us. So that this would be the prophet's week of years, during which He "confirmed a covenant with many," confirming that is to say the new Covenant of the Gospel Preaching. And who were the many to whom He confirmed it, but His own disciples and Apostles, and such of the Hebrews who believed in Him? And moreover, half through this week, during which He confirmed the said Covenant with many, the (401) sacrifice and libation was taken away, and the abomination of desolation began, for in the middle of this week after the three-and-a-half days of His Teaching, at the time when He suffered, the Veil of the Temple was torn asunder from the top to the bottom, so that in effect from that time sacrifice and libation were taken away, and the abomination of desolation stood in the holy place, inasmuch as the Being had left them desolate, Who had been from time immemorial till (b) that day the guardian and protector of the place. For it is fitting to believe that up to the Saviour's Passion there was some Divine Power guarding the Temple and the Holy of Holies. For He could not have attended with the multitude at the Temple to keep the Feasts according to the laws, if He had not known that it still remained a place worthy of God. Therefore there were in the Temple also some that prophesied up to that time, as Anna the (c) Prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, and Simeon, who took Him into his arms when He was an infant, whose prophecies are handed down in Scripture. Nor could our Lord have said to the leper, "Go, shew thyself to the priest, and offer the gift which

Moses commanded for a testimony unto thee,” if He had not considered it right for the legal observances to be carried out there as in a holy place worthy of God. Nor would He have thrust out those who bought and sold, saying, “Take these things hence, and make not my Father’s House a house of merchandise,” if He had not thought that the Temple was still to be reckoned sacred. But it was when the hour of their extreme wickedness drew near, that He explained all when He said, “Behold your house is left unto you desolate,” which also was fulfilled, when at his Passion the Veil of the Temple was wholly rent in twain, and from that moment the sacrifice and libation well pleasing to God according to the ordinance of the Law was in effect taken away, and when it was removed, the abomination of desolation, as the prophecy before us says, appeared in its place. And if it be said that the worship of the Sanctuary appeared to continue for a time, yet it was not pleasing to God, being offered without judgment and not according to the Law. For as before of (402) old when the Unction was abolished, and the lawful line of High Priests ceased after the death of Hyrcanus, they who held the office afterwards seemed to perform disordered and illegal rites, since they were breaking the fitting Laws, of whom the prophecy said, “The Unction shall be cast out, and there is no judgment in it,” referring to its illegality and lack of judgment; so here you will rightly say it has happened to the offering and libation, which were rightly and (b) lawfully offered before our Saviour’s Passion, while the Power still guarded the Holy Places, but which were taken away directly after the perfect and supreme Sacrifice which He offered, when He offered Himself for our sins, being the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world, which sacrifice having been delivered to all men in the new Sacraments of the new Covenant, the Sacrifices of the old are taken away. For concurrently with the fulfilment of the oracle which says, “And he shall confirm a covenant (c) with many one week,” all that is connected with the old Covenant is abolished. And when was the new Covenant confirmed, but when our Lord and Saviour, about to consummate the great Mystery of His delivery to death, on the night in which He was betrayed, delivered to His disciples the symbols of the unspeakable words of the new Covenant referring to Him? For concurrently with this celebration, (d) the old Covenant of Moses was abolished, which was shewn by the veil of the Temple being rent at the very time. Sacrifice and libation being from that time abolished and ceasing in

effect and truth, any sacrifices that were afterwards thought to be offered there were celebrated in a profane place by profane and unhallowed men. Hear the witness of Josephus about this:

“On the day of Pentecost, the priests going by night into the Temple, as was their custom, for the services, said that they were first conscious of a quaking and a sound, and afterwards of a sudden voice which said, Let us depart hence.”

And he records this to have taken place after the Passion of our Saviour. And the same writer says elsewhere: (403) “Pilate the Governor “(meaning the Pilate of our Saviour’s time) “brought the images of Caesar into the Temple by night, which was unlawful, and caused a great outburst of tumult and disorder among the Jews.” Which Philo confirms, saying:

“Pilate laid up in the Temple by night the imperial emblems, and from that time the Jews were involved in rebellion and mutual troubles.”

And from that time a succession of all kinds of troubles afflicted the whole nation and their city until the last war against them, and the final siege, in which destruction (b) rushed on them like a flood with all kinds of misery of famine, plague and sword, and all who had conspired against the Saviour in their youth were cut off; then, too, the abomination of desolation stood in the Temple, and it has remained there even till to-day, while they have daily reached deeper depths of desolation. And perhaps this will be so until the end of the world, according to the limit set by the prophet when he said, “And unto the consummation of time a fulfilment shall be given to the desolation.” (c) These words our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ sealed, when He said, “When ye shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, standing in the Holy Place, then ye shall know that her desolation draws near.”

And if the Jews are hard to persuade of this, they must be convicted not only of a shameless opposition to truth and clear evidence, but also of misrepresenting, so far as they can, the predictions as falsehoods, if it is to be thought that in the seventy weeks of years some of them include all the time, while they prophesy of what is to happen in the intermediate period, while others, though we are now nearly a thousand years from the date of the prophecy, admit no (d) sign of the fulfilment of what was written, although their Unction has been abolished, as the divine prediction foretold, and their

sanctuary, and the former inhabitants destroyed and utterly brought to naught in the flood of the completed war, and strangest thing of all even now to be seen, I mean, the abomination of desolation still standing in the one holy place, concerning which our Lord and Saviour said what I have quoted.

As this is before our eyes even now, it is extraordinary (404) that the Jews are not only so daring as to refuse to see what is clear, but so blind and dark in their minds as well as not to be able to see the clear and evident fulfilment of the Holy Scriptures. But they are in the state now that Isaiah prophesied they should come to, and his words are fulfilled:

“Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand, and seeing ye shall see and not perceive. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed, lest at (b) any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.”

But since it was said of old of the nations that believe in Christ, “To whom it has not been announced concerning Him, they shall see, and they who have not heard, shall understand,” I also by His grace and that of the Father that sent Him have given as full an interpretation as I could of this passage, and have quoted also the critical conclusions of Africanus, my predecessor, as germane and accurate, and therefore to be made use of as satisfactory. (c)

CHAPTER 3

From Micah.

The Prophet foretells what will be the Signs of the Coming of the Lord to Men, the Complete Destruction of the Sacred Customs of the Jews, the Knowledge of the God that was announced by the Prophets, the Deepest Peace of All Nations.

(405) [Passages quoted, Micah i. 2-4; iii. 9-12; iv. 1-4.]

(d) I HAVE already considered this prophecy among the passages. And I have pointed out that only from the date of our Saviour Jesus Christ's Coming among men have the objects of Jewish reverence, the hill called Zion and Jerusalem, the buildings there, that is to say, the Temple, the Holy of Holies, the Altar, and whatever else was there dedicated to the glory of God, been utterly removed or shaken, in fulfilment of the Word which said:

“Behold the Lord, the Lord comes forth from his place, and he shall descend on the high places of the earth, and the mountains shall be shaken under him.”

And when those kings are shaken, the souls of the Jews, called “valleys,” because of the contrast of their wretchedness with their former exaltation, bewailing the passing of (406) the aforesaid glory, will melt like wax before the fire, and be as water rushing down a chasm, through the multitude of those that fall from bad to worse. And all this it says will come to pass because of the sin of the house of Jacob, and the transgression of the house of Israel. And it goes on to describe this sin and transgression, “They that defile judgment and pervert all that is right, who build Sion with blood and Jerusalem with unrighteousness.” With blood! Yes, this was the cause of their final misery, for that they pronounced the impious curse upon themselves, saying, (b) “His blood be on us and on our children.” Therefore, it says this, “Zion shall be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall be as a storehouse of fruit,” a prophecy which was only actually fulfilled after the impious treatment of our Saviour. For from that time to this utter desolation has possessed the land; their once famous Mount Sion, instead of being, as once it was, the centre of study and education based on the divine prophecies, which the children of the (c) Hebrews of old, their godly prophets, priests and national teachers loved to interpret, is a Roman farm like the rest of the country, yea, with my own eyes

I have seen the bulls plowing there, and the sacred site sown with seed. And Jerusalem itself is become but a storehouse of its fruit of old days now destroyed, or better, as the Hebrew has it, a stone-quarry.

So Aquila says, "Therefore for your sake the land of Zion shall be ploughed, and Jerusalem shall be a quarry of (d) stone," for being inhabited by men of foreign race it is even now like a quarry, all the inhabitants of the city choosing stores from its ruins as they will for private as well as public buildings. And it is sad for the eyes to see stones from the Temple itself, and from its ancient sanctuary and holy place, used for the building of idol temples, and of theatres for the populace. These things are open for the eyes to see, and it should be clear as well that it is hence that the new law and word of the new Covenant of our Saviour Jesus Christ goes forth. For countless companies (407) of people, races of all kinds deserting their fathers' gods and their old superstitions, call on the Supreme God. And thus it is reckoned the deepest peace, there being no diversity of government or national rule, that nation should not take up sword against nation, and that they should not learn war any more, but that each farmer should rest under his vine and under his fig tree, according to the prophecy, and that none should make him afraid. (b)

As this state of things was never achieved at any other time but during the Roman Empire, from our Saviour's birth till now, I consider the proof irrefutable that the prophet refers to the time of our Saviour's coming among men.

CHAPTER 4

From Zechariah.

Signs of the Time of the Coming of the Word of God to Men, the Call of the Gentiles, and Final Destruction of Jerusalem.

[Passages quoted, Zech. ii. 10, 11; ix. 9, 10.]

AFTER this prediction of our Saviour's Coming, the prophecy now goes on, after interposing other matter, to speak of the final desolation of Jerusalem, partly under figurative and disguised forms, and partly quite clearly. Figuratively, for example, when it says:

(408) "1. Open thy doors, Libanus, and let the fire devour thy cedars; let the pine howl, because the cedar has fallen: for the mighty men have been greatly afflicted. 2. Howl, ye oaks of the land of Eashan, for the thickly planted forest has been torn down. 3. The voice of shepherds mourning, for their greatness is brought low: The voice of roaring lions, for the pride of Jordan is brought low."

This is figurative. But the same prophet goes on to give a clear interpretation of it.

(b) "2. Behold, I will make Jerusalem as shaking doorposts to all the nations round about, and in Judaea there shall be a siege against Jerusalem. 3. And it shall be in that day, I will make Jerusalem a stone trodden under foot by all nations; every one that tramples on it shall utterly mock it, and all the nations of the earth shall be gathered unto her."

And shortly after he adds:

(c) "10*b*. And they shall look on me, whom they pierced, because they have mocked me, and shall make lamentation for him as for a beloved, and grief as for a firstborn son. 11. In that day the lamentation of Jerusalem shall be increased, as the mourning for Roon cut down in the plain. 12. And the land shall mourn according to families. The family of the house of David by itself, and its women by themselves; the family of the house of Nathan by itself, and its women by themselves; the family of the house of Levi by itself, and its women by themselves; the family of the house of Simeon by itself, and its women by themselves. 14. All the families that are left, each family by itself and their wives by themselves."

And again, after other matter, he announces yet more (d) clearly the siege

of Jerusalem, saying:

“1. Behold the days of the Lord come, and thy spoils shall be divided in thee. 2. And I will bring up all nations unto Jerusalem unto war, and the city shall be taken, and its houses plundered, and its women defiled, and half of the city shall go into captivity, and the remnant of my people shall not be cast out of the city. 3. And the Lord shall come forth; and shall fight with those nations, as when he fought in the day of war. 4. And his feet shall stand in that day on the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem.”

Then, after an interval, he says:

“And there shall be one Lord, and his name one, encircling the earth and the wilderness.”

And again after other matter, concluding the book of His (409) prophecy, He prophesies the calling of the Gentiles:

“And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall be left of all the nations that came against Jerusalem shall even come up every year to worship the King the Lord Almighty, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. 17. And it shall come to pass that whosoever of all the families of the earth shall not come up to Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord Almighty, even these shall be added to the others. 18. And if the family of Egypt (b) shall not go up nor come thither, then upon them shall come the fall, with which the Lord shall strike all nations, as many as go not up to keep the Feast of Tabernacles. 19. This is the transgression of Egypt, and the transgression of all the nations, as many as go not up to keep the Feast of Tabernacles.”

So prophesied Zechariah after the Return from Babylon, in the reign of Darius, King of Persia, when Jerusalem was but just arisen from the desolation which it suffered under the Babylonians. And the whole period from Darius the (c) Persian, in whose time Zechariah prophesied, even to Augustus, Emperor of Rome, amounts to the seven and sixty-two weeks of years in Daniel, which are equivalent to 483 years, as I have shewn in my recent investigations. And neither in the time of the Macedonians from Alexander onwards, not even if you include the reign of Augustus, was (d) anything similar to the words of the prophet fulfilled. For when in those days did the Lord, Whom the prophet speaks of as divine, come among men, and many nations know Him, and confess Him to the only God, and take refuge in Him, and be to Him a people? Or when in the times of the Macedonians or

Persians did the king who was foretold come, sitting upon an ass and a young colt? When did He come and utterly destroy the royal array of the Jewish nation, here called Ephraim, and of Jerusalem itself, called chariots and horses, and conquer the army of the Jews? For this is what the oracle revealed, saying:

“Behold thy king cometh to thee, righteous and a saviour, himself meek, and sitting upon an ass and a young colt, and he shall utterly destroy the warlike bow.” (410)

For so it was prophesied concerning the destruction of the royal glory of the Jewish nation, at the same time, as, on the other hand, the prophecy of peace for the Gentiles was repeated in agreement with those previously quoted, namely, “And abundance of peace shall be from the Gentiles.” In place of which Aquila and the other translators render, “And he shall speak peace to the Gentiles,” which stands specially and literally fulfilled from the reign of Augustus, since from that date varieties of government ceased, and (b) peace enwrapped most of the nations of the world. And before the Roman days under Persians or Macedonians what King of the Jews was there, who “ruled from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth?” And so the other translators have shewn. Therefore Aquila says:

“And he shall speak peace to the Gentiles, and his power shall be from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the world.”

With this agrees the passage in the 101st Psalm concerning the Christ that is to be born of the seed of Solomon:

“In his days righteousness shall arise, and abundance of peace, so long as the moon endureth, and he shall (c) rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the world.”

For these words about the son of Solomon are as exalted as those in the prophet. When, then, this took place and in what way, and in what period, let him that can, inform me. And when did Jerusalem after its siege by the Babylonians undergo a second burning, and have its Temple thrown to the ground?

And the figure used by the prophet is also exceedingly (d) strange when he says, “O Libanus, open thy gates, and let fire devour thy cedars.” For he calls the Temple here, as was not unusual, by the name of Libanus (it is so called in other prophecies). To this the Jews themselves now assent, since Isaiah, too,

has a similar prophecy to the one before us, namely:

“Behold, the Lord of Sabaoth shall disturb the noble with might, and the lofty shall be crushed in their pride.” And Libanus shall fall with its lofty ones, and there shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse, and a flower shall spring up from his roots, and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him.”

To which he adds:

“And there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall (411) rise to rule the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust.”

Here, too, the destruction of Libanus and the call of the Gentiles is connected with the birth of Christ, of the seed of Jesse and David. And Ezekiel actually calls Jerusalem Libanus when he says, “The great eagle, with great wings, that hath the dominion, cometh to Libanus, and tore off the tender boughs of the cedar.” And he goes on to explain this himself, as happening when Nebuchadnezzar shall come to Jerusalem and take her rulers, and that which follows. But Ezekiel’s prophecy is about the first siege, and Zechariah’s about the second. When, then, after the time of Zechariah in the time of the Macedonian Empire was the Temple burnt? There was no such time. For after its burning by the Babylonians, it was not burned again till in the time of Titus and Vespasian, the Roman Emperors, it was utterly destroyed by fire, and it is in relation to this that the prophet summons the ancient rulers of the nation in a figure to mourn and weep, when he says: “Let the (c) pine weep because the cedar is fallen, because the great ones are in great misery. Let the oaks of Bashan weep, because the wood that is planted is torn down: a voice of shepherds that lament, because their greatness is in misery.” Then truly Jerusalem was as a portico shaken by all nations around it, and there was a force encircling Judaea, and their venerated Temple and its Holy Place is even to-day a stone trodden under the feet of all nations, and all that mock are mocked according to the prophecy.

(d) Yea, in return for their insults to the Lord who thus prophesied, there has not failed for them lamentation, mourning and wailing. And it was only after our Saviour came, and even until our own time, that all the families of the Jewish nation have suffered pain worthy of wailing and lamentation because God’s hand has struck them, delivering their mother-city over to strange nations, laying their Temple low, and driving them from their country, to serve their enemies in a hostile land; wherefore even now every house and

every soul is a prey to lamentation. And so the prophecy says, “And family shall mourn by family, the (412) family of the house of David by itself, and their wives by themselves, and all that follows this.”

And which were the days after the age of Zechariah, when the spoils of Jerusalem were divided, and all nations were gathered against them in battle, and the city was taken, their houses looted, their women defiled, and they themselves led into captivity, while the Lord was at the same time aiding the nations warring against Jerusalem and drawn up against them? Or when did His feet stand (b) on the Mount of Olives? Or when was the Lord King of all the earth, when was there one Lord over all men, when did His Name encircle the whole earth and the wilderness? It is impossible to argue that this was fulfilled previously to the period of the Romans, in whose time the Jewish Temple was burnt for the second time after its destruction by the Babylonians, and their city from then till now has been inhabited by foreign nations.

And it was when our Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, had (c) visited the olive-grove over against Jerusalem, since the words of the prophecy were fulfilled which said, “His feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives opposite to Jerusalem,” that is, the life of holiness having been established throughout all the world, that all the nations, according to the prophecy, kept the Feast of Tabernacles together in every place to the God of the prophets, and the Egyptians from that time recognizing God erected tents in every town and country place, which mean the local Christian Churches. For the power of our Saviour Jesus Christ has pegged them (d) far better than Moses’ tents through the whole world, so that every race of men and all the Gentiles may keep their Feast of Tabernacles to Almighty God.

When, then, we see what was of old foretold for the nations fulfilled in our own day, and when the lamentation and wailing that was predicted for the Jews, and the burning of the Temple and its utter desolation, can also be seen even now to have occurred according to the prediction, surely we must also agree that the King who was prophesied, (413) the Christ of God, has come, since the signs of His coming have been shewn in each instance I have treated to have been clearly fulfilled.

CHAPTER 5

From Isaiah.

The Signs of the Times of the Lord's Coming, and the Egyptians' Acknowledgment of the God of the Prophets.

[Passages quoted, Isa. xix. 1-3; xix. 19-21.]

THIS is a passage that I have already partly expounded. Now if the Egyptians are not seen in our own time deserting their ancestral gods and calling upon the God of the prophets; if throughout Egypt in every locality, town and country there are not altars erected to the God that was formerly acknowledged only by the Hebrews; if the idols of (414) Egypt have not been shaken, for that the power of the daemons that hung about them is gone, and the ancient superstition driven from the soul of the Egyptians; and once more, if there is not intestine war arisen through all the households of Egypt, between them that receive the Lord and worship the God of the prophets and reject their immemorial polytheistic error, and them that oppose the (b) converts of the Lord in their adherence to the evil of their fathers; if they do not even now in their efforts to question their own gods and the idols and them that speak out of the ground and the diviners by familiar spirits, make a vain and useless appeal to them because the daemons are no longer able to work in them as they did of old — if all these things are not seen to have been actually fulfilled, why (c) then, you may consider that the prophetic oracle is unfulfilled, and that the Lord that was prophesied has not yet visited our human life.

But if, on the other hand, we can see the people of Egypt far more patently in actual fact than in mere description, some of them acknowledging the God of the prophets, and for His sake renouncing their ancestral gods, some of them raising political dissension against the converts, some of them even now calling upon their gods and images and them that speak from the ground, who no longer can effect aught, and some throughout all Egypt raising an altar to the Lord of the prophets for each local Church, calling no (d) longer in their troubles and persecutions on beasts or reptiles as their gods, nor on wild animals and unreasoning brutes as their fathers did, but on the Supreme God, retaining Him only and the fear of Him in their minds, praying to Him, and not to the daemons, and promising what men should promise God — how

can we deny that the prophecies of long ago have at last been fulfilled? And these foretold that the Lord would come to Egypt not in an unembodied state, but in a light cloud, or better “in light thickness,” for such is the meaning of the Hebrew, shewing figuratively His Incarnate state. Therefore the prophecy goes on to call Him a man that is a Saviour, saying, “And (415) the Lord shall send to them a man that is a Saviour.” Here again the Hebrew is, “And He shall send to them a Saviour, who shall save them.” As the proof is now so clear from this, I consider that there is no question of the time at which the prophecies foretold the Lord’s Coming.

I have here only briefly collected the evidence for the time of the Advent of our Lord. If the other Scriptures were searched at leisure much more could be discovered. But as I am well satisfied with what I have brought before (b) you, I will now address myself to the other prophecies. And our next task will be to collect from inspired prophecy the predictions about the earthly dispensation of the Incarnation.

BOOK IX

(416) IT remains for me now to redeem my promise to go on to expound the dispensation connected with the Incarnation of the very Word of God. My previous labours in the eight books already completed have been concerned (417) with Him. I have now devoted myself to tracing the Theology of His Person, now to considering His Descent to us from heaven, now His Character, His Name, and the time of His Advent. As the treatment of these subjects is complete, it is now time to consider the matters connected with His Coming, and to shew how these also were predicted among the Hebrews. And the fulfilment of the predictions shall be confirmed by the witness of (b) the Holy Evangelists, and their historical account of the actual events.

Let us then begin, as the proof about His Birth, tribe, and family is complete, by considering the star which appeared at His Birth, which was new and a stranger among the usual lights of heaven. For this, too, was proclaimed by Moses long before in times far distant in the following words.

CHAPTER 1

Of the Things that happened at the Incarnation, and of the Star that appeared at Our Saviour's Birth.

MOSES, in the Book of Numbers, says of the star that appeared at the Birth of our Saviour, as follows.

[Passage quoted, Num. xxiv. 15-19.]

We are told that Balaam's successors moved by this (for the prediction was preserved most likely among them), when they noticed in the heavens a strange star besides the usual ones, fixed above the head, so to say, and, vertically above Judaea, hastened to arrive at Palestine, to (418) inquire about the King announced by the star's appearance. Matthew the Evangelist witnesses to this as follows:

1. "And when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, wise men from the east came to Jerusalem saying, 2. Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east and are come to worship him."

And when they had been sent on their way they reached Bethlehem.

9. "And, behold, again, the (same) star, which they saw before in the east, went before them, until it came and stood over where the young child was. 10. And when they saw the star, they rejoiced with (b) exceeding great joy, and going into the house they saw the child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshipped him."

This is the account in the Holy Gospel. But the word of the prophecy says that striking events will be heralded by the rising of the star and the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, viz., the crushing of the leaders of Moab, and the raid on the sons of Seth, and the inheriting by the Jewish nation of its other enemies, these being Edom and Esau. What could be thus figuratively described by the leaders (c) of Moab, but the destruction of the invisible rulers, I mean the daemons whom the Moabites had of old considered gods? But others were not mentioned, because of Israel's idolatry in the wilderness, when "the people were initiated into the rites of Belphegor." (This daemon was honoured as a god by Balak, King of Moab.)

As, therefore, Israel was conquered on this occasion by the invisible powers of Moab, I mean by those regarded as gods by the Moabites (for they committed idolatry and worshipped idols, as Scripture says, and were initiated

into the cult of Belphegor, a Moabitish daemon, and committed adultery with the women of Moab), Balaam in his prophecy appositely paints the picture of a complete reversal and change in days to come: "A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a man shall spring from Israel, and he shall crush the leaders of Moab." As if he had said, more plainly, that the daemons of Moab who once triumphed over Israel would suffer a crushing defeat on the birth of the subject (419) of the prophecy, and that when these were crushed, the sons of Seth, Edom and Esau, and the other nations, by whom, I think, are meant those that had long been the slaves of daemonic error, would be converted from their superstition to the service of Him that was foretold. For it says: "And Edom shall be an inheritance, and Esau his enemy shall be an inheritance." So it says that those who were once enemies of God and of Israel will become the inheritance of Him that was prophesied. For He it was to Whom it was said by God and His Father: "Desire of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance." And while they enter into the inheritance of the (b) saints, the reverse is prophesied for Israel — for it says: "Israel hath wrought in strength." And it wrought in strength the worst sin of all; wherefore He will be aroused by them, and will drive them out. Who is this but the Word of God that was foretold, Who also "destroyed him that was saved from the city"? And I think that this refers figuratively to Jerusalem, in which all that were saved perished, or perhaps to the whole constitution of the Jewish nation. I need not describe at greater length (c) how this was fulfilled, how, when our Saviour shone forth on mankind, the nations that before were idolaters were converted and became His portion, at the same time that the Jewish nation and their mother-city underwent unexampled sufferings. Thus, I will conclude what I have to say of the agreement of prophetic prediction with Gospel fulfilment. Let us now learn the reason why the star appeared. Now Moses says, that all the stars were set in the firmament by God "for signs and for seasons." But this was a strange and unusual star, not (d) one of the many known stars, but being new and fresh by its appearance here it portended a new luminary that should shine on all the Universe, the Christ of God, a great and a new Star, whose likeness the star that appeared to the wise men symbolically shewed. For since in all the holy and inspired Scriptures the leading object of the meaning is to give mystic and divine instruction, while preserving as well the obvious meaning in its own sphere of historical facts,

so the prediction before us was properly and literally fulfilled in the matter of the star that was prophesied to appear at our Saviour's Birth.

In the case of other remarkable and famous men we (420) know that strange stars have appeared, what some call *comets*, or *meteors*, or *tails of fire*, or similar phenomena that are seen in connection with great unusual events. But what event could be greater or more important for the whole Universe than the spiritual light coming to all (b) men through the Saviour's Advent, bringing to human souls the gift of holiness and true knowledge of God? Wherefore the herald star gave the great sign, telling in symbol that the Christ of God would shine as a great new light on all the world.

And the prophecy foretells a man as well as a star, for it says: "A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a man shall spring from Israel," naming first the heavenly light, the Word of God, and next the Humanity. And He is called, as I have shewn in my former books, in other places by the varying names of Rising, Light, and Sun of (c) Righteousness. And here, by applying to Him the verb from "Rising," "a star shall rise out of Jacob," it shews His Diviner aspect, as "giving light to every man that cometh into the world"; while it shews the Humanity, by the suffering that comes to Him, where it foretells that He will fall to rise again, in words like what Isaiah says of Him: "And there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to rule the Gentiles; in Him shall the Gentiles trust." And we see how true it is that the light of our (d) Saviour, which rose from Jacob, that is from the Jews, has shone on all nations but Jacob, from whence it came forth.

And while this can be found in many prophecies, which say as it were to Christ Himself: "Behold, I have set thee for a light to the Gentiles, for a covenant of thy race," it is especially obvious in the words of Balaam, when he says: "A man shall come from his seed, and shall rule many nations." Whose seed but Israel's, as the context shews? And thus our Saviour, the Word, as the prophecy foretold, ruling over the nations threw down the invisible noxious powers which had governed them so long, the spirits of evil, and the band of daemons, called figuratively here the princes of Moab, Seth, Edom, and (421) Esau.

The words: "I will point to him, but not now, I bless him but he draws not near," which are obscure in the Septuagint, are more clearly rendered by Aquila: "I shall see him, but not now; I expect him, but he is not near." And

Symmachus more plainly still says: “I see him but not near.” Balaam would speak thus of things revealed to him that would be accomplished a very long time after (b) his own days. And so at the conclusion of two thousand years after his prediction they were fulfilled in our Saviour’s Coming among men.

CHAPTER 2

From Isaiah.

How the Lord resting in the Sacred Body which He took from the Virgin will come to Egypt, is both Literally and Figuratively foretold, and that all the Superstition of the Heathen will be destroyed at His Advent.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xix. 1.]

I SUPPOSE that the reason why it is foretold that the Lord (d) would come to Egypt is this: The Egyptians are said to have been the first to practise the errors of polytheism and the daemons, and to have introduced superstition to the rest of mankind, and to have been concerned more than others with the activities and meddling of the daemons. And Holy Scripture witnesses that they were the enemies of God's people from the very beginning, for it is written that their ancient king confessed that he did not know the Lord, when he said: "I do not know the Lord, and I will not let Israel go." So, then, it is because Scripture wishes to shew the great marvel of the divine power of Christ that it foretells His going to Egypt, in (422) predicting that the Egyptians will undergo an extraordinary conversion, when it goes on to say: "And the Egyptians shall know the Lord, who before knew Him not, and shall pray to the Lord," and so on. Above in the previous chapter Edom and Esau are called the inheritance of the subject of the prophecy, these names being used for strangers to Israel. Here it is predicted of Egypt and its people that they will not acknowledge idols any more, (b) but the Lord revealed by the Jewish prophets. Now if we cannot see this actually fulfilled before our eyes, we must not say that the Lord's coming to Egypt has taken place; but if beyond all need of argument the truth is shewn by facts, and reveals clearly to the most unobservant the Egyptians rescued from hereditary superstition, and followers of the God of the prophets who foretold that this would take place, serving Him only, and greeting every (c) form of death for their duty to Him, to what else can we attribute it, but to the Lord coming to Egypt, as the prophecy before us predicted?

It is, of course, possible that the prophecy from another point of view teaches in a figurative and disguised way about the earthly universe, into which it prophesies that the Lord will come on a light cloud, a figure of the Humanity that He took of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit. And that the idols of

Egypt to be shaken, are the idols of (all) nations, while the vanquished Egyptians are all those (d) who were of old distracted by idolatry. This may be so, yet when our Lord in bodily form was carried into Egypt, when Joseph arose in obedience to the oracle, and took Mary and the young Child, and went into Egypt, it is probable that the evil daemons who dwelt there of old were greatly moved by His unspeakable power and might; and most of all when, through His teaching, so many of Egypt's inhabitants afterwards rejected the errors of the daemons, and even now profess to know the God of the Universe alone.

(423) That which immediately follows I will interpret when I have more leisure, for it is figuratively expressed, and would need considerable labour.

CHAPTER 3

From Numbers.

It is foretold that Christ would come into Egypt, and would return from thence again.

[Passage quoted, Num. xxiv. 3-9.]

THE oracle in the previously-quoted prophecy, in saying (d) that the Lord would come into Egypt, foretold the journey of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He went into Egypt with His parents. Here we have the prophecy of His return from Egypt in its natural order, when He came back with His parents into the land of Israel, in the words: "God led him out of Egypt." For our Lord and Saviour Jesus, the Christ of God, was the only one of the seed of Israel and of the Jewish race, Who has ruled over many nations, so that it is indisputable that He is the fulfilment of the prophecy which says, literally, "that a man will come from (424) the Jewish race, and rule over many nations." If He be not, let him who will suggest some other famous man among the Hebrews, who has ruled over many nations. But this he cannot do, for such a man never existed. But with regard to our Saviour, truth itself will shout and cry aloud, even if we say nothing, shewing plainly that His Divine Power through the human body He took of the seed of Israel according to the flesh has ruled, yea, and even now will rule many nations.

He it was, then, and none other, Whom the prophecy foretold, in Whose time the kingdom of Gog should be exalted concurrently with the growth of Christ's power. (b) It is said that by this figure the Hebrews disguised the Roman Empire, which grew concurrently with the teaching of Christ. And the Prophet Ezekiel also mentions Gog, naming him Ruler of Ros, Mosoeh, and Thobel, probably disguising the city of Rome under the name of Ros, because empire and power are signified in Hebrew by that word; by Mosoeh, he meant Mysia and the (c) adjacent nations, which are now subject to Rome; and by Thobel Josephus means Iberia, saying that the Thobelian Iberians sprang from Thobel. He says that Gog, the ruler of all of them, will be exalted at the coming of the Christ prophesied, Whom God led out of Egypt, when, as Matthew records, Herod laid a plot against Him when He was a Child, and Joseph informed by God took the young Child and His mother, and afterwards returned into the land (d) of Israel.

And Christ possessed “the glory of an Unicorn,” because in Him was pleased “to dwell all the fullness of the Godhead,” in the words of the Holy Apostle. And, therefore, as accounting the God of the Universe and His Father to be His Horn, He was called “Unicorn” also in other Scriptures.

And He, the Word of God, defeated with shafts of mind and spirit His enemy and opponent the devil, and all the invisible and evil powers around Him with greater invincible might, and even now rules over many nations whose gross fleshly instincts He fines down and makes them fit to tread the narrow way of eternal life. (425)

And moreover He too, the Man who came from Israel, Who ruleth many nations, having lain down, “rested as a lion,” he says, plainly indicating the dispensation He had accepted, according to which like a kingly and terrible wild beast He rested, for none were able to remove His rule and His Kingdom, and all who blessed the Christ, glorifying the greatness of their teaching by word and deed, received in return the blessing of God, increasing and multiplying daily, according to the divine commandment, “Increase and multiply and replenish the earth,” which in them is fulfilled more truly and divinely. While in contrast (b) to them, they who since their original plot against Him even until now curse Him in their synagogues, have drawn down the curse of God on their heads from that day to this. Wherefore they do not cease to behold the utter desolation and destruction of their kingdom and of their Temple of old so venerable. And it is worth comparing with this prophecy that of Jacob to Judah, which I have already shewn to be most clearly applicable to our Saviour, and to recognize (c) the agreement of the two. For as we have here, “A man shall come forth from his seed,” *i. e.* Jacob’s, so we had there, “From a slip, my son, thou hast ascended,” said by Jacob to the subject of the prophecy.

As we read too in this prophecy, “And he shall rule many nations,” in the other we have similarly, “And he (d) shall be the expectation of nations.” Again this one says, “He shall eat the Gentiles his enemies, and with his darts he shall shoot his enemies,” just as the other, “Thy hands shall be on the back of thine enemies”; while, “The whelp of the lion of Judah,” and, “Falling down thou didst couch as a lion, and as a young lion who shall arouse thee? “in the other prophecy are, I think, identical with the words in the one before us, “Lying down he couched as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp, who shall raise

him up? “I have set these passages side by side, so that the proof concerning our Saviour may rest on a firmer foundation, established on the agreement “of the mouth of two witnesses.”

All therefore that I have deduced from the prediction (426) of Jacob would apply to that of Balaam, because of the similarity of their sayings. And if it was then established by a lengthy demonstration that the former were fulfilled in our Saviour, it follows that this is also true of the latter.

CHAPTER 4

From Hosea.

Again concerns the Words, Out of Egypt have I Called My Son, and King Herod, and the Destruction of the Kingdom of the Jews.

[Passages quoted, Hos. x. 14; xi. 1.]

FOLLOWING the Hebrew slavishly, Aquila translates, “Out (c) of Egypt have I called my son.” But I have noted the exact words, because Matthew quoted the prophecy, when he recorded that Jesus was carried into Egypt, and returned thence to the land of Israel. And if any one objects to the idea of our Saviour’s going into Egypt, let him know that He went for good reasons. For neither was it fitting for (d) Him to restrain Herod from his self-chosen wickedness, nor that our Saviour while still an infant should begin to shew His Divine Power by working miracles before the time, which would have been the case, if He had punished Herod miraculously for plotting against Him, and had not submitted to go down to Egypt with His parents. For it was surely the note of a better dispensation that He should wait till the fitting time to begin the miracles of His Divinity, Whose whole life is known to have been gentle and patient, ready to do good deeds and acts of kindly service, and not to defend Himself from them that would not hear Him, even when “He was led as a Lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers was dumb.” Where then is the (427) improbability that one like Him when a child should give way before Herod’s wickedness, Who we know when a man yielded and submitted to evil men, hid Himself and shrank from the glory of His miraculous works? For He used to bid those He had healed tell no one.

And if any prefer to apply the prophecy to the people, regarding it as spoken concerning the people of Israel, let him consider the sequence of the argument, which implies that this will take place after the saying addressed as to Jerusalem itself, “And destruction shall be raised up in thy (b) people, and all thy strong places shall depart.” And those things, it says, which such and such a king suffered in a war in which he was involved, when they dashed the mother to the ground on her children, the like will I do unto you because of your wickedness. He must mean by “you” them that are called Israelites, who also were cast away with their king, by whom he implies Herod. “And you have suffered all this,” it says, “because Israel is a child, (c) and I loved him,

and out of Egypt have I called my son.” But how can he praise and blame the same people at the same time? The real meaning supplies the explanation. The Christ is called “Israel,” in other prophecies, as He is in this. Since then, it says, being obedient to Me, He took the form of a servant, and became My beloved Son, fulfilling all My will, therefore I called Him back as My (d) true and beloved Son from the Egypt whither He descended when He became man, meaning by Egypt this earthly sphere, or possibly Egypt itself. But you, to whom the prophecy is spoken, shall suffer ruin and destruction, together with your king. Such is the prophecy. And we can see that from our Saviour’s time by the siege of Jerusalem the independence and national power of the Jewish race that existed up till then was destroyed and utterly cast away. This is the third prophecy concerning Egypt, and His sojourn there.

But if any one say that it does not apply to our Saviour, yet let him not deny that the words quoted by Matthew were taken by him from the witness of Moses, which I have lately expounded, when explaining the words, “ God led (428) him out of Egypt,” and as the evangelist himself never says that the oracle was quoted from the prophecy of Hosea, he can seek for it and find it laid up in any place, whence it is probable that the evangelist quoted it.

CHAPTER 5

From Isaiah.

Of the Preaching of John in the Wilderness.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xl. 3.]

THIS prophecy too was necessarily to be fulfilled in the (c) times of our Saviour. And according to the Evangelist Luke, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea, and those numbered with him, the Word of God came to John, the son of Zachariah, in the wilderness, “And he went into all the country around Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.” To this the evangelist adds the witness, saying, “As it is written in the books of the words of Isaiah the prophet, ‘The Voice of One crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord,’” and that which follows. What then did John’s voice shout in its preaching in the (d) wilderness, but an invitation to the crowds that came out to be baptized by him, as to reptiles of the wilderness, akin to his “generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? “And he changed too the crooked souls into straight, and the rough roads into smooth by saying to them, “Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance.” And this was fulfilled when John had prepared them to behold the glory of the Lord, and what is called “the salvation of our God,” which is the Christ, as he bore witness, saying:

“I indeed baptize you with water, but there cometh (429) one after me that is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.”

Who also seeing Jesus coming cried:

“Behold, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world: This is he of whom I spake, a man cometh after me, who was before me.”

And Symeon also bare witness that the same Jesus was “the salvation of God,” who took Him in his arms when He was still an infant, and said:

“Now thou art letting thy servant, O Lord, depart in peace, according to thy word: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face (b) of all people, a light to lighten the Gentiles.”

With which the prophet agrees, saying, “And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.” For “all flesh” stands for “all the nations.” And I need not

say this was fulfilled, and that all nations knew the Christ of God. Such was the literal fulfilment of the prophecy.

(c) But why did John go forth to preach in the wilderness, and not in cities, or in Jerusalem itself? It might be answered that he did so in fulfilment of the prophecy. But a critical questioner will at once inquire, what this prophecy meant to teach when it spoke of the wilderness and the things to do with it. And I should reply to him that it is a symbol of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Altar there, and of the Mosaic worship, because the forgiveness of sins was no longer extended to them by the legal (d) sacrifices, but by the cleansing and washing delivered to her that was before thirsty and deserted; I mean the Gentile Church, in which also the prophetic voice bids to prepare the way of the Lord, foretelling that the souls which are lying deep in sin as in a valley will be raised up, and that the old heights of Jerusalem, and of her rulers and kings, called "mountains and hills," shall be laid low, which being completed, he says, "All flesh shall see the salvation of God," meaning every soul united with a body, both Greek and Barbarian, of every nation without exception, and this is seen to have been fulfilled according to the prophecy.

(430) Now let me ask myself what it was in John that struck the multitude with fear, so that they marvelled at him and put trust in his baptism of repentance, and all from every side left their homes, and flowed in one stream into the wilderness, having regard to the fact that the records give no account of anything he did; for we are not told that he raised the dead, or worked other miracles.

What then was it that struck the multitude? Surely it was his manner of life so strange and different to that of the people; for he came forth from the desert clad in a strange (b) garment, refusing all social human intercourse, he went not into village or city or the human haunts of men, he did not even share their common food; for it is written that from childhood he was in the deserts, until the day of his shewing forth, to Israel, yes, and his raiment was made of camels' hair, and his food locusts and wild honey.

How, then, should they not have been naturally alarmed, when they saw a man, with the hair of a Nazarite of God, (c) and a divine face, suddenly appearing from the lonely wilderness clothed in a strange kind of dress, and after preaching to them going back again into the wilderness, without eating or drinking or mingling with the people, and must they not have suspected

that he was more than human? For how could a man not need food? And so they understood him to be an angel, the very angel foretold by the prophet, in the words, “Behold, I send my angel before (d) thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee,” a passage of Scripture which is quoted by the Evangelist Mark. And the Saviour also bears witness in the words, “John came neither eating nor drinking, and you say, He hath a devil.” For it was just as natural that unbelievers, with minds hardened and shut against the truth, should thus blaspheme John because of his living as he did, as that those who were in accord with his noble character should reckon him an angel. Such, then, I understand to be the reasons why John was a marvel to those who saw him; and therefore they hastened from all sides to the cleansing of the soul, of which he preached.

Josephus, too, records his story in the Eighteenth Book (431) of the *Jewish Archeology*, writing as follows:

“Now some of the Jews thought that the destruction of Herod’s army came from God, and that very justly as a punishment of what he did against John, that was called the Baptist; for Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism. For so the washing would be (b) acceptable to Him.”

CHAPTER 6

From the same.

Still concerning the Wilderness, and the River called Jordan, by which John baptized.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xxxv. 3-6.]

THIS, too, was fulfilled, was clearly fulfilled, by our Saviour's miraculous works after John's preaching. Notice therefore how He bears good tidings to the desert, not generally, or to any desert, but to one particular desert by the bank of Jordan. This was because John lived there and baptized there, as Scripture says:

"John was in the desert baptizing, and there went out unto him all the land of Judaea, and all they of Jerusalem, and were baptized of him in Jordan."

I think the desert here is a symbol of that which of old was void of all God's good things, I mean the Church of the (432) Gentiles, and the river by the desert that cleanses all that are bathed therein is a figure of some cleansing spiritual power, of which the Scriptures speak, saying, "The movements of the river make glad the city of God." And this means the ever-flowing stream of the Holy Spirit welling from above and watering the city of God, which is the (b) name for life according to God. This river of God, then, has reached even unto the desert, that is the Gentile Church, and even now supplies it with the living water that it bears.

Moreover, it is said in this prophecy that the glory of Lebanon and the honour of Carmel shall be given to this wilderness. What is the glory of Lebanon, but the worship performed through the sacrifices of the Mosaic Law, which God refused in the prophecy which says, "Why do you bring me Libanus from Saba? And of what service to me is the multitude of your sacrifices?" He has transferred (c) the glory of Jerusalem to the desert of Jordan, since, from the times of John, the ritual of holiness began to be performed not at Jerusalem but in the desert. In like manner, too, the honour of the Law and of its more external ordinances, was transferred to the wilderness of Jordan for the same reason, viz. that they who need the healing of their souls no longer hastened to Jerusalem but to that which was called the wilderness, because there the forgiveness of (d) sins was preached. And I think our Saviour's own Presence at the Baptism is meant by, "And my people

shall see the glory of the Lord, and the majesty of God.” For then it was that the glory of our Saviour was seen, when:

“Being baptized he went up from the water, and the heavens were opened to him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending as a dove, and staying upon him.”:

When also there was heard “A voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well-pleased.” Yea, and every one that rightly approaches the Sacrament of Baptism, and accepts the teaching of Christ’s Divinity, shall see His glory, and shall say with Paul, “Even we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now we know him not.”

CHAPTER 7

From Psalm xc. (433)

Of the Temptation of Our Lord After His Baptism.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xc. 1-13.]

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus the Christ, so far as He is (d) regarded as Man, is said “to dwell under the succour of the Most High, and to rest under the shelter of his God and Father.” We know that, by making His Father His only refuge in the time of His Temptation by the devil, He was saved from the nets of the powers opposed to Him, here called “hunters,” when, like an ordinary human being, He was driven into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, and was in the wilderness forty days and forty nights tempted of Satan, and was, as the evangelist tells us, “with the wild beasts.” These were the same, as those this Psalm mentions, when it says to Him that dwells under the protection of the Most High, “Thou shalt go upon the asp and the basilisk, and shalt trample on the lion and dragon.” And it not only says that He shall be saved from them, but (434) from “the troubling word” also. What can this mean, but the words which according to the Holy Gospel were directed against Him by the tempter?

It is worth our consideration why our Saviour, being what He was, should undergo temptation. He came to expel from man every disease and sickness, and the spirits that hampered him, and the unclean daemons which had ruled all men on earth from immemorial time by means of polytheistic superstition. He did not attack them secretly as one who hides himself, but He marched against their leaders who (b) surrounded Him and were before invisible, in the Humanity that He had assumed, He charged into the midst of the devil and his array of daemons, trod upon asp and basilisk, trampled on lion and dragon, and destroyed the thousands and ten thousands of enemies that had ruled so long, some fighting on His right hand, some on His left, rulers and powers, and those too who are called “World-rulers of this darkness,” and spiritual powers of (c) evil; He proved thus, that they were quite powerless, and finally frightened away, far from Him, with the word of His mouth the devil himself, their instigator to evil. He went through and trampled on every power opposed to Him, He offered Himself as a target to those who wished to attack and tempt Him, and as none were able to resist Him, He won salvation for

mankind. Wherefore, when the (d) daemons saw Him, they recognized Him, because of the aforesaid sojourn in the wilderness, and said to Him, “What have we to do with thee, Jesus, Son of God? “Let this suffice on this matter. What follows in the Psalm is an address to the Christ, beginning at —

“With his shoulders he [that is the highest] shall overshadow thee, and under his wings shalt thou hope, and his truth shall surround thee with a shield.”

And whereas His Temptation lasted forty days, and as many nights, it is said of those that attacked Him by night, “Thou shalt not fear the terror by night”; and of those that warred against Him by day, “From the arrow that flieth by day.” And also of the foe of night, “From the thing that vvalketh in darkness,” and of those of daytime, “From the attack and the demon of mid-day.” Then, as in (435) the Temptation, the evil powers encircled Him, some on His right side, and some on His left; the right being the stronger side, it is naturally said to Him, “A thousand shall fall at Thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but they shall not come near Thee.” “At thy side” is used for “on thy left hand,” in order, perhaps, not to utter the word “left,” because nothing ill omened or left-handed was found in Him. And since a myriad and a thousand are (b) said to fall at His side and on His right hand, the next sentence comes naturally, “Yea, with thine eyes shalt thou behold, and see the reward of sinners.” And this shall take place, it says, “About thee, the Christ of God,” for, “Thou Thyself O Lord, who art my hope, hast made the Highest thy refuge.” Here, too, you will observe how the prophet, in saying to the Lord Himself, “Thou, Lord, art my hope, thou hast made the Highest Thy refuge,” discriminates carefully between One who is Lord in a special sense, and His Father, God Most High. And, therefore, as Christ (c) has made His Father, God Most High, His refuge, it is said to Him:

“ Evil shall not attack thee, and no scourge shall approach thy dwelling, for he shall charge his angels concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways: They shall bear thee in their hands, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.”

And note, carefully, how in, “For thou, Lord, art my hope, Thou hast made the Highest thy refuge,” the equivalent for “Lord” in Hebrew is the Tetragram, which the sons of the Hebrews say must not be spoken and reserve for God alone; but I have previously shewn that it is also used for (d) the Godhead of

the Word in many places of Scripture, as in this Psalm which says, as speaking to the person of the Lord Himself, “For Thou, Lord, art my hope, thou hast set the Most High for thy refuge “; as much as to say:

“For thou thyself, O Lord, who art the hope of me that utter this prophecy, knowest a greater than thyself, God Most High, and thou hast made Him thy refuge.”

So in the opening of the Psalm it was said of Him:

(436) “He that dwelleth under the protection of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. He shall say to the Lord, Thou art my helper and my refuge, my God, my Succour, and I will trust on him.”

“Since then, thou, O Lord, hast made the Most High thy refuge.”

the Psalmist therefore says:

“He shall save thee from the snares of the hunters, and from the troubling word and with his shoulders he shall overshadow thee. Therefore, having such fatherly succour from the Highest, Thou shalt not fear the terror by night, nor any of the evils that are mentioned before, (b) or added after. For thou, O Lord, hast made the highest thy refuge, therefore evil shall not attack thee, and no scourge shall come nigh thy dwelling.”

You will find the activities of the daemons, also called scourges, in the Gospels, which the Psalmist says are incapable of daring to approach Christ’s dwelling, that is His Body. How could they, when He could drive them out of men by a mere word? Of this dwelling, David also once swore an oath to the Lord, and prayed to the God of Jacob, saying:

(c) “I will not climb up into my bed, I will not suffer mine eyes to sleep, nor my eyelids to slumber, nor the temples of my head to take any rest, until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the God of Jacob.”

And it was on account of this tabernacle that it was said:

“Thou shalt not fear any terror by night, and He shall save thee from the snares of the hunters, and from the troubling word, and evils shall not attack thee, and a scourge shall not come nigh thy dwelling.”

And other things that regard Him more from the side of His Humanity, such as:

“He shall charge his angels concerning thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.”

For such words would not apply to God, but only to the tabernacle, which

He assumed for our sake, when the Word became flesh and tabernacled amongst us. Here I think it will be well to quote the words of the other translators, to put what I have said on an exact foundation. Of whom, Aquila said:

“For thou, Lord, my hope, hast set thy dwelling (437) very high. Evils shall not affect thee, and no touch shall come near to thy shelter: for he gave command to his angels to guard thee in all thy ways.”

And Symmachus has:

“Thou, Lord, art my security, thou hast set thy dwelling very high. Evil shall have no power over thee, and no touch shall draw near thy tent. For he gave charge to his angels concerning thee to keep thee in all thy ways.”

The Lord, then, is here addressed about some one greater than Himself, Who

“has charged his angels concerning thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. In their hands they shall bear thee (*i.e.*, The Lord) lest at any time thou, O Lord, dash thy foot against a stone.”

And the devil used these words in his Temptation of our (b) Saviour, when he took Him into the holy city, and set Him upon the wing of the Temple and said to Him:

“If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down hence, for it is written, he shall give his angels charge over thee, and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone,”

To whom the Lord answered and said:

“It is written, Thou shall not tempt the Lord thy God.”

Then, though the evangelist tells that, during the Temptation, He was with the wild beasts, we are not told what they were, but the prophecy in the Psalm tells us more clearly in a disguised way the kinds of beasts, viz.: “Thou shalt (c) step on the asp and the basilisk, and shalt trample on the lion and dragon.” It is thus said that he will trample on the kingliest of the wild beasts of the spirit, the lion and dragon, as well as the asp and the basilisk, that is to say, the devil himself, and the ruling evil powers that follow him.

And He bestows the power on His disciples and apostles who possess goodness like His own of walking upon serpents and scorpions, not allowing them to be tempted above that (d) they are able; for it was for Him alone to destroy the most evil powers, and the chief of them all, the prince of this

world, by His Divine Power.

CHAPTER 8

From Isaiah.

Of Galilee of the Gentiles, where our Saviour worked most of His Miracles, and of the Call of His Apostles.

(438) [Passage quoted, Isa. ix. 1-6.]

(c) THIS also was fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ besides all the other prophecies, when according to the wondrous Evangelist —

(439) [Passage quoted, Matt. iv. 12-25.]

I have quoted this passage in its entirety, because the (b) prophecy promised that there would be a great light in Galilee, or in the land of Zabulon and Nephthalim, which are the same as Galilee. Now why did He pass most of His life in Galilee of the Gentiles? Surely that He might make a beginning of the calling of the Gentiles, for He called His disciples from thence. Wherefore, shortly after, in the same Gospel you will find that Matthew was called from Galilee, and in another Gospel, Levi also. And Philip, according to John, came from Bethsaida, the city of Andrew (c) and Peter, which was in Galilee. The marriage too, in the same Gospel, was in Cana of Galilee, when the Lord miraculously transformed the water into wine. “There he made a beginning of signs, when also he manifested his glory, and his disciples believed on him.” Consider whether this first miracle of our Saviour that took place in Cana of Galilee, of the transformation of the water into wine, is not foretold in the beginning of this prophecy, where it says: “Drink this first. Act quickly, land of Zabulon and (d) Nephthalim, Galilee of the Gentiles.” And if this miracle were a sign of the mystic wine, that wine of the faith of the new Covenant that is transformed from bodily joy to a joy of mind and spirit, consider whether this too was not suggested in what follows about Galilee, in the prophecy that the inhabitants of Zabulon and Nephthalim would be the first to come into the presence of Christ, to partake of the draught of Gospel preaching. It says, too, that the spring of their joy will be the shining of a great light, for them who before His Coming sat continually in darkness and the shadow of death. But that when the light of salvation has sprung up, they will rejoice as men rejoice in harvest, and as they who (440) divide the spoils. And this was actually fulfilled, when our Lord and Saviour, calling His Apostles from Galilee, shewed forth to them His miracles and His teaching. The

prophecy says that they will rejoice before Him, "as men rejoice in harvest." In what harvest, I ask, but that of which He spake in His teaching, "Lift up your eyes and behold the lands, that they are already white unto harvest"? By this He meant the gathering in of the Gentiles: of whom it is also said, "They shall rejoice, as they who divide the spoils." (b) Therefore the disciples and evangelists of our Saviour, dividing between them the lands of the nations, and all the earth under heaven, despoiled the countless princes of this world, who were before rulers of the nations. And we should also recognize that He says there will be another reason for their joy, viz.: their relief from the external yoke of the law, that of old was laid on them, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. And not only was this (c) yoke removed from them, but the rod of the exactors which before pressed on their neck. He shews who the exactors are in another passage, where He says: "My people, your factors take your corn, and the exactors rule over you." But these men of Zabulon and Nephthalim will rejoice having seen the great light for these reasons, and they who exacted of them of old will be required to repay even to the last farthing, and repaying every garment and vestment they will be burned with fire in the day of retribution. And all this, (d) He says, they will suffer, because "Unto us a child is born, a son is given to us, the Angel of Great Counsel." Who are meant by "us," but we who have believed in Him, and all Galilee of the Gentiles, on whom the great light is sprung up? And what is this light but the Child that was born, and the Son that was given us by God, Who is named the Angel of Great Counsel, and the Prince of Peace, the Potentate, the Mighty God, and the Father of the world to come? But I have already shewn in its right place that these words can only be referred to our Lord and Saviour.

CHAPTER 9

From Psalm lxvii.

Of the Calling of the Apostles. (441)

[Passage quoted, Ps. Ixvii. 24-27.]

I THINK that here none but the Apostles can be meant by the rulers of Nephthali. For thence our Lord and Saviour called them according to the quotation from Matthew. The Scripture is prophesying the Coming of the Word of God to men, and His Incarnate sojourn here, (c) when it says, “Thy goings, O God, have been seen,” and that which follows. And the prophets of old were like heralds of His Epiphany, and arrived before Him with proclamation and chant, with music of psaltery and choir and all kinds of spiritual instruments, in the midst of damsels playing on timbrels.” For the inspired prophets going in every way into the midst of the Jewish synagogues, heralded the coming of the Christ, and by the Holy Spirit (d) addressed the Apostles of our Saviour saying, “Praise the Lord God in the congregations from the fountains of Israel.” And the “fountains of Israel” must be the words delivered to Israel. “For they first trusted the oracles of God,” whence it will be necessary for us to draw and water the churches of Christ. By “maidens playing on timbrels” he suggested the souls that lived of old by the more external Law of Moses, calling them “maidens” because of their youth and imperfectly developed minds, and “timbrel-players” “because of their devotion to external worship.

CHAPTER 10

From Isaiah.

Of the Reading from the Prophecy by Our Lord in the Jewish Synagogue.

[Passage quoted, Isa. lxi. 1.]

Now this prediction our Lord Himself claims to be fulfilled in Himself, when He came to Nazareth, where He was brought up:

“He entered, as his custom was on the Sabbath day, into the synagogue, and stood up to read. And there was delivered unto him the book of the prophet Esaias. And when he had opened the book he found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon (c) me, because he hath anointed me, to preach the gospel to the poor: he hath sent me to proclaim deliverance to the captives, and giving of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. And he closed the book, and he gave it again to the minister, and sat down. And the eyes of all them that were in the synagogue were fastened upon him. And he began to say unto them, This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears.”

Our Lord and Saviour is clearly shewn in this passage to (d) have been anointed with another and a better unction than the priests of old days, who were externally anointed, not with oil manufactured, nor by men, as were those others, but with the Divine Spirit of His God and Father, whereby as sharing in His unbegotten Godhead He is called God and Lord by the Holy Scriptures.

And in harmony with the prophecy before us He is introduced by Matthew preaching the Gospel to the poor when —

“Seeing the multitudes he went up into a mountain, and when he had sat down, his disciples came unto him, and he opened his mouth and taught them, saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.”

And it is recorded that He gave sight to many that were (443) blind, not only enlightening them that were deprived of bodily vision, but also causing them that were before blind in soul to receive spiritual vision and the knowledge of God. And, moreover, He preached freedom and release from their bonds to the prisoners bound and constrained by the unseen daemonic powers, and hampered by the chains of sin, if they, too, would believe His preaching, and run to Him as their Ransom and Saviour, and trust His

promises.

The remainder of this oracle I will expound in its place (b) in the section concerning the promises.

CHAPTER 11

From Deuteronomy.

(c) Of the Lawgiving according to the Gospel of Christ.

[Passage quoted, Deut. xviii. 15-19.]

IT must be noticed that no prophet like Moses has ever arisen among the Hebrews, who was a lawgiver and a teacher of religion to men, except our Saviour, the Christ of God. Therefore at the end of Deuteronomy it is said: "There has not arisen a prophet in Israel like unto Moses," though, of course, many prophets succeeded him, but none were like him. And the promise of God recognizes the whole future, that one only, and not many, should arise and be like him. And it implies that he will be a lawgiver and a teacher of religion to men, such as none but our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has been proved to be, being lawgiver and prophet of the God of the Universe (444) His Father at the same time.

But Moses was leader of but one nation, and his legislation has been proved to be only applicable to that one nation; whereas the Christ of God, receiving the promise from His Father, "Desire of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance," as being established by His (b) Father the Giver of the new law of holiness not to the Jews only, but to the whole human race, in calling all nations set before them a legislation that they could obey and that suited them. Thus by a diviner power than that of Moses He ordained through all the world His holy laws by His evangelists, legislating with more than human authority, saying, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill: but I say unto you that ye must not be angry without a cause," and that which follows this saying, as it is preserved in His written teaching, with regard to which the Evangelist says, "They were astonished at his teaching, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as their scribes."

As I have treated of the manner of our Saviour's teaching and legislation in the beginning of this work, when I explained what Christianity is, I will now refer my readers to that exposition. But it is worthy of notice why the Lord promises that a prophet shall arise. For when He had commanded Moses to sanctify the whole people for three days, that they might see and hear His Divine Appearing, and they were too weak for the favour of God: wherefore

when they were at the beginning of the vision they refused and said to Moses: "Speak thou to us, and let not God speak to us, that we die not," and the Lord, as was meet, was pleased by their caution, and says, "They have rightly spoken all that they have spoken. A prophet will I raise up to them from the midst of their brethren, like unto thee." Then it was that He gave the reason of His own future Coming to men like a prophet. It was man's weakness, and his refusal of the greater vision of the greater. You see, too, the reason why the prophet that was foretold should become Incarnate. And so it was natural for the Jews, who expected Him, to inquire of John the Baptist, and say, "Art thou the prophet? and he said, No." And John spoke the truth, he did not deny that he was a prophet, for he was, but he denied that he was the prophet meant by Moses, because he taught that he was sent before that prophet.

And since the Word predicted that the prophet would be raised up for them of the Circumcision, our Lord and Saviour, being Himself the One foretold, rightly said:

"I am not come but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." "And He commanded His apostles saying, Go not into the road of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not, but rather go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel";

shewing clearly that He was primarily sent to them as the prophecy required. But when they would not receive His grace, He reproves them elsewhere, saying, "For I came, and there was no man, I called and there was none that heard." And He says to them, "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you, and shall be given to a nation bearing the fruits of it." And He bids His own disciples after their rejection, "Go ye and make disciples of all nations in my name." So, then, we that are the Gentiles know and receive the prophet that was foretold, and sent by His Father, as being Lawgiver to all men of the religion of the God of the Universe, through His saving Gospel teaching, that other prediction being fulfilled at the same time which says, "Set, Lord, a Lawgiver over them, let the Gentiles know themselves to be men," while the Jewish nation, not receiving Him that was foretold, has paid the fit penalty according to the divine prediction which said, "And the man who will not hear all things whatsoever the prophet shall speak in My Name, I will exact vengeance on him." Surely He has avenged on that people all the blood poured out on the earth, from the blood of Abel to the blood of

Zechariah, yea, even to crown all to the Christ Himself, Whose blood they called down not only on themselves but on their children, and even now they pay the penalty of their presumptuous sin.

CHAPTER 12

From Job.

Of Christ walking on the Sea.

[Passage quoted, Job ix. 7.]

(b) THESE words also can only apply to our Lord and Saviour, as the Creator of the Universe, God's Word. For He is the only One ever said to have walked on the sea, which He did when Incarnate, having taken the body and form of man, when He —

“22. constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him unto the other side, while he sent the multitudes away. 23. And when he had sent the multitudes away, he went up into a mountain apart to pray: and when the evening was come he was there alone. 24. But the ship was now in the midst of the (c) sea. ... 26. And when the disciples saw him walking on the sea they were troubled, saying, It is a spirit; and they cried out for fear. 27. But straightway he spake unto them saying, Be of good cheer: It is I; be not afraid.”

Now it would not appear to agree with orthodox theology to understand the oracle as referring to God Most High and the Father of the Universe. For what reverence or propriety is there in talking of the God of the Universe walking on the sea? How could He be thought to walk on the sea Who includes all things, and fills heaven and earth, and says, “The heaven is my throne and the earth my footstool?” And “I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord?” But our Lord and Saviour “emptied himself and took the form of a slave, and being found in fashion as a man,” offering a proof to His disciples of His Divine Power which eluded the multitude, is described as having walked on the waves of the sea, and to have rebuked the storm and the winds, when they who saw Him were astonished and said, “What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him? “And this was a symbol of something greater, that other spiritual sea, in which a dragon is said to have been made to be mocked by the angels of God, on which also our Lord and Saviour walked and is said to have crushed the head of the dragon (447) therein and of the other subject dragons, according to the words, “Thou hast bruised the heads of the dragons in the water, and thou hast bruised the heads of the dragon”: clearly of another spiritual sea of which He says again in the Psalms, “I went

into the depths of the sea.” And recounting to Job the things concerning himself:

“ Hast thou gone to the spring of the sea, and hast thou walked in the steps of the depth? The gates of (b) death did they open to thee in fear, and did the porters of Hades fear when they saw thee?”

Thus when He walked on the sea in our human life, and rebuked the winds and the waves, He performed a natural symbolism of something unspeakable.

CHAPTER 13

From Isaiah.

Of the Miracles He Performed.

[Passage quoted, Isa. xxxv. 3.]

Now we have this prophecy fulfilled in the Gospels, partly, when they brought to our Lord and Saviour a paralytic lying on a bed, whom He made whole with a word; and partly, when many that were blind and possessed with (d) daemons, yea, labouring under various diseases and weaknesses, were released from their sufferings by His saving power. Nor should we forget how even now throughout the whole world multitudes bound by all forms of evil, full of ignorance of Almighty God in their souls, are healed and cured miraculously and beyond all argument by the medicine of His teaching. Except that now we call Him God as we should, as One Who can work thus, as I have already shewn in the evidence of His Divinity. Yea, surely (448) it is right now to acknowledge Him to be God, since He has given proof of power divine and truly inspired.

For it was specifically God's work to give strength to the paralysed, to give life to the dead, to supply health to the sick, to open the eyes of the blind, to restore the lame, and to make the tongue-tied speak plain, all of which things were done by our Saviour Jesus Christ, because He was God, and they have been witnessed to by many throughout (b) all the world that preach Him — whose evidence unvarnished and veritable is confirmed by trial of torture, and by persistence even unto death, which they have shewn forth before kings and rulers and all nations, witnessing to the truth of what they preach. And I think that the spirit of prophecy addresses to these apostles and evangelists the words that begin with, "Lift up the hands that hang down, and the palsied knees." For when they had grown weary (c) in their hands and powers of action, in their feet and walking with the long circuit of Mosaic observance, He awaked them to the life of the Gospel, and said, "Be strong, ye hands that hang down, and feeble knees," to prepare them, that is to say, for the Gospel race. And be strong, too, to encourage others, and to urge them to cling to the salvation of the Gospel, ye that before were low in spirit, and let not any fear take you of them that oppose the Gospel preaching, but against them be strong and of a good courage.

For it is God and the Word of God, not one like Moses or the prophets, that was not only the Worker of the Miracles, but is also the Cause of your own strength. And the strongest confirmation of the Divine Power of the Saviour here foretold, by which He really used to cure the lame, the blind, the lepers and the palsied with a word according to that which is written concerning Him, is the power even now energizing through the whole world from His Godhead, by which is shewn to them that can see what He was while on earth, since after so many years His proclamation of the Word of God is seen to last on invincible and true, overcoming all that have attempted from the beginning until now to withstand His teaching; He attracts to Himself great multitudes from all the world, and releases them that come to Him from all kinds of evil and diseases and troubles of the spirit; He summons to His holy school all races, Greek and Barbarian; He leads countless hosts to the knowledge of the one true God, and to a healthy and pure life, as befits those who promise to worship Almighty God. And He our God, since He is the Word of God, it says, "Gives judgment and will give, He will come and save us." For, according to the Psalm which says, "Give the King thy judgment, O God," and, according to the Gospel teaching, in which it is said, "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son," having received the authority to judge from the Father, judging in righteousness, He repays justly to the Jewish people the fit penalty for their presumptuous treatment of Him and His prophets, and ever saves in justice as well those who come to Him, whose spiritual ears and eyes He has opened. Wherefore the divine word calls the time of His Appearance the time of retribution, saying elsewhere, "Call on the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of retribution." This was the time of retribution in which all the blood poured out from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, yea, even to the precious Blood of Jesus, was required of the generation of them that had sinned against Him, so that from that time they underwent utter destruction and their final siege. And the judgment declared against them wrought this retribution; wherefore the prophecy says, "Behold our God exacts judgment, and will repay." And the judgment on them that shall be saved by Him is foretold next in the words, "He will come and save us; then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf hear," and that which follows. And another prophecy also promises that the Christ will bring this saving (450) judgment, saying:

“Behold my Son, I will succour him, my chosen, my Spirit hath accepted him, he shall bear judgment to the nations.”

Wherefore it is also said concerning the Word of the new covenant:

“For out of Zion shall come forth a law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he shall judge in the midst of the nations.”

For there is little doubt that He effects the calling of them that turn to Him with divine justice and ineffable counsels. And, moreover, as teaching us of the divine judgment, and instructing us always to act as under judgment, He is said “to bear judgment to the nations.”

CHAPTER 11

From the same.

Of the Signs and Wonders which He worked.

[Passage quoted, Isa. viii. 16-20 a.]

IN the Epistle to the Hebrews, the apostle, quoting the (d) above passage, "Behold, I and the children which God has given me," expounds it of the Christ, saying, "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death."

And here the prophet calls God's children the Apostles, through whom he teaches that the Lord of Sabaoth, Who dwells in Mount Zion, will do signs and wonders in the house of Jacob, and that they will be manifest if sealed, as is our custom, with the seal of Christ on their foreheads, and taught no more to learn the Law of Moses, since it stands no longer, and since that which is called the house of Jacob is deserted by God.

This is rendered obscurely in the Septuagint:

"Then they shall be manifest who seal up the law, so (451) as not to learn. And he will say, I await God, who turns his face away from the house of Jacob, and I will trust in him."

Symmachus translates more clearly, thus:

"Bind the testimony, seal the law in my ordinances. And I will expect the Lord that hides his face from the house of Jacob, and I will await him."

And Aquila also translates in this way:

"Bind up the witness, seal the law in my teachings. And I will expect God that hideth his face from the house of Jacob, and I will await him."

This, then, the apostles of our Saviour are taught to do. (b) And He proceeds to say to them:

"Behold, I and the children, which God has given me. And they shall be for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord of Sabaoth who dwells in Mount Sion."

And the Lord of Sabaoth, the Word of God dwelling in the Humanity He has taken, and sojourning in Mount Zion, working signs and wonders, commands both His disciples and all those that believe on Him, sprung from all those who before were idolaters, to fear idolatrous error no longer: (c)

therefore if idolaters of the Gentiles would sap their foundations and induce them to inquire of pythons and the daemon oracles, as if they were equal to the prophetic inspiration of inspired and godly men, they ought to answer and say, “Wherefore do they inquire of the dead concerning the living? For he has given a law for succour,” and the rest of the passage. For they that have once taken the law and the commandments of salvation for succour and help (d) in their individual life have little need to trouble themselves about the prophecy that springs from daemonic deceit.

CHAPTER 15

From the same.

Concerning Christs Reticence about His Miracles. (452)

[Passage quoted, Isa. xlii. 1-7.]

THE Evangelist alludes to this passage, when the Pharisees went out and took counsel against our Saviour to put Him (c) to death, when He healed the sick on the Sabbath day. But Jesus, knowing, as He says, this conspiracy against Him, departed thence, and great multitudes followed Him, and He healed them all, and He straitly charged them that they should not make Him known. And lie adds to this the words, “All this was done” (that is to say His departure, and His yielding to those that plotted, and His effort to escape notice in the miracles that He did, and His pledging those that were healed not to make Him known), in order that what was said by the prophet might be fulfilled, when He said:

“Behold, my son, in whom I am well pleased, my beloved in whom my soul delighteth; I will put my spirit upon him, and he shall bear forth judgment to the Gentiles; he shall not strive nor cry, neither shall his (d) voice be heard in the streets. A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, until he bring forth judgment to victory, and on his name shall the Gentiles trust.”

Notice carefully how Matthew, when he says, “Behold my son, in whom I am well pleased, my beloved in whom my soul delighteth,” mentions neither Jacob nor Israel. He does not say, “Jacob my son and Israel my beloved,” but simply “Behold, my son and my beloved.” Hence the names of Jacob and Israel are obelized in the Septuagint, as if the prophecy were not in the Hebrew. And it is silently omitted by the other translators, as it is not found in the Hebrew. And thus it is not inserted by the Evangelist, (453) who was a Hebrew, and followed the Hebrew text in his quotation. Therefore the prophecy does not apply either actually or figuratively to the Jews, but only to the Christ of God, to Whom the clear evidence and the results bear witness. For He alone prophesied the future judgment to the Gentiles, quietly sojourning in human life, and setting judgment on the earth. And not only did He not break the bruised (b) reed, but so to say bound it up, setting up and strengthening the weak and the bruised in heart. And just as He did not

neglect the sick and corrupt, who needed His medicine, nor bruise the repentant with hard judgment, so He did not quench them that continued in evil, and were smoking under the fire of passion, by preventing their following their own choice, nor did He punish any of (c) them before the time, reserving the time of their due chastisement for the general Judgment: therefore it is said, “And the smoking flax He shall not quench.”

The words, “And in his name shall the Gentiles trust,” have also been exactly fulfilled. For the nations of Christians trust only in the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and are marked with His Name as that of the Father of the religion with which they are associated. For it was foretold that He should be given for a Light to none but the Gentiles. And by Him in accordance with the prediction, the eyes of the blind — those that had long been impaired in understanding, and not only of these but of (d) those who had lost their very bodies, and those who before were involved, bound and chained in sin, in darkness and ignorance of true religion, by Him freed from their sins — were accounted worthy of the light of knowledge and of the freedom of God. And if you at your leisure test the rest of the passage, as I have so far done, you will find each one of its predictions fulfilled in our Lord and Saviour, and in Him alone.

CHAPTER 16

(454) *From the same.*

Of the Disbelief of the Jewish People in Him.

[Passages quoted, Isa. vi. i; 8-10.]

THIS, too, is fulfilled in our Saviour, according to John, when he says:

“37. But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: 38. That the (c) saying of Esaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he spake, Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?” 39. Therefore they could not believe, because that Esaias said again, 40. He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. 41. These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him.”

Or according to Matthew:

“10. And the disciples came and said to him, Why (d) speaketh thou unto them in parables? 11. He answered and said unto them, Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given ... 13. Therefore speak I unto them in parables, because they seeing see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand . . . 15. lest they should be converted, and I should heal them.”

Then was fulfilled in them the prophecy of Isaiah which said, “Go and say to this people, Hearing ye shall hear, and not understand,” and that which follows. Notice how S. John proceeds saying, “These things said Esaias, when he saw his glory, and spake of him.” As the prophet had seen the Christ and the glory of Christ in the vision in (455) which he said, “I saw the Lord of Sabaoth sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up,” and that which follows. And who would not be struck by the prophecy, seeing so clearly even now the unbelief of the Jews? Even so of old, when they saw Him Incarnate and working miracles among them, they did not behold Him with the eyes of their soul and with understanding vision, nor had they any vision of spiritual inspiration, so as to understand what power it was that worked so wondrously and so prodigally among them. Yes, they who were counted worthy to receive with (b) their eyes the words of eternal life, and listened to the voice of divine wisdom, did not hear with the ears of their understanding, and so made

themselves an evident fulfilment of the prophecy. And even until now, though the power of Christ, by which every race of mankind, divorced from its ancestral superstition, is being led to the Christian religion, is so obvious to them, yet they do not regard it with their understanding, nor consider that what neither Moses nor his successors among the prophets achieved has been brought to pass by these alone, namely, to give up idolatry and pay no heed to polytheistic error, which has (c) been accomplished among all nations by the power of our Saviour. And so when they read the witness of the prophets concerning Him, they hear with their ears and do not understand, and the prophecy before us is literally even now fulfilled against them.

CHAPTER 17

From Zechariah.

How it is foretold that He should ride into Jerusalem on a Colt.

[Passage quoted, Zech. ix. 9, 10]

As Zechariah prophesied thus after the Return from Babylon towards the conclusion of prophecy, there is no record of a Jewish king, such as the prophecy predicts, (456) except our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in Whom this prediction was fulfilled, when He literally said to His disciples:

“Go ye into the village over against you, and ye shall find an ass tied and a colt with her; loose them (b) and bring them unto me. And if any man say, What do ye? ye shall say to him, The Lord hath need of them. And they went and did as he commanded them.”

Such, then, was the prophecy and such the fulfilment. But what was His riding on an ass meant to shew forth but the lowly and humble manner which marked His first Coming? For the second Coming shall be glorious, that of which Daniel speaks unfolding and revealing his vision:

“9. I saw until the thrones were set, and the Ancient (c) of Days did sit. Thousand thousands ministered to him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. 13. And, behold, one as a son of man coming with the clouds of heaven. And he came even to the Ancient of Days, 14. and there was given to him rule and honour and a kingdom, and all peoples, tribes, and tongues serve him. His power is an everlasting power, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed.”

(d) But the first Coming of His Incarnation and humiliation has this great symbol and sign among others, the prophecy that He should be called meek and gentle, and that He should come sitting upon an ass. For this is a proof of His sharing our humanity. Whereas the glory of His second divine Coming is shewn by His being borne on the clouds of heaven, and His eternal rule over all nations. And it is reasonable to quote them both to the Jews, and to ask them to explain how they can save the credit of the prophecies, if they confine them to a reference to a single Coming of Christ: for if they both refer to Christ, as they agree, they are bound to tell us when we ask them, how it is possible for the same person at the same coming to be (457) borne upon the clouds of heaven, and also to ride on an ass and a young colt: for these two

things are very different. And if you collect the many similar prophecies concerning Christ, and compare their differences side by side, you will decide that some of them refer to His first Coming, being fulfilled at His first Epiphany, while others apply to His second Coming in glory.

For He utterly destroyed by His Divine Power the chariots and horses and weapons of war at His first Coming from the material Jerusalem and the people of Ephraim: (b) where-fore from that day to this their kingdom has never existed, nor their ancient powerful military array or warlike power. And all the Jewish people are here well called Ephraim, not Israel or Judah, so as not to bring into dishonour names of more dignity. And you will find that other prophets call the whole people Ephraim, when charging and accusing them of great crimes, as here. For after the return from (c) Babylon, when the former division of the people had ceased, who are more likely to be meant by Ephraim than the actual inhabitants of Jerusalem? And it was their warlike and military power, that had lasted until Roman times, that our Saviour's Coming destroyed with divine secret power, as the prophecy foretold.

The oracle also calls here on the Church of the Gentiles, not simply to rejoice, But to rejoice greatly, in its message of good news, because of the coming of the Word of God (d) to her; and it calls her the daughter of the heavenly Zion and of the former congregation, because all we that are Gentiles, who believe in Christ, are the offspring and children of Christ and His Apostles, as they whose mother is the Jewish synagogue: and that which follows was also fulfilled at our Saviour's Coming. For unexampled peace has filled all nations from the time of His coming: no longer do states war with states as before, nor nations contend with nations, nor is human life as of old in a state of constant disturbance; Athenians do not attack (458) Lacedaemonians, Syrians Phoenicians, Arabians the inhabitants of Palestine, nor the Egyptians their neighbours. All have been united from that time by God's help, and it is true that there has been "abundance of peace" among the nations from that day to this, according to the prophecy. Jesus alone, and the word of Gospel teaching preached by Him, have ruled men from sea to sea, from the east to the setting sun. and from the rivers to the bounds of the earth, (b) as the prophecy foretold.

Aquila's rendering of this is as follows:

"He shall speak peace among the nations, and his power shall be from sea

to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth.”

Compare with this what occurs in the Psalm, inscribed “To Solomon, of the King’s Son,” that is to say, of Him that will spring from Solomon’s seed, of Whom the Psalm (c) says, “And he shall rule from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the world.” And the same Psalm refers to the peace here described, when it says, “In his days righteousness shall arise, and abundance of peace.” Isaiah, too, agrees with this when he says, “And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their lances into (d) pruning-hooks; nation shall not take up sword against nation, and they shall not learn war any more.” You will find Micah in agreement with this, and many other prophets. And if you note, as I said, the dates, you will be able to appreciate that from the time of Augustus, and of the Epiphany of our Saviour that shone forth in his day, during the period of the Roman Empire the old dissensions and varieties of national government have ceased, and thus from that date the peace of the prophecy began. Just as it then began, a day will come when the prophecy will be fulfilled in all its fullness, when, as the apostle says, “the fullness of the Gentiles shall come in.”

(459)

CHAPTER 18

From Psalm cxvii.

Of the Cry, Hosanna to the Son of David.

[Passage quoted, Ps. cxvii. 22-27.]

WHEN our Saviour Jesus Christ entered Jerusalem, riding on an ass according to the previous prophecy, He fulfilled the prediction of Zechariah, for as the Holy Evangelist tells us, the crowds that went before and followed Him cried, saying, “Hosanna to the Son of David, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest.” (c) And when He entered Jerusalem, “All the city was moved, saying, Who is this? And the multitudes said, This is the prophet Jesus, from Nazareth of Galilee.” As, therefore, Hosanna is said in the Psalm we are considering, which is translated “Save us now,” and the Hebrew has “Lord, save us,” and the words, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,” are taken from the same Psalm, and these words can only refer to the Christ of God, we naturally apply the rest of the prediction to Him. For He is blessed, (d) Who is named by another prophet, “He that cometh,” in the passage, “Yet a little while, and he that cometh will come, and will not tarry,” Who also came in the Name of the Lord God His Father. And He is the Lord God that appeared for us. For He insists that He has come in the Name of His Father when He says to the Jews, “I have come in my Father’s Name, and ye receive me not. If another come in his own name, him ye will receive.” He, then, that appeared for us, the Lord God, the Blessed, He that cometh in the Name of the Lord, was also the stone, (460) which they who of old built up the people on the foundation of the Mosaic teaching, set at naught, and which, set at naught by them, is become the head of the corner of the Church of the Gentiles, which the oracle says is wonderful, not to all that look on it, but only to the eyes of prophets, when it says, “And it is wonderful in our eyes.”

And it calls His Epiphany also “the day which the Lord hath made,” for He was the true Light, and the Sun of Righteousness, and the Day of God, in which we may also (b) say, “This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it.”

Now that this part is thus concluded, I will proceed to consider the prophecies concerning the Passion.

BOOK X

INTRODUCTION

(461) HAVING considered the passages that predict the Coming among men of the God that was foretold, we are now called to expound those that refer to His departure from this life, and to study what the prophets said would (462) happen to Him from the earliest days of prophecy. And I will begin by expounding those which have to do with the men that plotted His Death, which will occupy no small part of the present Book.

But before beginning my argument let me repeat what I have often said about the dispensation of Christ, that we must strictly distinguish what belongs to His Divinity from what belongs to His Humanity. As Divine we recognize Him as the Word of God, the Power of God, the Wisdom of God, the Angel of Great Counsel, and the Great Eternal High Priest, offering sacrifice for the existence and preservation of all, and propitiating the Father. (b) And as Human we know Him as the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, and as a sheep led to the slaughter. And this was the human body, which as a high priest He took like a lamb or sheep from the flock of humanity, and offering the firstfruits of the human (c) race, sacrificed them to the Father. By it He entered into human nature, which could only thus perceive the Word of God, and His spiritual unembodied power, being able with eyes of flesh to see nothing higher than flesh and physical things. So that everything that follows, which may seem to lower His glory, must be taken as conceived of the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world, and of His human body.

For He was the Lamb that takes away sin, according to John the Baptist, when he said: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world," and He was the Lamb led to the slaughter in the oracle of Isaiah, which said: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before her shearers is dumb." And of Him as of a lamb was it said: "For the sins of my people he was led to death." For it was necessary that the Lamb of God, taken by the great High-Priest on behalf of the other kindred lambs, for all the flock of mankind, should be offered as a sacrifice to God: "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead," says the apostle; "and as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto

justification of life.” Hence, also, He taught His disciples that He was life and light and truth, and the other conceptions of His Divinity, whereas to them that were not initiated into the secrets of His nature, He said: “Why do ye seek to kill me, a man that has told you the truth?”

As then in what has gone before I have dealt with what specially concerns His Divinity, so now in like manner I will shew the human sufferings of the Lamb of God, since what occurred before His Passion lies between the two, partaking both of the nature of His Divinity and His Humanity. With this necessary proviso, let us now consider the oracles which concern the traitor Judas, and his fellow-conspirators against Christ, and the events at the time of His Passion.

CHAPTER 1

From Psalm xl.

Of Judas the Traitor; and His Fellow-Conspirators against Christ.

[Passage quoted, Ps. xl. 1-12.] (464)

As it has been supposed by some that the Book of Psalms merely consists of hymns to God and sacred songs, and that we shall look in vain in it for predictions and prophecies of the future, let us realize distinctly that it contains many prophecies, far too many to be quoted now, and it must suffice for proof of what I say to make use of two Psalms ascribed to Asaph, written in the time of David. For Asaph was one of the Temple Musicians then, as is stated in the Book of Chronicles, and was inspired by the Divine Spirit to speak the Psalms inscribed with his name. And what do these Psalms include? Predictions of the siege of Jerusalem, the royal city of the Jewish race, which took place nearly five hundred years after the prediction. For we read in the 73rd Psalm, inscribed “A Psalm of understanding for Asaph”:

“Wherefore hast thou rejected us, O God, for ever? | Wherefore is thy wrath kindled against the sheep of thy pasture? | 2. Remember thy congregation, which thou hast possessed of old, | and hast ransomed as the rod of thy inheritance; | this Mount Zion wherein thou hast dwelt. | 3. Lift up thine hands against their pride unto the end: what things hath the enemy done evilly in thy sanctuaries, | 4. and they that hate thee have boasted in the midst of thy Feast: | 5. they have set up their banners for signs, ignorantly as it were in the entrance above. | They cut down its doors at once with axes as in a wood of trees, | they have broken it down with hatchet and stone-cutter. | 7. They have burnt thy sanctuary to the ground with fire, | and have profaned even with the ground the dwelling-place of thy name.”

This is in Psalm lxxiii.; and Psalm lxxviii. of Asaph contains this:

“O God, the Gentiles have entered into thine inheritance, and defiled thy holy temple; they have made Jerusalem a store-house of fruits, they have given the dead bodies of thy servants to be meat for the birds of the air, the flesh of thy saints to the beasts of the fields.”

The first of these passages, I mean the one from Psalm lxxiii., was spoken in David’s reign before the building of (465). Solomon’s Temple, and it was only fulfilled the first time by the siege by the Babylonians, and the second

time in the Roman war against the Jews. For what was predicted and proclaimed in the said Psalms by Asaph was brought to pass in the destruction of the first and second Temples. And the second passage, from Psalm lxxviii., was fulfilled in the time of Antiochus, called Epiphanes, who being King of Syria entered Jerusalem, polluted the Temple, destroyed (b) the Altar, and in his endeavour to compel the Jews to hellenize, slew countless men and women who were martyrs for their law and their father's religion, and he inflicted all sorts of punishments on them. It was therefore to that time, and to Antiochus' successors who emulated his deeds, that Asaph's prophecies in Psalm lxxviii. refer. And the Book of those called Maccabees confirms what I say, which has this passage:

"And to Jakeimon and Bacchides there came a (c) deputation of scribes asking for justice." And it proceeds to say: "And he swore to them saying, We will not bring evil on yourselves and your friends. And they believed him. And he took of them sixty men and slew them in one day, according to the word of Asaph, which he wrote, They gave the dead bodies of thy servants to be meat for the birds of the air, and the flesh of thy saints to the beasts of the land, their (d) blood have they poured out like water on every side of Jerusalem, and there was no man to bury them."

If these events were thus predicted and fulfilled, it is not surprising that in the same way the oracle quoted from Psalm xl. should announce what would happen in connection with the plot on our Saviour, though not all men should understand, that He being the Word of God, Wisdom, Life, and the True Light, and possessing all the wealth of the good, for our sakes became poor, taking our flesh, and being made like in kind to mortal man and beggars, taking on Him the form of a slave and a poor man, and most of all when He fulfilled the Psalmist's prophecy. He that understands these sayings to refer to Himself, naturally is blessed at the beginning of the Psalm, as receiving the written promise.

(466) So it proceeds in the rest to speak in the person of a poor man and a beggar, that is to say of our Saviour Who for our sakes became poor: "I said, Lord, have mercy on me." And John, the Evangelist, is an independent witness that the words of this Psalm are spoken in the Person of our Saviour. For he records, that:

"Jesus once took a towel and girded himself, and washed the feet of his

disciples and said, I know whom I have chosen. But that the Scripture may be fulfilled, He that eateth with me, the same hath lifted his heel against me.”

For He made it clear there that the Scripture referred (b) to was the Psalm before us, in which it is said: “For the man of my peace, in whom I trusted, he that ate of my bread hath raised his heel against me.” He it is, then, Who says at the beginning: “I said, Lord, have pity on me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee,” and speaks through the whole Psalm. Symmachus gives a clearer rendering of these words, as follows:

“When I said, O Lord, have pity on me, heal my soul, even if I have sinned against thee, my enemies have spoken evil against me, when shall he die and (c) his name perish? And when he comes to gaze on me his heart speaks vanity, it gathers unrighteousness on itself: and when he goes out he tells it. All they that hate me have whispered against me with one consent, conceiving evil concerning me. An unrighteous word is poured out within them, and when he fall may he never rise up. Yea, even the man who was at peace with me, in whom I trusted, who did eat of my bread, has magnified himself against me accordingly. But thou, O Lord, pity me, and raise (d) me, that I may reward them. By this I shall know that thou wishest it, if my enemy does not revile me. Thou hast defended me because of my innocence, and shall set me before thee for ever.”

And Aquila is in exact agreement with Symmachus. With regard first to the words which are apparently said in the Person of our Saviour: “Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee,” you will notice in Symmachus they are not so rendered, but thus: “Heal my soul, even if I have sinned against thee.” And He speaks thus, since He shares our sins. So it is said: “And the Lord hath laid on him our iniquities, and he bears our sins.” Thus the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world, (467) became a curse on our behalf:

“Whom, though he knew no sin, God made sin for our sake, giving him as redemption for all, that we might become the righteousness of God in him.”

But since being in the likeness of sinful flesh He condemned sin in the flesh, the words quoted are rightly used. And in that He made our sins His own from His love and benevolence towards us, He says these words, adding further on in the same Psalm: “Thou hast (b) protected me because of my innocence,” clearly shewing the impeccability of the Lamb of God. And how can He make our sins His own, and be said to bear our iniquities, except by

our being regarded as His body, according to the apostle, who says: “Now ye are the body of Christ, and severally members?” And by the rule that “if one member suffer all the members suffer with it,” so when the many members suffer and sin, He too by the laws of (c) sympathy (since the Word of God was pleased to take the form of a slave and to be knit into the common tabernacle of us all) takes into Himself the labours of the suffering members, and makes our sicknesses His, and suffers all our woes and labours by the laws of love. And the Lamb of God not only did this, but was chastised on our behalf, (d) and suffered a penalty He did not owe, but which we owed because of the multitude of our sins; and so He became the cause of the forgiveness of our sins, because He received death for us, and transferred to Himself the scourging, the insults, and the dishonour, which were due to us, and drew down on Himself the apportioned curse, being made a curse for us. And what is that but the price of our souls? And so the oracle says in our person: “By his stripes we were healed,” and “The Lord delivered him for our sins,” with the result that uniting Himself to us and us to Himself, and appropriating our sufferings, He can say, “I said, Lord, have mercy on me, heal my soul, (468) for I have sinned against thee,” and can cry that they who plot against Him, not men only but invisible daemons as well, when they see the surpassing power of His Holy Name and title, by means of which He filled the world full of Christians a little after, think that they will be able to extinguish it, if they plot His death. This is what is proved by His saying: “My enemies have spoken evil of me, saying, When shall he die and his name perish?”

And since they attacked Him with the words of guile, attempting to entangle Him, as Holy Writ bears witness, (b) telling us how different charges and accusations were engineered against Him at different times, He therefore adds: “And if he come to see me, his heart speaks vanity, he heaps unrighteousness on himself; he has gone out, and spoken the same against me.” After this, too, He clearly reveals the vile traitor himself, who, after making a covenant with the rulers of the Jews to betray his master, no more (c) went as he used to the school of His holy teaching, nor went as to His teacher, nor like the others passed His time with the Saviour, but awaited and hunted for an opportunity to lay hands on Him. For this is what he is accused of doing by the Holy Evangelists, of whom Matthew says:

“Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went unto the chief priests,

and said unto them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver. And from that time he sought an opportunity to betray him to them.”

(d) And Mark says:

“And Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went unto the chief priests, to betray him unto them. And when they heard it they were glad, and promised to give him money: and he sought how he might conveniently betray him.”

And Luke writes thus:

“And Satan entered into Judas that was called Iscariot, being of the number of the twelve, and he departed and spake with the chief priests and scribes, and the captains of the Temple, that he might betray him unto them, and they were glad, and covenanted to give him money. And he sought opportunity to betray him unto them apart from the multitude.”

So the prophecy before us prophesies the same things, when it says:

“And if he came to see me his heart spake vanity, he gathered iniquity on himself. He went out, and spake the same. Against me all my enemies whispered”;

where Symmachus renders:

“Coming in to spy on me, his heart spake vanity, he heaped unrighteousness upon it: and when he went out he spake against me. All they that hate me (469) whispered with one voice against me.”

Yes, for he alone went into his master as a friend and a disciple, to spy and search out, while he hid his plot in his own heart. And when he went out, he spake against Him (b) at once with many of the same mind, betraying the Saviour to His enemies, and secretly made a pact with the rulers of the Jews, about other things, but of course about money as well, for which he promised to betray Him, and about which he whispered with them. Wherefore it says:

“He went out and spake at once. All my enemies whispered against me, against me they imagined evils. They determined an evil plan against me.”

Perhaps the covenant for the money is meant by the “unjust word” of the prophecy, or perhaps the impious (c) and unjust intentions they had against Him, supposing that He would be extinguished and destroyed after death, and would no longer be reckoned among the living. For such is the meaning of: “When he sleepeth he shall surely never rise up again,” which Symmachus has expressed more clearly: “And falling he will not arise”; where Aquila

says: “And whosoever sleep, he shall not rise again.” So far it has spoken generally about all those who conspired (d) against Him at the time of His Passion; but it goes on now to speak of the traitor particularly, as of one of His disciples: “For the man of my peace also, in whom I trusted, who ate of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me.” Instead of which Symmachus again renders: “And a man, who was at peace with me, in whom I had confidence, who ate of my bread with me, hath magnified himself against me.” For of a truth it is the lowest and most accursed of men who after sharing a master’s table, and the nurture of his instruction, goes wrong and treats his benefactor in the opposite way to which he has been treated himself.

And since the enemies in their plotting said: “When shall he die, and his name perish?” and thought that if he lay down he would never rise up again, therefore (470) our Lord and Saviour praying for the reverse of this, and assured of an unhindered resurrection by His Father, says:

“Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up, and I will reward them. In this I know that thou hast favoured me, because my enemy shall not triumph over me.”

And it is quite clear how after His resurrection from the dead immediate judgment, that did not tarry, fell on the conspirators, so that death who was the enemy of His return to life was made ashamed, and they that mocked (b) Him said, “O death, where is thy sting? O death, where is thy victory? “And those who have read the history of the times after our Saviour’s resurrection, in Josephus, will remember what troubles fell on the Jews and their rulers, involved in which they received the right reward for what they did to Him. All this, then, that fell upon them was the fulfilment of the prophecy: but our Saviour’s Resurrection from the dead proved to all that in Him the Father was well pleased, as He tells us when He says:

(c) “Have mercy upon me, and raise me up, and I will reward them. By this I know thou hast favoured me, because my enemy doth not triumph over me.”

And notice how in pouring forth this prayer to His God and Father, with what confidence He witnesses boldly to His own sinlessness, although He had said before, “Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee.” But I have (d) already shewn that the words, “I have sinned against thee,” are not to be taken literally, and Symmachus interprets them more clearly when he says, “Heal my soul, even if I have sinned against thee,” as could well be said of our sins,

which our Lord and Saviour took upon Himself. Whereas the words, “Thou hast protected me for my innocence,” exhibit the absolute integrity of His nature, to which He traces in His teaching the stability and sureness of His life and His preservation after His Resurrection, when He adds, “Thou hast established me before thee for ever”: or, “And thou wilt establish me before thee for ever,” according to Symmachus.

CHAPTER 2

From Psalm liv. (471)

Also of Judas, and of them that with Him conspired against Christ.

[Passages quoted, Ps. liv. 2-5, 10-14.]

“2. HEAR my prayer, O God, | and do not despise my supplication. | 3. Attend to me and hearken to me: | I was grieved in my meditation, and troubled | 4. by the voice of the enemy, and by the affliction of the sinner. [For they brought iniquity against me, and (b) in wrath reviled me. | 5. My heart was troubled within me, and the fear of death fell upon me. | Fear and trembling came upon me, and darkness covered me.”

And that which follows, to which he adds:

“10. Destroy, O Lord, and divide their tongues, | for I have seen iniquity and strife in the city. | 11. Day and night it shall go round it upon its walls, | and iniquity and sorrow 12. and unrighteousness are in the midst of it, | and usury and craft have not left its streets, (c) 13. For if an enemy had reproached me, I would have borne it: | And if he that hated me had magnified himself against me, I would have hid myself from him: | 14. but it was even thou, O man like-minded, my guide, and my friend, | who in companionship with me sweetened my food: | we walked in the house of God in unity.” (d)

The words:

“If an enemy had reproached me, I could have borne it, and if he that hated me had magnified himself against me, I would have hid myself from him: but it was even thou, O man like-minded, my guide and my friend, who in companionship with me sweetened my food,”

resemble — — “For the man of my peace, in whom I trusted, he that ate of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me,” said of Judas in the previous prophecy. As then there he was shewn to be a man of peace, when he was the Saviour’s disciple and numbered among the apostles, so here he is called like-minded, His guide and His friend. And as there it was said of him, “He that eateth with me hath lifted up his heel against me,” so also here it is said to the same person, “Who in companionship with me sweetened my food.” Yea, for he was privileged to be one of them that partook of the secret companionship and spiritual food that (472) our Saviour gave His disciples. For to the crowds and multitudes without He spoke in parables, but only to His disciples, of

whom Judas was reckoned one, did He unfold all things. So it is said, "He that ate my bread hath lifted up his heel against me," and, "who in companionship sweetened my bread." This Aquila interprets more clearly, "We together (b) supped sweetly on mysteries," and Symmachus, "We joined together in sweet companionship." And instead of, "Thou, O man like-minded, my guide and friend," Symmachus renders, "Thou, O man of like disposition, my guide and my friend." Now if he was privileged to stand so high among the friends of our Saviour, His words about him are natural, "If an enemy had reviled me, I would have borne it," and that which follows.

Then after this prophecy about Judas, He proceeds to foretell His own preservation and escape from death, in the words:

"I cried unto God, and the Lord saved me. At evening and morning and at noon I will tell and proclaim, and he shall hear my voice, and shall ransom my soul in peace."

(c) Thus in prayer He speaks of the time before His death during which Judas hatched his treachery against Him. And it was then that our Lord and Saviour, as one who mourned for the destruction and ruin of His friend, and still more for the casting away of the whole Jewish race, as if in sympathy with friends gone mad who were very dear to Him, calls all His union with (hem and instruction of them wasted, in that it has profited them nothing, saying:

"I was grieved with my wasted efforts, and I was moved by the voice of the enemy, and by the affliction of the sinner. For they fell," He says, "into iniquity, and reviled me in anger."

This may either be referred to the Jewish rulers, who (d) attempted to catch Him with enmity and conspiracy, or it may have been spoken of the invisible powers that fought against Him from without, and inspired the plot that was carried through by men. And this I think agrees with His words in the Gospels at the time of the Passion, when He says to His disciples: "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me." And again, "Now is my soul troubled." The words of the Psalm are similar to those, where it said: "My heart is moved within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon (473) me; Fear and trembling have come upon me, and darkness hath covered me," in which He reveals the attacks of the opposing powers upon Him. As then in the prophets a certain "spirit of adultery" is named, *e.g.*

“They were deceived by a spirit of adultery” and “the spirit of error in the wilderness,” so also the spirit of death would cause fear, just as the spirit of strength would be the source of power and divine bravery. So we should call it “the (b) spirit of fear and trembling,” and, indeed, “the spirit of fear and confusion “as well, which usually comes on nearly all that die as martyrs for their religion, and much more would be laid on Him that underwent death for all. But whether it was the spirit of fear and of death, or of fear and trembling, or any other like power that fell upon Him, at any rate it did not break Him down, for He, like a noble athlete, threw (c) far from Him the fear of death by His assurance of life, for He is the Life. And so He drove far off the spirit of fear and trembling which attacked Him by the power of the spirit of bravery, might, and strength. For according to Isaiah, “There rested on Him (together with the other spirits), the spirit of counsel and strength.” So, too, He puts to flight the spirit of darkness by the power of His own light. For, “The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not.” You will find similar passages (d) in Psalm xxi., where again, in His person, it is said, “Many oxen have come about me: fat bulls hemmed me in. They gaped upon me with their mouths, as a ramping and roaring lion.” And also, “Many dogs have encircled me, the council of the wicked-doers has surrounded me.” And once more:

“Save my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the power of the dog. Save me from the lion’s mouth, and my humility from the horns of the unicorns.”

Here He clearly calls the evil powers bulls and calves, lions, dogs and unicorns, who hemmed Him in and surrounded (474) Him at the time of His Passion, but were not able to do aught against Him. And this follows, only if these parts of the Psalm refer to our Lord and Saviour: but if they do not refer to Him, but to some one else, you must yourself reduce the passage to harmony. And immediately after the prediction of the conspiracy against Him, He continues also about the mother-city of the Jews, Jerusalem, and says, “I saw iniquity and strife in the city,” and that which (b) follows, the meaning of which there is no time now to expound.

CHAPTER 3

From Psalm cviii.

Still of Judas, and of the Apostle elected in His Room, and of the Jewish Nation.

[Passage quoted, Ps. cviii. 1-8.]

AND the Apostle Peter is a sufficient witness that this prophecy refers to the traitor Judas, when, after the Saviour's Ascension, all the apostles being gathered together with many of the brethren, he stood up in the midst, and said:

“Men and brethren, this Scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost spake before by the mouth of David concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry. Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known unto all the (475) dwellers at Jerusalem, insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood. For it is written in the Book of Psalms, Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein: and his bishopric let another take.”

Peter, then, in saying thus, suggested that another must be chosen in place of Judas, to fill up the deficient number of the twelve apostles, so that the prophecy might be fulfilled. And when the lot had been cast, it fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the twelve apostles. Since this was (b) thus fulfilled, it follows that the person who speaks in this Psalm can only be our Saviour, Who thought good to anticipate by the record of the Holy Spirit the very prayer that was sent up by Him to the Father at the time of His Passion, foretelling what would happen to Him in the future.

He says, then, “O God, pass not over my praise in silence,” praying that the instruction delivered by Him to His disciples and the praise of the new Covenant might not be lost in silence, but might live to the end of time. “The (c) mouth of the sinner and the mouth of the crafty “would have special application to Judas, who went to the Chief Priests and said to them:

“What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? And they covenanted with him for thirty pieces of silver. And from that time he sought

opportunity to betray him unto them.”

And after making this covenant against Him, he was one of those that sat down with Him at the Feast of the Passover, when our Saviour ——

“sat down with the twelve, and as they were eating, (d) said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me. And being very sorry they began to say unto him, Lord, is it I?”

Among whom was Judas, who opened that mouth of his, full of deceit and irony, and answered, “Is it I, Rabbi? “a crafty mouth indeed, with which he gave the signal to the conspirators against our Saviour, saying, “Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he.” And he fulfilled his words by acts, when he went to Jesus, and said to Him, “Hail, Rabbi, and kissed him.” And Jesus said to him, “Friend, wherefore art thou come?” and “Judas, betrayest thou the son of man with a kiss?” “So then in anticipation, he says by the Psalm:

“The mouth of the crafty is opened upon me. They have spoken against me with crafty tongue, and have encircled me with words of hatred, and have fought against me without a cause.”

Here He has in mind not only Judas, but the other conspirators against Him. For the Gospel relates, that even while the Saviour was still speaking to His disciples ——

“behold, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves from the chief priests and elders of the people! To whom the Lord said, Are ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves to take me? I sat daily with you teaching in the Temple, and ye laid no hold on me. But this is all come to pass, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled.”

And He says also in the Psalms: “Instead of loving me, they spake evil of me, but I continued to pray.” This, too, was fulfilled, when, as our Saviour prayed with the eleven apostles in the place called Gethsemane, and departed from them a little way, and knelt down to His Father, and prayed a second and a third time, Judas with the Rulers of the Jews matured his conspiracy, collecting and leading the multitude of them that were prepared to take Him with swords and staves.

And they did evil to Him instead of good, and gave Him hate in return for His love, when they were ill-disposed towards the Saviour, and Benefactor and Teacher, Who had given them such healing and treatment by His words

and teaching and all sorts of benefits. In return for which, since they did evil to Him instead of good, and gave Him hatred for love, He rightly adds:

“Set a sinner over him, and let Satan stand at his right hand. When he is judged let him go forth condemned, and let his prayer be turned into sin; let his days be few, and another take his office.”

And the holy apostle, applying this Scripture to the traitor, shewed clearly by anticipation what would be the end of these things. Now you yourself can see, how a sinful ruler and head was given to the Jewish race, after their presumptuous deeds against the Saviour, and how they were forced to serve strangers and idolaters instead of their ancient godly rulers. Who would not be struck by the (477) fulfilment of the prediction? For the oracle says, “Let his days be few,” and there is no doubt that the whole period after their plot against our Saviour was short, during which they appeared to abide, after which they underwent the siege and were utterly destroyed, and then another took office, namely the people founded by Christ.

And you will understand the rest of the Psalm in a similar (b) sense. The words that follow, spoken as of certain children of Judas, “Let his children be orphans,” and the like, may be referred primarily to Judas, and secondarily to all who like him betray the word of salvation. And you may understand in a similar way, his wife, and the sins of his father, and of the Jewish Synagogue, which is called his mother. For I think that this is meant by “let not the sin of his mother be done away.” But just as in the preceding (c) prophecy, our Lord and Saviour was called a beggar and a poor man, as I have pointed out in expounding, “Blessed is the man that considereth the poor and needy,” so in the present Psalm He is called by these names.

May such and such judgments fall on Judas, He says, and those who have like desires to his. What those judgments are He adds in these words:

“Because he remembered not to do mercy, and persecuted the poor and the beggar and the stricken in spirit even unto death. He loved cursing and it shall come to him; he wished not blessing, and it shall be far off from him.”

And a little lower down He again calls Himself a poor man (d) and a beggar, and says:

“And thou, Lord most high, have mercy on me, for thy name’s sake, for good is thy mercy. Save me, for I am poor and a beggar.”

And he adds after an interval:

“My knees were weak through fasting, and my flesh was changed for lack of oil, and I become a jest to them. They saw me, and shook their heads at me.” (478)

And all this was fulfilled, when “The passers-by reviled him, wagging their heads and saying, He saved others, himself he cannot save.” And since, even now, the Jews draw down the curse of their fathers upon themselves, and are wont with blasphemy and impious words to anathematize our Lord and Saviour and all that believe on Him, He goes on to say:

“They shall curse, hut thou wilt bless. May they that arise against me be ashamed, but thy servant shall rejoice. Let them who speak evil of me be clothed with shame, and be clothed in confusion as with a cloak. (b) But I will confess the Lord with my mouth, and amid many will I praise him, for he stood by the right hand of the poor, to save my soul from the persecutors.”

And it is quite clear, even now, to what evils they that invoke curses in their synagogues have grown accustomed, never at all being able to recover from those same times, while He offers to His Father in the midst of many nations the praise of His new Covenant, having the Father working with Him, Who sits at His own right hand. “Wherefore,” (c) He says, “in the midst of many will I praise him, for he stood at the right hand of the poor.” And He assures of His own preservation after death in the words: “To save my soul from the persecutors.” For after He had said above, “He persecuted the poor man and the beggar and him that was stricken in heart even unto death,” and had shewed forth His own death outlining the prophecy, He said figuratively, “For he stood at the right hand of the poor, to save his soul from the persecutors.”

CHAPTER 4

From Zechariah.

Still of Judas, and of the Money in Return for which He betrayed the Lord, and of the casting away of the Jewish Race, both Rulers and Ruled.

[Passage quoted, Zech. xi. 7b-14.] (479)

THIS was fulfilled when, according to Luke:

“Judas went away, and spoke with the chief priests (c) and scribes and captains of the Temple, that he might betray him unto them. And they were glad, and covenanted to give him money;”

or, according to Mark when, “he went to the chief priests to betray him; and they were glad and promised to give him money.” In each case it is simply money that is named. But in Matthew the amount is recorded, and it agrees with the quotation from Zechariah. For Matthew says:

“Then went one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, (d) to the chief priests, and said to them, What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you? and they weighed unto him thirty staters.”

And this agrees with, “And they weighed my price thirty pieces of silver,” spoken by the Lord in the prophecy.

And there is added to this, “And the Lord said to me, Drop them into the furnace, and see if it is good metal, as I was tested by them.” For which Aquila renders: “And the Lord said to me, Drop them into the furnace, cast them to the potter: very great is the price, at which I was valued by them.”

And notice how the Lord Himself confesses that a sum of (480) thirty pieces of silver was given for Him. The meaning of His words implies something like this: I the Lord from the very first day ceased not to give to you Jews proofs of My kindness, and in countless ways I did you good, not only through the earliest prophets, but also by My presence in moral teaching and spiritual education, in signs and wonders, and other miracles, and in cures and attentions: now you (b) that were privileged to receive such benefits, give My price or refuse it, demanding of them, it would seem, the fruits of holiness, and the proof of their faith in Him. But they, as the preceding quotation tells, instead of loving Me spoke evil of Me, and laid evil on Me instead of good, and hatred instead of My love, weighing out thirty pieces of silver, as if they valued at that price Him that was sold. But since the fire shall

try every man's work of what sort it is, He rightly bids them cast it into the furnace, adding, "As I was tested by them." Perhaps the House of God is here (c) called a Furnace. For the Lord says, according to the Septuagint, "Cast them into the Furnace," and adds, "And they cast them into the Furnace, the House of God"; while according to Aquila the Lord says, "Cast it, that is the money, to the potter," and adds, "And I cast it in the House of the Lord to the potter." According to Symmachus, the Lord says, "Cast it into the furnace," (d) and adds, "I cast it into the House of the Lord, into the Furnace." And was not this fulfilled when Judas ——

"3. that betrayed the Lord, seeing that he was condemned, repented and returned the money to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood? 4. And they said to him, What is that to us? see thou to that. 5. And he cast down the money in the Temple and went and hanged himself. 6. And the chief priests took the money and said, It is not lawful to put them in the treasury, for it is (481) the price of blood. 7. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potters' field to bury strangers in: 8. Wherefore that field is called the field of blood unto this day. 9. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value, 10. and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me."

But as this passage is not found in the prophecy of Jeremiah, you must consider whether it is to be supposed that they have been removed through any evil intention, or whether there has been an error in copying, through the mistake of some careless transcriber of the Holy Gospels, who wrote Jeremiah instead of Zechariah, where he ought to have copied, "Then was fulfilled that which was written by Zechariah the prophet," and instead of, "And they cast them into the house of the Lord, into the furnace," wrote in error, "And they bought with them the field of the potter." For the prophecy explicitly states that the money was cast into the Temple of the Lord, so does the Gospel: for, "Judas," it (c) says, "cast the money into the Temple, and departed." And perhaps it was through this money that the Temple was rendered profane, and the words, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate," were fulfilled. And you may well ask whether the House of God was called a Furnace, because it is there that the souls of men are fashioned as in a crucible by the fire of

divine teaching, or convicted of impurity, as if they were fired and tried in a furnace. Hence Aquila says, “I cast the money in the house of the (d) Lord to the potter,” clearly teaching that the Divine Word dwells like a potter in the House of the Lord, and moulds and renews the souls of them that enter.

But if the price of Him that was valued, there cast down rendered the House profane, it is natural for Him to proceed to say, “And I cast the second rod, the Rope, to break the covenant between Judah and Israel.”

For from that day the multitude of the nation was cut away from God’s ancient providential guardianship. And I suppose the second rod to mean the whole Jewish nation. It is therefore called a Rope in the words, “The one I called Beauty, and the other I called a Rope.” And he (482) proceeds to speak clearly of the second: “And I cast away the second rod, the Rope, to break my covenant between Judah and Israel.” For they were the Rope and the second rod. But the first rod, called Beauty, was Jerusalem itself, and the Mosaic Worship, and the whole of the old covenant. This is shewn by the prophecy, saying, “And I will take my rod of beauty, and I will cast it away, to break my covenant.” You see that it says that the first rod was the (b) Covenant, and the second rod the Rope, but He threatens to cast them both away, first saying, “And I will take for myself two rods, the one I called Beauty, and the other I called a Rope”; or with Symmachus, “The one I called (c) glory, and the other I called a Rope.” For thus he rightly styled the glory and beauty of the whole nation the divine Law, and the Covenant, which it included. For the solemnities of Jerusalem, and the high-priestly ritual, and all the ancient observances of the divine Law and old Covenant, were a fair glory to them that lived under their order. And the multitude of the nation is called a Rope by Moses, (d) when he says: “The portion of the Lord is His people Jacob, and Israel is the Rope of His inheritance.”

But here it is prophesied that there will be a complete change of the two rods at the time named, so that the ancient Covenant that was therein of old, and its ancient beauty being destroyed, and the Rope and the whole nation broken through, when they had valued for thirty pieces of silver Him that was valued, they should bear the fit dishonour for their impiety. It therefore says, “And I will take my rod of Beauty, and cast it away, and break my covenant.” And also, “And I cast away the second rod, the Rope.” (483) And when the prophecy goes on to say, “And I will take away three shepherds in one

month,” I think that it refers to the three divisions of the ancient leaders of the people of God — the King, the Prophet, and the High-Priest — for by those three shepherds all the affairs of the ancients were managed. But since those three offices were destroyed together in our Saviour’s time — (for their king reigned not in accordance with the Law, being a foreigner and not a member of the Jewish race; their high-priest was appointed to his office by the Romans, and did not attain his rank by the order of succession of the tribe, nor according to lawful (b) custom; and their prophets that had ceased until John arose were no longer active among them, but they had instead a wicked false prophet who led the people astray) — He rightly threatens that He will take away at one time the three offices of grace, that had of old adorned the whole nation with wondrous glory, and says, “And I will take away three shepherds in one month, and my heart shall be sorrowful for them.” For which Aquila renders, “And my soul was torn asunder for them,” Symmachus, “And my soul perished for them,” and Theodotion, “And my soul (c) perished about them.” And he gives the reason of the perishing of his soul, saying, “For their souls were hardened to me.” Instead of this Aquila has, “For their soul was strong in me”; and Symmachus, “And their soul reached its height in me.” And a similar expression to the words, “Their souls are hardened to me,” of the Septuagint, is found in Jeremiah as spoken by the Lord, namely:

“I have left my home, I have forsaken my inheritance, I have given my beloved soul into the hand of its enemies. My inheritance has become to me as a lion in a forest, it has opened on me its voice. Is not my (d) beloved now to me as a hyaena’s cave?”

And then He naturally goes on to say:

“I will not shepherd you, that which is dying may die, that which is failing may fail, and let the remnant eat each one the flesh of his neighbour.”

And after this He says, “I will take my rod of beauty and cast it away.” For which Aquila renders: “And I took my rod, the Glory, and cut it off,” meaning the Mosaic Worship. Thus the first rod mentioned in the beginning of the passage is said to be the first to be broken and cast away. But when the price of Him that was valued and the (484) money paid for Him to the traitor was cast into the House of the Lord as into a furnace, then we see what is prophesied will happen to the second rod, that is to say to the whole nation in the words, “And I cast away the second rod, the Rope, to break my covenant

between Judah and Israel.”

And as the oracle intended clearly their destruction by this, it naturally goes on to say that they shall no longer recognize the power of things prophesied, but the Canaanites will, when He says, “And the Canaanites shall know, my (b) sheep kept for me, because it is the Word of the Lord.” Who are meant by the Canaanites but ourselves, who once were foreigners, and sheep kept for Christ from all the old heathen and sinful nations? We that have been converted by His grace, and understanding the things prophesied, have received the true knowledge of the word of the Lord; yea, we Canaanites know and understand what was meant; but they that boasted of Israel, and gloried in being of the (c) seed of Abraham, neither knew nor understood.

CHAPTER 5

From Jeremiah.

Still of Judas, Who is named.

[Passage quoted, Jer. xvii. 1-4.]

THOUGH this passage is not found in the Septuagint, yet it is in the Hebrew and in the editions of the other translators, and is quoted with asterisks in the more accurate copies of the Septuagint. I have necessarily quoted it, (485) because it gives the name of the traitor Judas, and teaches that the sin he committed can never be wiped out. For this I think is implied by the words, “The sin of Judas is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond.” It could refer also to the whole Jewish nation, as a threat of the utter destruction that would overtake them in the immediate train of their indelible iniquity, an interpretation I have no time now to expound word by word, (b) And now that I have prepared the way by giving so many examples of prophecies concerning him that was to betray our Lord and Saviour, and those that conspired against Him in other ways, let us examine what was foretold in connection with His actual Passion.

CHAPTER 6

From Amos.

*Of the Eclipse of the Sun at the Time of Our Saviour's Passion, and of the
Total Destruction of the Jewish Nation.*

[Passage quoted, Amos viii. 7-12.]

THIS prophecy foretells the pride, insolence and rebellion of the Jews against our Saviour, and says that the Lord (486) swore against the presumption of Jacob, that their insolence against Him should never be forgotten, and that their land and its inhabitants should undergo suffering and mourning, and that no more as before should they be punished a little while and then restored, but that this judgment should last for ever. For He says, "Complete destruction shall come upon them," meaning that wrath in the time of the Roman Empire would attack them, that a river should rise on them as on men who before were lifted up.

And then after this anger of God against them, their state, He says, will again "Come down like the river of (b) Egypt."

By which I think is meant, that the ancient glories of the Jews once so lofty, so prized by God, and as it were exalted on high, will become like the state of the heathen nations, which flow and pass by like a river, and will go from height to depth. And He next tells what will happen at the time of the saving Passion, "In that day," He says, saith the Lord, "the sun shall set at midday, and the light shall be (c) darkened on the earth at daytime," and this was plainly fulfilled, when our Lord was lifted up, according to the Gospel:

"And there was darkness over all the earth from the sixth hour even to the ninth hour, and about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani."

This prophecy was thus fulfilled, and it goes on to say:

"And I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your song into lamentation. And I will bring sackcloth (d) on all loins, and baldness on every head: And I will make him as grief for a dear one, and them with him as a day of pain. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will send famine upon the earth, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but a famine of hearing the word of the Lord," etc.

And all this prophecy of what would result from their insolence against the Christ has been clearly proved to have taken place after their plot against our Saviour. For it was not before it, but afterwards from that day to this that God turned their feasts into mourning, despoiled them of their famous mother-city, and destroyed the holy Temple (487) therein when Titus and Vespasian were Emperors of Rome, so that they could no longer go up to keep their feasts and sacred meetings. I need not say that a famine of hearing the Word of the Lord has overtaken them all, in return for their rejection of the Word of God; since with one voice they refused Him, so He refuses them.

CHAPTER 7

(b) *From Zechariah.*

Still concerning the Eclipse of the Sun, and of the Time of the Saving Passion.

[Passage quoted, Zech. xiv. 5-9.]

THIS was fulfilled by the coming of our Saviour, accompanied either by His holy apostles and disciples, or by His holy ones, the divine powers and unembodied spirits, His (d) angels and ministers, of whom the holy gospel says, “Angels came and ministered unto him.” In that day (for this is the usual name given in Holy Scripture to the time of His sojourn on earth) the prophecy before us was fulfilled as well as the other predictions, when at the time of His Passion, “From the sixth hour unto the ninth hour there was darkness over all the earth.” Therefore the prophecy says, “In that day there shall be no light.” And also, “It shall not be day nor night: but towards evening it shall be light.” Where we have, I think, an exact description of the time, when, our Lord being lifted up, though it was day, (488) night filled the atmosphere from the sixth to the ninth hour. And afterwards the darkness cleared, and it was bright daylight, until night fell as usual. So the word of the prophecy implies, “And that day is known to the Lord, and it shall be neither day nor night: and towards evening it shall be light.” For it was not day because of the midday darkness; nor was it night because of the returning day, which is shewn by the words, “Towards evening it shall be light.” (b) And the mention of the wintry season is astonishing indeed in the words of the prophecy, which say, “There shall be frost and cold”; for this is supported by the evidence of the Gospel, which tells how Peter following Jesus warmed himself in the Hall of Caiaphas with the others, where a fire was kindled. John actually mentions the cold, saying, “The servants and attendants stood round, having made a fire of coals, for it was cold, and they warmed themselves.” The prophecy was thus literally fulfilled. And figuratively, as well in regard to the whole Jewish nation the reality of which those things were symbols was also fulfilled — when the light of salvation shone on them, and they chose darkness rather (c) than light, and the light departed from them, and unspeakable night overwhelmed them, and the eyes of their mind were darkened, so that the rays of the Gospel should not shine in their hearts, and when too their love to God waxed cold. And in them too the rest of the

prophecy was fulfilled, when on the day of our Saviour's coming living water came forth from Jerusalem, and the fruitful living word of Gospel Teaching went forth to all nations, beginning from (d) Jerusalem, yea, from Jerusalem itself, and was spread over all the earth, even to the utmost bounds of the world. The Lord and Saviour Himself speaks of this water to the Samaritan woman:

“If thou knewest who it is that asketh thee for drink, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.”

And He goes on to teach what advantage would accrue to all that taste of the living spiritual spring, saying that they that drink thereof, denying the many evil daemons who ruled them of old, will confess their one Lord and King, and that the Lord, that once was known only to the Hebrews, will become King of all nations that believe in (489) Him from all the earth, and that His Name will be one, encircling all the earth and the wilderness. And who is not struck at seeing this fulfilled? For the Christian name, derived from the Name of Christ (and Christ was indeed the Lord) has encircled every place and city and land, and the very nations that dwell in the wilderness and at the ends of the earth, as the prophecy foretold.

CHAPTER 8

From Psalm xxi.

Of What was done at Our Saviour's Passion. At the End concerning His being succoured in the Morning.

(490) [Passage quoted, Ps. xxi. 2-32.]

THE words, "My God, give ear to me, why hast thou forsaken me?" spoken at the opening of the Psalm, are recorded by Matthew to have been said by our Saviour at the time of the Passion:

"And at the sixth hour, there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour, and at the ninth hour Jesus called with a loud voice, Eloim, Eloim, lama sabachthani, that is to say, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

And the Hebrew words are taken from this prophecy. So, then, the beginning of the Psalm includes the words "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani" in the same syllables, which (491) Aquila has thus translated: "My strong one, my strong one, why hast thou left me?" And everyone will agree that this is equivalent to our Saviour's words at the time of His Passion. You may therefore be quite convinced that the Psalm refers to Him and no one else, for its contents harmonize with none other but Him. The other predictions are exactly fulfilled in Him; and especially the words, "They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots." It also foretells literally the (b) driving in of the nails, when His hands and feet were nailed to the Cross, saying "They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones." And the other predictions apply to Him alone, as my argument will shew. But if any one would apply them to some other person, whether king, prophet, or other godly man among the Jews, let him prove if he can how what is written is in harmony with him. For who of those who were ever born of women has attained such heights of virtue and power, as to embrace the knowledge (c) of God with unchanging reason, with unruffled soul, and with sober mind, and to fasten all his trust on God, so as to say, "Thou art He that took me out of my mother's womb, my hope from my mother's breasts. I was cast on thee from my mother, from my mother's womb Thou art my God." And who that has ever been so cared for by God, has also become "a reproach of men "and "the outcast of the people"? By what bulls and calves can we (d)

suppose such a man to have been surrounded? And in what suffering was he “poured out like water”? How were “all his bones loosened”? How was “he brought into the dust of death,” and being brought into the dust of death how does he say those words still and live and speak? Who are “the dogs “that surround him, that are other than the beforenamed “bulls and calves”? What gathering of evil men pierced his feet as well as his hands, stripped him of his raiment, divided some of it among themselves, and cast lots for the remainder? What was the sword, the dog, and the lion? Who are they that surrounded him that are called Unicorns? And how after (492) a struggle with such numbers, after being brought into the dust of death, can he promise to proclaim His Father’s name, not to all, but only to his brethren?

Who are the brethren, and what church is it of which this sufferer says, “In the midst of the Church I will hymn thee,” adding, not the one Jewish nation but, “All the earth shall understand, and turn to the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him”? It is for you yourself to test every expression in the Psalm, and see if it is possible to apply them to any chance (b) character. You will find them only applicable to our Saviour, Who is most true and most to be trusted, and Who applied the words of the Psalm to Himself, as the Evangelists bear witness: Matthew in the quotations I have given, and Mark in his own record, where he says:

“And at the sixth hour there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. And at the ninth hour (c) Jesus cried with a loud voice saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani, which is to say, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? And certain of them that heard said, He calleth for Elias.”

Let us now proceed to investigate, in what way the expressions of the Psalm must be referred to Him. And first we will deal with the inscription which says, “To the end,” or according to Aquila, “To the Conqueror,” or according to Symmachus, “Ode of Victory concerning the Succour.” I have an idea, based on the words of the Evangelists, “There was darkness from the sixth hour unto the ninth hour,” that our Saviour’s Passion was concluded about the ninth hour, when with a loud voice He spake the words quoted a little before, and that we should consider that His Passion was past at eventide on the approach of night. Then His Resurrection from the dead, which was the Succour of the Father Who succoured Him, and drew Him to Himself, from

the land of death, and received Him, must have taken place at dawn, as we learn from the Evangelists. For Luke says, “On the first day of the week at the break of dawn they came [that is the women], to the sepulchre, bearing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them. And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre. And going in they did not find the Body, because our Saviour was already risen from the dead.” Mark also tells the same story, saying:

“And very early in the morning, on the first day of the week they went to the sepulchre, at the rising of the sun, and said to one another, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the Sepulchre? for it was very great.”

They went, and found it rolled away. And He was already risen. There is the same witness in John: “On the first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene to the sepulchre, while it was still dark, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.” And Matthew too, although he had said, “late on the Sabbath,” adds, “As it began to dawn on the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary to see the sepulchre, and behold there was a great earthquake. For the Angel of the Lord descended from heaven and came and rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre.” I have necessarily given these quotations to shew the meaning of the “succour at dawn” “predicted in the Psalm. For since it tells of our Saviour’s Passion, and since the dispensation concerning Him was in no way hindered by the Passion, and the end of the Passion was His Resurrection from the dead and “the succour at dawn,” the oracle crowns its description with the final miracle, as if the whole account and the sufferings before the end were incidental to the Resurrection from the dead, and the succour at dawn. For our Lord and Saviour said, (d) “My God, my God, give ear to me, why hast thou forsaken me? “And then added, “I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men, and the outcast of the people”; and in addition to this, “Many oxen have encircled me, fat bulls have hemmed me in”; and gave a clear prediction of His Death in the verse, “Thou hast brought me into the dust of death, for many dogs have surrounded me, the council of the wicked has hemmed me in, they pierced my hands and my feet;” and He gave still further details of His Passion in the words, “They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.” And having given those and similar predictions He did not cease there, but added: “Ye that fear the Lord praise (494) him, for he hath not

despised, nor been angered at the prayer of the poor, nor turned his face from him, but when I cried unto him he heard me.” How could He claim to have been heard, unless He had had a complete answer to the prayers which He had just uttered, when He said, “Thou hast brought me into the dust of death. Save my soul from the sword, and my only-begotten from the power of the dog”? Nay, having prayed thus, and asked that He might be rescued and saved from these enemies, He adds, “ He hath not despised, nor been angry at the prayer of the poor, nor turned away his face from him: but when I cried unto him, he heard me.” He evidently means His Return to life after death, which came to pass through the Succour at dawn, which the Psalm goes on to shew, saying, “But thou, O Lord, do not remove thy help, come to my succour.” And it is. this succour that is referred to by the Inscription of the Psalm.

So much about the Inscription of the Psalm. Let us now (c) sound the deeper studies of the Hebrews on the words, “Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani,” which were said by. our Saviour in the hour of His Passion in the actual Hebrew words, and which are enshrined in the Psalm. Now Elohim is a name for God. And you will find it throughout nearly all the Scriptures: and even now in the Septuagint He is called properly by the Hebrew name. Though of course the Hebrews had other expressions for the divine Name —— such as Saddai, Jao, El, and the like.

This Psalm then uses “Eli, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani,” as our Lord Himself does, and not Elohim. And so Aquila, aware of the distinct meaning of God’s Hebrew name of Elohim, did not, like the other translators, think good to render them “My God, my God” —— but “My strong one, my strong one,” or more accurately, “My strength, my strength.” So that taking this sense the Lamb of God our Saviour, when he said, “Eli, Eli,” to His Father, meant, “My strong one, my strong one, why hast thou forsaken me?” And may.be He was crucified, because His Strong One had left Him, as the apostle says, “For he was crucified in weakness, but he liveth by the power of God,” implying that He would not have been crucified, unless His Strong One had left Him. And surely it befits the Lamb of God, Who was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearers is dumb, to attribute His own powers to God, and to reckon He had nothing of His own except His Father: wherefore He calls His Father His Strength, just as in Psalm xviii. He gives Him the names of Strength and Refuge, saying:

“I will love thee, O Lord, my strength. The Lord is my foundation, and my refuge, and saviour. My God, my helper, and I will trust in him; my protector, the horn also of my refuge, and my succour.

His Strong One forsook Him then, because He wished Him to go unto death, even “the death of the cross,” and to be set forth as the ransom and sacrifice for the whole world, and to be the purification of the life of them that believe in Him. And He, since he understood at once His Father’s Divine counsel, and because He discerned better than any other why He was forsaken by the Father, humbled Himself even more, and embraced death for us with all willingness, and “became a curse for us,” holy and all-blessed though He was, and “He that knew no sin, became sin, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him.” Yea more — to wash away our sins He was crucified, suffering what we who were sinful should have suffered, as our sacrifice and ransom, so that we may well say with the prophet, He bears our sins, and is pained for us, and he was wounded for our sins, and bruised for our iniquities, so that by His stripes we might be healed, for the Lord hath given Him for our sins. So, as delivered up by the Father, as bruised, as bearing our sins, He was led as a sheep to the slaughter. With this the apostle agrees when he says, “Who spared not his own Son, but delivered him for us all.” And it is to impel us to ask why the Father forsook Him, that He says, “Why hast thou forsaken me? “The answer is, to ransom the whole human race, buying them with His precious Blood from their former slavery to their invisible tyrants, the unclean daemons, and the rulers and spirits of evil.

And the Father forsook Him for another reason, namely, that the love of Christ Himself for men might be set forth. For no one had power over His life, but He gave it willingly for men, as He teaches us Himself in the words, “No one taketh my life from me: I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again.”

After this He says, “Far from my salvation are the words of my sins.” Instead of which Aquila translates, “Far from my salvation are the words of my complaint”; and Symmachus, “The words of my lamentations are removed from my salvation.” And in yet a fifth translation it is rendered, “Far from my salvation are the words of my requests.” It is to be especially remarked that in neither of these translations does the expression “of my sins” appear, as it sometimes happens that similar alterations are made in a text by

the error of a copyist. And we must accept the version given by the majority of the translators, unless we can understand Him to mean that the sins are ours, but that He has made them His own.

He next says, "My God, I will cry by day, and thou (d) wilt not hear, and by night, and it shall not be folly for me." Instead of which Symmachus has, "My God, I will call by day, and thou wilt not hear, and by night, and there is no silence." He is surely shewing His surprise here that the Father does not hear Him, He regards it as something strange and unusual. But that Father reserved His hearing till the fit time that He should be heard. That time was the hour of dawn, of the Resurrection from the dead, when to Him it could be more justly said than to any, "In a time accepted I heard thee, and in a day of salvation I succoured thee. Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." This, of course, could be said in another sense by our Saviour, as one always accustomed to be heard by the Father, as if He said, to put it more clearly: "Is it possible, O Father, that I, Thine only and beloved Son, should not be heard, when I cry and call to my Father? "For this is the very point He dwells on in John's Gospel at the raising of Lazarus, when He says, "Take away the stone from the sepulchre," and "raised his eyes to heaven and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And I knew that thou hearest me always." If, then, He heareth Him always, it is not in doubt but in absolute assurance that He will be heard, as if it were impossible for Him not to be heard, that He speaks in the form of a question the words: "My God, shall I cry in the day, and thou not hear?" And we must put a note of interrogation after "hear," and understand that the answer to the question is a negative.

And He shews that this is right a little further on in the Psalm, when He says:

"He hath not despised, nor been angry at the prayer of the poor, nor turned his face from him, but when he cried unto him he heard him."

For how could He say negatively, "My God, I will cry by day, and thou wilt not hear," except in the sense I (c) have suggested? And I think He implies this sense when He says, "My God, shall I cry by day, and wilt thou not hear? and by night, and it is not folly for me." "For I do not cry 'Thou wilt not hear,' He says, 'in folly': for I know that I say this inspired by the conviction that it is Thy nature to help and to hear not only me, but all Thy

saints. For Thou ever ‘dwestest in Thy saints’ continually, and art ‘the praise’ of every godly man that is called ‘Israel.’ For Thy sake to every one that worships Thee no (d) common praise accrues; in Thee our fathers hoped, and by their trust were saved from the evils that attacked them, ‘Unto Thee they cried, and were saved.’ Since, then, all Thy saints have had this blessing of Thee, to cry unto Thee and be heard and not be ashamed, how much more readily and specially wilt Thou hear Thy beloved Son that cries? And, if I ask as one who wonders, ‘Shall I cry and Thou wilt not hear?’ yet shall not My words be regarded as folly. For I know that I utter My prayer, not as one that glories or as one that boasts, but as one of lowly mind. For being gentle and lowly in heart, My words are humble and spoken in humility like My own gentleness, even as I call Myself a worm. For what could be more lowly than a worm? Hence I call Myself ‘no man,’ since I have descended from (498) My own majesty to such lowliness, that I seem to be no more than a worm, so that I may undergo even death and the destruction of My body. For how else can worms be generated but from the destruction of bodies, and I going to such destruction recognize Myself rightly as a worm and no man. So, too, have I become a reproach of men and the outcast of the people, and I should have become neither unless I had reached the state of a worm at the time of My Passion. For it was then that they who saw Me hanging (b) on the Cross mocked Me, and spake with their lips, and shook their heads saying, ‘He trusted in God, let Him deliver him, let Him save him if He desires him.’”

This was the clear prophecy of the Psalmist of what was (c) to come to pass a long time after him, and it was fulfilled when, according to Matthew

“Two thieves being crucified with him, one on the right of the Saviour and one on the left, the passers-by reviled him, wagging their heads and saying, Woe, Thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days, save thyself; if thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross. Likewise the chief priests mocking him with the elders and scribes said, he saved others, himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him. If he trusted in God, let him deliver him now if he will have him, for he said, I am the Son of God.”

And according to Luke:

“The people stood beholding, and the rulers with them mocked him saying,

He saved others, let him save himself if he is the Christ, the Son of God, the chosen.”

And according to Mark:

“And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads, and saying, Ah, thou that destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days, save thyself and come down from the cross. Likewise the chief priests, mocking between themselves with the scribes, said, He saved others, himself he cannot save. Let Christ the King of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe in him.”

Where is the discrepancy between this and the prophecies in the Psalm,

“I am a worm and no man, a reproach of men and the outcast of the people. All they that saw me reviled me, they spoke with their lips, they shook their heads, saying, he trusted in the Lord, let him deliver him, let him save him if he desires him”?

Wonder not if this was said of and fulfilled by the Passion of our Saviour, for even now He is a reproach among all men who have not yet received faith in Him ! For what is more shameful or worse than any reproach than to be crucified? Yea, He is an outcast of the people of the Jews, for even to-day that whole race loves to mock Him, to set Him at naught, and to spit on Him: wherefore the apostle rightly says:

“We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles foolishness.”

And that which follows in the Psalm you will find even now said of Him by the multitude. Such, then, was His prayer concerning the affliction that overtook Him. And since He knew that His original union with our flesh, and His birth of a woman that was a Virgin was no worse experience than the suffering of death, while He speaks of His death He also mentions His birth, saying to the Father:

“Thou art he that took me out of my mother’s womb: Thou wast my hope even from my mother’s breasts. On thee was I cast from my mother: from my mother’s womb thou art my God.”

Thus He naturally remembers this to comfort Him in His present affliction.

“For just as Thou wert My Succour,” He says, “when I took the body of man, when Thou, my God and Father, like a midwife didst draw the body that had been prepared for Me by the Holy Spirit from My travailing mother,

putting (d) forth Thy power, to prevent any attempt or plan of hostile powers, envious of My entry into humanity. And since at the very Conception Thou didst overshadow that which was in the womb, so that the rulers of this world might not be aware of the Conception of the Holy Virgin by the Holy Spirit; which mighty mystery thy Archangel Gabriel did reveal to Mary, saying: ‘The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee.’ Just as the power of the Highest overshadowed Me when I was conceived, and took Me out of My mother’s womb when I was born, so it is now My sure consolation, that Thou wilt much more save Me from death. And in this hope I put My trust in Thee, My God, My Lord, My Father: I put My trust not as now first beginning My hope in Thee, for I trusted Thee even when I drew My infant food from My mother’s breasts, and was thought to be like human babes powerless and without reason. Such I was not, though I had a human body: it was not like in power or (b) substance to other bodies, I was free and unfettered, as Thy Lamb, O God, though at that age nourished with milk, I mean from My mother’s breasts. And no one will think this impossible, if he remembers that even before I was cast on Thee from My mother, and from the womb of My mother Thou art My God. For while still carried in the treasury of her that brought Me forth I saw Thee, My God, (c) as one who continued separate and untroubled though in such close contact with things of flesh, yea, as one who had no body yet and was free of all bonds. And so was I cast on Thee from My mother, on Thee, My God, from My mother’s breasts, so that My power was felt while I was still borne in the womb of the Holy Virgin by My forerunner John, while he was yet in the womb of Elizabeth, so that, stirred by My divinity, he leapt for joy, and was filled with (d) the Holy Spirit.

“Bearing such memories in My mind, and ever setting My God and Father before My eyes, it is not strange that in this present hour of supreme suffering I should do the same, when in My obedience to Thee, My Father, of My own will and consent I became a worm and no man, a reproach of men and the outcast of the people. And now when all who gaze on My body nailed to the Cross think they see a sight of ill omen and mock Me, pouring such a flood of reviling and satire upon Me, shewing that they not only think evil of Me and harbour it in their minds, but speak it without fear and say it openly: for ‘They spoke with their lips, and shook their heads, saying, He (501) trusted in the

Lord, let Him deliver him.’

“So now when such troubles hem Me in, I call upon Thee, My Father, who drew Me out of My mother’s womb, on Whom I was cast from My mother, in Whom I trusted from her breasts, made known to Me and acknowledged as My God even from My mother’s womb, and I beseech Thee not to depart from Me, for affliction is near. For there comes, He says, yea, is all but come and at the door, afflicting Me and pressing upon Me the last cloud of all, the cloud of My surpassing trouble. I do not mean this (b) trouble which now enfolds Me, nor the Cross, nor the jeers of men, nor the mockery, nor anything at all that I underwent before the Cross, scourging, insults, nor all My vile treatment from the sons of men; but I look to the dissolution of the body in death itself, and the descent into Hades next thereto, and the onset of the hostile powers opposed to God. And I therefore say, ‘Trouble is near, and there is no helper.’”

It is surely the very climax of affliction to have no helper.

For Christ went thither for the salvation of the souls in (c) Hades that had so long awaited His arrival, He went down to shatter the gates of brass, and to break the iron bonds, and to let them go free that before were prisoners in Hades. Which was indeed done, when many bodies of the saints that slept arose and entered with Him into the true Holy City of God. But the opposing powers, added to mere human evil, attacked Him, grieving and afflicting Him sorely, though in His excess of goodness He lamented even over them. (d)

But observe how all this is said, as in the person of Him that was carried in a mother’s womb, and born of a mother, Whom we called the Lamb of God. For the words about the Passion apply to Him, just as did those about the Incarnate Birth. For that which is born must die, and that which dies can only travel the road to death which starts from birth.

This, then, our Lord and Saviour unfolds, not as being in nature without flesh and body, nor in so far as He is regarded as the Word of God and Divine, but in so far as He was able to say in His prayer to His Father:

“Thou didst draw me out of my mother’s womb, (502) thou wast my hope from my mother’s breasts. I was cast on thee from my mother, thou art my God from my mother’s womb.”

He then in His Passion prays such a prayer to His Father, and says:

“Many hostile forces will surround Me, unclean daemons, and spirits of

wickedness, and above all the prince of this world himself the vilest of them all, who because of their wickedness may well be called after evil beasts, be it savage (b) bulls, or calves, or lions, or dogs. And as I essay to withstand them all, but to do them no good, because from the intense evil of their nature they are incapable of receiving good from Me, with none of them for My helper or fellow-worker in My contest on behalf of the souls in Hades, am I not right in saying, ‘Trouble is near, and there is no helper’?”

Of course it was not to be expected that any of the evil and hostile powers would have worked with Him, or aided (c) Him in His mission of good. But surely the bitterest element in the cup of pain that was His, was that none of the good and favouring angels, and none of the divine powers, dared to venture to the halls of Death and help Him in succouring the souls there. For in Him alone was there courage, since to Him only were the gates of death opened, Him only the janitors of Hades saw and feared, and He that has the power of death, descending from His royal throne, as recognizing Him only for His Lord, spoke gently (d) to Him with prayer and supplication, as Job relates. Yet He, seeing the impious realm of the tyrant so strong that no heavenly being dared to accompany Him to that bourne, or to help Him in saving the souls there, cries naturally, “Trouble is near, and there is no helper,” since the only Being from heaven who could have helped Him had forsaken Him, so that the glory and independence of His own choice and of His own victory might be proclaimed to all. And since the only Being that could help Him was not then His helper, it is natural that His first words should be, “Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?” that is, “My God, My God, why (503) hast thou forsaken me?” For when He was conceived, and when He was brought forth by the Holy Virgin His Father’s power was with Him, when the Holy Spirit came upon the maiden, and the Power of the Highest overshadowed her, and the Father Himself, as the oracle shews, drew forth Him that was begotten from her womb. But when in the hour of His Passion He entered on His struggle with Death, the Helper was no longer with Him. Yea, I (b) believe His own witness of this. For the words, “Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?” which He spoke on the Cross, and which were prophetically foretold in the Psalm, what else do they mean but that like a great athlete He was matched against all these adversaries, while Almighty God ordered the contest and gave the decision? Thus He summons His Father as the overseer of what is being done,

and as the adviser, like a clever Anointer, to come to Him, especially as He has no other helper, but only Him that governs (c) the content. And so He says in prayer, “Be not thou far from me, for trouble is near, and there is no helper.”

And when with divine eyes He saw His body being suspended on the tree, the unembodied and invisible powers without in the air hovering around Him like voracious birds and wild beasts, and knew that almost at once His body would be a corpse, and felt the powers and rulers of the air surging around Him on every side, the spirit which now worketh in the children of disobedience, and the (d) daemons flying over the earth wherever men inhabit, and perhaps also the wild and dreadful beasts of Tartarus, of which Isaiah said, addressing Lucifer that had fallen from heaven: “Hades beneath was disturbed to meet thee, all the giants rose before thee.” When, then, He saw all those without surrounding His crucified body, and preparing to attack Him, He describes their array when He says: “Many oxen have surrounded me, fat bulls hem me in. They have (504) opened their mouths against Me, as a lion voracious and roaring.” For most likely they thought that the soul which dwelt in the body of Jesus was human and like other human souls; and opened their mouths as if to devour it like the other human souls. So He says, “They opened their mouths on me, like a lion voracious and roaring.” And next He adds, “I am poured out like water.” This may be said to have been fulfilled outwardly and historically, when One of the soldiers, according to the Evangelist John, (b) “pierced the side “of the Lamb of God “with a spear, and forthwith came there out blood and water.” But He rather seems to refer to the dying of His entire spiritual being when He says:

“I am poured out like water, and all my bones are loosened, my heart in the midst of my body is like melting wax. My strength is dried up like a potsherd, and my tongue has cleaved to my throat.”

For this is surely a description of a dead body. So, too, He adds, “And thou hast brought me to the dust of death.”

And then, starting again from what was now past, to comfort Himself for what was yet to happen, He describes what He went through when they plotted against Him. “Many dogs surrounded me, the council of the wicked hemmed me in,” meaning probably both the soldiers and the Jews who rose against Him.

“27. Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall and gathered unto him the whole band of soldiers. 28. And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe. 29. And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed in his right hand: and they bowed the knee before him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews! 30. And they spit upon him, and took the reed and smote him on the head. 31. And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him.”

This is almost an exact fulfilment of “Many dogs surrounded me, the council of the wicked hemmed me in”; moreover, “They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones,” and also, “They came staring and looking upon me,” and “They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots,” were all fulfilled, when they fastened His hands and feet to the Cross with nails, and when they took His garments and divided them among them. For John’s record is:

“23. Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier (b) a part: and also his coat. Now the coat was without seam woven from the top throughout. 24. They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots whose it shall be; that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which saith: They parted my garments among them, and for my vesture did they cast lots. These things therefore the soldiers did.”

And Matthew witnesses to what was done as follows:

“And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots. And sitting down they watched him.”

The dogs that surrounded Him and the council of the wicked were the rulers of the Jews, the Scribes and High Priests, and the Pharisees, who spurred on the whole multitude to demand His blood against themselves and against their own children. Isaiah clearly calls them dogs, when he says: “Ye are all foolish dogs, unable to bark.” For when it was their duty, even if they could not acquire the character of shepherds, to protect like good sheepdogs their Master’s spiritual flock and the sheep of the house of Israel, and to warn by barking, and to fawn upon their Master and recognize Him, and to guard

the flock entrusted to them with all vigilance, and to bark if necessary at enemies outside the fold, they preferred like senseless dogs, yes, like mad dogs, to drive the sheep wild by barking, so that the words aptly describe them, which say: "Many dogs have surrounded me, the council of the wicked have hemmed me in." And all who even now conduct themselves like them in reviling and barking at the Christ of God in the same way may be reckoned their kin; yea, they who like those impious soldiers crucify the Son of God, and put Him to shame, have a character very like theirs. Yea, all who to-day insult the Body of Christ, that is the Church, and attempt to destroy the hands and feet and very bones, are of their number, if it be true that:

"We are one body in Christ, and all members one of another, and the head must not say to the feet, I have no need of you, nor the eyes to the hands."

Thus in times of persecution, it may be aptly said of those who work against the members of Christ on the side of their enemies: "They pierced my hands and my feet, they numbered all my bones." Then, too, they divide His garments among them, and cast lots upon His vesture, when each individual tears and destroys the glory of His Word, I mean the words of the Holy Scriptures, now this way, now that, and when they take up opinions about (c) Him from misleading schools of thought such as godless heretics invent.

To crown all this He addresses the following prayer to His God and Lord and Father: "But thou, O Lord, take not far off thy help." Left for a little while alone for the shewing forth of the contest, and stripped to contend with Death without a helper, well aware that His only succour from His Father will be by the Resurrection from the dead, He naturally now prays to escape from the (d) array of His adversaries. So He says: "Thou, O Lord, remove not far thy help, afford me succour. For my succour will come from thy help," and it is perhaps in reference to His succour that the whole Psalm is entitled "Concerning the succour at dawn."

"Have regard then to My succour, extending to Me as soon as dawn conies the succour of the Resurrection from the dead, which I know that I shall receive, if thou remove it not from Me. Save My soul from the sword, My Only-begotten from the power of the dog. Thou wilt save Me from the mouth of the lion, and (507) my lowliness from the horns of the unicorns."

By which I understand Him to mean the powers of the under-world, which it is not in my power to distinguish and divide into classes, shewing which

was the sword that threatened our Saviour's life, or which one like a dog of death stretched forth its death-fraught paw, to capture it. For He says: "Save my soul from the sword, my Only-begotten from the power of the dog." And another evil (b) power reckoned as one of the wild beasts there, called a lion, opening wide its vast and yawning mouth of death, essays to devour His soul with the others of them that go down to Hades, just as long before mighty Death devoured them, being none other than the lion that opened his mouth before our Saviour, from which He prayed to His Father to deliver Him, saying: "Save me from the lion's mouth."

And there were other evil and impious powers working (c) against the Unicorn of God, and attempting to seduce Him from His purpose, from whom too the Unicorn of God, our Lord having His Father as His only horn, prays that His lowliness may be saved, saying: "And my lowliness from the horns of the unicorn." What lowliness, but that wherewith, being in the form of God, He humbled Himself and emptied Himself, being obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. Yea, so low descending, and coming even to this, I mean even to the sword in Hades, and to the hand of Him that is called its dog. (Whence, perhaps, the Greeks hearing of some such dog of death, painted it with three heads): and coming to the throat of the said lion, and subjecting His lowliness to the attacks of the impious Unicorns, and thus having completed the whole dispensation of His self-emptying and humiliation, and prayed that now at last He may receive help and the succour of His Father, He adds: "Thou, O Lord, remove not thy help far off, attend to my succour." And though He says this, His Father is not too far off to hear Him, He is not removed far off, He is not separated by the smallest space, but is actually saying to Him: "While thou speakest, I will say, I am here."

And He, well aware of this, and receiving succour from His Father, as He had prayed, begins from that point to chant the Hymn of Triumph, making the Psalm, "Concerning the succour at dawn," in which He says: "I will recite thy name with my brethren, in the midst of the Church I will hymn thee." First, of course, to the disciples and apostles, whom He calls His brethren, He promises to announce the good news of joy and gladness in Him, And in accordance with this, Matthew teaches, saying;

"And, behold, Jesus met them, that is to say, those with Mary Magdalene, saying, All Hail. And they came to him and clasped his feet, and worshipped

him. Then Jesus saith to them, Fear not, go tell my brethren, that they must go before me into Galilee. And there shall they see me.”

And John, too, after the Resurrection from the dead, introduces Jesus saying to Mary:

“Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father. Go to my brethren and say to them, I ascend to my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.”

Thus He says that He will tell the Name of His Father first to the apostles, whom He calls His brethren. And after them, with swift progress, He promises that He will teach the Hymn of His Father to the Church founded in His (d) Name throughout all the world. It is just as if some supreme teacher of philosophy should give a course of instruction in the midst of his pupils for them to hear and understand, that He in the midst of the Church says: “I will hymn thy praise,” that the Church, learning and hearing His words, might in fit manner sing back the praises, no longer of the daemons, but of the One Almighty God, by Him that preached Him. He promises so to do, and from that very point earnestly bids the Church, and His brethren to hymn the Father’s praise. Wherefore He says: “Ye that fear the Lord praise him, glorify him all ye seed of Jacob.” And: “Let all the seed of Jacob fear him, for he hath not despised, nor been angered at the (509) prayer of the poor, nor turned away his face from him, but when he cried unto him he heard him.” And thus he clearly shewed His release from the evils that were named before. For if God heard Him when He cried to Him, when He prayed for His life to be delivered from the sword, and His Only-begotten from the dog, and His lowliness from the mouth of the lion, and the horns of the unicorn, it follows that we must understand Him to be released from them, when He says: “For God was not (b) angered by his prayer, and turned not his face from him, but when he called unto him, he heard him.” And so it came to pass that being rescued from His woes, and escaping from death, He sojourned with His disciples and brethren, and sang His Father’s praise “in the midst of the Church.” And notice how He calls Himself “poor,” in harmony with the prophecies already quoted, in which He was called poor and a beggar.

And when He has thus shewn His Resurrection, He (c) again returns to His Father, and says: “From thee is my praise in the great Church,” remembering the great Church of all nations established throughout all the world, in which

the Saviour's praise is for ever sung, by the will and co-operation of His Father. So He says: "From thee is my praise in the great Church." For of a truth it is great, this Church, gathered of every race of mankind, and above all comparison in gravity and nobility of life, and majesty of belief, while the Jewish nation, and (d) the synagogue of the Circumcision, is so attenuated in the poverty of its teaching, and life, and thought, and conceptions of God.

Then He adds: "I will pay my vows in the sight of all that fear him," meaning by "all that fear him," the aforesaid great Church, to which He said: "Ye that fear the Lord, praise him." And what vows does He mean that He will pay, but those which He promised? And what did He promise, but those, of which He said: "I will tell thy Name to my brethren. In the midst of the Church I will praise thee? "And He proceeds: "The poor shall (510) eat and be satisfied, and they that seek the Lord shall praise him — their heart shall live for ever. All the ends of the earth shall remember and shall turn to the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before him. For the Kingdom is the Lord's, and he rules over the nations."

In these words He very aptly proclaims the glorious works after His Resurrection, which are fulfilled in the calling of men from all nations, and by the election of men from the ends of the earth, the results of which being visible to all eyes afford evidence of the truth of the words of (b) the Psalm. And we, too, are the poor, whom like beggars in the things of God, the word of salvation nourishes with spiritual bread, the life-giving food of the soul, and affords eternal life. So the Psalm says: "The poor shall eat and be satisfied, and they that seek the Lord shall praise him, their heart shall live for ever." And the peroration of the (c) whole prophecy crowning all — — "The generation that cometh shall be announced to the Lord, and they shall announce his righteousness to a people that shall be born, whom the Lord has made" — specifically foretells the Church of the Gentiles, and the generation established on the earth, through our Saviour Jesus Christ. For what could this people be which, it is here said, will be born for God after these things, which did not exist of old, and did not appear among men, but will be hereafter? What was the generation, which was not then, but which it is said will come, but the Church established by our Saviour in all the world, and the new people from the Gentiles, of which the Holy Spirit wonderfully spake by Isaiah, saying, "Who hath heard such things, and who hath seen

them thus? The earth was in travail for one day, and a nation was born at once.”

In this exposition I have but touched the fringe of the subject, but I must now pass on in haste to other topics, since time presses. But whoever cares for the Saviour’s bidding, “Search the Scriptures, in which ye think to have eternal life, and those are they that witness of me,” let him plunge his mind in each word of the Psalm, and hunt for the exact sense of the truth expressed.

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A FRAGMENT OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK

*Given by A. Majus in the New Collection of Ancient Writers. Rome, 1825,
tom. 1, par. 2, , in the Commentary on Daniel ii. 31.*

I THOUGHT it incumbent on me to quote what is said by the famous Eusebius Pamphilus, of Caesarea, in the Fifteenth Book of *The Proof of the Gospel*; for in expounding the whole vision he says as follows: — — “I believe this in no way differs from the vision of the prophet: for the prophet saw a great sea, just as the King saw a vast image: the prophet again saw four beasts, which he interpreted to mean four kingdoms, just as the King from the gold, silver, brass, and iron, figuratively described four kingdoms: and, once more, as the prophet saw a division of the ten horns of the last beast, and three horns destroyed by one, so the King saw part of the extremities of the image to be iron and part clay. And, moreover, as the prophet, after the vision of the four kings, saw the Son of Man receive universal rule, power and empire, so the King seemed to see a stone destroy the whole of the image, and become a great mountain that filled the sea. And the explanation is easy, for it was natural that the King, deceived as he was by the outward appearances of life, and admiring the beauty of the visible like colours in a picture, to liken the life of all men to a great image, whereas the prophet was rather led to compare the vast and mighty surge of life to a great sea. So the King, who admired the substances of gold, silver, brass, and iron, which are costly among men, likened the dominant empires that succeed one another in the human world to substances, while the prophet described the same empires under the forms of wild beasts, according to the ideals of their rule. Then again the King, who probably was conceited, and prided himself on the empire of his ancestors, the mutability of human things is revealed, and the end of earthly kingdoms, to purify him of his pride, and to make him realize the instability of human things, or at least the final universal Kingdom of God. For after the first, or the Assyrian Empire, signified by the gold, was to come the Persian, shewn forth by the silver; and thirdly, the Macedonian, portrayed by the brass; and after that, the fourth, that of the Romans, would follow, more powerful than its predecessors, and therefore likened to iron. For it is said of it, ‘And the fourth kingdom shall be stronger than iron’: just as iron crushes and subdues

everything, so did Rome crush and subdue. And after these four, the Kingdom of God was presented as a stone that destroyed the whole image. And the prophet agrees with this in not seeing the final triumph of the Kingdom of the God of the Universe before he has described the course of the four world-powers under the similitude of the four beasts. I consider, therefore, the visions both of the King and the prophets, that there should be four empires only, and no more, to be proved by the subjection of the Jewish nation to them from the time when the prophet wrote.”

On the Celebration of Easter



Translated by Andrew Eastbourne

1. It would perhaps not be inappropriate here again to discuss the *Pascha*, which was handed down long ago¹ to the children of the Hebrews as an image. Now then, when the Hebrews, performing “shadows of things to come,”² first used to celebrate the festival of *Phasek*,³ they would take for themselves a young domestic animal (this was a lamb or a sheep⁴). Next, they would sacrifice this animal themselves; and then, with the blood, everyone would first anoint the lintels and door-posts of their own homes, bloodying the thresholds and houses to ward off the destroyer.⁵ The flesh of the lamb, on the other hand, they would use for food; and girding up their loins with a belt, partaking of the nourishment of unleavened bread, and serving themselves bitter herbs, they would “pass over” from one place to another — [meaning,] the [journey] from the land of Egypt to the wilderness.⁶ It had been enjoined by Law that they do this, along with the slaughter and eating of the lamb. Hence, the passing over out of Egypt produced⁷ for them the name of the “Passover.”⁸ But these things happened to *them* by way of a *type*; and they were written down for *our* sake.⁹ Indeed, Paul [implicitly] gives this interpretation, revealing the truth of the ancient symbols, when he says, “For indeed, Christ our *Pascha* has been sacrificed.”¹⁰ And the reason for his being sacrificed is presented by the Baptist, when he says, “Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.”¹¹ The Savior’s body,¹² you see, was handed over to death as a sacrificial victim to ward off all evils: In the manner of a purificatory ritual, it took away the sin of the whole world. That is why Isaiah cried out clearly, “This one bears our sins, and suffers pain on our behalf.”¹³

2. When we are nourished by the *rational*¹⁴ *flesh* of this sacrificial Savior,¹⁵ who rescued the entire human race by his own blood — that is, when we are nourished by his teachings and discourses, which announce the kingdom of heaven — then we are rightly luxuriating with the luxury¹⁶ that is in accordance with God. But in addition to this, when we mark the houses of

our *souls*, that is, our bodies, by faith in his blood, which he gave as a ransom in exchange for our salvation, we drive away from ourselves every kind of treacherous demon. And when we celebrate the “Passover” festival, we are training ourselves to pass over to divine things, just as in ancient times they passed over out of Egypt into the desert. Indeed, in this way, we too are setting out on a kind of path that is untraversed and left deserted by the many, putting out of our souls the ancient “leaven” of godless error; and we serve ourselves “bitter herbs” by means of a bitter and painful way of life.

The appointed time for the festival is well-timed too: It did not come along in the midst of the winter season — for that time is gloomy — nor yet did it correspond to the middle of summer, when the sweltering solstice takes away the beauty of those who spend their time in the fields, and the length of the hours is too greedy, not balanced with equal shares.¹⁷ For¹⁸ the sight of the autumnal equinox is not pleasing, as the countryside is then bereft and deprived of its characteristic fruits, as though of its children. What is left is spring, the radiant season that takes the lead as head of the year, like the head of the body, when the sun is just now traversing the first section [of the Zodiac], and the moon likewise, with its light full, is shifting its nightly course into bright day. This season relieves the terrors of winter-storm thunders, removes the long intervals of time,¹⁹ adjusts the floods of water;²⁰ and now, as the fresh fair weather shines forth, calmness settles the seas for the sailors and grants land-travellers a mild atmosphere; in this season, the countryside is pregnant with seeds in the fields, and the plants swelling with fruit, exulting in the gifts of God, provide to farmers the due returns for their toil, with blessings.

3. This is the appointed time for the festival. To the Egyptians, the friends of demons, it brought destruction, but to the Hebrews, who celebrate the festival in God’s honor, it brought freedom from evils. This very time was that one which was observed at the original creation²¹ of the universe, when the earth sprouted plants, when the luminaries came into existence, when heaven and earth were brought onto the scene, and all that is in them. At this time, the Savior of the whole world²² accomplished the mystery of his own festival, and the “great luminary” brightened the earth²³ with the rays of piety; indeed, this time seems to embrace²⁴ the birthday of the world. At this time also, the *type* was celebrated — the ancient *Pascha* which was also called

Passover. But it also bore a symbol — consisting of the slaughter of a lamb; and also obscurely presented an image — that of nourishment by unleavened bread; and all these things were fulfilled in the Savior’s festival. For he himself was the lamb, insofar as he was clothed with a body; he himself was also the sun of righteousness, when the truly divine spring and the saving equinox, the turn²⁵ from worse things toward the better, took hold of human life. And god-driven scourges are sent down even to this day on the demons of the Egyptians, whereas peoples who dwell everywhere on earth are festively celebrating their freedom from long wandering in godlessness. And as the deceitful spirits have ceased, along with the storm of evils, an abundance of new fruits garlands the church of God with various gifts of the Holy Spirit. And simply put, the whole human race has been changed to take up our side, and all the fields, having received the cultivation of the soul from the *Logos* who is the husbandman, have sprouted the seasonable flowers of virtue. But also, now that we have been freed from the evils of darkness, we have been deemed worthy of light, in the day of the knowledge of God.²⁶

4. Such are the new teachings which in olden days were obscured through symbols, but which have now been unveiled and brought into the light. And in particular, we rekindle the beginning of the festival every year with periods of cycles. Before the festival, for the sake of preparation, we take up the forty-day training period, in emulation of the holy Moses and Elijah. And the festival itself we keep renewing, unforgettable forever.²⁷ Indeed, as we set forth on our journey toward God, we bind our loins well with the bond of self-control; we guard the steps of our soul with caution, and, as though in sandals, we prepare for the course of our heavenly calling; we use the staff of the divine word with the power of prayer to ward off the enemy, and with all eagerness we pass over to the path that leads to the heavens, hurrying from earthly affairs to heavenly things, and from mortal life to the immortal. For in this way, when we have accomplished the pass-over nobly and well, another, greater festival will greet us. The children of the Hebrews call it by the name of Pentecost; it bears the image of the kingdom of heaven. Indeed, Moses says, “When you begin [to use] the sickle on the crop, you shall count for yourself seven sevens, and you shall present new loaves from new crops to God.”²⁸ Now then, he was giving indications by prophetic types: By the “crop,” he was referring to the calling of the nations; and by the “new loaves,”

he was referring to the souls presented to God by Christ, the churches from the nations, in which²⁹ the greatest festival is celebrated in honor of the God who loves mankind. We have been harvested by the spiritual sickles of the Apostles, and have been gathered together into the churches everywhere in the world, as it were into threshing-floors; we have been made into a body by a harmonious disposition of faith, and have been prepared with the salt of teachings from the divine words; we have been reborn through the water and fire of the Holy Spirit — and we are presented to God by Christ, as nourishing, agreeable, and well-pleasing loaves.

5. In this way, as the prophetic symbols spoken by Moses give way to realities, with more solemn results, we ourselves, at all events, have learned to conduct the festival [i.e., Pentecost] with more lustre, as though we had already been assembled together with Christ and were enjoying his kingdom. For this reason, at this festival we are no longer allowed to undergo laborious toil, and we are taught to bear the image of the rest that is hoped for in heaven. Hence, we do not bend the knee as we pray, nor do we wear ourselves out with fasting; for those who been deemed worthy of the resurrection effected by God³⁰ can no longer fall down on the ground, nor can those who have been freed from the passions have the same experience³¹ as those who are enslaved. Therefore, after the *Pascha* we celebrate Pentecost, with seven complete sets of seven [days] — after manfully completing the previous forty-day period of training before the *Pascha* with six sets of seven. For the number six relates to action and accomplishment, and for this reason God is said to have made the universe in six days. The labors in that [number six] will be quite rightly succeeded by the second festival in seven sevens, when there is a multiplication of our rest, which the number seven signifies symbolically. The number of Pentecost [i.e., 50], however, is not complete with these [seven sevens]; overshooting the seven sevens, it puts a seal on the all-festive day of Christ's ascension by means of a *monad*,³² the last day after these [seven sevens].³³ Rightly then, as we trace out in the days of the holy Pentecost a representation of the rest that is to come, we rejoice in soul, and rest for a time in body, as though we were already with the bridegroom himself, and unable to fast.

6. But no one would dispute the fact that the sacred Gospel-writers reported that the Savior's passion took place during the days of the Jewish

Pascha of the Unleavened Bread. For the reason for the law that was proclaimed regarding the *Pascha* by Moses was as follows: Because the Lamb of God was going to be led to the slaughter among the Jews themselves, and was going to suffer this for the sake of the common salvation of all mankind at no time other than the one now being described, God anticipated the future by means of symbolic images, and commanded that the Jews sacrifice a physical lamb at that very time that was going to be established at some point after the passage of years. And this was performed by them every year, until the truth in its full completeness put an end to the old images. Hence, from that time, the true festival of the mysteries has held sway among the nations, whereas among the Jews, not even the memory of the symbols themselves is preserved any longer, since the place in which the Law had prescribed that the festival's rituals be carried out³⁴ has been taken away from them. Quite rightly then does the divine Scripture of the Gospels say that the Savior suffered at the time of the Jewish festival of Unleavened Bread, since he was indeed at that time led as a sheep to slaughter, in conformity with the words of prophecy.

7. Also, they [i.e., the Jews], following Moses, would sacrifice the sheep of the *Pascha* once in the whole year, on the fourteenth day of the first month, at evening. We of the new covenant, on the other hand, who celebrate our own *Pascha* each Lord's day, always take our fill of the Savior's body, always partake of the blood of the Lamb; we have always girded the loins of our souls with chastity and self-control, we have always prepared our feet in readiness for the Gospel;³⁵ we always hold the staves in our hands, and rest on the rod that came forth from the root of Jesse;³⁶ we are always being set free from Egypt, we are always going in search of the wilderness of human life, we are always setting out on the journey toward God: We are always celebrating the Passover. For the Gospel's word [/ Word] wants us to do this, not once in the year, but always and every day. For this reason, we celebrate the festival of *our Pascha* every week, on the day of our Savior and Lord, carrying out the mysteries of the true Lamb, by whom we have been ransomed. And we do not circumcise our bodies with a blade — rather, we remove every evil of the soul by means of the sharp word [/Word]; nor do we make use of physical unleavened bread — but only the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. For grace, having freed us from our former habits that had

grown old, bestowed on us the new man, the one created in accordance with God, and the new Law, a new circumcision, a new *Pascha*, and the “Jew in secret.”³⁷ And thus, it also left us free from the old appointed times.

8. When, however, the emperor most beloved of God was presiding in the midst of the holy Synod,³⁸ and the question of the *Pascha* was brought forward, there was said all that was said. And three [fourths] of the bishops of the whole world had the advantage in numbers as they strove against those of the East: The peoples of the North, the South, and the Occident together, being fortified by their harmony, pulled in the opposite direction from those of the Orient, who were defending their ancient custom. But at the end of the discussion, the Orientals yielded, and thus there came to be a single festival of Christ — and thus they stood apart from the killers of the Lord, and were joined to those who hold the same doctrine.³⁹ For nature draws like to like. And if someone were to say that it is written, “On the first day of [the festival] of Unleavened Bread the disciples approached the Savior and said to him, ‘Where do you want us to make preparations for you to eat the *Pascha*?’ — and he sent them to such-and-such a man, bidding them to say, ‘I am celebrating the *Pascha* at your house’”⁴⁰ — I will answer that this is not a command, but a historical account of an event that took place at the time of the Savior’s passion. It is one thing to recount the ancient event, and quite another to make a law and to leave behind commands for posterity.

9. But furthermore, the Savior did *not* celebrate the *Pascha* along with the Jews at the time of his passion. For when they were sacrificing the lamb, at that time he himself was conducting his own *Pascha* with his disciples. They [i.e., the Jews] were doing this⁴¹ on the Preparation day on which the Savior suffered; for this reason, they did not enter the *praetorium*, but instead Pilate came out to them. But he [i.e., Jesus] a full day earlier, on the fifth day of the week, was reclining at table with his disciples, and as he ate with them he said, “I have very much desired to eat this *Pascha* with you.”⁴² Do you see how the Savior did not eat the *Pascha* along with the Jews? Because this was a new custom, and one foreign to the customary Jewish ways, it was necessary for him to institute it by saying, “I have very much desired to eat this *Pascha* with you before I suffer.” The one set of practices, being now ancient and indeed antiquated — the [*Pascha*] which he used to eat along with the Jews — was *not* desirable; but the new mystery of his new covenant,

which he imparted to his disciples, *was* desirable to him, quite rightly so. Since many prophets and righteous ones before him desired to see the mysteries of the new covenant, and since the Word himself, who thirsted at all times for the general salvation, was passing down a mystery by which all people would celebrate the festival, he professed that this was desirable to him. The *Pascha* of Moses was not suitable for all the nations of all time — of course not, when the Law had stipulated that it be celebrated in a single place, namely Jerusalem.⁴³ And so it was not desirable. But the Savior's mystery of the new covenant is suitable for all people, and so it was naturally desirable to him.

10. But he himself, before he suffered, ate the *Pascha* and celebrated the festival with his disciples, not with the Jews. But when had celebrated the festival at evening, the chief priests came upon him with the traitor and laid their hands on him; for *they* were not eating the *Pascha* [that] evening, otherwise they would not have busied themselves with him. And then, having seized him, they led him off to the house of Caiaphas, where, after spending the night, they gathered together and conducted the preliminary inquiry. Then, after that, they arose and led him, in company with the crowd, to Pilate; and at that point, the Scripture says that they did not enter the *praetorium*, so that they would not become defiled⁴⁴ (so they thought) by coming in under a pagan roof, and would eat the *Pascha* at evening with their purity intact — those most foul ones — who strained out a gnat but swallowed a camel;⁴⁵ those who had become defiled already in soul and body by their bloodthirstiness against the Savior feared to come in under [Pilate's] roof! They, on the one hand, on that very day of the passion, ate the *Pascha* that was injurious to their own souls, and asked for the Savior's blood — not on their own behalf, but to their own detriment; our Savior, on the other hand, not then, but the day before, reclined at table with his disciples and conducted the festival that was desirable to himself.

11. Do you see how from that time, *he* [i.e., Jesus] was separating himself from them and moving away from the Jews' bloodthirstiness, but was joining himself with his disciples, celebrating the desirable festival together with them? So then, we too ought to eat the *Pascha* with Christ, while purifying our minds from all leaven of evil and wickedness, and taking our fill of the unleavened bread of truth and sincerity, and having within ourselves, in our

souls, the “Jew in secret”⁴⁶ and the true circumcision, and anointing the doorposts of our minds with the blood of the Lamb who was sacrificed for us, to ward off our destroyer. And we do this not only at a single time of the whole year, but every week. Let our “Preparation” be fasting,⁴⁷ the symbol of mourning, on behalf of our former sins, and for the sake of remembering the Savior’s passion.

12. I assert that the *Jews* have gone astray from the truth, ever since they plotted against the Truth itself and drove away from themselves the Word of Life. And the Scriptures of the holy Gospels present this fact clearly. For they testify that the Lord ate the *Pascha* on the first day of Unleavened Bread; but *they* did not eat the *Pascha* that was customary for them on the day on which, as Luke says, “the *Pascha* had to be sacrificed,”⁴⁸ but instead on the following day, which was the second day of Unleavened Bread and the fifteenth day of the lunar month, on which, when our Savior was being judged by Pilate, they did not enter the *praetorium* — and consequently, they did *not* eat it on the first day of Unleavened Bread, on which it had to be sacrificed, in accordance with the Law. For in that case they themselves too would have been celebrating the *Pascha* along with the Savior; instead, they were blinded by their own wickedness from that very time, concurrently with their plot against the Savior, and they wandered from all truth. We, on the other hand, conduct the same mysteries [as Christ did] all through the year: On every day before the Sabbath we carry out a remembrance of the Savior’s passion through a fast that the Apostles first engaged in at the time when the bridegroom had been taken away from them; and every Lord’s day we are made alive by the consecrated body of the same Savior, and are sealed in our souls by his precious blood.

ENDNOTES

¹ Gk. ἄνωθεν; alternatively, “from above” (i.e., by God).

² Col. 2.17.

³ Gk. φασέκ. For this transliteration of the Hebrew *Pesach*, cf. 2 Chron. 30.1, 5, 15, 17, 18; Jer. 38.8 (LXX). Elsewhere, *Pascha* (Gk. πάσχα) is typically used, as also elsewhere in the present text. For the Biblical injunctions relating to the celebration of the Passover, see especially Ex. 12; Lev. 23; Deut. 16.

⁴ Gk. πρόβατον; I have translated this term freely as “lamb” elsewhere in this text. Ex. 12.5, by contrast, allows for a young sheep or *goat*; Deut. 16.2, for sheep or *cattle*.

⁵ Gk. εἰς ἀνατροπὴν τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ; Ex. 12.23 speaks of the ὀλοθρεύων; for ὀλοθρευτής, see 1 Cor. 10.10. Euseb., *Comm. on the Psalms* [PG 23: 560], uses the phrase εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ — similarly also section 11 in the present text.

⁶ At this point, Euseb. is really thinking of the absolutely first “Passover,” not simply the early celebration of the festival.

⁷ Gk. ἐπλήρου. This meaning is odd, but something like this is required for the sense here; corruption may have obscured the original wording. Mai translates similarly: *Quamobrem illa ex Aegypto digressio, nomen fecit apud Hebraeos festo transitus*.

⁸ Gk. τὰ διαβατήρια, i.e., “[festival / rites] of crossing / passing over”; Philo uses this term for Passover (LSJ).

⁹ Cf. 1 Cor. 10.11.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. 5.7.

¹¹ Joh. 1.29.

¹² Gk. τὸ σῶμα τὸ σωτήριον, which can be translated either as “the Savior’s body” or “the saving / salvific body.” The adjective appears frequently in this text; I have normally translated it as “Savior’s.”

¹³ Isa. 53.2 (LXX).

¹⁴ Alternatively, “spiritual”; Gk. λογικός, which is of course derived from the word λόγος, and thus Euseb. is playing on the fact that Christ was identified as the *Logos*. The phrase could almost be translated, “the Word’s flesh.”

¹⁵ Gk. τὸ σωτήριον θῦμα; lit., “sacrifice of the Savior” or “saving / salvific sacrifice.”

¹⁶ Both “luxuriating” and “luxury” are based on a Greek root (τρόφ-) that is very similar-sounding to the one for “nourishment” (τρέφ-/τροφή-).

¹⁷ I.e., when the hours of daylight are much longer than the hours of night, and thus each of the twelve daylight hours is much longer than each of the twelve nocturnal hours. (So Mai.)

¹⁸ Gk. γάρ; the odd defective logical connection here suggests that a sentence or clause has

been lost before this one.

¹⁹ A reference to the long winter nights, according to Mai.

²⁰ That is, it moves away from the storms typical of winter.

²¹ Gk. κοσμογονία.

²² Gk. κόσμος.

²³ Gk. οικουμένη.

²⁴ Gk. περιέχειν; alternatively, “seems to contain a reference to...”

²⁵ Gk. τροπή, which means a “turn” and so by extension the solstice or equinox as one of the turning points of the year — I have thus had to translate it twice to capture the proper effect, first as “equinox,” second as “turn.”

²⁶ Mai interprets this as meaning “the day of *our* knowledge of God”: *qua die Dei notitiam hausimus*.

²⁷ Gk. εἰς ἄληστον αἰῶνα.

²⁸ Deut. 16.9, somewhat freely cited; the last part is not in that verse, however — cf. Lev. 23.16-17 for the content, although there too the phraseology is somewhat different.

²⁹ Gk. ἐφ’ αἷς.

³⁰ Gk. κατὰ Θεόν.

³¹ Gk. πάσχειν — the verb is related to the noun “passion” (πάθος) used just before.

³² I.e., a single (50th) day in addition to the 49.

³³ I.e., the ascension, 40 days after the resurrection, was followed up by the experience of Pentecost (Acts 1.3; 2.1).

³⁴ Cf. Deut. 16.6.

³⁵ Cf. Eph. 6.15.

³⁶ Cf. Isa. 11.1.

³⁷ Cf. Rom. 2.29. The phrase, “in secret” (Gk. ἐν κρυπτῷ) is rendered by many translations as “inwardly.”

³⁸ I.e., Constantine at the Council of Nicaea.

³⁹ I.e., fellow Christians, as opposed to Jews.

⁴⁰ Mt. 26.17-18, freely cited.

⁴¹ I.e., celebrating their *Pascha*. That is, not only was the *Pascha* instituted by Christ different in character, but it was also not on the same day as the Jewish authorities celebrated their *Pascha*.

⁴² Lk. 22.15.

⁴³ Cf. Deut. 16.6.

⁴⁴ Cf. Jn. 18.28.

⁴⁵ Cf. Mt. 23.24.

⁴⁶ Cf. Rom. 2.29 and the end of section 7 above.

⁴⁷ Cf. the end of section 12 below.

⁴⁸ Lk. 22.7.

Encomium on the Martyrs



Translated by B. H. Cowper, 1864

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INTRODUCTION.

[THE following short oration is found near the end (fol. 250 rect.) of the venerable volume from which, at different times, there have been printed:

1. The Recognitions of Clement.
2. Titus of Bostra against the Manicheans.
3. The Theophany of Eusebius.
4. The Martyrs of Palestine, also by Eusebius.

This last was published by Dr. Cureton in 1861 ; but it is singular that the learned editor, whose premature decease all Orientalists deplore, made no allusion to the *Encomium*, which has been detected by Dr. W. Wright during his labours as curator of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. The same gentleman has also called our attention to an unfortunately imperfect list of early martyrs following this oration, and forming the actual conclusion of the volume (Add. MS. 12,150). We cannot say whether Eusebius is the writer of this venerable martyrology, but it must be older than the MS. in which we find it, — the oldest *dated* Syriac MS. in our Museum (written A.D. 411). Those who possess Dr. Cureton's *Martyrs of Palestine*, will welcome the *Encomium* as its natural complement. As for the authorship, it is undoubted. Among the works of Eusebius, mentioned by Ebed-Jesu in his catalogue, the *Martyrs of Palestine* is followed by an oration with exactly the same title as ours. This may be seen in Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i., 184 ; iii., 19. Through the courtesy of Mr. Watts, the oriental printer, we are enabled to present our readers with the Syriac text of this curious little document. We intend to give an English version of the *Encomium* in our October number]

THE ENCOMIUM OF THE MARTYRS. BY EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA. ENGLISH TRANSLATION.¹

Encomium of their Excellences.

1. O YE retainers of Godly freedom and truth in tribulation and in labour; dead in body and free in soul; through the death of the body ye overcame death, armed with faith, and clothed for ever in the robe ² of faith. For, verily, invincible armour was given to you in faith and in victory ;³ for in your hands abode the shield which is by the law; and the helmets which were on your heads were not weakened nor cast down,⁴ and the precepts which are sustaining were not relaxed in you; and sharp, and not blunt, was the spiritual sword; and by earnest prayers through Christ unto the Lord of all, your will ye directed. For unto you was adjudged ⁵ a heavenly war, and by victory ye became worthy of the heavenly assemblies; for the world which passeth away did not flatter you, nor did it entice you, neither did the wrath of kings make you afraid; and the promise of a gift of the wealth of the world wrested not from your souls the treasure of truth which is for ever; and the pomp of the fashion of the world perverted not your sobriety. For ye hated dishonour and loved distinction, and through the desire of the love ⁶ of the cross of Christ ye put away from yourselves the curse of crucifixion, which is in malice and in evil. For by affliction for a little time ye acquired immeasurable glory; for in the truth of faith ye served with the prophets, and stood in agreement with the apostles; and with the glorified blessed, Christ the divine chief, the crown of glory ye received.⁷

2. O ye who are dead in appearance,⁸ and alive in reality, for your inferiority to the angels is filled up by the suffering which has happened on behalf of Christ, and through grace victory is vouchsafed to you without much solicitude, and your memory every hour is very full of glory; for ye received in your body the signs of the reproach of Christ, the setting free of your souls; for your death on behalf of Christ assured the hope of your faith; and by the constancy which ye received from above, ye changed the constitution of your former nature, and became the sons and children of desirable wisdom; and by the understanding of knowledge, ye caused your souls to fly to the righteous,

and ye ran the race without weariness to the King of truth, and the Lord of the assemblies, which are for ever. Therefore, let labour ⁹ be ashamed, and the stripped ¹⁰ eagerness of the conflicts ¹¹ of men whose labour is not vouchsafed on behalf of Christ; and let them restrain their unprofitable sweat, which is not distilled for the conflict of heaven ; and let the race of the eager horses be accounted vain, and their victory be derided, because they cannot be compared to souls upon the horses of Elijah, on which he has in truth arisen.¹² In these the Lord is; for the righteousness of the soul is the chariot of the Lofty One, and a confession wherein is the keeping of his restraints.¹³ And let the assemblies of worldly festivals slumber,¹⁴ — those to which a place in heaven is not vouchsafed; for all of them are earnest in body, and an increase of the trade of worldly contests.¹⁵ Let them be ashamed in their labour, which maketh void of the grace of Christ. For those who on behalf of our Lord and our God received in exchange the judgment of their body, are in heaven, in glory, and in victory,¹⁶ and in joy. Hananiah is exalted, and Azariah is lauded, and Mishael the strong one is called glorious. The fire of Babel was kindled, and did not ascend ¹⁷ on high, and by the abundance of much wood that was in it, it was deprived of its power, and its destroying nature was shorn of its might, because of the love wherewith it would honour the sons of the law.¹⁸ But it was fierce and it was strong, and it burned and destroyed the slanderers who were spectators of the zealous and the blessed. These were confessors, and when the veil of their suffering was before their eyes for reproach and for praise, they drew near to the confessors' fire. The den of hungry mountain-lions also was nullified through fear of the servant of God, of Christ; and the lions were appeased in their hunger, so that they were not defiled by the suffering of the righteous. For Noah fed the beasts with flesh according to the former commandment; but Daniel made them abstinent, that they should fast, as he was able to command in the conflict of righteousness. But let another pit shew the reproach and ignominy of Jewish oppressors, — the one which is a testimony to the earnestness and manliness of Jeremiah. The altar and temple bore witness, and the holy place which was between them, where Zechariah received the crown of victory. And let Abel speak after his death, by denouncing the cruel and hateful in the manners of Cain. But the crown of victory in the great contest both for men and for women, who are in confession (*or become confessors*), the mother of seven sons put on :¹⁹ she

who reared her sons by prayer and by the milk of the law and by heavenly food, stood with every one of them in confession of the utterances of the law, in order that not one of her pains might be deprived of grace, and very much rejoiced because of the fruit which there was upon each one of her branches. For she was not crowned on account of one of her sons, while honour was taken away because of another; nor was it over one that she rejoiced in victory, and was in anguish over another because of his fall; but over all of them, and through all of them, she had great rejoicing, because she saw them all that they stood in the commandment of the law; and she was glad and gave praise, because of the righteousness of her branches in the law; and she offered pure praise and righteous prayer to the Most High the Strengtheners of his servants. How fair was she in duty,²⁰ and righteous in the law, and blessed in her offspring! A wise mother, thou didst remove indifference far away from thy lovely children, and without blows ²¹ they took their stand in the arena: and this is an evidence ²² of true mothers. For it behoves that more than worldly wealth, and than love to our fellow-men, we should love the love of God, and that we should cleave to Christ and love the prophets according to the divine rule, and in everything be like Abraham.²³ O blessed woman, who didst bring forth with hard pains, and without griefs didst restore, by prayer, the fruit thou didst rear ; thou, without laments, didst send a messenger for thyself before God. For what time is there, or what day, or what godly congregation of the passion of Christ, and glorious day of the memorial of his resurrection,²⁴ when the members of the resurrection of the confessor Christ may not be remembered and honoured by every mouth and by every tongue? So, then, let the new soldiers of his faith, equipped with the glory of his truth, pass in remembrance and in word before our eyes, and before the Lord of victory, and the giver of crowns, the Lord Christ, Peter being second in command after our Lord Jesus, in the heavenly host of the glorious ranks, powerful in heaven and also upon earth, closing and opening without envy, in righteousness, the way of the gate of heaven, and not like the Pharisees, the partakers of his blood and of his race.²⁵ Let us cleave to them, and to every one of the apostles, since it is proclaimed in heaven and by observation that their minister shall receive a crown of righteousness.²⁶

3. Let Stephen be crowned ; and also Paul, no longer persecuting the churches,²⁷ declaring his conversion in the Gospel of truth which is from the

Deity, which he received and confessed by his suffering for Christ, and he filled up in his body what was behind of the afflictions of Christ for his body, that is, the Church.

4. But also let others be remembered, who, after them, accepted the conflict, and were counted worthy to stand in the true conflict for Christ. Now as worthy of our commemoration, let the men be remembered who, after these, were the elect, and who, without reproach and violence, with their souls affirmed the faith,²⁸ — those who were counted worthy to receive the hope of the apostles. Let there be honoured in our commemoration then, both Asclepiades and Serapion, and Philetus, and Zebinas, and Demetrius, and Flavianus, and Cyrillus (?), and Sosipater, and Andrew, and Babylas, and Caerealis (?), and Izabenus(?), and Zenobius, and Paulus, a kinsman, who was counted worthy to stand in the divine portion, and to be of it. Let Marinus also hasten, and to heaven let Fronto come, and the abstinent old man Hippolytus.²⁹ Now I know and confess that many others were victorious in this conflict. But although their names escape me, their record, which is in heaven, I remember in my soul, and I lay to heart the sufferings of the Church which is in Christ. For, truly, I hope with all of you, through the divine message, by the truth of the confession ³⁰ which, is in Christ, that I shall receive fruit at the resurrection of the dead. I further say to you, O blessed confessors, I desire to depart from the world unto you, and from the body from which you are freed. Now faults fail (those) that (are) with Christ,³¹ as ye are this day, and are accounted. May there, at some time, be given the power to say after you, Pains flee, anguish is worn away, and groaning is departed : O ye who exist in the likeness of the suffering of Christ, and die not for ever.

End of the Discourse upon the Confessors.

ENDNOTES

¹ The Syriac text of this discourse, from a MS. written A.D. 411, was printed in our last, pp. 403-408. We were then under the impression that, because the late Canon Cureton had not referred to it in his *Martyrs of Palestine*, to which it is appended in the MS., he had not observed it at all. This was a mistake. “We are reminded by Dr. Tregelles that Dr. Cureton alludes to it in the *Festal Letters of Athanasius* (Pref., p. 16); and that it is also mentioned by the late Professor Lee, in his translation of the *Theophany* of Eusebius (Pref., p. xi.).

The following attempt at a translation is generally literal, but the original, like all new documents in the same language, contains words and idioms not explained in grammars and lexicons. This circumstance, and the absence of vowel-points, causes some ambiguity in certain places, but we hope we have succeeded in conveying the general sense. Some of the peculiarities are noticed in the following short annotations.

² The word rendered “robe” is the same as that for “furnace,” but it occurs in the sense of a vestment of some kind in Ephraem Syrus, as is observed by Dr. Burgess, *Repentance of Nineveh*, note, p. 54.

³ Or “innocence.” The word has both meanings.

⁴ The rendering of this clause is uncertain.

⁵ Or, “vouchsafed.” The word usually means “justified.”

⁶ Or, “the affectionate desire.”

⁷ The sections we indicate are the same in the original.

⁸ Literally, “in falsehood.”

⁹ The similar Syriac word, “world,” might seem more appropriate here, but is not required, as the orator is about to speak of the toil of competitors in ancient contests.

¹⁰ The Syriac word is the one commonly meaning “Apostolic,” but doubtless “stripped” is the idea; perhaps “gymnastic.”

¹¹ Here again the form is that usually rendered “generations” and “courts,” but it sometimes means conflicts or contests.

¹² As the sun rises.

¹³ “Restraints” seems to be the sense, but the word may be a mistake for “commands.” In any case the clause is not quite clear.

¹⁴ Probably “be lost in silence and forgot.”

¹⁵ The preceding clause is not clear.

¹⁶ Or, “in purity.”

¹⁷ Or, “was hot, and did not ascend.”

¹⁸ *i.e.*, Those who were obedient to the law.

¹⁹ Although most of the illustrations are from our Canonical books, it is plain that Eusebius did not feel himself under any restraint in that direction.

²⁰ “Duty.” We assign this meaning to a word which has the sense of “retribution,” “recompence,” “suffering,” “dissolution,” etc.

²¹ They did not require to be driven by blows into the arena, like cowards.

²² Or, “a specimen.”

²³ We are not sure that the foregoing sentence is correctly rendered throughout ; it is certainly obscure and irregular in its construction.

²⁴ The special allusions here seem to be to Good Friday and Easter Sunday. The phrase rendered “resurrection of the confessor Christ” is ambiguous.

²⁵ Although this sentence is not very plain, there is no doubt that Peter has ascribed to him all the honour mentioned above.

²⁶ We are really uncertain as to the precise idea of this place: possibly the “minister” is one who honours the memory of the saints.

²⁷ Obscure again. Eusebius appears to mean that Paul, instead of persecuting the churches, narrates his conversion in the exercise of that true hope which God gives, and which he has received and avowed.

²⁸ Or, with their lives attested the faith.

²⁹ The eminent saints and martyrs whom Eusebius mentions will not, even in name, be all

recognized, owing to the loose way in which their names are spelled in the Syriac. A reference to the *Martyrs of Palestine* supplies the names of Zebinas, and Paulus, but whether they are the same as those in our text does not appear (*Martyrs*, p. 31, 39, 47). Of the rest, we find the names of two or three in other works of Eusebius, and more in the old martyrologies; but we are not about to investigate them here, and will only remark that all the martyrs mentioned in this part of the oration may be such as suffered in Palestine, but are not named in the larger work.

³⁰ Another ambiguous phrase.

³¹ There is a paronomasia in the original here, which is at the same time obscure and abrupt. The whole piece abounds with remarkably crabbed and doubtful expressions, possibly because the translator was not sufficiently master of Greek.

The History of the Martyrs in Palestine



Translated by William Cureton, 1861

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THIS ACCOUNT OF
MARTYRS FOR THE TRUTH OF THE HOLY
RELIGION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST
IS

Dedicated to the Memory

OF
FRANCIS EGERTON EARL OF ELLESMERE
K.G.

IN PIOUS RECOGNITION OF MUCH AND LONG-CONTINUED KINDNESS AND
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THE PRIVILEGE OF ENJOYING THE
FRIENDSHIP OF ONE WHO SO EMINENTLY ADORNED THE HIGH
STATION TO WHICH HE WAS BORN BY HIS OWN PERSONAL
VIRTUES AND ADDED REAL DIGNITY TO THE RANK
WHICH HE INHERITED BY THE ACQUIREMENTS
OF A SCHOLAR THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS
OF A GENTLEMAN AND THE
GRACES OF A CHRISTIAN.

PREFACE.

THE manuscript from which this work of Eusebius has been at length recovered, after the lapse of several centuries, is that wonderful volume of the Nitrian Collection now in the British Museum, whose most curious and remarkable history I have already made known in the Preface to my edition of the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius. It is not necessary, therefore, for me in this place to give any further account of it than to state that it was transcribed fourteen hundred and fifty years ago, — as early as the year of our Lord four hundred and eleven.

The several works contained in it are now all printed, and thereby rescued from the chance of being lost for all future time. The first — a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, which I once intended to publish, and had transcribed the greater part of it for that purpose — has been edited by Dr. P. de Lagarde, to whom I gave my copy. The transcript was completed by him, and compared with another manuscript of the same work, and afterward printed with that great care and accuracy which gives so much value to all the Syriac texts which he has edited. The second treatise in this manuscript is the book of Titus, Bishop of Bostra, or Bozra, in Arabia, against the Manicheans. We are also indebted for the publication of this important work to Dr. de Lagarde. The third is the book of Eusebius on the Theophania, or Divine Manifestation of our Lord. The text of this was edited by the late Dr. Lee, who also published an English translation of it, with valuable notes and a preliminary dissertation. The last is this history of the Martyrs of Palestine, also written by the same Author.

In the eighth book of the Ecclesiastical History, upon the occasion of his giving a short account of certain Bishops and others, who sealed their testimony for their faith with their blood, Eusebius stated his intention of writing, in a distinct treatise, a narrative of the confession of those Martyrs with whom he had himself been acquainted. Up to the time of the discovery of this Syriac copy, no such work was known to exist in a separate form, either in Latin or Greek. There is indeed a brief history of those contemporaries of Eusebius who suffered in the persecution of the Christians in Palestine, found in several antient Greek manuscripts, inserted as a part of it, and combined with the Ecclesiastical History : but it does not occupy the same place in all the copies of that work. In one it is placed after the middle of the thirteenth

chapter of the eighth book; in two at the end of the tenth book; and in several, at the end of the eighth; while from two others, as well as from the Latin version made by Ruffinus, it is omitted altogether. There is no distinct title prefixed to it in any copy but one, the Codex Castellani, where it bears the inscription: — Eusebiou suggramma peri tw'n kat' auton marturhsantwn en twi oktaetei Dioklhtianou kai efexhV Galeriou tou Maximinou diwgmou; but two copies, the Mazarine and Medicean, have at the end — Eusebiou tou Pamfilou peri tw'n en Palaistinhi marturhsantwn teloV.

That this was the history of the martyrs who were known to Eusebius which he had promised, has never been doubted by any one; while, on the other hand, almost every one who has undertaken to write on the subject has judged it to be but an abridgment of the original work which formerly existed in a more extended form. The antient Latin copy of the Acts of Procopius, the Acts of Pamphilus and his companions, as exhibited by Simeon Metaphrastes, in much fuller detail than they are now found in the Greek text of Eusebius, and the additional facts respecting other martyrs who suffered in Palestine, supplied by the Greek Menaea and Menologia, were adduced as evidence of the existence at one time of a more copious work, and as a proof that the narrative inserted in the Ecclesiastical History was only an abridgment.

The correctness of this critical induction has been completely established by the discovery of this copy of the work of Eusebius of Caesarea on the Martyrs of Palestine, in the vernacular language of the country where the events took place, and actually transcribed within about seventy years after the death of the author.

S. E. Assemani goes so far as to express his conviction that this history of the sufferings of the martyrs in Palestine was originally composed in Syriac, a language with which Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, was necessarily well acquainted, as being the vernacular speech of his own country and diocese. It is not at all improbable that Eusebius might have made use of the Syriac for ordinary purposes, or, indeed, as a safer deposit for any memoranda which he might wish to commit to writing than the Greek, during the time that the persecution continued. Could this inference of S. E. Assemani be established, it would give still additional interest and value to the work which I now publish. I must, however, own that I cannot admit the supposition that this work was originally written in the Syriac language. Indeed, it seems to me to

be sufficiently disproved by the fact, that the Syriac copy of such of the Acts of Martyrs in Palestine as have been published by S. E. Assemani, while it agrees completely in substance with this, is evidently a translation by another hand; and that the variation and errors which occur in some of the proper names are of such a kind as could only have arisen from confounding two similar Greek letters of the writing at that period; and further, there are some obscure passages in this Syriac, which obviously seem to be the result of a translator not fully apprehending the meaning of the Greek passage before him.

How long the entire Greek text of the original work continued to be read, we have now no means of learning with any degree of certainty. It must have been in existence in the time of Simeon Metaphrastes, in the tenth century, for he has supplied many facts from it which the abridged form of the Greek does not contain, and has also given entire the long passage relating to Pamphilus and his companions. Neither can there be any doubt of its having been in use at the period when the Greek *Menaia* and *Menologia* were compiled. The fact that many of the circumstances and events which it described had been inserted in the abovementioned books, and that an abridgment, which, I cannot doubt, was made by Eusebius himself, had also been incorporated into the Ecclesiastical History, seems to have led to the discontinuance of the transcription of the larger work, and to have been mainly the cause of its being no longer found in the Greek in a separate form. The preservation of this work in its complete state up to the present time, in the Syriac, is chiefly due to the circumstance of its having been transported, at a very early period, to the Syrian Monastery in the solitude of the Nitrian Desert, where the dryness of the climate kept the vellum from decay, and the idleness and ignorance of the monks saved the volume from being worn out and destroyed by frequent use.

Independently of the great interest of the subject of which it treats, this work of Eusebius has especial claims to consideration, on the ground of the author having been himself an eyewitness of most of the events which he describes. There are some, indeed, at which he could not have been present; for instance, the Confession of Romanus, who suffered at Antioch on the same day as Alphaeus and Zacchaeus did at Caesarea, where he was then residing. He has, given a narrative of the sufferings of Romanus, in his history of the Martyrs of Palestine, because he was a native of Palestine, and had also

been a deacon and exorcist in one of the villages of Caesarea; and Eusebius was anxious to claim for his own country and diocese the honour of this man's confession. This may perhaps be the reason why there are found two distinct accounts of the Acts of Romanus in Syriac, as well as in Greek and Latin.

It is not my intention to enter into any discussion respecting the time of the composition of this treatise, or that of the great Church History by Eusebius: nor will I consider at any length the question of the abridgment of the account of the Martyrs of Palestine inserted in most of the copies of the Ecclesiastical History, or that of the different recensions of this latter work by the author himself. These are certainly very interesting subjects of literary and historical inquiry; and doubtless this book will supply the critic with new data, to enable him to elucidate and determine them in a more complete and satisfactory manner than it has been hitherto possible for any one to do. These matters I would rather leave to other scholars. All now have the same materials as I have, and some may be possessed of other greater facilities and appliances, as well as better capacities for the task. I believe it to be my duty to employ my own time and exertions in another way.

I will therefore content myself with briefly observing that this work of Eusebius on the Martyrs of Palestine bears evidently upon it the stamp of being a record of facts which were noted down at the time as they severally occurred, and were afterwards revised and arranged in due order at a subsequent period, when some events, which, in the earlier years of the Persecution, the author thought it probable might happen, had actually taken place; and when other occurrences of earlier date were no longer so fresh and vivid in the minds of men as they had been when all were still living who had witnessed them.

I would observe, also, that it seems to be evident that this work, in which Eusebius recounts the martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions, was composed before he wrote the fuller history of that noble Martyr, to which he refers in the Abridgment; for no reference whatever is made to the existence of any such history in this original and more copious narrative of the Martyrs of Palestine. It must, therefore, have been composed before he wrote the Ecclesiastical History, in which he several times adverts to the life of Pamphilus as having been already completed.

The first edition of the Ecclesiastical History does not appear to have

contained the history of the Martyrs of Palestine. This seems to be the copy used by Ruffinus, who neither gives any such history, nor has the passage in the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book which refers to it.

Indeed, it is evident from his own words that the abridgment must have been made by Eusebius himself. When, therefore, he condensed the narrative for the purpose of incorporating it into the subsequent editions of the Ecclesiastical History, he also took that opportunity of supplying several facts which, either from considerations of prudence, or from not having had knowledge of them at the time when the work was originally composed, he had previously omitted; and also ventured to speak more plainly of persons, because the altered condition of circumstances after the accession of Constantine enabled him to do this without any apprehension of danger. This, I think, will be obvious to those who will be at the pains to compare the general narrative of the events as they are recorded year by year, with the notes which I have added, even without having recourse to fuller and more minute researches.

The translation I have endeavoured to make as faithful as I could without following the Syriac idiom so closely as to render the English obscure. There are a very few passages in which I cannot feel quite sure that I have obtained the precise meaning of the Syriac; but the obscurity of these passages is certainly due to the Translator, who does not seem to have fully understood the Greek text which he had before him. My English translation of the long account of Pamphilus and his companions was printed before I read either the Greek text printed by Papebrochius, or the Latin translation made by Lipomannus from the same Greek, as it was preserved by Simeon Metaphrastes. The comparison of all of these together will be a good means of testing both the integrity of the transmission of the original Greek to the present day, and the fidelity of the Syriac translation.

In the notes, my chief object has been to collect such observations as may tend especially to throw light upon the time of the composition of this work and of the Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius, and serve to elucidate the text; but in order to keep them from extending to too great a length, I have omitted all those matters which it appeared to me an ordinarily well-informed scholar might be presumed to be acquainted with.

ON THE MARTYRS IN PALESTINE,

THOSE Holy Martyrs of God, who loved our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and God supreme and sovereign of all, more than themselves and their own lives, who were dragged forward to the conflict for the sake of religion, and rendered glorious by the martyrdom of confession, who preferred a horrible death to a temporary life, and were crowned with all the victories of virtue, and offered to the Most High and supreme God the glory of their wonderful victory, because they had their conversation in heaven, and walked with him who gave victory to their testimony, also offered up glory, and honour, and majesty to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Moreover, the souls of the martyrs being worthy of the kingdom of heaven are in honour together with the company of the prophets and apostles. Let us therefore, likewise, who stand in need of the aid of their prayers, and have been also charged in the book of the Apostles, that we should be partakers in the remembrance of the Saints, — let us also be partakers with them, and begin to describe those conflicts of theirs against sin, which are at all times published abroad by the mouth of those believers who were acquainted with them Nor, indeed, have their praises been noted by monuments of stone, nor by statues variegated with painting and colours and resemblances of earthly things without life, but by the word of truth spoken before God: the deed also which is seen by our eyes bearing witness.

[P. 2.] Let us therefore, relate the manifest signs and glorious proofs of the divine doctrine, and commit to writing a commemoration not to be forgotten, setting also their marvellous virtues as a constant vision before our eyes. For I am struck with wonder at their all-enduring courage, at their confession under many forms, and at the wholesome alacrity of their souls, the elevation of their minds, the open profession of their faith, the clearness of their reason, the patience of their condition, and the truth of their religion: how they were not cast down in their minds, but their eyes looked upwards, and they neither trembled nor feared. The love of God also, and of His Christ, supplied them with an all-effective power, by which they overcame their enemies. For they loved God, the supreme sovereign of all, and they loved Him with all their might. He, too, requited their love to Him by the aid which He afforded them: and they also were loved by Him, and strengthened against their enemies,

applying the words of that confessor who had already borne his testimony before them and exclaiming “Who shall separate us from Christ? shall tribulation, or affliction, or persecution, or hunger, or death, or the sword? as it is written, For thy sake we die daily: we are reckoned as lambs for the slaughter.” And again, when this same martyr magnifies that patience which cannot be overcome by evil, he says— “that in all these things we conquer for Him who loved us.” And he foretold that all evils are overcome by the love of God, and that all terrors and afflictions are trodden down, while he exclaimed and said : “Because I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in our Lord Jesus Christ.”

At that time then, Paul, who exulted in the power of his Lord, was himself crowned with the victory of martyrdom in the midst of Rome, the Imperial City [..], because he had entered the contest there, as in a superior conflict. In that victory also which Christ granted to his triumphant martyrs, Simon, the chief and first of the disciples, likewise received the crown; and he suffered in a manner similar to our Lord’s sufferings. Others of the Apostles too, in other places, closed their lives in martyrdom. Nor was this grace given only to those of former times, but it has also been bestowed abundantly upon this our own generation.

As for those conflicts, which were gloriously achieved in various other countries, it is meet that they who were then living should describe what took place in their own country; but for myself I pray that I may be enabled to write an account of those with whom I had the honour of being cotemporary, and that they may rank me also among them — I mean those of whom the whole people of Palestine is proud, for in the midst of this our land also the Saviour of all mankind himself arose like a thirst-refreshing fountain. The conflicts, therefore, of these victorious combatants I will proceed to relate, for the common instruction and benefit of all.

THE CONFESSION OF PROCOPIUS, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS.

THE first of all the martyrs who appeared in Palestine was named Procopius. In truth he was a godly man, for even before his confession he had given up his life to great endurance: and from the time that he was a little boy had been of pure habits, and of strict morals: and by the vigour of his mind he had so brought his body into subjection, that, even before his death, his soul seemed to dwell in a body completely mortified, and he had so strengthened his soul by the word of God that his body also was sustained by the power of God. His food was bread only, and his drink water; and he took nothing else besides these two. [P. 4.] Occasionally he took food every second day only, and sometimes every third day; oftentimes too he passed a whole week without food. But he never ceased day nor night from the study of the word of God: and at the same time he was careful as to his manners and modesty of conduct, so that he edified by his; meekness and piety all those of his own standing. And while his chief application was devoted to divine subjects, he was acquainted also in no slight degree with natural science. His family was from Baishan; and he ministered in the orders of the Church in three things : — First, he had been a Reader; and in the second order he translated from Greek into Aramaic; and in the last, which is even more excellent than the preceding, he opposed the powers of the evil one, and the devils trembled before him. Now it happened that he was sent from Baishan to our city Caesarea, together with his brother confessors. And at the very moment that he passed the gates of the city they brought him before the Governor: and immediately upon his first entrance the judge, whose name was Flavianus, said to him: It is necessary that thou shouldest sacrifice to the gods: but he replied with a loud voice, There is no God but one only, the Maker and Creator of all things. And when the judge felt himself smitten by the blow of the martyr's words, he furnished himself with arms of another kind against the doctrine of truth, and, abandoning his former order, commanded him to sacrifice to the emperors, who were four in number; but the holy martyr of God laughed still more at this saying, and repeated the words of the greatest of poets of the Greeks, which he said that "the rule of many is not good: let there be one ruler and one sovereign." And on account of his answer, which

was insulting to the emperors, he, though alive in his conduct, was delivered over to death, and forthwith the head of this blessed man was struck off, and an easy transit afforded him along the way to heaven. [P. 5.] And this took place on the seventh day of the month Heziran, in the first year of the persecution in our days. This confessor was the first who was consummated in our city Caesarea.

THE CONFESSION OF ALPHAEUS, AND ZACCHAEUS, AND ROMANUS, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS.

IT happened, at the same time, that the festival, which is celebrated on the twentieth year of the emperor's reign, was at hand, and a pardon was announced at that festival for the offences of those who were in prison. The governor, therefore, of the country came before the festival, and instituted an inquiry respecting the prisoners which were in confinement, and some of them were set at liberty through the clemency of the emperors; but the martyrs of God he insulted with tortures, as though they were worse malefactors than thieves and murderers.

Zacchaeus, therefore, who had been a deacon of the Church in the city of Gadara, was led like an innocent lamb from the flock — for such indeed he was by nature, and those of his acquaintance had given him the appellation of Zacchaeus as a mark of honour, calling him by the name of that first Zacchaeus — for one reason, because of the smallness of his stature, and for another, on account of the strict life which he led; and he was even more desirous of seeing our Lord than the first Zacchaeus. And when he was brought in before the judge, he rejoiced in his confession for the sake of Christ: and when he had spoken the words of God before the judge, he was delivered over to all the tortures of punishment, and after having been first scourged, he was made to endure dreadful lacerations, and then after this he was thrown into prison again, and there for a whole day and a whole night his feet were strained to four holes of the rack.

Alphaeus, also, a most amiable man, endured afflictions and sufferings similar to these. His family was of the most illustrious of the city Eleutheropolis, and in the church of Caesarea he had been honoured with the dignity of Reader and Exorcist. But before he became a confessor he had been a preacher and teacher of [.] the word of God; and had great confidence towards all men, and this of itself was a good reason for his being brought to his confession of the truth. And because he saw that there was fallen upon all men at that time laxity and great fear, and many were swept along as it were before the force of many waters, and carried away to the foul worship of idols, he deliberated how he might withstand the violence of the evil by his own

valour, and by his own courageous words repress the terrible storm. Of his own accord, therefore, he threw himself into the midst of the crowd of the oppressors, and with words of denunciation reproached those, who through their timidity had been dragged into error; and held them back from the worship of idols, by reminding them of the words which had been spoken by our Saviour, respecting confession. And when Alphaeus, full of courage and bravery, had done these things openly with boldness, the officers seized him, and took him at once before the judge. But this is not the time for us to relate what words he uttered with all freedom of speech, nor what answers he gave in words of godly religion, like a man filled with the Spirit of God. In consequence of these things he was sent to prison. And after some days he was brought again before the judge, and his body was torn all over by severe scourgings without mercy, but the fortitude of his mind still continued erect before the judge, and by his words he withstood all error. Then he was tortured on his sides with the cruel combs, and, at last, having wearied out the judge himself, and those who were ministering to the judge's will, he was again committed to prison, together with another fellow-combatant, and stretched out a whole day and night upon the wooden rack. After three days they were both of them brought together before the judge, and he commanded them to offer sacrifice to the emperors: but they confessed, and said, We acknowledge one God only, the supreme sovereign of all; and when they had uttered these words in the presence of all the people (.) they were numbered among the company of Holy Martyrs, and were crowned as glorious and illustrious combatants in the conflict of God, for whose sake also their heads were cut off. And better than all the course of their lives did they love their departure, to be with Him in whom they made their confession. But the day that they suffered martyrdom was the seventh of Teshri the latter, on which day the confession of those of whom we have been speaking was consummated.

And on this selfsame day also Romanus suffered martyrdom in the city of Antioch. But this Romanus belonged to Palestine, and he was a Deacon, and an Exorcist likewise, in one of the villages of Caesarea. And he, too, was stretched out upon the rack, and like as the martyr Alphaeus had done in Caesarea, so did the blessed Romanus by his words of denunciation restrain from sacrificing those who, from their timidity, were relapsed into the sin of

the error of devils, recalling to the minds of them all the terrors of God. He had also the courage to go in together with the; multitude who were dragged by force into error and to present himself there in Antioch before the judge: and when he heard the judge commanding them to sacrifice, and they, in trepidation from their fears, were driven with trembling to offer sacrifice, this zealous man was no longer able to endure this sad spectacle, but was : moved with pity towards them as towards those who were feeling about in thick darkness, and on the point of falling over a precipice, and so he made the doctrine of the religion of God to rise up before them like the sun, crying aloud and saying: Whither are ye being carried, oh men? Are ye all stooping down to cast yourselves into the abyss? Lift up the eyes of your understanding on high, and above all the worlds ye shall recognise God and the Saviour of all the ends of the world; and do not abandon for error the commandment which has been committed to you: then shall the godless error of the worship of devils be apparent to you. Remember also the righteous judgment of God supreme, [.] And when he had spoken these things to them with a loud voice, and stood there without fear and without dread, at the command of him who was constituted judge there, the officers seized him, and he condemned him to be destroyed by fire, for the crafty judge perceived that many were confirmed by the words which the martyr spake, and that he turned many back from error. And because the servant of Jesus had done these things in the place where the emperors were, they at once brought out this blessed man into the midst of the city of Antioch. And he was arrived at the spot where he was to undergo his punishment, and the things which were required for the fire were got ready, and they were busying themselves to fulfil the command with haste, when the emperor Diocletian, having heard of what was done, gave orders that they should withdraw the martyr from the death by fire, because, said he, his insolence and folly were not suitable for punishment by fire; and so, like a merciful emperor, he gave order for a new kind of punishment for the martyr, that his tongue should be cut out. Nevertheless, when that member by which he spoke was taken away, still was his true love not severed from his God; neither was his intellectual tongue restrained from preaching, and immediately he received from God, the sovereign of all, a recompense for his struggle in the conflict, and was filled with power much greater than he had before. Then did great wonder seize upon all men; for he, whose tongue had been cut out,

forthwith, by the gift of God spake out valiantly, and heartily exulted in the faith, as though he were standing by the side of Him in whom he made his confession; and with a countenance bright and cheerful he saluted his acquaintance, and scattered the seed of the word of God into the ears of all men, exhorting them all to worship God alone, and lifting up his prayers and thanksgiving to God, who worketh marvels [...] : and when he had done these things he mightily gave testimony to the word of Christ before all men, and in deed shewed forth the power of Him in whom he made his confession. And when he had done so for a long time he was again stretched upon the rack; and by the command of the governor and the judge they threw upon him the strangling instrument, and he was strangled. And on the same day as those blessed martyrs who appertained to Zacchaeus he was consummated in his confession. And although this man actually passed through the conflict, and suffered martyrdom in Antioch, nevertheless, because his family was of Palestine, he is properly described among the company of martyrs in this our country.

THE CONFESSION OF TIMOTHEUS, IN THE CITY OF GAZA, IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS.

IT was the second year of the persecution, and the hostility against us was more violent than the first; and Urbanus, who at that same time had superseded the governor Flavianus in his office, was governor over the people of Palestine. There came then again the second time edicts from the emperor, in addition to the former, threatening persecution to all persons. For, in the former, he had given orders respecting the rulers of the Church of God only, to compel them to sacrifice; but, in the second edicts there was a strict ordinance, which compelled all persons equally, that the entire population in every city, both men and women, should sacrifice to dead idols, and a law was imposed upon them to offer libations to devils; for such were the commands of the tyrants who, in their folly, desired to wage war against God, the king supreme. And when these commands of the emperor were put into effect, the blessed Timotheus, in the city of Gaza, was delivered up to Urbanus while he was there, and was unjustly bound in fetters, like a murderer [...], for indeed he was not bound in fetters on account of any thing deserving of blame, because he had been blameless in all his conduct, and during the whole of his life. When, therefore, he did not comply with the law as to the worship of idols, nor bow down to dead images without life, for he was a man perfect in every thing, and was in his soul acquainted with his God, and because of his piety and his conduct and his virtues, even before he was delivered up to the governor, he had already endured severe sufferings from the inhabitants of his own city, having lived there under insults and frequent blows and contumely, for the people of the city of Gaza were accursed in the heathenism; and when they were present in the judgment hall of the governor, this champion of righteousness came off victorious in all the excellence of his patience. And the judge cruelly employed against him severe tortures, and showered upon his body terrible scourgings without number, inflicting on his sides horrible lacerations, such as it is impossible to describe; but, under all these things this brave martyr of God sustained the conflict like a hero, and at last obtained the victory in the struggle, by enduring death by means of a slow fire : for it was a weak and slow fire by which he was burned, so that his soul could not easily

make her escape from the body, and be at rest. And there was he tried like pure gold in the furnace of a slow fire, manifesting the perfection and the sincerity of his religion towards his God, and obtaining the crown of victory which belongs to the glorious conquerors of righteousness. And because he loved God, he received, as the meet recompense of his will, that perfect life which he longed for in the presence of God the sovereign of all. And together with this brave confessor, at the same time of the trial of his confession, and in the same city, the martyr Agapius, and the admirable Theckla (she of our days) were condemned by the governor to suffer punishment and to be devoured by wild beasts, [.]

THE CONFESSION OF AGAPIUS, AND OF THE TWO ALEXANDERS, AND OF THE TWO DIONYSIUSES, AND OF TIMOTHEUS, AND OF ROMULUS, AND OF PAESIS, IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS, IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA.

IT was the festival at which all the people assembled themselves together in their cities. The same festival also was held in Caesarea. And in the circus there was an exhibition of horse races, and a representation was performed in the theatre, and it was customary for impious and barbarous spectacles to take place in the Stadium: and there was a rumour and a report generally current, that Agapius, whose name we have mentioned above, and Theckla with him, together with the rest of the Phrygians, were to be sent into the theatre in the form of martyrs, in order that they might be devoured by the wild beasts; for the governor Urbanus would present this gift to the spectators. When the fame of these things was heard abroad, it happened further that other young men, perfect in stature, and brave in person (they were in number six) arrived. And as the governor was proceeding to the theatre, and passing through the city, these six men stood up courageously before him: and having bound their hands behind them, they drew near before the judge Urbanus, and, in fact, by binding themselves, shewed what was about to be done to them by others, and exhibited their excellent patience, and the readiness of their mind for martyrdom, for they confessed, crying aloud and saying, We are Christians; and beseeching the governor Urbanus that they also might be thrown to the wild beasts in the theatre in company with their brethren who appertained to Agapius. For all this confidence of Jesus our Saviour, in his own champions did He manifest to all men; extinguishing the menaces of the tyrants by his champion's valour, and manifestly and clearly shewing, that neither fire, nor steel, nor even fierce wild beasts, were able to subdue his victorious servants [..], for He had girded them with the armour of righteousness, and strengthening them with victorious and invincible armour, he made them despise death. And they struck at once the governor and the whole band with him with astonishment at this their courage: and the governor gave command that they should be delivered up to prison; and there they were detained many

days. And while they were in prison, Agapius, a meek and good man, the brother of one of the prisoners, arrived from the city of Gaza, and went frequently to the prison to visit his brother, and having already striven in many contests of confession before, he went with confidence to the place of imprisonment: and so he was denounced to the governor as a man prepared for martyrdom, and consequently was delivered over to bonds, in order that he might endure the trial of a second conflict. And things similar to these did Dionysius also suffer. And this good recompense was given to him from the martyrs of God as the reward of his service to them. And when the governor was made aware of this recompense of the compassion of Dionysius towards the martyrs, he gave the sentence of death against him. And thus he became associated with those who preceded him. And all together they were eight in number; namely, Timotheus, whose origin was from Pontus; and Dionysius, who came from the city of Tripolis; and Romulus, a sub-deacon of the church of the city of Diospolis; and two were Aegyptians, Paesis and Alexander; and again another Alexander, and those two respecting whom we have said that they were at last cast into prison.

All these were delivered up together at one time, to be beheaded. And this matter took place on the twenty-fourth of Adar. But there was, at the same time, a sudden change of the emperors, both of him who was the chief and emperor, and of him who was honoured in the next place after him: and those [...] who had divested themselves of the power of empire and put on the ordinary dress, having given up the empire to their associates, were rent asunder from their love towards each other, and they raised against one another an implacable war; nor was any remedy given to this malady of their hostility, until the peace in our time, which was spread throughout the whole empire of the Romans; for it arose like light out of clouds of darkness, and forthwith the Church of the supreme God and the divine doctrine was extended throughout the whole world.

THE CONFESSION OF EPIPHANIUS (Gr. Apphianus), IN THE THIRD YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION WHICH TOOK PLACE IN OUR DAYS IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA.

THAT bitter viper, and wicked and cruel tyrant, which in our time held the dominion of the Romans, went forth, even from his very commencement, to fight as it were against God, and was filled with persecution and rage against us in a far greater degree than any of those who had preceded him — I mean Maximinus : and no little consternation fell upon all the inhabitants of the cities, and many were scattered abroad into every country, and dispersed themselves, in order that they might escape the danger which surrounded them.

What words then are adequate to describe, as it deserves, the divine love of the martyr Epiphanius, who had not yet attained the age of twenty years? He was sprung from one of the most illustrious families in Lycia, famous also for their extensive worldly wealth, and, by the care of his parents, he had been sent to be educated in the city of Beyrout, where he had also acquired a great stock of learning. But this incident is not in any way connected with the narrative which we are writing: if, however, it be befitting that we make any mention of the virtuous conduct of this all-holy soul, it is very right to admire, how in a city such as this he used to withdraw himself from the society and company [.] of young men, and practised the virtues and the habits of old men, adorning himself with pure conduct and becoming manners, nor suffered himself to be overcome by the vigour of his body, nor to be led away by the society of youth. But he laid the foundation of all virtues for himself in patience, cherishing perfect holiness and temperance, and applying himself with purity, as it is right, to the worship of God. And when he had finished his education and quitted Beyrout, and was returned to the house of his parents, he was no longer able to live with those who were of his own family, because their manners were dissimilar to his own. He therefore left them, without taking care to carry with him the means of providing sustenance even for a single day. He conducted himself, however, in his travels, with purity, and by the power of God which accompanied him, he came to this our city, in which the crown of martyrdom was prepared for him, and resided in the same house

with us, confirming himself in godly doctrine, and being instructed in the Holy Scriptures by that perfect martyr, Pamphilus, and acquiring from him the excellence of virtuous habits and conduct.

And for this reason I have applied myself to the narrative of the martyrdom of Epiphanius, in order that I may declare, if I be able, what a consummation he also had. All the multitudes that beheld him were struck with admiration of him. And who is there, even now-a-days, that can hear of his fame without being filled with astonishment at his courage, and at his boldness of speech, and at his daring, and at his patience, at his words addressed to the governor, and his answers to the judge? And more than all to be wondered at is the resolution with which he dedicated as it were with incense the offering of his zeal for God. For when the persecution had been raised against us the second time, in the third year of this same persecution, the former edicts of Maximinus arrived — those by which he gave command that the governors of the cities should use great pains and diligence in order to compel all men to offer sacrifices [...] and libations to devils. The heralds, therefore, through all the cities made a diligent proclamation, that the men, together with their wives and children, should assemble in the temples of the idols, and before the Chiliarchs and Centurions, as they went round about to the houses and the streets making a list of the inhabitants of the city. Then they summoned them by name, and compelled them to offer sacrifice as they had been commanded. And while this boundless tempest was threatening all men from all sides, Epiphanius, a perfectly holy man, and a witness of the truth, performed an act which surpasses all words. While no one was aware of his purpose; he even concealed it from us who were in the same house with him, he went and drew near to the governor of the place, and stood boldly before him; having also escaped the observation of the whole band that was standing near the governor, for they had not given heed when he approached the governor: and while Urbanus was offering libations, he came up to him and laid hold of his right hand, and held him back from offering the foul libation to idols, endeavouring with an excellent and gentle address and godlike suavity to persuade him to turn from his error, saying to him: That it was not right for us to turn away from the one only God of truth, and offer sacrifice to lifeless idols and wicked devils. Thus did He, who is more mighty than all, reprove the wicked through the youth Epiphanius, whom, for the sake of his reproof,

the power of Jesus had taken from the house of his fathers, in order that he might be a reprover of the works of pollution. He therefore despised threatenings and all deaths, and turned not aside from good to evil, but spake gladly with pure knowledge and a glorifying tongue, because he was desirous to carry speedily, if it were possible, persuasion even to his persecutors, and to teach them to turn away from their error, and become acquainted with our common deliverer, the Saviour and God of all. When then this holy martyr of God had done these things, the servants [...] of devils, together with the officers of the governor, were smitten in their hearts as if by a hot iron; and they struck him on the face, and when he had been thrown down on the ground they kicked him with their feet, and tore his mouth and lips with a bridle. And when he had endured all these things bravely, he was afterwards delivered up to be taken to a dark prison, where his legs were then stretched for a day and a night in the stocks. And after the next day they brought Epiphanius, who, although a youth in age, was a mighty man in valour, into the judgment hall, and there the governor Urbanus displayed a proof of his own wickedness and hatred against this lovely youth by punishment and every kind of torture inflicted upon this martyr of God. And he ordered them to lacerate his sides until his bones and entrails became visible: he was also smitten upon his face and his neck to such a degree, that his countenance was so disfigured by the severe blows which he had received, that not even his friends could recognise him. This martyr of Christ, however, was strengthened both in body and soul like adamant, and stood up even more firmly in his confidence upon his God. And when the governor asked him many questions, he gave him no further answer than this — that he was a Christian: and he questioned him again as to whose son he was, and whence he came and where he dwelt; but he made no other reply than that he was the servant of Christ. For this cause therefore the fury of the governor became more fierce, and he thundered forth the more in his rage, on account of the indomitable speech of the martyr, giving command that his feet should be wrapped up in cotton that had been dipped in oil, and then be set on fire. So the officers of the judge did what he commanded them. And the martyr was hung up at a great height, in order that, by this dreadful spectacle, he might strike terror into all those who were looking on, while at the same time they tore his sides and ribs with combs, till he became one mass of swelling all over, and the appearance of his countenance was completely

changed, [...] And for a long time his feet were burning in a sharp fire, so that the flesh of his feet, as it was consumed, dropped like melted wax, and the fire burnt into his very bones like dry reeds. But at the same time, although he was in great suffering from what befel him, he became, by his patience, like one who had no pain, for he had within, for a helper, that God who dwelt within him; and he appeared evidently to all like the sun : and in consequence of the great courage of this martyr of Christ many Christians also were assembled together to behold him, and stood up with much open confidence; and he, with a loud voice and distinct words, made his confession for the testimony of God, publishing by this his valour the hidden power of Jesus, that He is ever near to those who themselves draw near to Him.

And all this wonderful spectacle did the glorious Epiphanius exhibit, as it were in a theatre: for they who were the martyr's oppressors became like corrupt demons, and suffered within themselves great pain; being also themselves tortured in their own persons, as he was, on account of his endurance in the doctrine of his Lord. And while they stood in bitter pains, they gnashed upon him with their teeth, burning in their minds against him, and trying to force him to tell them whence he came, and who he was, and questioning him as to whose son he was, and where he lived, and commanding him to offer sacrifice and comply with the edict. But he looked upon them all as evil demons, and regarded them as corrupt devils : not returning an answer to any of them, but using only this word in confessing Christ, that He is God and the Son of God: [...] testifying also that he knew God his Father only. When therefore those who were contending against him were grown weary and overcome, and failed, they took him back to the prison, and on the next day they brought him forth again before that bitter and merciless judge, but he still continued in the same confession as before. And when the governor and his officers, and the whole band that ministered to his will, were foiled, he gave orders at last that he should be cast into the depths of the sea.

But that wonderful thing which happened after this act I know will not be believed by those who did not witness the wonder with their own eyes, as I myself did: for men are not wont to give the same credence to the hearing of the ear as to the seeing of eye. It is not, however, right for us also, like those who are in error and deficient in faith, to conceal that prodigy which took place at the death of this martyr of God; and we also call as witnesses to you

of these things, which we have written, the whole of the inhabitants of the city of Caesarea, for there was not even one of the inhabitants of this city absent from this terrific sight. For after this man of God had been cast into the depths of the terrible sea, with stones tied to his feet, forthwith a great storm and frequent commotions and mighty waves troubled the vast sea, and a severe earthquake made even the city itself tremble, and every one's hands were raised towards heaven in fear and trembling, for they supposed that the whole place, together with its inhabitants, was about to be destroyed on that day. And at the same time, the sea, even as if it were unable to endure it, vomited back the holy body of the martyr of God, and carried it with the waves and laid it before the gate of the city. And there was at that time vast affliction and commotion, for it seemed like a messenger sent from God to threaten all men with great anger . And this which took place was proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the city, and they all ran at once and pushed against each other in order that they might obtain a sight, both boys and men and old men together, and all grades of women, so that even the modest virgins, who kept to their own apartments, went out to see this sight. And the whole city together, even the very children as well, gave glory to the God of the Christians alone, confessing with a loud voice the name of Christ, who had given strength to the martyr in his lifetime to endure such afflictions, and at his death had shewed prodigies to all who beheld.

Such was the termination of the history of Epiphanius, on the second of the month Nisan, and his memory is observed on this day.

THE CONFESSION OF ALOSIS (Gr. Aedesius).

LIKE what had befallen the martyr Epiphanius, so after a short time the brother of Epiphanius, both on the father's and the mother's side, became a confessor, whose name was Alosis. He too, as he contended against them with the words of God, made use of his faith in the truth as armour; they also fought against him with smiting and scourging, and they stood up against each other as it were in battle array, and strove which side should get the victory. But even before his brother had given himself up to God, this admirable Alosis had applied his mind to philosophy, and meditated upon all the learned investigations of the greatest minds. Nor was he a proficient in the learning of the Greeks only, but he was also well acquainted with the philosophy of the Romans, and he had passed a long time in the society of the martyr Pamphilus, and by him had been imbued with the godly doctrine as with purple suited for royalty. This same Alosis, after his admirable confession, which was accomplished before our eyes, and his sufferings of the evils () of imprisonment for a long period, was first of all delivered over to the copper mines which are in our country, Palestine; and after that he had passed through many afflictions there, and then been released, he went thence to the city Alexandria, and fell in with Hierocles, who held the government of the province in all the land of Egypt. Him also he beheld judging the Christians severely, and contrary to just laws, making mock of the confessors of God, and delivering up the holy virgins of God to fornication, and to lust, and to bodily shame. When therefore these things were perpetrated before the eyes of this brave combatant, he devoted himself to an act akin to that of his brother; and the zeal of God was kindled within him like fire, and its heat burned within his members as in dry stubble, and he drew near to Hierocles, the wicked governor, with indignation, and put him to shame by his words of wisdom and his deeds of righteousness, and, having struck him on the face with both his hands, he threw him on his back upon the ground; and as his attendants laid hold upon him to help him, he gave him some severe blows, saying to him, Beware how thou darest to commit acts of pollution contrary to nature against the servants of God. And, being well instructed, he convicted him from the laws themselves of acting contrary to the laws.

And after Alosis had so courageously done all these things, he endured

with great patience the torments which were inflicted upon his body; and as he resembled his brother in his appearance, and conduct, and in his zeal and confession, so also did they resemble each other in their punishment, and at the last, after their death the terrible sea received them from the hand of the judge.

Now this servant of Jesus exhibited his contest for the truth in the city of Alexandria, and was there adorned with the crown of victory; but the next confessor after Epiphanius who was called to the conflict of martyrdom in Palestine was Agapius.

THE CONFESSION OF AGAPIUS, IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS.

IT was in the fourth year of the persecution in our days, and on Friday the twentieth of the latter Teshri: it was on this same day that the chief of tyrants, Maximinus, came to the city of Caesarea. And he made a boast that he would exhibit some novel sight to all the spectators that were assembled together on his account; for that was the same day on which he celebrated the anniversary of his birthday. And it was requisite upon the arrival of the tyrant that he should exhibit something more than what had ordinarily been done. What then was this new spectacle, but that a martyr of God should be cast to wild beasts to be devoured by them? while of old it had been the practice upon the arrival of the emperor that he should set before the spectators competitive exhibitions of various forms and different kinds, such as recitation of speeches, and listening to new and strange songs and music, and also spectacles of all sorts of wild beasts, and likewise that the spectators might have much delight and amusement in a show of gladiators.

It was therefore requisite that the emperor at this festival of his birthday should also do something great and extraordinary, for at all the previous exhibitions which he had furnished for them he had not done any thing new. So that — what was at once a thing desired by himself, and acceptable to the wicked tyrant — a martyr of God was brought forth into the midst, adorned with all righteousness, and remarkable for the meekness of his life; and he was cast into the theatre in order that he might be devoured by the wild beasts. His name was Agapius, respecting whom, together with Theckla, an order had been given that they should be devoured by wild beasts. The fair name of Theckla has been already mentioned in another chapter . They therefore dragged the blessed Agapius forward, and took him round about in mockery in the midst of the Stadium. And a tablet, with an inscription upon it, was carried about before him, on which no other accusation was exhibited against him, but this only — That he was a Christian. And the same time also a slave, a murderer, that had killed his master, was brought forward, together with the martyr of God, and they both received equally one and the same sentence. And very closely did this passion resemble that of our Saviour; for while the one was to suffer martyrdom for the sake of the God of all, the other also was

to be put to death for the murder of his master; and one and the same sentence of evil went forth against both of them without any distinction. And the judge in this case was the governor Urbanus, for he was still governor in Palestine: but when Maximinus came to be present at this spectacle which has been described above, as if on account of the promptitude of Urbanus, he increased his power of evil, and liberated from death that murderer which had slain his master, and put him beyond all torture; but as for the martyr of God, he took delight in looking on with his own eyes while he was being devoured by the savage beasts. When therefore they had led the martyr Agapius round about in the Stadium, they asked him in the first place if he would deny his God, but he cried out with a loud voice and said to all those who were assembled together — Oh ye that are looking on at this trial in which I am now placed, know that it is not for any evil crime which I have committed that I am brought to this trial, for I am a witness of the true doctrine of God, and I bear testimony to you all, in order that ye may have knowledge of the one only God, and of that Light which he has caused to arise, that ye may know and adore Him who is the creator of the heavens and of the earth. And all this which is come upon me for his name's sake, I receive with joy in my mind; for they have not brought me to this place against my will, but I desire this of my own free choice, by which I stand even unto death. Moreover, I am contending for the sake of my faith, that I may afford encouragment to those who are younger than myself, that they too may despise death while they follow after their true life, and may disregard the grave in order to obtain a kingdom; that they should make light of that which is mortal, and keep in their recollection the life of the Giver of life, nor have any dread of punishment which is momentary, but be in fear of those flames of fire which are never quenched.

When therefore this martyr of God had cried with a loud voice and said these things, and stood erect in the midst of the Stadium, like one who felt confident that there was no danger, the wicked tyrant was filled with rage and fury, and gave orders for the wild beasts to be let loose upon him: but he, being full of courage and despising death, turned not aside to the right hand or to the left, but with lightness of feet and courage of heart advanced to meet the savage beasts. And a fierce bear rushed upon him and tore him with her teeth: he was then remanded to prison, while life was still left in him, and there he lived one day. After this, stones were tied about him, and his body was thrown

into the sea; but the soul of the blessed Agapius winged her flight through the air to the kingdom of heaven, whither she was previously hastening, and was received together with the angels and the holy company of martyrs. So far then was the contest and the valour of Agapius victorious.

THE CONFESSION OF THEODOSIA, A VIRGIN OF GOD, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION WHICH TOOK PLACE IN OUR DAYS.

THE persecution in our days had been prolonged to the fifth year. And it was the month Nisan, and the second day of the same month, when a godly virgin, and holy in all things, one of the virgins of the Son of God in the city of Tyre, who was not yet eighteen years old, out of pure love for those, who on account of their confession of God were set before the tribunal of the governor, drew near and saluted them, and entreated them to remember her in their prayers: and because of these words which she had spoken to them, the wicked men were filled with anger, as if she had been doing something unjust and improper; and the officers seized her forthwith, and took her before the governor Urbanus, for he still held the power in Palestine. And I know not what happened to him, but immediately, like one much excited by this young woman, he was filled with rage and fury against her, and commanded the girl to offer sacrifice: and because he found, that although she was but a girl, she withstood the imperial orders like a heroine, then did this savage governor the more inflict tortures on her sides and on her breast with the cruel combs; and she was torn on the ribs until her bowels were seen. And because this girl had endured this severe punishment and the combs without a word, and still survived, he again commanded her to offer sacrifice. She then raised her lips and opened her eyes, and looking around with a joyful countenance in that time of her suffering, (for she was charming in beauty and in the appearance of her figure), with a loud voice she addressed the governor: Why, oh man, dost thou deceive thyself, and not perceive that I have found the thing which I prayed to obtain at thy hands? for I rejoice greatly in having been deemed worthy to be admitted to the participation of the sufferings of God's martyrs: for indeed, for this very cause, I stood up and spake with them, in order that by some means or other they might make me a sharer in their sufferings, so that I also might obtain a portion in the kingdom of heaven together with them, because so long as I had no share in their sufferings, I could not be a partaker with them in their salvation. Behold therefore now, how, on account of the future recompense, I stand at present before thee with great exultation, because I have obtained the means of drawing near to my God, even before

those just men, whom but a little while ago I entreated to intercede for me. Then that wicked judge , seeing that he became a laughingstock, and that his haughty threats were manifestly humbled before all those who were standing in his presence, did not venture to assail the girl again with great tortures like the former, but condemned her by the sentence which he passed to be thrown into the depths of the sea.

And when he passed on from the condemnation of this pure girl, he proceeded to the rest of those confessors, on whose account this blessed maiden had been called to this grace, and they were all delivered over to the copper mines in Palestine, without his saying a word to them, or inflicting upon them any sufferings or torture; for this holy girl prevented all those confessors by her courageous conduct against error, and received in her own body, as it were on a shield, all the inflictions and tortures which were intended for them, having rebuked in her own person the enemy that opposed them; and subdued by her valour and patience the furious and cruel judge, and rendered that fierce governor like a coward with respect to the other confessors. It was on the first day of the week that these confessors were condemned in Caesarea; and in the month above written and in the year noted by us was this act accomplished.

THE CONFESSION OF DOMNINUS, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS, IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA.

URBANUS was governor in Palestine; and it was the first day. of the latter Teshri; and so, from day to day, he renewed himself in his wickedness, and every year prepared some devices against us. I will therefore relate how many evils he inflicted on this one day which I have mentioned. On the day then which we have spoken of, a certain man, admirable in all his conduct, and excellently skilled in the science of medicine, and he was a young man of tall stature and handsome, and celebrated for the holiness of his life, and the purity of his soul, and his modesty, and his name was Domninus; he was also well known to all those in our time who had been confessors. Moreover, this same man, previously to his receiving consummation by martyrdom, had endured torture in the copper mines; and on account of his patience under his confession he was condemned to the punishment by fire.

When that same judge, cunning in his wickedness (for it is not meet that those should be called wise who boast themselves in the bitterness of their wickedness), had passed on from this martyr, he lighted upon three young men of fine stature, and handsome in their person, and praiseworthy as to their souls, on account of their courage in worshipping God; and in order that he might afford amusement thereby, he sent them to the Ludus. Then he passed on from these, and delivered up an excellent and godly old man to be devoured by the wild beasts. Then the mad man passed on from this old man, and came to others, and commanded them to be castrated and turned into eunuchs. Then he left them also, and proceeded to those who appertained to Sylvanus, whose own lot also it was some time afterwards to become a martyr of God, and these he condemned to the mines of Phaeno. Afterwards he passed on from these and came to others whom he insulted with tortures. Nor was the fury of his malice content with males, but he also threatened to torment the females, and delivered over these virgins to fornicators for the violation of their persons. Others again he sent to prison. Now all these things which we have described did this arrogant judge perpetrate in one hour.

And after all these things which I have described had been accomplished, that heavenly martyr of God, Pamphilus, a name very dear to me (), who was

holy in all things, and adorned with every virtue, was tried in the conflict of martyrdom. He was indeed the most famous of all the martyrs in our time, on account of his accomplishments in philosophy, and his acquirements both in sacred and profane literature. Of this same man, admirable in all things, Urbanus first made a trial of his wisdom by questions and answers; and at last endeavoured to compel him by threats to offer sacrifice to dead idols; and when he had ascertained by trial that he was not to be persuaded by words, and also perceived that his threats were not heeded by him, he applied cruel torture, and lacerated him grievously on his sides. But he was not able to subdue him by this means, as he had expected. The wicked judge then considered that if he bound him in prison together with those confessors of whom mention has been already made, he might by this means subdue this holy martyr.

Now as to this cruel judge, who employed all these wicked devices against the confessors of God, what recompense and punishment must await him? For this is easy for us to know from what we are writing. For forthwith, and immediately, and without any long delay, the righteous judgment of God overtook him on account of those things which he had dared to do, and took severe and bitter vengeance upon him; and he that sat on the judgment-seat on high in his pride, and boasted himself in his soldiers that stood before him, and considered himself above all the people in Palestine, was in one night stripped of all his splendour and all his honours, and reduced to the condition of a private individual. And here, in our city of Caesarea, where he had perpetrated all those crimes which have been written above, he was by the sentence of Maximinus, a wicked tyrant like himself, delivered up to a miserable death; and insult and humiliation, which is worse than all deaths, was heaped upon him, so that reproachful words from women, with dreadful imprecations from the mouths of all, were poured into his ears before he died. Wherefore, by these things we may perceive that this was a foretaste of that vengeance of God which is reserved for him at the last, on account of all his maliciousness and unmercifulness towards the servants of God.

These things we have related in a cursory manner for those believers, of whom some still remain unto this present time, omitting to relate many afflictions which passed over him, in order that we may arrange these things briefly, and in a few words, as a record for those who are to come after us; but

there may come a time when we may recount in our narrative the end and fall of those wicked men who exerted themselves against our people.

THE CONFESSION OF PAULUS, AND VALENTINA, AND HATHA, IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS IN CAESAREA.

UP to the sixth year of the persecution which was in our days, the storm which had been raised against us was still raging; and great multitudes of confessors were in the mines which are called Porphyrites, in the country of Thebais, which is on one side of Egypt; and on account of the purple marble which is in that land, the name of Porphyrites has also been given to those who were employed in cutting it. This name, therefore, was also extended to those great multitudes of confessors who were under sentence of condemnation in the whole of the land of Egypt: for there were a hundred martyrs there all but three. And these confessors were sent, the men together with the women and children, to the governor in Palestine, whose name was Firmillianus. For he had superseded the governor Urbanus in his office, and he was a man by no means of a peaceful turn; indeed he even surpassed his predecessor in ferocity, having been a soldier that had been engaged in war, and had had much experience in blood and fighting. [p 29.]

There is a large city in the land of Palestine, teeming with population, of which all the inhabitants were Jews. It is called in the Aramaic tongue Lud, and in the Greek it is called Diocaesarea. To this city the governor Firmillianus went, and took thither the whole assembly of those hundred confessors. And this was a great sight which well deserves to be recorded in writing. And the Jews were spectators of this marvellous contest, having surrounded the place of judgment on all sides; and as if it were for a rebuke to themselves, they looked on with their own eyes at what took place, while the whole company of the confessors, with much confidence and immense courage, made their confession of belief in God's Christ. And they being Jews, to whom the coming of that Christ had been foretold by their prophets, whose coming their fathers looked for, had not received him when he was come; but these Egyptians, who had been of old the enemies of God, confessed, even in the midst of persecutions, their faith in God, the Lord of all, and in the Manifestation from him. And these Egyptians, who had been taught by their fathers to worship idols only, were at that time, from the conviction of their reason, undergoing this conflict, in order that they might

avoid the worship of idols; while those Jews, who had always been accused by their prophets on account of their worship of idols, were surrounding them, standing and looking on, and listening as the Egyptians repudiated the gods of their own fathers, and confessed their faith in the same God as they also did; and bare witness for Him whom they had many times denied. And they were still more cut to the heart and rent, when they heard the criers of the governor shouting and calling Egyptians by Hebrew names, and addressing them with the names of the prophets. For the crier, shouting aloud, called to them and said: Elias, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and other appellations similar to these, which their fathers had chosen from among the Hebrews, [...] in order that they might call their sons after the names of the prophets. Moreover, it also came to pass that their deeds corresponded with their names; and the Jews greatly wondered both at them and at their names, as well as at their words and their deeds, being rendered despicable themselves both by their own vice and infidelity. And I myself am convinced that these things were not done without the will of God. However, after this trial they were deprived of the use of their left leg, by having the muscles of the knee cauterized with fire, and then again they had their right eyes blinded with the sword, and then destroyed by fire. And not only were they men who endured these things, but really children and many women. And after this they were delivered over to the copper mines to see afflictions there.

And after a short time, the three men from Palestine, whom I mentioned a little while ago as having been for the moment handed over to the Ludus, were called to undergo similar sufferings, because they would not take the food from the royal provision, nor would give themselves up to that exercise and instruction which were requisite for pugilism; and they suffered many evils which we are not competent to describe: and at the end of all their afflictions they underwent this severe sentence. And others in the city of Gaza, being in the habit of assembling themselves for prayer, and being constant in reading the Holy Scriptures, were seized, and had to endure the same sufferings as their companions, being tortured on their legs and eyes. Others also had to contend in conflicts even greater than these, and after having been tortured both in their legs and eyes, were severely torn on their sides with combs. And others again more than these attained to this great excellence, and at the end of all contended with death itself.

And when he had turned himself away from these, he came to judge one who, although a woman in body, was a hero in the bravery of mind, which she possessed : she was also a virgin in her mode of life, and could not bear the threat of pollution which she heard, but at once gave utterance to harsh words against the tyrannical emperor, for having given authority to a vile and wicked judge. On this account, therefore, he in the first place bruised her body all over with stripes; then she was hung up and her sides were lacerated; and this not once only, but two and three times in one hour, and for a great while and also repeatedly, until those who inflicted the punishment became wearied and tired; then others succeeded them against her, and, at the commands of the furious governor, tortured her most severely. For these judges were barbarous in their manners, and enemies in their hearts. Moreover, it happened that while this furious judge was insulting this girl with his tortures, another young woman, small indeed in person, but courageous in soul — for she was possessed of a large mind, which supplied strength to the smallness of her person — being no longer able to tolerate the wickedness and cruelty of those things which were inflicted upon her sister, called out from the midst of the crowd of persons who were standing before the governor, and cried out complaining, and said: How long dost thou intend to tear my sister to pieces in so cruel and merciless a manner? And when the wicked Firmillianus heard this saying, he was bitterly incensed, and gave orders for the young woman who had complained to be brought before him. Her name was Valentina. Having therefore caught her up they brought her into the midst of the place of judgment. But she placed her trust in the holy name of Jesus. Then the murderous governor in his fury commanded her to offer sacrifice. But the maiden Valentina despised the word even of the threatener. Then he gave orders for those who were ministering to his will to lay hold upon the girl by force, and to take her up to the side of the altar, so that she might be polluted by the sacrifices. Then at that time of terror [.] the noble maiden shewed the courage of her mind, and gave the altar a kick with her foot, and it was overturned, and; the fire that had been kindled upon it was scattered about; and because she did all these things without shewing any fear, the rage of the governor was roused like a wild beast, and he gave command for her to be tortured with the combs, without any mercy, so that no one man was ever torn to such a degree; and I think that, had it been possible, he would even have

devoured the girl's flesh. And when at length his fury was satisfied with the sight of her blood, and he had learned, both by deeds and words, how divine is that invincible power which arms and strengthens even little girls with courage and valour, he caused both the young women, Hatha and Valentina, to be bound together, and gave sentence against them of death by fire. The name of the first was Hatha, and her father's house was in the land of Gaza; and the other was from Caesarea, our own city, and she was well known to many, and her name was Valentina.

And after these things, Paul the confessor was called to the conflict. And he also endured it bravely, and in the same hour was condemned to be put to death, and his sentence was to be beheaded by the sword. When, then, this blessed man came to the place of execution where he was to be put to death, he besought the officer who was to behead him to have patience with him for a little while; and when the officer had granted him this desire, in the first place, with a mild and cheerful voice, he offered up thanksgiving, and worship, and glory, and supplication to God for having accounted him worthy of this victory. Then he prayed for tranquillity and peace for our people, and entreated God speedily to grant them deliverance. After this he offered up prayer for our enemies, the Jews, many of whom at that time were standing around him: then he went on in his supplication, and prayed for the Samaritans, and for those among the Gentiles who were without knowledge; he prayed that they might be converted to the knowledge of the truth. Nor was he unmindful of those who were standing around him, but prayed also for them. And oh, the perfection — which cannot be described — that he prayed even for that judge who had condemned him to death, and for all rulers in every place; and not only for them, but also for that officer who was then going to cut off his head. And as he was offering his supplications to God, the officers heard him with their own ears praying for them, and beseeching God not to lay to their charge that which they did to him. And as he prayed for all with a suppliant voice, he turned the whole multitude that was standing by and looking on to sorrow and tears; and then, of his own accord, he bent down his body, and put out his neck to be cut off by the sword. The conflict of this victorious martyr was consummated on the twenty-fifth of the month Thamuz.

THE CONFESSION OF ANTONINUS, AND ZEBINAS, AND GERMANUS, AND MANNATHUS (Gr. Ennathas) IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS IN CAESAREA.

AND when some time had elapsed after these things which I have related, another company of God's martyrs, amounting in number to one hundred and thirty, was sent from the land of Egypt into our country. And all of these had also undergone the same tortures in their eyes and legs as the former martyrs; and some of them were sent to the mines of Palestine, and some of them were delivered over to the judges in Cilicia to be chastised with injurious and insulting tortures. But from us the flame of the persecution ceased a little, the sword having been satiated with the blood of the holy martyrs; and a little rest and cessation threw some check upon the persecution which took place in our days. And continuously the scourge of God was sent upon Maximinus, the wicked tyrant, of all these evils, of which the governors of the countries were the instructors and cunning ministers, , and that duke who was the general of the army of the Romans. And because of those things which took place, they urged the Logistae of the cities, and the military commander, and the Tabularii to rebuild with diligence what was fallen of the temples of idols, and to compel all the men, together with their wives and children and slaves, and even the infants at the breast, to sacrifice and offer libations to devils, and also to force them to eat of the sacrifices. And a command was given that every thing that was sold in the market should be polluted with the libations and the sprinkling of the blood of the sacrifices. When these things, therefore, were done in this manner, these actions which were performed were abominated, even by the heathen who were without faith.

Great tumult, therefore, and consternation, such as there had never been the like before, overwhelmed all those who belonged to us in every place; and the souls of every one were set in affliction and trouble. But the Divine Power, on account of those things which had taken place, gave encouragement to such as belonged to Him, so that they were able to tread under foot the threats of the judges, and to depise their tortures.

But some servants of Christ's people, who in the stature of their bodies were only youths, but their soul was armed with the worship of God, both

came of themselves, and when the governor was offering libations to idols in the midst of the city, suddenly rushed upon him, and called upon him to abandon his error, For there is no other God but one, the Maker and Creator of all things; and when they were asked who they were, they confessed they were Christians. No sooner, then, were these words uttered than they received sentence of death, and so passed on easily and without delay to Him in whom they made their confession. The name of the first of them was Antoninus, and the second was called Zebinas, and the third's name was Germanus; and these things were done on the thirteenth of Teshri the latter.

And they had at the same time a companion, a sister, one of the Lord's virgins, a chaste and courageous maiden, who came from the city of Baishan. She, however, had not acted in the same manner as those had done with whom she became confessor; for she had been brought by force from Baishan, and suffered insults and cruel tortures from the judge before she was condemned. But one of those who was set over the streets of the city was the originator of these evils. His name was Maxys, and he proved to all men that he was worse even than his name. This same blessed woman he stripped naked, and she was only left covered from the groin downwards, in order that he might indulge his lustful eyes in looking at the rest of her limbs; and he carried her about through the whole city, being tortured with straps; and afterwards took her before the tribunal of the governor, where with great boldness of speech she made the confession of her faith — that she was a Christian; and there also displayed her courage and patience under every kind of torture; and was afterwards delivered over by the governor to be burnt with fire. Moreover, the same judge became day by day more ferocious, displaying both his merciless disposition and cruelty, and he was carried away even beyond the laws of nature, so that he wreaked his vengeance and hatred even upon the lifeless corpses of the Christians, and forbade their burial. And of this same maiden of whom it has been just spoken, and of those who on the same day were consummated by confession, orders were issued that their bodies should be devoured by animals, and be carefully guarded night and day till they should be consumed by birds. Persons were therefore appointed to watch over this barbarous order from a distance, and to keep guard to prevent the bodies of the confessors from being carried away by us by stealth. So the beasts of the field, and the dogs, and the fowls of the heaven, were here and there tearing to

pieces the flesh of men, so that men's bones and entrails were found even in the middle of the city; and all men were clad in sorrow on account of these things, because never before had such atrocities been done. [...] And great sorrow and grief came even upon those who were aliens from us in the faith, because of these things which their own eyes beheld; for even before the gates of the city was exhibited the dreadful spectacle of men's bodies devoured by wild beasts. When, therefore, things had continued in this manner for many days, there happened in the midst of the city a prodigy which will scarcely be believed. The atmosphere was perfectly calm and clear, when, all on a sudden, many of the columns of the porticos in the city emitted spots as it were of blood, while the market-places and the streets became sprinkled and wet as with water, although not a single drop had fallen from the heavens. And it was declared by the mouth of every one, that the stones shed tears and the ground wept; for even the senseless stones and the ground without feeling could not endure this foul and barbarous deed; and that the blood which flowed from the stones, and the earth which without any rain emitted as it were tears from its body, rebuked all these godless folk. And perhaps it may seem to such as did not see with their own eyes the things which I have described, that what I have related must be attributed to a fable devoid of truth. Far from it, for these things which we have described were actually seen by those who were living at that time, some of whom are alive unto this very day.

Such then was the consummation of those holy martyrs of God; whose struggles and conflicts against error were exhibited before our eyes.

THE CONFESSION OF ARES, AND PRIMUS (Gr. Promus), AND ELIAS, IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS AT ASHKELON.

IN the month Canun the former, on the fourteenth of the same — on this day some Egyptian martyrs of God were seized before the gates of Ashkelon; and because, when they were questioned as to who they were, they acknowledged that they were Christians, and confessed that they had undertaken the journey, and were come from their own country for the purpose of taking sustenance to the confessors who were in Cilicia, they also were brought as malefactors before the judge. For the keepers of the gates of the city were cruel men, and laid hold upon these martyrs, and took them before Firmillianus the governor, because he was also, up to that time, still over the people of Palestine; and he decreed a cruel sentence against them: and some of them he ordered to have their eyes and their feet injured by fire and steel, and some of them to be delivered over to death by the sword; but one of them, whose name was Ares, was consummated in his confession by a fierce fire, and Primus and Elias were beheaded by the sword.

THE CONFESSION OF PETER, WHO WAS SURNAMED ABSALOM, IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA.

ON the tenth day of the month Canun the latter, Peter, who was called Absalom, appeared, a famous confessor of the kingdom of God; and so manfully did he behave in his struggle for the worship of God, and so victorious was he in the conflict of his martyrdom, that he even excited admiration in the judge himself, and made those who were standing by him wonder greatly. Much, therefore, did they strive to induce him to have pity upon himself, to spare his own person, and save himself from the evils which were hanging over him; but he disregarded in his mind all that they said. And those who surrounded him — not those only who knew him, but those also who were not acquainted with him — urged him, and intreated him one after another, and besought the blessed man as if it were for their own lives. But some of them confirmed his good resolution; others, again, by what they said, suggested irresolution, bidding him to regard with pity his own youth and person. Those of the same mind as himself called to his remembrance that hell fire which is to come, while others tried to make him afraid of the fire which was visible before him. Some endeavoured to terrify him by the mortal judge, while others reminded him of the Judge of all judges. Some called upon him to regard this transitory life, while others persuaded him to look to the kingdom of heaven. Those who belonged to the right hand invited him to turn towards them, while they who belonged to the left hand tried to persuade him to mind earthly things. But he was a young man, handsome in person, brave in mind, and active and able in body; and being such he proved his purity like gold in the furnace and the fire, and loved his confession in our Saviour better than the life of this time, which so soon passes away. And there was burned together with him in the same fire one who belonged to the heresy of Marcion, and called himself a bishop; and he gave himself up to this as in the zeal for righteousness, although he was not in true knowledge, and endured martyrdom by fire in company with this God's martyr. And this holy martyr of whom we have spoken came from Aia (Gr. *Anea*), a village which is on the confines of Beth Gobrin; and he contended in the consummation which we

have described, and obtained in the conflict the crown of the glorious victory of the martyrs of Christ.

**THE CONFESSION OF PAMPHILUS, AND VALES,
AND SELEUCUS, AND PAULUS, AND PORPHYRIUS,
AND THEOPHILUS (Theodulus), AND JULIANUS,
AND ONE EGYPTIAN, BEING IN NUMBER EIGHT,
IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION
IN OUR DAYS.**

THE time now calls upon us to describe that grand spectacle which was displayed of the all-holy martyr Pamphilus, and of those who together with him were consummated by martyrdom; men admirable and brave, who exhibited, under many forms, contests for the sake of the worship of God. For indeed there are many whom we know to have been victorious in this persecution; but in none altogether like these whom we have just mentioned did we behold so completely all kinds of bodily stature, and of moral qualities of soul and education, and of deaths by different tortures, receiving the glory of the consummation of martyrdom by various triumphs. For all of the Egyptians who were with them appeared to be youths and boys; others Were young men in the prime of life, among whom was Porphyrius; others again were in the full vigour both of mind and body, namely, those who were of the house of Pamphilus, that name dearly beloved by me; and Paulus, who came from Iamna; and Seleucus and Julianus, both of whom came from the country of Cappadocia. There were also among them some venerable seniors who were bent down with deep old age, as Vales, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem, and that other, whose conduct was conformable to his name, Theodulus. There was, likewise, a variety of bodily stature : and they differed too in their mental acquirements, for some of them were very simple-minded and ordinary like children, while others were possessed of profound understandings and courageous habits. There were also some among them who were also instructed in theology, and in all of them was their praiseworthy courage remarkable. But like the sun which giveth light to the day among the stars, so in the midst of them all shone forth the excellency of My Lord Pamphilus — for it is not meet that I should mention the name of that holy and blessed Pamphilus without styling him My Lord, for he indeed had no slight acquaintance with that learning which those among the Greeks admire; while there was no one in our time who was so well instructed in

those scriptures which proceed from the Spirit of God, and also in the whole range of theology. And what is even greater than these acquirements, he was possessed of natural wisdom and discernment, that is, he received them by the gift of God. Moreover, Pamphilus was by birth of an illustrious family, and his mode of living in his own country was as that of the noble. Seleucus also had held a place of authority in the army. Some of them again were of the middle rank of life, and one also, who was called to this honour together with the rest, was a slave of the governor. Porphyrius too was reckoned the slave of Pamphilus, but in his love towards God and in his admirable confession he was his brother; and by Pamphilus himself he was considered rather as a beloved son; and, indeed, in every thing he closely resembled him who had brought him up. And were any one to say of this company of them all that they were a perfect representation of a congregation of the church, I should say that he did not go beyond the truth. For among them Pamphilus had been honoured with the presbytery, and Vales was in the orders of the diaconate, and others among them had the rank of readers; and Seleucus, even before the consummation of his confession, had been honoured as a confessor by the suffering of cruel scourgings, and had endured with patience his dismissal from his command in the army. And the remainder of the others who came after these were hearers and receivers (catechumens). And thus, under a small form, they completed the representation of a perfect church of many persons. And so this admirable selection of all these martyrs and such as these, while we looked upon them, although they were not many in number, lo ! they still bore the semblance of a many-stringed harp, which consists of chords that do not resemble each other — the tenor and base, and flat, and sharp, and medial, all of which are well arranged together by the art of music. Like this resemblance, also, there were among them young men and old men together, and slaves and free, and clever and simple, and noble and common, and believers together with hearers (catechumens), and deacons with presbyters: all of which were variously harmonized together by one all-skilful — the Word — the only (begotten) of God. And they displayed each individually the excellency of the power within them by the endurance of tortures, and at the place of judgment produced the melody of a glorious confession.

It is also worthy of our admiration, when we look to their number, how they were twelve like the prophets and the apostles. Nor is it fit that we should

omit the all-patient readiness of every one of them, each in his own part; the combs on their sides, and their incurable scourgings, and their tortures of every kind, and how they forced by violence these martyrs to do that which was abominated by them. And what necessity is there for our telling of the divine sayings which they uttered, as though stripes were reckoned by them as nothing, while with a cheerful and joyous countenance they answered the interrogatories of the judge, and jested with readiness under the very tortures themselves. And when he asked them over again whence they came, they avoided speaking of the city to which they belonged on earth, and spake of the city which in truth is theirs, and said that they were from Jerusalem which is above in heaven, confessing that they were hastening to go thither. And because of these things the judge became the more enraged at them, and prepared himself against them with cruel scourgings, in order that he might accomplish his will upon them; but when he failed in his expectations, he gave command that one of them should receive the crown of victory.

Moreover, the modes of their deaths also were of all kinds; for two of them were hearers (catechumens), and they were baptized at their deaths with the baptism of fire only, while others of them were delivered up to be crucified like our Saviour.

But Pamphilus, that name so especially dear to me — one who was a lover of God in truth, and a peacemaker among all men — received a triumph different from these. He was the ornament of the church of Caesarea, because he also sat in the chair of the presbytery, both adorning it and being himself adorned thereby during his ministry in that place. In all his conduct too he was truly godly, being at all times in communion with the Spirit of God; for he was eminently virtuous in his mode of life, shunning wealth and honours, despising and rejecting them, and devoting himself entirely to the word of God. For every thing that he possessed from his parents he sold and distributed to the naked, and the sick, and the poor, and continued in private life without any possessions, and passed his time in the patient study of divine philosophy. He therefore quitted Beyrout, the city in which he had grown up in stature and learning together; and for the sake of his knowledge and understanding he attached himself to men seeking perfection. Human wisdom he abandoned, and loved the word of God. He also adopted the heavenly habit of the prophets, and was crowned with martyrdom.

The next after him that was brought to the conflict was Vales, a man venerable for his comely grey hairs, being in appearance a pure and respectable old man. Nor was he worthy of honour on this account only, but also for his great knowledge of the holy scriptures; for his memory was completely stored with the scriptures, so that he could repeat God's scriptures by rote like one in whose memory the whole scriptures were deposited. Moreover, he was a deacon of God's church.

And he that was reckoned third among them was named Paul,; a man who was fervent in the Spirit of God; and he came from the city Iamna. And he also had previously to this his confession contended with the suffering of the cautery of confession.

And when they had endured affliction in prison for about two years, the immediate cause of their martyrdom was the arrival of those Egyptians who were also consummated in martyrdom at the same time together with them. For having accompanied those men who had been sent to suffer affliction in the mines of Cilicia, and being then on their way back to return to their own country, as they entered in at the gate of Caesarea, they were questioned as to who they were and whence they came; and when they made no concealment of the truth, but said, We are Christians, they were at once seized, just as if they had been malefactors. And they were in number five. So when they were carried before the judge, and spake in his presence with openness of speech, they were forthwith committed to prison; and on the next day — the sixteenth of the month Shebat — they, together with those who appertained to Pamphilus, were brought before Firmillianus. First of all, then, the governor tried the Egyptians, and proved them by every kind of torture; and he brought forward the first of them into the midst, and asked him what was his name; but instead of his real name he heard from them the name of a prophet. Also the rest of the Egyptians who were with him, instead of those names which their fathers had given them after the name of some idol, had taken for themselves the names of the prophets, such as these — Elias, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel, Daniel. And when the judge heard from the same martyrs some such name as these, he did not perceive the force of what they said, and asked them again what was the city to which they belonged. He then gave a reply similar to the former, and said, Jerusalem is my city; for he was acquainted with that city of which St. Paul spake, Jerusalem which is above is free, and our mother

in whom we confess is the holy church. And the governor inquired diligently about this. Then he brought against them the combs and cauteries of fire. But he, when his hands had been bound behind him, and his feet were twisted in the stocks, sealed what he had said before, [.] and spake the truth. And again, when he questioned him many times as to what city and in what country was that Jerusalem which was said to belong to the Christians only, he replied, It is in the east, and on the side of the light of the sun, again making use of this artifice as it were in his own mind, while those who surrounded him continued to torture him with combs. Nor was he at all changed, but seemed as one who had no body. Then the judge grew furious in his mind, and imagined that perchance the Christians had built in some place a city for themselves; and so he became much more instant with tortures against them, making inquiries respecting this city, and the country in the east. When, therefore, he had punished this young man with scourging, and perceived that he varied not at all from what he had said to him at the first, he gave sentence of death against him that he should be beheaded. The rest then of the Egyptians he tried with tortures similar to his, and they likewise agreed in their confession with him who had preceded them.

And then, after these things he turned to those of the house of Pamphilus; and when he learned that they had been previously tried by many tortures, he thought that it would be folly in him to apply to them the same tortures again, and so labour in vain. He therefore only put to them the question whether they would now comply; and when he heard from them one after another the words of confession, he condemned them in the same manner as those who had preceded them, and gave sentence against them that they should be beheaded. And before the whole of the sentence was uttered, a youth from among the men, who was a slave of Pamphilus, cried out from the midst of the crowd which was standing round about the place of judgment; and then came forward into the midst, and cried out again with a loud voice to persuade the governor to grant permission for the bodies of the confessors to be buried. And he was no other than the blessed Porphyrius, the beloved disciple of Pamphilus, the mighty man of valour, [.] But Porphyrius himself was not yet eighteen years old; and he had been instructed in literature and writing, and for his modesty and manners was deserving of all praise. This youth then, who had been brought up by such a man, when he was informed of the

sentence which had been issued against his master, cried out from the middle of the crowd, and begged the bodies of the confessors. Then that wretch, who is not worthy to be called a man, but rather a savage brute, not only refused to grant this becoming request, but also neither spared nor had pity upon one who in years was but a youth; and having learnt this one thing only, that he was a Christian, gave orders to those who applied the tortures to tear him with all their might: and after this, having commanded the blessed youth to sacrifice, and experiencing a refusal, he now applied the torture upon him, not as if it were upon a human body, but rather as if it were upon lifeless wood or stone, and commanded him to be torn even till they came to his bones and entrails. And when he had done this for a long while, he perceived that he was labouring to no purpose; and thus having exhibited his own cruelty and brutality upon this youth, he condemned him to be given up to a slow and lingering fire. Now, he was brought to the conflict before Pamphilus was consummated, and so departed from the body before his master who had brought him up. And thus Porphyrius exhibited himself as a warrior who was crowned with victory in all his conflicts; and although he was weak in body, he was of a cheerful countenance and courageous mind, and trod along the path of death without fear, and in truth he was full of the Holy Ghost. And when he arrived at the place where he was put to death, having put on his cloak like a philosopher, with his shoulder uncovered, he looked with his eyes up towards heaven, and in his mind looked down upon all the life of man, and approached the fire with a soul unmoved, like one who had no harm near him, and with a watchful mind, and undisturbed, he gave charge to his friends respecting his human affairs, and then was anxious to go speedily to the presence of God. When, therefore, the fire had been kindled at a distance around him, he caught at the flames here and there with his mouth, and his soul hastened to the journey which lay before him. Such was the conflict of Porphyrius.

Then Seleucus carried to Pamphilus a report of all these things which had been done to Porphyrius, and as the reward for this intelligence it was granted of God to Seleucus that he should become a martyr with Pamphilus. For immediately after he had given information to Pamphilus respecting the struggle and conflict of Porphyrius, as he saluted one of the martyrs with a kiss, the soldiers laid hold upon him and took him before the governor; and as

Seleucus himself was anxious to go in company with the confessors, commandment was given for him to be beheaded. And this Seleucus came from the country of Cappadocia, and had acquired a glorious reputation by his military service, having held an important command in the ranks of the army. And not only this, but he also surpassed most men in stature by the size of his person and his prowess. His appearance, too, was very handsome. Moreover, at the commencement of the persecution he had been famous for his endurance of scourgings in confession; and after he had been dismissed from his military service on account of his religion, his zeal suffered not him to abstain from doing good, and so he was anxious to serve in the beloved ranks of Christ. As a visitor, therefore, of lonely orphans, and of destitute widows, and of those who were afflicted with poverty and sickness, he became a visitor and supporter of these, and, like a tender father, endeavoured to heal their afflictions. And after all these things, in which God delighteth more than sacrifices, and burnt-offerings, and incense, he was counted worthy of being consummated by confession. And this was the tenth combatant of those who have been mentioned above as having received all together on the same day their consummation and crown. And it seemed as if a great door of the kingdom of heaven had been opened by the confession of Pamphilus, and an abundant entrance been effected for others as well as himself into the paradise of God.

The next that was brought forward after Seleucus was the pure and pious Theodulus; and he was one of the slaves of the governor, and the oldest of them all, and was much respected by them all, both on account of his manners and his years; and although he was the father of three generations, and had served his master with fidelity, still he had no mercy on him when he heard that he had saluted the martyrs in the same way as Seleucus. For after this had been told to his master, he was excited with fury against him much more than against the rest; and gave command that he should be put to death by the same mode of suffering as our Saviour, and suffer martyrdom on the cross.

But there was still one wanted after these to complete the number twelve; and so Julianus arrived from a journey, and, as if it were on purpose to make up the number of martyrs twelve, the moment he arrived, before he was yet entered into the city, immediately on the way he was told by some one respecting the matter of the confessors, and ran to have a sight of the

confessors; and when he beheld the bodies of the saints lying upon the ground, he was filled with joy, and embraced them one after another with heavenly love, and saluted them all with a kiss. And while he was still visiting them, and lamenting that he himself had not suffered martyrdom with them, the officers seized him, and took him before the judge; and that judge commanded what his evil heart conceived, and delivered him also to a slow fire. So this Julianus, also, with joy and gladness praised God with a loud voice for having counted him worthy of this; and his soul ascended to his Lord with the company of the confessors. And this man was by family of Cappadocia, and in his soul he was filled with the fear of God, being a quiet and religious man, and diligent in the practice of every virtue. There was also in him a glorious savour of the Holy Spirit; and he was counted worthy to be associated with the company of these who received the consummation of confession together with the blessed Pamphilus. [.]

Four days and nights then were the bodies of the all-holy martyrs of God exposed to be devoured by wild beasts, by the command of the governor Firmillianus. When, therefore, nothing had touched them, not even the wild beasts, they were taken up whole without the permission of the governor, and with due reverence committed to an honourable burial; and were laid in the interior of the churches, and so consigned to a never-to-be-forgotten memorial in the temples of the house of prayer, that they might be honoured of their brethren who are with God.

THE CONFESSION OF HADRIANUS AND EUBULUS, IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS.

WHEN the consummation of Pamphilus and of those martyrs who were with him was published abroad by the mouths of all men, both Hadrianus and Eubulus, from a place which is called part of Batanea, had hastened to the rest of the martyrs at Caesarea: and when they drew near to the gate of the city, they were interrogated as to the cause for which they were come, and having stated the truth, they were taken before Firmillianus; and he at once, without any delay, ordered them, in the first place, to have their sides torn with combs, and punished them in a peculiar manner, as if they had been enemies and were hated by him; and not being satisfied with this, he condemned them to be devoured by wild beasts. And after an interval of two days, the confessor Hadrianus was cast before a lion on the fifth of Adar, and bravely accomplished his conflict, and after having been torn by the beast, he was at last put to death by the sword. Eubulus, also, on the second day following, the seventh of Adar, when the judge had made many attempts with him, and said to him, If thou wilt sacrifice to devils thou shalt be set at liberty in peace, both despised the whole existence of this passing time, and chose for himself everlasting life rather than this fleeting and transitory life. He was then cast to a lion, and after he had been torn by the teeth of the lion, he suffered in the same manner as those who were gone before him. He was the last of all that suffered martyrdom and finished his conflict in Caesarea.

THE CONFESSION OF PAULUS (Gr. Peleus) AND NILUS, AND PATRIMYTHEAS (Gr. Patermutheus) AND ELIAS, IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS.

IT was the nineteenth day of Ilul, and during the same wonderful conflict of the martyrs of God, that a great spectacle was assembled in Phaeno, in this same Palestine; and all the combatants were perfect, and in number they were about a hundred and fifty. Many of them, also, were Egyptians, amounting to more than a hundred. And the same in the first place had their right eyes and their left legs in their sinews destroyed by cautery of fire and by the sword. And then after these things they were delivered over to dig copper in the mines. Those, also, who belonged to Palestine had to endure afflictions in the same manner as the Egyptians; and they were all assembled together in a place called Zauara, as a congregation consisting of many persons. There was also much people with them, who came from other places to see them, and many others who ministered to them in their necessities, and visited them in love, and filled up their lack. And all the day they were occupied in the ministry of prayer, and in the service of God, and in teaching and reading; and all the afflictions which passed over them were esteemed by them as pleasures, and they spent all that time as if it had been in a festive assembly. But the enemy of God and wicked envier was not able to bear these things, so there was immediately sent out against them one of those generals of the Romans that is styled Dux; and first of all he separated them one by one from each other, and some of them were sent to that wretched place Zauara, and some not; and some of them to Phaeno, the place where the copper is dug; [.] and the others went to different places. Afterwards he selected from among those in Phaeno four of them who were of great excellence, in order that by them he might terrify the rest. Having, therefore, brought them to the trial, and not one of them having shewn any signs of dismay, this merciless judge, thinking that no punishment was so severe as that by fire, delivered up God's holy martyrs to this kind of death. When, therefore, they were brought to the fire, they cast themselves into the flames without fear, and dedicated themselves as an offering more acceptable than all incense and oblations; and presented their own bodies to God as a holocaust more excellent than all

sacrifices. And two of these were Bishops Paulus and Nilus; and the other two were selected of the laity, Paternmytheus and Elias; and by race they were all of them Egyptians. They were pure lovers of that exalted philosophy which is of God, and offered themselves like gold to the fire to be purified. But He who giveth strength to the weak, and multiplieth comfort to the afflicted, deemed them worthy of that life which is in heaven, and associated them with the company of angels.

THE CONFESSION OF SILVANUS, AND OF THOSE WITH HIM, IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS.

THIS blessed Silvanus came from Gaza, and he was one of the veteran soldiers; and when his freedom from service proved to be contrary to his habits, he enlisted himself as a good soldier of Christ. For he was a perfectly meek man, and of bright turn of mind, and used his faith with simplicity and purity. And he was a presbyter of the church in the city of Gaza, and conducted himself there with great propriety. And because the conflict for life was proclaimed against the soldiers of Christ, he, an old man, of a noble person, went down to the Stadium, and there, in his first confession before the people of Caesarea, he acquitted himself valiantly, being tried with scourgings. And when he had endured these bravely, he fought in a second conflict, in which the old man endured the combs on his sides like a young man. And at the third conflict he was sent to the copper mines; and during a life of much length he exhibited great probation. He was also deemed worthy of the office of the episcopate, and also rendered himself illustrious in this office of his ministry. But on the fourth day of Iyar the great gate of heaven was fully opened to him, and this blessed man went up with a company of martyrs, not being left alone, for a great assembly of brave men followed him. And suddenly a mandate of wickedness was issued, and command was given that all those in the mines who were become enfeebled through old age or sickness, and those who were not able to work, should be put to death by the sword; and God's martyrs, being all together forty in number, were beheaded all in one day. And many of them were Egyptians, but their leader and guide was this same martyr and bishop of martyrs, Silvanus, a man truly blessed and beloved of God.

Being now arrived at this place in our narrative, we will inform you how God in a short time took vengeance upon those wicked rulers, and they speedily experienced the punishment of their crimes. For he that was excited against these martyrs of God in a barbarous manner, like some fierce wild beast, suffered a wretched punishment; and by the command of him who possessed the power of the time, perished after the manner of a cruel wild beast. And all the rest perished by various kinds of deaths, and received that

punishment which they deserved for their crimes. So, then, we have described and made known the things which were done during the whole time of the persecution among the people in Palestine. And all these were blessed martyrs of God, who triumphed in our time; who made light of this temporary life, and prized the worship of God far above every other thing, and have received the hidden hope of those good things which are invisible to the bodily eyes.

Oh ! the blessed confessors of the kingdom of Christ, who were tried like gold in the excellence of their righteousness, and obtained through the conflict in which they were set the heavenly life of angels, and laid hold upon the promises of the hidden good things of the victory of the high calling — For eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what God has prepared for them that love him.

Here end the chapters of the narrative of the victories of the holy confessors in Palestine.

Ecclesiastical History



Translated by Arthur Cushman McGiffert

A leading work of fourth century literature, Eusebius' book of *Historia Ecclesiastica* provides a chronological account of the development of Early Christianity from the first century to the fourth century. Composed in Koine Greek, the work also survives in Latin, Syriac and Armenian manuscripts. It is the first full-length historical narrative written from a Christian point of view. In the early fifth century two advocates in Constantinople, Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen, and a bishop, Theodoret of Cyrhrus, Syria, wrote continuations of the history, establishing the convention of continuators that would determine to a great extent the way history would be written for the next thousand years.

Eusebius had access to the Theological Library of Caesarea, making use of many ecclesiastical monuments and documents, acts of the martyrs, letters, extracts from earlier Christian writings, lists of bishops and similar sources. The author often quotes from the original texts at great length, preserving the otherwise-lost words of many early Christian thinkers.

Serving as a vindication of the Christian religion, Eusebius attempts, according to his own declaration in the opening book, to present the history of the Church from the apostles to his own time, with special regard to the following points:

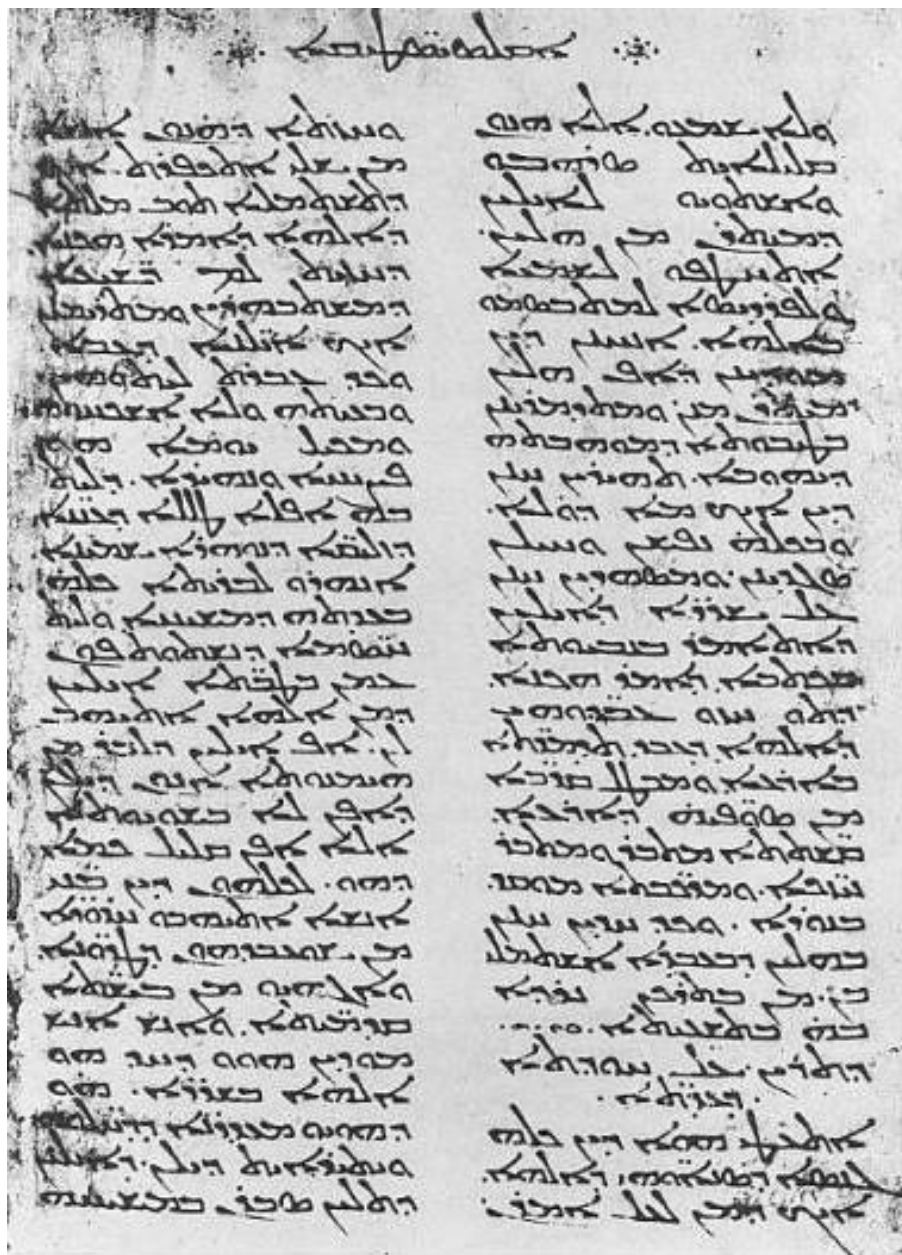
- The successions of bishops in the principal sees;
- The history of Christian teachers;
- The history of heresies;
- The history of the Jews;
- The relations to the heathen;
- The martyrdoms.

The history is arranged in structure according to the reigns of the emperors and the contents are as follows:

- Book I: detailed introduction on Jesus Christ

- Book II: The history of the apostolic time to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus
- Book III: The following time to Trajan
- Books IV and V: approximately the 2nd century
- Book VI: The time from Septimius Severus to Decius
- Book VII: extends to the outbreak of the persecution under Diocletian
- Book VIII: more of this persecution
- Book IX: history to Constantine's victory over Maxentius in the West and over Maximinus in the East
- Book X: The reestablishment of the churches and the rebellion and conquest of Licinius.

Eusebius blames the calamities that befell the Jewish nation on the Jews' role in the death of Jesus. Nonetheless, Eusebius levels a similar charge against Christians, blaming a spirit of divisiveness for some of the most severe persecutions. The accuracy of Eusebius' account has often been called into question. In the fifth century, the Christian historian Socrates Scholasticus described Eusebius as writing for "rhetorical finish" in the *Vita of Constantine* and for the "praises of the Emperor" rather than the "accurate statement of facts." Much later in the eighteenth century, Eusebius' methods were criticised by Edward Gibbon. In the nineteenth century Jacob Burckhardt viewed Eusebius as 'a liar', the "first thoroughly dishonest historian of antiquity." Ramsay MacMullen in the twentieth century regarded Eusebius' work as representative of early Christian historical accounts in which "Hostile writings and discarded views were not recopied or passed on, or they were actively suppressed... matters discreditable to the faith were to be consigned to silence." Nevertheless, the text remains the most important ecclesiastical history of ancient times and provides an invaluable treasury of knowledge about the early Church.



Syriac manuscript of 'Ecclesiastical History', X,I,4-II,1 (National Library of Russia, Codex Syriac 1)

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Preface.

The present translation of the Church History of Eusebius has been made from Heinichen's second edition of the Greek text, but variant readings have been adopted without hesitation whenever they have approved themselves to my judgment. In all such cases the variation from Heinichen's text has been indicated in the notes. A simple revision of Cruse's English version was originally proposed, but a brief examination of it was sufficient to convince me that a satisfactory revision would be an almost hopeless task, and that nothing short of a new and independent translation ought to be undertaken. In the preparation of that translation, invaluable assistance has been rendered by my father, the Rev. Joseph N. McGiffert, D.D., for whose help and counsel I desire thus publicly to give expression to my profound gratitude. The entire translation has been examined by him and owes much to his timely suggestions and criticisms; while the translation itself of a considerable portion of the work (Bks. V.–VIII. and the Martyrs of Palestine) is from his hand. The part thus rendered by him I have carefully revised for the purpose of securing uniformity in style and expression throughout the entire work, and I therefore hold myself alone responsible for it as well as for the earlier and later books. As to the principle upon which the translation has been made, little need be said. The constant endeavor has been to reproduce as nearly as possible, both the substance and form of the original, and in view of the peculiar need of accuracy in such a work as the present, it has seemed better in doubtful cases to run the risk of erring in the direction of over-literality rather than in that of undue license.

A word of explanation in regard to the notes which accompany the text may not be out of place. In view of the popular character of the series of which the present volume forms a part, it seemed important that the notes should contain much supplementary information in regard to persons, places, and events mentioned in the text which might be quite superfluous to the professional historian as well as to the student enjoying access to libraries rich in historical and bibliographical material, and I have therefore not felt justified in confining myself to such questions as might interest only the critical scholar. Requested by the general editor to make the work in some sense a general history of, or historical commentary upon, the first three centuries of

the Christian Church, I have ventured to devote considerable space to a fuller presentation of various subjects but briefly touched upon or merely referred to by Eusebius. At the same time my chief endeavor has been, by a careful study of difficult and disputed points, to do all that I could for their elucidation, and thus to perform as faithfully as possible the paramount duty of a commentator. The number and fulness of the notes needed in such a work must of course be matter of dispute, but annoyed as I have repeatedly been by the fragmentary character of the annotations in the existing editions of the work, I have been anxious to avoid that defect, and have therefore passed by no passage which seemed to me to need discussion, nor consciously evaded any difficulty. Working with historical students constantly in mind I have felt it due to them to fortify all my statements by references to the authorities upon which they have been based, and to indicate at the same time with sufficient fullness the sources whose examination a fuller investigation of the subject on their part might render necessary. The modern works which have been most helpful are mentioned in the notes, but I cannot in justice refrain from making especial reference at this point to Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* which has been constantly at my side, and to the first and second volumes of Schaff's *Church History*, whose bibliographies have been especially serviceable. Many of Valesius' notes have been found very suggestive and must always remain valuable in spite of the great advance made in historical knowledge since his day. For the commentary of Heinichen less can be said. Richardson's *Bibliographical Synopsis*, published as a supplement to the Ante-Nicene Library, did not come into my hands until the greater part of the work was completed. In the preparation of the notes upon the latter portion it proved helpful, and its existence has enabled me throughout the work to omit extended lists of books which it would otherwise have been necessary to give.

It was my privilege some three years ago to study portions of the fourth and fifth books of Eusebius' Church History with Professor Adolf Harnack in his *Seminar* at Marburg. Especial thanks are due for the help and inspiration gained from that eminent scholar, and for the light thrown by him upon many difficult passages in those portions of the work.

It gives me pleasure also to express my obligation to Dr. Isaac G. Hall, of New York, and to Dr. E. C. Richardson, of Hartford, for information furnished by them in regard to certain editions of the History, also to the Rev. Charles R.

Gillett, Librarian of Union Theological Seminary, and to the Rev. J. H. Dulles, Librarian of Princeton Theological Seminary, for their kindness in granting me the privileges of the libraries under their charge, and for their unfailing courtesy shown me in many ways. To Mr. James McDonald, of Shelbyville, Ky., my thanks are due for his translation of the Testimonies for and against Eusebius, printed at the close of the Prolegomena, and to Mr. F. E. Moore, of New Albany, Ind., for assistance rendered in connection with the preparation of the indexes.

Arthur Cushman McGiffert.

Lane Theological Seminary,

April 15, 1890.

Book I

Chapter 1. The Plan of the Work.

1. It is my purpose to write an account of the lines of succession of the holy apostles, as well as of the times that have elapsed from the days of our Saviour to our own; and to relate the many important events that are said to have occurred in the history of the Church; and to mention those who have governed and presided over the Church in the most prominent parishes, and those who in each generation have proclaimed the divine word either orally or in writing.

2. It is my purpose also to give the names and number and dates of those who through love of innovation have run into the greatest errors, and, proclaiming themselves discoverers of knowledge falsely so-called 1 Timothy 6:20 have like fierce wolves mercilessly devastated the flock of Christ.

3. It is my intention, moreover, to recount the misfortunes that immediately came upon the whole Jewish nation in consequence of their plots against our Saviour, and to record the ways and the times in which the divine word has been attacked by the Gentiles, and to describe the character of those who at various periods have contended for it in the face of blood and of tortures, as well as the confessions which have been made in our own days, and finally the gracious and kindly succor which our Saviour has afforded them all. Since I propose to write of all these things I shall commence my work with the beginning of the dispensation of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ.

4. But at the outset I must crave for my work the indulgence of the wise, for I confess that it is beyond my power to produce a perfect and complete history, and since I am the first to enter upon the subject, I am attempting to traverse as it were a lonely and untrodden path. I pray that I may have God as my guide and the power of the Lord as my aid, since I am unable to find even the bare footsteps of those who have traveled the way before me, except in brief fragments, in which some in one way, others in another, have transmitted to us particular accounts of the times in which they lived. From afar they raise their voices like torches, and they cry out, as from some lofty and conspicuous watchtower, admonishing us where to walk and how to direct the course of our work steadily and safely.

5. Having gathered therefore from the matters mentioned here and there by them whatever we consider important for the present work, and having

plucked like flowers from a meadow the appropriate passages from ancient writers, we shall endeavor to embody the whole in a historical narrative, content if we preserve the memory of the lines of succession of the apostles of our Saviour; if not indeed of all, yet of the most renowned of them in those churches that are the most noted, and which even to the present time are held in honor.

6. This work seems especially important to me because I know of no ecclesiastical writer who has devoted himself to this subject. I hope that it will appear most useful to those who are fond of historical research.

7. I have already given a summary of these things in the Chronological Canons that I have composed, but notwithstanding that, I have undertaken in the present work to write as full an account of them as I am able.

8. My work will begin, as I have said, with the dispensation of the Saviour Christ — which is loftier and greater than human conception — and with a discussion of his divinity.

9. For it is necessary, inasmuch as we derive even our name from Christ, for one who proposes to write a history of the Church to begin with the very origin of Christ's dispensation, a dispensation more divine than many think.

Chapter 2. Summary View of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ.

1. Since in Christ there is a twofold nature, and the one — in so far as he is thought of as God — resembles the head of the body, while the other may be compared with the feet — in so far as he, for the sake of our salvation, put on human nature with the same passions as our own — the following work will be complete only if we begin with the chief and lordliest events of all his history. In this way will the antiquity and divinity of Christianity be shown to those who suppose it of recent and foreign origin, and imagine that it appeared only yesterday.

2. No language is sufficient to express the origin and the worth, the being and the nature of Christ. Wherefore also the Holy Spirit says in the prophecies, Who shall declare his generation? Isaiah 53:8 For none knows the Father except the Son, neither can any one know the Son adequately except the Father alone who has begotten him.

3. For who beside the Father could clearly understand the Light which was before the world, the intellectual and essential Wisdom which existed before the ages, the living Word which was in the beginning with the Father and which was God, the first and only begotten of God which was before every creature and creation visible and invisible, the commander-in-chief of the rational and immortal host of heaven, the messenger of the great counsel, the executor of the Father's unspoken will, the creator, with the Father, of all things, the second cause of the universe after the Father, the true and only-begotten Son of God, the Lord and God and King of all created things, the one who has received dominion and power, with divinity itself, and with might and honor from the Father; as it is said in regard to him in the mystical passages of Scripture which speak of his divinity: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. John 1:1 All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made. John 1:3

4. This, too, the great Moses teaches, when, as the most ancient of all the prophets, he describes under the influence of the divine Spirit the creation and arrangement of the universe. He declares that the maker of the world and the creator of all things yielded to Christ himself, and to none other than his own clearly divine and firstborn Word, the making of inferior things, and

communed with him respecting the creation of man. For, says he, God said, Let us make man in our image and in our likeness. Genesis 1:26

5. And another of the prophets confirms this, speaking of God in his hymns as follows: He spoke and they were made; he commanded and they were created. He here introduces the Father and Maker as Ruler of all, commanding with a kingly nod, and second to him the divine Word, none other than the one who is proclaimed by us, as carrying out the Father's commands.

6. All that are said to have excelled in righteousness and piety since the creation of man, the great servant Moses and before him in the first place Abraham and his children, and as many righteous men and prophets as afterward appeared, have contemplated him with the pure eyes of the mind, and have recognized him and offered to him the worship which is due him as Son of God.

7. But he, by no means neglectful of the reverence due to the Father, was appointed to teach the knowledge of the Father to them all. For instance, the Lord God, it is said, appeared as a common man to Abraham while he was sitting at the oak of Mambre. And he, immediately falling down, although he saw a man with his eyes, nevertheless worshipped him as God, and sacrificed to him as Lord, and confessed that he was not ignorant of his identity when he uttered the words, Lord, the judge of all the earth, will you not execute righteous judgment? Genesis 18:25

8. For if it is unreasonable to suppose that the unbegotten and immutable essence of the almighty God was changed into the form of man or that it deceived the eyes of the beholders with the appearance of some created thing, and if it is unreasonable to suppose, on the other hand, that the Scripture should falsely invent such things, when the God and Lord who judges all the earth and executes judgment is seen in the form of a man, who else can be called, if it be not lawful to call him the first cause of all things, than his only pre-existent Word? Concerning whom it is said in the Psalms, He sent his Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions. Psalm 107:20

9. Moses most clearly proclaims him second Lord after the Father, when he says, The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrha brimstone and fire from the Lord. Genesis 19:24 The divine Scripture also calls him God, when he appeared again to Jacob in the form of a man, and said to Jacob, Your name

shall be called no more *Jacob*, but *Israel* shall be your name, because you have prevailed with God. Genesis 32:28 Wherefore also Jacob called that place Vision of God — saying, For I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved. Genesis 32:30

10. Nor is it admissible to suppose that the theophanies recorded were appearances of subordinate angels and ministers of God, for whenever any of these appeared to men, the Scripture does not conceal the fact, but calls them by name not *God* nor *Lord*, but *angels*, as it is easy to prove by numberless testimonies.

11. Joshua, also, the successor of Moses, calls him, as leader of the heavenly angels and archangels and of the supramundane powers, and as lieutenant of the Father, entrusted with the second rank of sovereignty and rule over all, captain of the host of the Lord, although he saw him not otherwise than again in the form and appearance of a man. For it is written:

12. And it came to pass when Joshua was at Jericho that he looked and saw a man standing over against him with his sword drawn in his hand, and Joshua went unto him and said, Are you for us or for our adversaries? And he said to him, As captain of the host of the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth and said to him, Lord, what do you command your servant? And the captain of the Lord said to Joshua, Loose your shoe from off your feet, for the place whereon you stand is holy.

13. You will perceive also from the same words that this was no other than he who talked with Moses. For the Scripture says in the same words and with reference to the same one, When the Lord saw that he drew near to see, the Lord called to him out of the bush and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, What is it? And he said, Draw not near hither; loose your shoe from off your feet, for the place whereon you stand is holy ground. And he said to him, I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.

14. And that there is a certain substance which lived and subsisted before the world, and which ministered unto the Father and God of the universe for the formation of all created things, and which is called the Word of God and Wisdom, we may learn, to quote other proofs in addition to those already cited, from the mouth of Wisdom herself, who reveals most clearly through Solomon the following mysteries concerning herself: I, Wisdom, have dwelt

with prudence and knowledge, and I have invoked understanding. Through me kings reign, and princes ordain righteousness. Through me the great are magnified, and through me sovereigns rule the earth.

15. To which she adds: The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways, for his works; before the world he established me, in the beginning, before he made the earth, before he made the depths, before the mountains were settled, before all hills he begot me. When he prepared the heavens I was present with him, and when he established the fountains of the region under heaven I was with him, disposing. I was the one in whom he delighted; daily I rejoiced before him at all times when he was rejoicing at having completed the world.

16. That the divine Word, therefore, pre-existed and appeared to some, if not to all, has thus been briefly shown by us.

17. But why the Gospel was not preached in ancient times to all men and to all nations, as it is now, will appear from the following considerations. The life of the ancients was not of such a kind as to permit them to receive the all-wise and all-virtuous teaching of Christ.

18. For immediately in the beginning, after his original life of blessedness, the first man despised the command of God, and fell into this mortal and perishable state, and exchanged his former divinely inspired luxury for this curse-laden earth. His descendants having filled our earth, showed themselves much worse, with the exception of one here and there, and entered upon a certain brutal and insupportable mode of life.

19. They thought neither of city nor state, neither of arts nor sciences. They were ignorant even of the name of laws and of justice, of virtue and of philosophy. As nomads, they passed their lives in deserts, like wild and fierce beasts, destroying, by an excess of voluntary wickedness, the natural reason of man, and the seeds of thought and of culture implanted in the human soul. They gave themselves wholly over to all kinds of profanity, now seducing one another, now slaying one another, now eating human flesh, and now daring to wage war with the Gods and to undertake those battles of the giants celebrated by all; now planning to fortify earth against heaven, and in the madness of ungoverned pride to prepare an attack upon the very God of all.

20. On account of these things, when they conducted themselves thus, the all-seeing God sent down upon them floods and conflagrations as upon a wild forest spread over the whole earth. He cut them down with continuous

famines and plagues, with wars, and with thunderbolts from heaven, as if to check some terrible and obstinate disease of souls with more severe punishments.

21. Then, when the excess of wickedness had overwhelmed nearly all the race, like a deep fit of drunkenness, beclouding and darkening the minds of men, the first-born and first-created wisdom of God, the pre-existent Word himself, induced by his exceeding love for man, appeared to his servants, now in the form of angels, and again to one and another of those ancients who enjoyed the favor of God, in his own person as the saving power of God, not otherwise, however, than in the shape of man, because it was impossible to appear in any other way.

22. And as by them the seeds of piety were sown among a multitude of men and the whole nation, descended from the Hebrews, devoted themselves persistently to the worship of God, he imparted to them through the prophet Moses, as to multitudes still corrupted by their ancient practices, images and symbols of a certain mystic Sabbath and of circumcision, and elements of other spiritual principles, but he did not grant them a complete knowledge of the mysteries themselves.

23. But when their law became celebrated, and, like a sweet odor, was diffused among all men, as a result of their influence the dispositions of the majority of the heathen were softened by the lawgivers and philosophers who arose on every side, and their wild and savage brutality was changed into mildness, so that they enjoyed deep peace, friendship, and social intercourse. Then, finally, at the time of the origin of the Roman Empire, there appeared again to all men and nations throughout the world, who had been, as it were, previously assisted, and were now fitted to receive the knowledge of the Father, that same teacher of virtue, the minister of the Father in all good things, the divine and heavenly Word of God, in a human body not at all differing in substance from our own. He did and suffered the things which had been prophesied. For it had been foretold that one who was at the same time man and God should come and dwell in the world, should perform wonderful works, and should show himself a teacher to all nations of the piety of the Father. The marvelous nature of his birth, and his new teaching, and his wonderful works had also been foretold; so likewise the manner of his death, his resurrection from the dead, and, finally, his divine ascension into heaven.

24. For instance, Daniel the prophet, under the influence of the divine Spirit, seeing his kingdom at the end of time, was inspired thus to describe the divine vision in language fitted to human comprehension: For I beheld, he says, until thrones were placed, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was a flame of fire and his wheels burning fire. A river of fire flowed before him. Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. He appointed judgment, and the books were opened. Daniel 7:9-10

25. And again, I saw, says he, and beheld, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and he hastened unto the Ancient of Days and was brought into his presence, and there was given him the dominion and the glory and the kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and tongues serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed. Daniel 7:13-14

26. It is clear that these words can refer to no one else than to our Saviour, the God Word who was in the beginning with God, and who was called the Son of man because of his final appearance in the flesh.

27. But since we have collected in separate books the selections from the prophets which relate to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and have arranged in a more logical form those things which have been revealed concerning him, what has been said will suffice for the present.

Chapter 3. The Name Jesus and also the Name Christ were known from the Beginning, and were honored by the Inspired Prophets.

1. It is now the proper place to show that the very name Jesus and also the name Christ were honored by the ancient prophets beloved of God.

2. Moses was the first to make known the name of Christ as a name especially august and glorious. When he delivered types and symbols of heavenly things, and mysterious images, in accordance with the oracle which said to him, Look that you make all things according to the pattern which was shown you in the mount, Exodus 25:40 he consecrated a man high priest of God, in so far as that was possible, and him he called *Christ*. And thus to this dignity of the high priesthood, which in his opinion surpassed the most honorable position among men, he attached for the sake of honor and glory the name of Christ.

3. He knew so well that in *Christ* was something divine. And the same one foreseeing, under the influence of the divine Spirit, the name Jesus, dignified it also with a certain distinguished privilege. For the name of Jesus, which had never been uttered among men before the time of Moses, he applied first and only to the one who he knew would receive after his death, again as a type and symbol, the supreme command.

4. His successor, therefore, who had not hitherto borne the name Jesus, but had been called by another name, Auses, which had been given him by his parents, he now called Jesus, bestowing the name upon him as a gift of honor, far greater than any kingly diadem. For Jesus himself, the son of Nave, bore a resemblance to our Saviour in the fact that he alone, after Moses and after the completion of the symbolic worship which had been transmitted by him, succeeded to the government of the true and pure religion.

5. Thus Moses bestowed the name of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, as a mark of the highest honor, upon the two men who in his time surpassed all the rest of the people in virtue and glory; namely, upon the high priest and upon his own successor in the government.

6. And the prophets that came after also clearly foretold Christ by name, predicting at the same time the plots which the Jewish people would form against him, and the calling of the nations through him. Jeremiah, for instance,

speaks as follows: The Spirit before our face, Christ the Lord, was taken in their destructions; of whom we said, under his shadow we shall live among the nations. Lamentations 4:20 And David, in perplexity, says, Why did the nations rage and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves in array, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ; to which he adds, in the person of Christ himself, The Lord said to me, You are my Son, this day have I begotten you. Ask of me, and I will give you the nations for your inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for your possession.

7. And not only those who were honored with the high priesthood, and who for the sake of the symbol were anointed with especially prepared oil, were adorned with the name of Christ among the Hebrews, but also the kings whom the prophets anointed under the influence of the divine Spirit, and thus constituted, as it were, typical Christs. For they also bore in their own persons types of the royal and sovereign power of the true and only Christ, the divine Word who rules over all.

8. And we have been told also that certain of the prophets themselves became, by the act of anointing, Christs in type, so that all these have reference to the true Christ, the divinely inspired and heavenly Word, who is the only high priest of all, and the only King of every creature, and the Father's only supreme prophet of prophets.

9. And a proof of this is that no one of those who were of old symbolically anointed, whether priests, or kings, or prophets, possessed so great a power of inspired virtue as was exhibited by our Saviour and Lord Jesus, the true and only Christ.

10. None of them at least, however superior in dignity and honor they may have been for many generations among their own people, ever gave to their followers the name of *Christians* from their own typical name of *Christ*. Neither was divine honor ever rendered to any one of them by their subjects; nor after their death was the disposition of their followers such that they were ready to die for the one whom they honored. And never did so great a commotion arise among all the nations of the earth in respect to any one of that age; for the mere symbol could not act with such power among them as the truth itself which was exhibited by our Saviour.

11. He, although he received no symbols and types of high priesthood from

any one, although he was not born of a race of priests, although he was not elevated to a kingdom by military guards, although he was not a prophet like those of old, although he obtained no honor nor pre-eminence among the Jews, nevertheless was adorned by the Father with all, if not with the symbols, yet with the truth itself.

12. And therefore, although he did not possess like honors with those whom we have mentioned, he is called *Christ* more than all of them. And as himself the true and only Christ of God, he has filled the whole earth with the truly august and sacred name of *Christians*, committing to his followers no longer types and images, but the uncovered virtues themselves, and a heavenly life in the very doctrines of truth.

13. And he was not anointed with oil prepared from material substances, but, as befits divinity, with the divine Spirit himself, by participation in the unbegotten deity of the Father. And this is taught also again by Isaiah, who exclaims, as if in the person of Christ himself, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me; therefore has he anointed me. He has sent me to preach the Gospel to the poor, to proclaim deliverance to captives, and recovery of sight to the blind.

14. And not only Isaiah, but also David addresses him, saying, Your throne, O God, is forever and ever. A scepter of equity is the scepter of your kingdom. You have loved righteousness and have hated iniquity. Therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows. Here the Scripture calls him God in the first verse, in the second it honors him with a royal scepter.

15. Then a little farther on, after the divine and royal power, it represents him in the third place as having become Christ, being anointed not with oil made of material substances, but with the divine oil of gladness. It thus indicates his special honor, far superior to and different from that of those who, as types, were of old anointed in a more material way.

16. And elsewhere the same writer speaks of him as follows: The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool; and, Out of the womb, before the morning star, have I begotten you. The Lord has sworn and he will not repent. You are a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek.

17. But this Melchizedek is introduced in the Holy Scriptures as a priest of the most high God, not consecrated by any anointing oil, especially prepared,

and not even belonging by descent to the priesthood of the Jews. Wherefore after his order, but not after the order of the others, who received symbols and types, was our Saviour proclaimed, with an appeal to an oath, Christ and priest.

18. History, therefore, does not relate that he was anointed corporeally by the Jews, nor that he belonged to the lineage of priests, but that he came into existence from God himself before the morning star, that is before the organization of the world, and that he obtained an immortal and undecaying priesthood for eternal ages.

19. But it is a great and convincing proof of his incorporeal and divine unction that he alone of all those who have ever existed is even to the present day called Christ by all men throughout the world, and is confessed and witnessed to under this name, and is commemorated both by Greeks and Barbarians and even to this day is honored as a King by his followers throughout the world, and is admired as more than a prophet, and is glorified as the true and only high priest of God. And besides all this, as the pre-existent Word of God, called into being before all ages, he has received august honor from the Father, and is worshipped as God.

20. But most wonderful of all is the fact that we who have consecrated ourselves to him, honor him not only with our voices and with the sound of words, but also with complete elevation of soul, so that we choose to give testimony unto him rather than to preserve our own lives.

21. I have of necessity prefaced my history with these matters in order that no one, judging from the date of his incarnation, may think that our Saviour and Lord Jesus, the Christ, has but recently come into being.

Chapter 4. The Religion Proclaimed by Him to All Nations Was Neither New Nor Strange.

1. But that no one may suppose that his doctrine is new and strange, as if it were framed by a man of recent origin, differing in no respect from other men, let us now briefly consider this point also.

2. It is admitted that when in recent times the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ had become known to all men there immediately made its appearance a new nation; a nation confessedly not small, and not dwelling in some corner of the earth, but the most numerous and pious of all nations, indestructible and unconquerable, because it always receives assistance from God. This nation, thus suddenly appearing at the time appointed by the inscrutable counsel of God, is the one which has been honored by all with the name of Christ.

3. One of the prophets, when he saw beforehand with the eye of the Divine Spirit that which was to be, was so astonished at it that he cried out, Who has heard of such things, and who has spoken thus? Hath the earth brought forth in one day, and has a nation been born at once? Isaiah 66:8 And the same prophet gives a hint also of the name by which the nation was to be called, when he says, Those that serve me shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon the earth. Isaiah 65:15-16

4. But although it is clear that we are new and that this new name of Christians has really but recently been known among all nations, nevertheless our life and our conduct, with our doctrines of religion, have not been lately invented by us, but from the first creation of man, so to speak, have been established by the natural understanding of divinely favored men of old. That this is so we shall show in the following way.

5. That the Hebrew nation is not new, but is universally honored on account of its antiquity, is known to all. The books and writings of this people contain accounts of ancient men, rare indeed and few in number, but nevertheless distinguished for piety and righteousness and every other virtue. Of these, some excellent men lived before the flood, others of the sons and descendants of Noah lived after it, among them Abraham, whom the Hebrews celebrate as their own founder and forefather.

6. If any one should assert that all those who have enjoyed the testimony of

righteousness, from Abraham himself back to the first man, were Christians in fact if not in name, he would not go beyond the truth.

7. For that which the name indicates, that the Christian man, through the knowledge and the teaching of Christ, is distinguished for temperance and righteousness, for patience in life and manly virtue, and for a profession of piety toward the one and only God over all — all that was zealously practiced by them not less than by us.

8. They did not care about circumcision of the body, neither do we. They did not care about observing Sabbaths, nor do we. They did not avoid certain kinds of food, neither did they regard the other distinctions which Moses first delivered to their posterity to be observed as symbols; nor do Christians of the present day do such things. But they also clearly knew the very Christ of God; for it has already been shown that he appeared unto Abraham, that he imparted revelations to Isaac, that he talked with Jacob, that he held converse with Moses and with the prophets that came after.

9. Hence you will find those divinely favored men honored with the name of Christ, according to the passage which says of them, Touch not my Christs, and do my prophets no harm.

10. So that it is clearly necessary to consider that religion, which has lately been preached to all nations through the teaching of Christ, the first and most ancient of all religions, and the one discovered by those divinely favored men in the age of Abraham.

11. If it is said that Abraham, a long time afterward, was given the command of circumcision, we reply that nevertheless before this it was declared that he had received the testimony of righteousness through faith; as the divine word says, Abraham believed in God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness. Genesis 15:6

12. And indeed unto Abraham, who was thus before his circumcision a justified man, there was given by God, who revealed himself unto him (but this was Christ himself, the word of God), a prophecy in regard to those who in coming ages should be justified in the same way as he. The prophecy was in the following words: And in you shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed. Genesis 12:3 And again, He shall become a nation great and numerous; and in him shall all the nations of the earth be blessed. Genesis 18:18

13. It is permissible to understand this as fulfilled in us. For he, having

renounced the superstition of his fathers, and the former error of his life, and having confessed the one God over all, and having worshipped him with deeds of virtue, and not with the service of the law which was afterward given by Moses, was justified by faith in Christ, the Word of God, who appeared unto him. To him, then, who was a man of this character, it was said that all the tribes and all the nations of the earth should be blessed in him.

14. But that very religion of Abraham has reappeared at the present time, practiced in deeds, more efficacious than words, by Christians alone throughout the world.

15. What then should prevent the confession that we who are of Christ practice one and the same mode of life and have one and the same religion as those divinely favored men of old? Whence it is evident that the perfect religion committed to us by the teaching of Christ is not new and strange, but, if the truth must be spoken, it is the first and the true religion. This may suffice for this subject.

Chapter 5. The Time of his Appearance among Men.

1. And now, after this necessary introduction to our proposed history of the Church, we can enter, so to speak, upon our journey, beginning with the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh. And we invoke God, the Father of the Word, and him, of whom we have been speaking, Jesus Christ himself our Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Word of God, as our aid and fellow-laborer in the narration of the truth.

2. It was in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus and the twenty-eighth after the subjugation of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, with whom the dynasty of the Ptolemies in Egypt came to an end, that our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, according to the prophecies which had been uttered concerning him. Micah 5:2 His birth took place during the first census, while Cyrenius was governor of Syria.

3. Flavius Josephus, the most celebrated of Hebrew historians, also mentions this census, which was taken during Cyrenius' term of office. In the same connection he gives an account of the uprising of the Galileans, which took place at that time, of which also Luke, among our writers, has made mention in the Acts, in the following words: After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away a multitude after him: he also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. Acts 5:37

4. The above-mentioned author, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, in agreement with these words, adds the following, which we quote exactly: Cyrenius, a member of the senate, one who had held other offices and had passed through them all to the consulship, a man also of great dignity in other respects, came to Syria with a small retinue, being sent by Cæsar to be a judge of the nation and to make an assessment of their property.

5. And after a little he says: But Judas, a Gaulonite, from a city called Gamala, taking with him Sadduchus, a Pharisee, urged the people to revolt, both of them saying that the taxation meant nothing else than downright slavery, and exhorting the nation to defend their liberty.

6. And in the second book of his History of the Jewish War, he writes as follows concerning the same man: At this time a certain Galilean, whose name was Judas, persuaded his countrymen to revolt, declaring that they were cowards if they submitted to pay tribute to the Romans, and if they endured,

besides God, masters who were mortal. These things are recorded by Josephus.

Chapter 6. About the Time of Christ, in accordance with Prophecy, the Rulers who had governed the Jewish Nation in Regular Succession from the Days of Antiquity came to an End, and Herod, the First Foreigner, Became King.

1. When Herod, the first ruler of foreign blood, became King, the prophecy of Moses received its fulfillment, according to which there should not be wanting a prince of Judah, nor a ruler from his loins, until he come for whom it is reserved. The latter, he also shows, was to be the expectation of the nations.

2. This prediction remained unfulfilled so long as it was permitted them to live under rulers from their own nation, that is, from the time of Moses to the reign of Augustus. Under the latter, Herod, the first foreigner, was given the Kingdom of the Jews by the Romans. As Josephus relates, he was an Idumean on his father's side and an Arabian on his mother's. But Africanus, who was also no common writer, says that they who were more accurately informed about him report that he was a son of Antipater, and that the latter was the son of a certain Herod of Ascalon, one of the so-called servants of the temple of Apollo.

3. This Antipater, having been taken a prisoner while a boy by Idumean robbers, lived with them, because his father, being a poor man, was unable to pay a ransom for him. Growing up in their practices he was afterward befriended by Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews. A son of his was that Herod who lived in the times of our Saviour.

4. When the Kingdom of the Jews had devolved upon such a man the expectation of the nations was, according to prophecy, already at the door. For with him their princes and governors, who had ruled in regular succession from the time of Moses came to an end.

5. Before their captivity and their transportation to Babylon they were ruled by Saul first and then by David, and before the kings leaders governed them who were called Judges, and who came after Moses and his successor Jesus.

6. After their return from Babylon they continued to have without interruption an aristocratic form of government, with an oligarchy. For the

priests had the direction of affairs until Pompey, the Roman general, took Jerusalem by force, and defiled the holy places by entering the very innermost sanctuary of the temple. Aristobulus, who, by the right of ancient succession, had been up to that time both king and high priest, he sent with his children in chains to Rome; and gave to Hyrcanus, brother of Aristobulus, the high priesthood, while the whole nation of the Jews was made tributary to the Romans from that time.

7. But Hyrcanus, who was the last of the regular line of high priests, was very soon afterward taken prisoner by the Parthians, and Herod, the first foreigner, as I have already said, was made King of the Jewish nation by the Roman senate and by Augustus.

8. Under him Christ appeared in bodily shape, and the expected Salvation of the nations and their calling followed in accordance with prophecy. From this time the princes and rulers of Judah, I mean of the Jewish nation, came to an end, and as a natural consequence the order of the high priesthood, which from ancient times had proceeded regularly in closest succession from generation to generation, was immediately thrown into confusion.

9. Of these things Josephus is also a witness, who shows that when Herod was made King by the Romans he no longer appointed the high priests from the ancient line, but gave the honor to certain obscure persons. A course similar to that of Herod in the appointment of the priests was pursued by his son Archelaus, and after him by the Romans, who took the government into their own hands.

10. The same writer shows that Herod was the first that locked up the sacred garment of the high priest under his own seal and refused to permit the high priests to keep it for themselves. The same course was followed by Archelaus after him, and after Archelaus by the Romans.

11. These things have been recorded by us in order to show that another prophecy has been fulfilled in the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For the Scripture, in the Book of Daniel, Daniel 9:26 having expressly mentioned a certain number of weeks until the coming of Christ, of which we have treated in other books, most clearly prophesies, that after the completion of those weeks the unction among the Jews should totally perish. And this, it has been clearly shown, was fulfilled at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ. This has been necessarily premised by us as a proof of the correctness

of the time.

Chapter 7. The Alleged Discrepancy in the Gospels in regard to the Genealogy of Christ.

1. Matthew and Luke in their gospels have given us the genealogy of Christ differently, and many suppose that they are at variance with one another. Since as a consequence every believer, in ignorance of the truth, has been zealous to invent some explanation which shall harmonize the two passages, permit us to subjoin the account of the matter which has come down to us, and which is given by Africanus, who was mentioned by us just above, in his epistle to Aristides, where he discusses the harmony of the gospel genealogies. After refuting the opinions of others as forced and deceptive, he give the account which he had received from tradition in these words:

2. For whereas the names of the generations were reckoned in Israel either according to nature or according to law — according to nature by the succession of legitimate offspring, and according to law whenever another raised up a child to the name of a brother dying childless; for because a clear hope of resurrection was not yet given they had a representation of the future promise by a kind of mortal resurrection, in order that the name of the one deceased might be perpetuated —

3. whereas then some of those who are inserted in this genealogical table succeeded by natural descent, the son to the father, while others, though born of one father, were ascribed by name to another, mention was made of both of those who were progenitors in fact and of those who were so only in name.

4. Thus neither of the gospels is in error, for one reckons by nature, the other by law. For the line of descent from Solomon and that from Nathan were so involved, the one with the other, by the raising up of children to the childless and by second marriages, that the same persons are justly considered to belong at one time to one, at another time to another; that is, at one time to the reputed fathers, at another to the actual fathers. So that both these accounts are strictly true and come down to Joseph with considerable intricacy indeed, yet quite accurately.

5. But in order that what I have said may be made clear I shall explain the interchange of the generations. If we reckon the generations from David through Solomon, the third from the end is found to be Matthan, who begot Jacob the father of Joseph. But if, with Luke, we reckon them from Nathan

the son of David, in like manner the third from the end is Melchi, whose son Eli was the father of Joseph. For Joseph was the son of Eli, the son of Melchi.

6. Joseph therefore being the object proposed to us, it must be shown how it is that each is recorded to be his father, both Jacob, who derived his descent from Solomon, and Eli, who derived his from Nathan; first how it is that these two, Jacob and Eli, were brothers, and then how it is that their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, although of different families, are declared to be grandfathers of Joseph.

7. Matthan and Melchi having married in succession the same woman, begot children who were uterine brothers, for the law did not prohibit a widow, whether such by divorce or by the death of her husband, from marrying another.

8. By Estha then (for this was the woman's name according to tradition) Matthan, a descendant of Solomon, first begot Jacob. And when Matthan was dead, Melchi, who traced his descent back to Nathan, being of the same tribe but of another family, married her as before said, and begot a son Eli.

9. Thus we shall find the two, Jacob and Eli, although belonging to different families, yet brethren by the same mother. Of these the one, Jacob, when his brother Eli had died childless, took the latter's wife and begot by her a son Joseph, his own son by nature and in accordance with reason. Wherefore also it is written: 'Jacob begot Joseph.' Matthew 1:6 But according to law he was the son of Eli, for Jacob, being the brother of the latter, raised up seed to him.

10. Hence the genealogy traced through him will not be rendered void, which the evangelist Matthew in his enumeration gives thus: 'Jacob begot Joseph.' But Luke, on the other hand, says: 'Who was the son, as was supposed' (for this he also adds), 'of Joseph, the son of Eli, the son of Melchi'; for he could not more clearly express the generation according to law. And the expression 'he begot' he has omitted in his genealogical table up to the end, tracing the genealogy back to Adam the son of God. This interpretation is neither incapable of proof nor is it an idle conjecture.

11. For the relatives of our Lord according to the flesh, whether with the desire of boasting or simply wishing to state the fact, in either case truly, have handed down the following account: Some Idumean robbers, having attacked Ascalon, a city of Palestine, carried away from a temple of Apollo which

stood near the walls, in addition to other booty, Antipater, son of a certain temple slave named Herod. And since the priest was not able to pay the ransom for his son, Antipater was brought up in the customs of the Idumeans, and afterward was befriended by Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews.

12. And having been sent by Hyrcanus on an embassy to Pompey, and having restored to him the kingdom which had been invaded by his brother Aristobulus, he had the good fortune to be named procurator of Palestine. But Antipater having been slain by those who were envious of his great good fortune was succeeded by his son Herod, who was afterward, by a decree of the senate, made King of the Jews under Antony and Augustus. His sons were Herod and the other tetrarchs. These accounts agree also with those of the Greeks.

13. But as there had been kept in the archives up to that time the genealogies of the Hebrews as well as of those who traced their lineage back to proselytes, such as Achior the Ammonite and Ruth the Moabitess, and to those who were mingled with the Israelites and came out of Egypt with them, Herod, inasmuch as the lineage of the Israelites contributed nothing to his advantage, and since he was goaded with the consciousness of his own ignoble extraction, burned all the genealogical records, thinking that he might appear of noble origin if no one else were able, from the public registers, to trace back his lineage to the patriarchs or proselytes and to those mingled with them, who were called Georae.

14. A few of the careful, however, having obtained private records of their own, either by remembering the names or by getting them in some other way from the registers, pride themselves on preserving the memory of their noble extraction. Among these are those already mentioned, called Desposyni, on account of their connection with the family of the Saviour. Coming from Nazara and Cochaba, villages of Judea, into other parts of the world, they drew the aforesaid genealogy from memory and from the book of daily records as faithfully as possible.

15. Whether then the case stand thus or not no one could find a clearer explanation, according to my own opinion and that of every candid person. And let this suffice us, for, although we can urge no testimony in its support, we have nothing better or truer to offer. In any case the Gospel states the truth. And at the end of the same epistle he adds these words: Matthan, who was

descended from Solomon, begot Jacob. And when Matthan was dead, Melchi, who was descended from Nathan begot Eli by the same woman. Eli and Jacob were thus uterine brothers. Eli having died childless, Jacob raised up seed to him, begetting Joseph, his own son by nature, but by law the son of Eli. Thus Joseph was the son of both.

17. Thus far Africanus. And the lineage of Joseph being thus traced, Mary also is virtually shown to be of the same tribe with him, since, according to the law of Moses, intermarriages between different tribes were not permitted. For the command is to marry one of the same family and lineage, so that the inheritance may not pass from tribe to tribe. This may suffice here.

Chapter 8. The Cruelty of Herod toward the Infants, and the Manner of his Death.

1. When Christ was born, according to the prophecies, in Bethlehem of Judea, at the time indicated, Herod was not a little disturbed by the enquiry of the magi who came from the east, asking where he who was born King of the Jews was to be found — for they had seen his star, and this was their reason for taking so long a journey; for they earnestly desired to worship the infant as God, — for he imagined that his kingdom might be endangered; and he enquired therefore of the doctors of the law, who belonged to the Jewish nation, where they expected Christ to be born. When he learned that the prophecy of Micah Micah 5:2 announced that Bethlehem was to be his birthplace he commanded, in a single edict, all the male infants in Bethlehem, and all its borders, that were two years of age or less, according to the time which he had accurately ascertained from the magi, to be slain, supposing that Jesus, as was indeed likely, would share the same fate as the others of his own age.

2. But the child anticipated the snare, being carried into Egypt by his parents, who had learned from an angel that appeared unto them what was about to happen. These things are recorded by the Holy Scriptures in the Gospel. Matthew 2

3. It is worth while, in addition to this, to observe the reward which Herod received for his daring crime against Christ and those of the same age. For immediately, without the least delay, the divine vengeance overtook him while he was still alive, and gave him a foretaste of what he was to receive after death.

4. It is not possible to relate here how he tarnished the supposed felicity of his reign by successive calamities in his family, by the murder of wife and children, and others of his nearest relatives and dearest friends. The account, which casts every other tragic drama into the shade, is detailed at length in the histories of Josephus.

5. How, immediately after his crime against our Saviour and the other infants, the punishment sent by God drove him on to his death, we can best learn from the words of that historian who, in the seventeenth book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writes as follows concerning his end:

6. But the disease of Herod grew more severe, God inflicting punishment for his crimes. For a slow fire burned in him which was not so apparent to those who touched him, but augmented his internal distress; for he had a terrible desire for food which it was not possible to resist. He was affected also with ulceration of the intestines, and with especially severe pains in the colon, while a watery and transparent humor settled about his feet.

7. He suffered also from a similar trouble in his abdomen. Nay more, his privy member was putrefied and produced worms. He found also excessive difficulty in breathing, and it was particularly disagreeable because of the offensiveness of the odor and the rapidity of respiration.

8. He had convulsions also in every limb, which gave him uncontrollable strength. It was said, indeed, by those who possessed the power of divination and wisdom to explain such events, that God had inflicted this punishment upon the King on account of his great impiety.

9. The writer mentioned above recounts these things in the work referred to. And in the second book of his History he gives a similar account of the same Herod, which runs as follows: The disease then seized upon his whole body and distracted it by various torments. For he had a slow fever, and the itching of the skin of his whole body was insupportable. He suffered also from continuous pains in his colon, and there were swellings on his feet like those of a person suffering from dropsy, while his abdomen was inflamed and his privy member so putrefied as to produce worms. Besides this he could breathe only in an upright posture, and then only with difficulty, and he had convulsions in all his limbs, so that the diviners said that his diseases were a punishment.

10. But he, although wrestling with such sufferings, nevertheless clung to life and hoped for safety, and devised methods of cure. For instance, crossing over Jordan he used the warm baths at Callirhoë, which flow into the Lake Asphaltites, but are themselves sweet enough to drink.

11. His physicians here thought that they could warm his whole body again by means of heated oil. But when they had let him down into a tub filled with oil, his eyes became weak and turned up like the eyes of a dead person. But when his attendants raised an outcry, he recovered at the noise; but finally, despairing of a cure, he commanded about fifty drachms to be distributed among the soldiers, and great sums to be given to his generals and friends.

12. Then returning he came to Jericho, where, being seized with melancholy, he planned to commit an impious deed, as if challenging death itself. For, collecting from every town the most illustrious men of all Judea, he commanded that they be shut up in the so-called hippodrome.

13. And having summoned Salome, his sister, and her husband, Alexander, he said: 'I know that the Jews will rejoice at my death. But I may be lamented by others and have a splendid funeral if you are willing to perform my commands. When I shall expire surround these men, who are now under guard, as quickly as possible with soldiers, and slay them, in order that all Judea and every house may weep for me even against their will.'

14. And after a little Josephus says, And again he was so tortured by want of food and by a convulsive cough that, overcome by his pains, he planned to anticipate his fate. Taking an apple he asked also for a knife, for he was accustomed to cut apples and eat them. Then looking round to see that there was no one to hinder, he raised his right hand as if to stab himself.

15. In addition to these things the same writer records that he slew another of his own sons before his death, the third one slain by his command, and that immediately afterward he breathed his last, not without excessive pain.

16. Such was the end of Herod, who suffered a just punishment for his slaughter of the children of Bethlehem, which was the result of his plots against our Saviour.

17. After this an angel appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt and commanded him to go to Judea with the child and its mother, revealing to him that those who had sought the life of the child were dead. To this the evangelist adds, But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in the room of his father Herod he was afraid to go there; notwithstanding being warned of God in a dream he turned aside into the parts of Galilee. Matthew 2:22

Chapter 9. The Times of Pilate.

1. The historian already mentioned agrees with the evangelist in regard to the fact that Archelaus succeeded to the government after Herod. He records the manner in which he received the kingdom of the Jews by the will of his father Herod and by the decree of Cæsar Augustus, and how, after he had reigned ten years, he lost his kingdom, and his brothers Philip and Herod the younger, with Lysanias, still ruled their own tetrarchies. The same writer, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, says that about the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, who had succeeded to the empire after Augustus had ruled fifty-seven years, Pontius Pilate was entrusted with the government of Judea, and that he remained there ten full years, almost until the death of Tiberius.

2. Accordingly the forgery of those who have recently given currency to acts against our Saviour is clearly proved. For the very date given in them shows the falsehood of their fabricators.

3. For the things which they have dared to say concerning the passion of the Saviour are put into the fourth consulship of Tiberius, which occurred in the seventh year of his reign; at which time it is plain that Pilate was not yet ruling in Judea, if the testimony of Josephus is to be believed, who clearly shows in the above-mentioned work that Pilate was made procurator of Judea by Tiberius in the twelfth year of his reign.

Chapter 10. The High Priests of the Jews under whom Christ taught.

1. It was in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, according to the evangelist, and in the fourth year of the governorship of Pontius Pilate, while Herod and Lysanias and Philip were ruling the rest of Judea, that our Saviour and Lord, Jesus the Christ of God, being about thirty years of age, came to John for baptism and began the promulgation of the Gospel.

2. The Divine Scripture says, moreover, that he passed the entire time of his ministry under the high priests Annas and Caiaphas, showing that in the time which belonged to the priesthood of those two men the whole period of his teaching was completed. Since he began his work during the high priesthood of Annas and taught until Caiaphas held the office, the entire time does not comprise quite four years.

3. For the rites of the law having been already abolished since that time, the customary usages in connection with the worship of God, according to which the high priest acquired his office by hereditary descent and held it for life, were also annulled and there were appointed to the high priesthood by the Roman governors now one and now another person who continued in office not more than one year.

4. Josephus relates that there were four high priests in succession from Annas to Caiaphas. Thus in the same book of the Antiquities he writes as follows: Valerius Gratus having put an end to the priesthood of Ananus appoints Ishmael, the son of Fabi, high priest. And having removed him after a little he appoints Eleazer, the son of Ananus the high priest, to the same office. And having removed him also at the end of a year he gives the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus. But he likewise held the honor no more than a year, when Josephus, called also Caiaphas, succeeded him. Accordingly the whole time of our Saviour's ministry is shown to have been not quite four full years, four high priests, from Annas to the accession of Caiaphas, having held office a year each. The Gospel therefore has rightly indicated Caiaphas as the high priest under whom the Saviour suffered. From which also we can see that the time of our Saviour's ministry does not disagree with the foregoing investigation.

5. Our Saviour and Lord, not long after the beginning of his ministry,

called the twelve apostles, and these alone of all his disciples he named apostles, as a special honor. And again he appointed seventy others whom he sent out two by two before his face into every place and city whither he himself was about to come.

Chapter 11. Testimonies in Regard to John the Baptist and Christ.

1. Not long after this John the Baptist was beheaded by the younger Herod, as is stated in the Gospels. Josephus also records the same fact, making mention of Herodias by name, and stating that, although she was the wife of his brother, Herod made her his own wife after divorcing his former lawful wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, and separating Herodias from her husband while he was still alive.

2. It was on her account also that he slew John, and waged war with Aretas, because of the disgrace inflicted on the daughter of the latter. Josephus relates that in this war, when they came to battle, Herod's entire army was destroyed, and that he suffered this calamity on account of his crime against John.

3. The same Josephus confesses in this account that John the Baptist was an exceedingly righteous man, and thus agrees with the things written of him in the Gospels. He records also that Herod lost his kingdom on account of the same Herodias, and that he was driven into banishment with her, and condemned to live at Vienne in Gaul.

4. He relates these things in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes of John in the following words: It seemed to some of the Jews that the army of Herod was destroyed by God, who most justly avenged John called the Baptist.

5. For Herod slew him, a good man and one who exhorted the Jews to come and receive baptism, practicing virtue and exercising righteousness toward each other and toward God; for baptism would appear acceptable unto Him when they employed it, not for the remission of certain sins, but for the purification of the body, as the soul had been already purified in righteousness.

6. And when others gathered about him (for they found much pleasure in listening to his words), Herod feared that his great influence might lead to some sedition, for they appeared ready to do whatever he might advise. He therefore considered it much better, before any new thing should be done under John's influence, to anticipate it by slaying him, than to repent after revolution had come, and when he found himself in the midst of difficulties.

On account of Herod's suspicion John was sent in bonds to the above-mentioned citadel of Machæra, and there slain.

7. After relating these things concerning John, he makes mention of our Saviour in the same work, in the following words: And there lived at that time Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it be proper to call him a man. For he was a doer of wonderful works, and a teacher of such men as receive the truth in gladness. And he attached to himself many of the Jews, and many also of the Greeks. He was the Christ.

8. When Pilate, on the accusation of our principal men, condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him in the beginning did not cease loving him. For he appeared unto them again alive on the third day, the divine prophets having told these and countless other wonderful things concerning him. Moreover, the race of Christians, named after him, continues down to the present day.

9. Since an historian, who is one of the Hebrews themselves, has recorded in his work these things concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what excuse is there left for not convicting them of being destitute of all shame, who have forged the acts against them? But let this suffice here.

Chapter 12. The Disciples of our Saviour.

1. The names of the apostles of our Saviour are known to every one from the Gospels. But there exists no catalogue of the seventy disciples. Barnabas, indeed, is said to have been one of them, of whom the Acts of the Apostles makes mention in various places, and especially Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians.

2. They say that Sosthenes also, who wrote to the Corinthians with Paul, was one of them. This is the account of Clement in the fifth book of his Hypotyposes, in which he also says that Cephas was one of the seventy disciples, a man who bore the same name as the apostle Peter, and the one concerning whom Paul says, When Cephas came to Antioch I withstood him to his face. Galatians 2:11

3. Matthias, also, who was numbered with the apostles in the place of Judas, and the one who was honored by being made a candidate with him, are likewise said to have been deemed worthy of the same calling with the seventy. They say that Thaddeus also was one of them, concerning whom I shall presently relate an account which has come down to us. And upon examination you will find that our Saviour had more than seventy disciples, according to the testimony of Paul, who says that after his resurrection from the dead he appeared first to Cephas, then to the twelve, and after them to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom some had fallen asleep; 1 Corinthians 15:5-7 but the majority were still living at the time he wrote.

4. Afterwards he says he appeared unto James, who was one of the so-called brethren of the Saviour. But, since in addition to these, there were many others who were called apostles, in imitation of the Twelve, as was Paul himself, he adds: Afterward he appeared to all the apostles. 1 Corinthians 15:7 So much in regard to these persons. But the story concerning Thaddeus is as follows.

Chapter 13. Narrative concerning the Prince of the Edessenes.

1. The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being reported abroad among all men on account of his wonder-working power, he attracted countless numbers from foreign countries lying far away from Judea, who had the hope of being cured of their diseases and of all kinds of sufferings.

2. For instance the King Abgarus, who ruled with great glory the nations beyond the Euphrates, being afflicted with a terrible disease which it was beyond the power of human skill to cure, when he heard of the name of Jesus, and of his miracles, which were attested by all with one accord sent a message to him by a courier and begged him to heal his disease.

3. But he did not at that time comply with his request; yet he deemed him worthy of a personal letter in which he said that he would send one of his disciples to cure his disease, and at the same time promised salvation to himself and all his house.

4. Not long afterward his promise was fulfilled. For after his resurrection from the dead and his ascent into heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, under divine impulse sent Thaddeus, who was also numbered among the seventy disciples of Christ, to Edessa, as a preacher and evangelist of the teaching of Christ.

5. And all that our Saviour had promised received through him its fulfillment. You have written evidence of these things taken from the archives of Edessa, which was at that time a royal city. For in the public registers there, which contain accounts of ancient times and the acts of Abgarus, these things have been found preserved down to the present time. But there is no better way than to hear the epistles themselves which we have taken from the archives and have literally translated from the Syriac language in the following manner.

Copy of an epistle written by Abgarus the ruler to Jesus, and sent to him at Jerusalem by Ananias the swift courier.

6. Abgarus, ruler of Edessa, to Jesus the excellent Saviour who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard the reports of you and of your cures as performed by you without medicines or herbs. For it is said that you make the blind to see and the lame to walk, that you cleanse lepers and cast out impure spirits and demons, and that you heal those afflicted with lingering disease, and raise the dead.

7. And having heard all these things concerning you, I have concluded that one of two things must be true: either you are God, and having come down from heaven you do these things, or else you, who does these things, are the Son of God.

8. I have therefore written to you to ask you if you would take the trouble to come to me and heal the disease which I have. For I have heard that the Jews are murmuring against you and are plotting to injure you. But I have a very small yet noble city which is great enough for us both.

The answer of Jesus to the ruler Abgarus by the courier Ananias.

9. Blessed are you who hast believed in me without having seen me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me will not believe in me, and that they who have not seen me will believe and be saved. But in regard to what you have written me, that I should come to you, it is necessary for me to fulfill all things here for which I have been sent, and after I have fulfilled them thus to be taken up again to him that sent me. But after I have been taken up I will send to you one of my disciples, that he may heal your disease and give life to you and yours.

Further accounts

10. To these epistles there was added the following account in the Syriac language. After the ascension of Jesus, Judas, who was also called Thomas, sent to him Thaddeus, an apostle, one of the Seventy. When he had come he lodged with Tobias, the son of Tobias. When the report of him got abroad, it was told Abgarus that an apostle of Jesus had come, as he had written him.

11. Thaddeus began then in the power of God to heal every disease and infirmity, insomuch that all wondered. And when Abgarus heard of the great and wonderful things which he did and of the cures which he performed, he began to suspect that he was the one of whom Jesus had written him, saying, 'After I have been taken up I will send to you one of my disciples who will heal you.'

12. Therefore, summoning Tobias, with whom Thaddeus lodged, he said, I have heard that a certain man of power has come and is lodging in your house. Bring him to me. And Tobias coming to Thaddeus said to him, The ruler Abgarus summoned me and told me to bring you to him that you might heal him. And Thaddeus said, I will go, for I have been sent to him with power.

13. Tobias therefore arose early on the following day, and taking Thaddeus came to Abgarus. And when he came, the nobles were present and stood about Abgarus. And immediately upon his entrance a great vision appeared to Abgarus in the countenance of the apostle Thaddeus. When Abgarus saw it he prostrated himself before Thaddeus, while all those who stood about were astonished; for they did not see the vision, which appeared to Abgarus alone.

14. He then asked Thaddeus if he were in truth a disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who had said to him, 'I will send you one of my disciples, who shall heal you and give you life.' And Thaddeus said, Because you have mightily believed in him that sent me, therefore have I been sent unto you. And still further, if you believe in him, the petitions of your heart shall be granted you as you believe.

15. And Abgarus said to him, So much have I believed in him that I wished to take an army and destroy those Jews who crucified him, had I not been deterred from it by reason of the dominion of the Romans. And Thaddeus said, Our Lord has fulfilled the will of his Father, and having fulfilled it has been taken up to his Father. And Abgarus said to him, I too have believed in

him and in his Father.

16. And Thaddeus said to him, Therefore I place my hand upon you in his name. And when he had done it, immediately Abgarus was cured of the disease and of the suffering which he had.

17. And Abgarus marvelled, that as he had heard concerning Jesus, so he had received in very deed through his disciple Thaddeus, who healed him without medicines and herbs, and not only him, but also Abdus the son of Abdus, who was afflicted with the gout; for he too came to him and fell at his feet, and having received a benediction by the imposition of his hands, he was healed. The same Thaddeus cured also many other inhabitants of the city, and did wonders and marvelous works, and preached the word of God.

18. And afterward Abgarus said, You, O Thaddeus, do these things with the power of God, and we marvel. But, in addition to these things, I pray you to inform me in regard to the coming of Jesus, how he was born; and in regard to his power, by what power he performed those deeds of which I have heard.

19. And Thaddeus said, Now indeed will I keep silence, since I have been sent to proclaim the word publicly. But tomorrow assemble for me all your citizens, and I will preach in their presence and sow among them the word of God, concerning the coming of Jesus, how he was born; and concerning his mission, for what purpose he was sent by the Father; and concerning the power of his works, and the mysteries which he proclaimed in the world, and by what power he did these things; and concerning his new preaching, and his abasement and humiliation, and how he humbled himself, and died and debased his divinity and was crucified, and descended into Hades, and burst the bars which from eternity had not been broken, and raised the dead; for he descended alone, but rose with many, and thus ascended to his Father.

20. Abgarus therefore commanded the citizens to assemble early in the morning to hear the preaching of Thaddeus, and afterward he ordered gold and silver to be given him. But he refused to take it, saying, If we have forsaken that which was our own, how shall we take that which is another's? These things were done in the three hundred and fortieth year.

I have inserted them here in their proper place, translated from the Syriac literally, and I hope to good purpose.

Book II.

Introduction.

1. We have discussed in the preceding book those subjects in ecclesiastical history which it was necessary to treat by way of introduction, and have accompanied them with brief proofs. Such were the divinity of the saving Word, and the antiquity of the doctrines which we teach, as well as of that evangelical life which is led by Christians, together with the events which have taken place in connection with Christ's recent appearance, and in connection with his passion and with the choice of the apostles.

2. In the present book let us examine the events which took place after his ascension, confirming some of them from the divine Scriptures, and others from such writings as we shall refer to from time to time.

Chapter 1. The Course pursued by the Apostles after the Ascension of Christ.

1. First, then, in the place of Judas, the betrayer, Matthias, who, as has been shown was also one of the Seventy, was chosen to the apostolate. And there were appointed to the diaconate, for the service of the congregation, by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the apostles, approved men, seven in number, of whom Stephen was one. He first, after the Lord, was stoned to death at the time of his ordination by the slayers of the Lord, as if he had been promoted for this very purpose. And thus he was the first to receive the crown, corresponding to his name, which belongs to the martyrs of Christ, who are worthy of the meed of victory.

2. Then James, whom the ancients surnamed the Just on account of the excellence of his virtue, is recorded to have been the first to be made bishop of the church of Jerusalem. This James was called the brother of the Lord because he was known as a son of Joseph, and Joseph was supposed to be the father of Christ, because the Virgin, being betrothed to him, was found with child by the Holy Ghost before they came together, Matthew 1:18 as the account of the holy Gospels shows.

3. But Clement in the sixth book of his Hypotyposes writes thus: For they say that Peter and James and John after the ascension of our Saviour, as if also preferred by our Lord, strove not after honor, but chose James the Just bishop of Jerusalem.

4. But the same writer, in the seventh book of the same work, relates also the following things concerning him: The Lord after his resurrection imparted knowledge to James the Just and to John and Peter, and they imparted it to the rest of the apostles, and the rest of the apostles to the seventy, of whom Barnabas was one. But there were two Jameses: one called the Just, who was thrown from the pinnacle of the temple and was beaten to death with a club by a fuller, and another who was beheaded. Paul also makes mention of the same James the Just, where he writes, Other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother. Galatians 1:19

5. At that time also the promise of our Saviour to the king of the Osroëniens was fulfilled. For Thomas, under a divine impulse, sent Thaddeus to Edessa as a preacher and evangelist of the religion of Christ, as we have

shown a little above from the document found there.

7. When he came to that place he healed Abgarus by the word of Christ; and after bringing all the people there into the right attitude of mind by means of his works, and leading them to adore the power of Christ, he made them disciples of the Saviour's teaching. And from that time down to the present the whole city of the Edessenes has been devoted to the name of Christ, offering no common proof of the beneficence of our Saviour toward them also.

8. These things have been drawn from ancient accounts; but let us now turn again to the divine Scripture. When the first and greatest persecution was instigated by the Jews against the church of Jerusalem in connection with the martyrdom of Stephen, and when all the disciples, except the Twelve, were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria, some, as the divine Scripture says, went as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus and Antioch, but could not yet venture to impart the word of faith to the nations, and therefore preached it to the Jews alone.

9. During this time Paul was still persecuting the church, and entering the houses of believers was dragging men and women away and committing them to prison.

10. Philip also, one of those who with Stephen had been entrusted with the diaconate, being among those who were scattered abroad, went down to Samaria, and being filled with the divine power, he first preached the word to the inhabitants of that country. And divine grace worked so mightily with him that even Simon Magus with many others was attracted by his words.

11. Simon was at that time so celebrated, and had acquired, by his jugglery, such influence over those who were deceived by him, that he was thought to be the Great Power of God.

But at this time, being amazed at the wonderful deeds wrought by Philip through the divine power, he feigned and counterfeited faith in Christ, even going so far as to receive baptism.

12. And what is surprising, the same thing is done even to this day by those who follow his most impure heresy. For they, after the manner of their forefather, slipping into the Church, like a pestilential and leprous disease greatly afflict those into whom they are able to infuse the deadly and terrible poison concealed in themselves. The most of these have been expelled as soon

as they have been caught in their wickedness, as Simon himself, when detected by Peter, received the merited punishment.

13. But as the preaching of the Saviour's Gospel was daily advancing, a certain providence led from the land of the Ethiopians an officer of the queen of that country, for Ethiopia even to the present day is ruled, according to ancestral custom, by a woman. He, first among the Gentiles, received of the mysteries of the divine word from Philip in consequence of a revelation, and having become the first-fruits of believers throughout the world, he is said to have been the first on returning to his country to proclaim the knowledge of the God of the universe and the life-giving sojourn of our Saviour among men; so that through him in truth the prophecy obtained its fulfillment, which declares that Ethiopia stretches out her hand unto God.

14. In addition to these, Paul, that chosen vessel, Acts 9:15 not of men neither through men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ himself and of God the Father who raised him from the dead, Galatians 1:1 was appointed an apostle, being made worthy of the call by a vision and by a voice which was uttered in a revelation from heaven.

Chapter 2. How Tiberius was affected when informed by Pilate concerning Christ.

1. And when the wonderful resurrection and ascension of our Saviour were already reported abroad, in accordance with an ancient custom which prevailed among the rulers of the provinces, of reporting to the emperor the novel occurrences which took place in them, in order that nothing might escape him, Pontius Pilate informed Tiberius of the reports which were reported abroad through all Palestine concerning the resurrection of our Saviour Jesus from the dead.

2. He gave an account also of other wonders which he had learned of him, and how, after his death, having risen from the dead, he was now believed by many to be a God. They say that Tiberius referred the matter to the Senate, but that they rejected it, ostensibly because they had not first examined into the matter (for an ancient law prevailed that no one should be made a God by the Romans except by a vote and decree of the Senate), but in reality because the saving teaching of the divine Gospel did not need the confirmation and recommendation of men.

3. But although the Senate of the Romans rejected the proposition made in regard to our Saviour, Tiberius still retained the opinion which he had held at first, and contrived no hostile measures against Christ.

4. These things are recorded by Tertullian, a man well versed in the laws of the Romans, and in other respects of high repute, and one of those especially distinguished in Rome. In his apology for the Christians, which was written by him in the Latin language, and has been translated into Greek, he writes as follows:

5. But in order that we may give an account of these laws from their origin, it was an ancient decree that no one should be consecrated a God by the emperor until the Senate had expressed its approval. Marcus Aurelius did thus concerning a certain idol, Alburnus. And this is a point in favor of our doctrine, that among you divine dignity is conferred by human decree. If a God does not please a man he is not made a God. Thus, according to this custom, it is necessary for man to be gracious to God.

6. Tiberius, therefore, under whom the name of Christ made its entry into the world, when this doctrine was reported to him from Palestine, where it

first began, communicated with the Senate, making it clear to them that he was pleased with the doctrine. But the Senate, since it had not itself proved the matter, rejected it. But Tiberius continued to hold his own opinion, and threatened death to the accusers of the Christians. Heavenly providence had wisely instilled this into his mind in order that the doctrine of the Gospel, unhindered at its beginning, might spread in all directions throughout the world.

Chapter 3. The Doctrine of Christ soon spread throughout All the World.

1. Thus, under the influence of heavenly power, and with the divine co-operation, the doctrine of the Saviour, like the rays of the sun, quickly illumined the whole world; and straightway, in accordance with the divine Scriptures, the voice of the inspired evangelists and apostles went forth through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

2. In every city and village, churches were quickly established, filled with multitudes of people like a replenished threshing-floor. And those whose minds, in consequence of errors which had descended to them from their forefathers, were fettered by the ancient disease of idolatrous superstition, were, by the power of Christ operating through the teaching and the wonderful works of his disciples, set free, as it were, from terrible masters, and found a release from the most cruel bondage. They renounced with abhorrence every species of demoniacal polytheism, and confessed that there was only one God, the creator of all things, and him they honored with the rites of true piety, through the inspired and rational worship which has been planted by our Saviour among men.

3. But the divine grace being now poured out upon the rest of the nations, Cornelius, of Cæsarea in Palestine, with his whole house, through a divine revelation and the agency of Peter, first received faith in Christ; and after him a multitude of other Greeks in Antioch, to whom those who were scattered by the persecution of Stephen had preached the Gospel. When the church of Antioch was now increasing and abounding, and a multitude of prophets from Jerusalem were on the ground, among them Barnabas and Paul and in addition many other brethren, the name of Christians first sprang up there, as from a fresh and life-giving fountain.

4. And Agabus, one of the prophets who was with them, uttered a prophecy concerning the famine which was about to take place, and Paul and Barnabas were sent to relieve the necessities of the brethren.

Chapter 4. After the Death of Tiberius, Caius appointed Agrippa King of the Jews, having punished Herod with Perpetual Exile.

1. Tiberius died, after having reigned about twenty-two years, and Caius succeeded him in the empire. He immediately gave the government of the Jews to Agrippa, making him king over the tetrarchies of Philip and of Lysanias; in addition to which he bestowed upon him, not long afterward, the tetrarchy of Herod, having punished Herod (the one under whom the Saviour suffered) and his wife Herodias with perpetual exile on account of numerous crimes. Josephus is a witness to these facts.

2. Under this emperor, Philo became known; a man most celebrated not only among many of our own, but also among many scholars without the Church. He was a Hebrew by birth, but was inferior to none of those who held high dignities in Alexandria. How exceedingly he labored in the Scriptures and in the studies of his nation is plain to all from the work which he has done. How familiar he was with philosophy and with the liberal studies of foreign nations, it is not necessary to say, since he is reported to have surpassed all his contemporaries in the study of Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy, to which he particularly devoted his attention.

Chapter 5. Philo's Embassy to Caius in Behalf of the Jews.

1. Philo has given us an account, in five books, of the misfortunes of the Jews under Caius. He recounts at the same time the madness of Caius: how he called himself a god, and performed as emperor innumerable acts of tyranny; and he describes further the miseries of the Jews under him, and gives a report of the embassy upon which he himself was sent to Rome in behalf of his fellow-countrymen in Alexandria; how when he appeared before Caius in behalf of the laws of his fathers he received nothing but laughter and ridicule, and almost incurred the risk of his life.

2. Josephus also makes mention of these things in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, in the following words: A sedition having arisen in Alexandria between the Jews that dwell there and the Greeks, three deputies were chosen from each faction and went to Caius.

3. One of the Alexandrian deputies was Apion, who uttered many slanders against the Jews; among other things saying that they neglected the honors due to Cæsar. For while all other subjects of Rome erected altars and temples to Caius, and in all other respects treated him just as they did the gods, they alone considered it disgraceful to honor him with statues and to swear by his name.

4. And when Apion had uttered many severe charges by which he hoped that Caius would be aroused, as indeed was likely, Philo, the chief of the Jewish embassy, a man celebrated in every respect, a brother of Alexander the Alabarch, and not unskilled in philosophy, was prepared to enter upon a defense in reply to his accusations.

5. But Caius prevented him and ordered him to leave, and being very angry, it was plain that he meditated some severe measure against them. And Philo departed covered with insult and told the Jews that were with him to be of good courage; for while Caius was raging against them he was in fact already contending with God.

6. Thus far Josephus. And Philo himself, in the work *On the Embassy* which he wrote, describes accurately and in detail the things which were done by him at that time. But I shall omit the most of them and record only those things which will make clearly evident to the reader that the misfortunes of

the Jews came upon them not long after their daring deeds against Christ and on account of the same.

7. And in the first place he relates that at Rome in the reign of Tiberius, Sejanus, who at that time enjoyed great influence with the emperor, made every effort to destroy the Jewish nation utterly; and that in Judea, Pilate, under whom the crimes against the Saviour were committed, attempted something contrary to the Jewish law in respect to the temple, which was at that time still standing in Jerusalem, and excited them to the greatest tumults.

Chapter 6. The Misfortunes which overwhelmed the Jews after their Presumption against Christ.

1. After the death of Tiberius, Caius received the empire, and, besides innumerable other acts of tyranny against many people, he greatly afflicted especially the whole nation of the Jews. These things we may learn briefly from the words of Philo, who writes as follows:

2. So great was the caprice of Caius in his conduct toward all, and especially toward the nation of the Jews. The latter he so bitterly hated that he appropriated to himself their places of worship in the other cities, and beginning with Alexandria he filled them with images and statues of himself (for in permitting others to erect them he really erected them himself). The temple in the holy city, which had hitherto been left untouched, and had been regarded as an inviolable asylum, he altered and transformed into a temple of his own, that it might be called the temple of the visible Jupiter, the younger Caius.

3. Innumerable other terrible and almost indescribable calamities which came upon the Jews in Alexandria during the reign of the same emperor, are recorded by the same author in a second work, to which he gave the title, *On the Virtues*. With him agrees also Josephus, who likewise indicates that the misfortunes of the whole nation began with the time of Pilate, and with their daring crimes against the Saviour.

4. Hear what he says in the second book of his Jewish War, where he writes as follows: Pilate being sent to Judea as procurator by Tiberius, secretly carried veiled images of the emperor, called ensigns, to Jerusalem by night. The following day this caused the greatest disturbance among the Jews. For those who were near were confounded at the sight, beholding their laws, as it were, trampled under foot. For they allow no image to be set up in their city.

5. Comparing these things with the writings of the evangelists, you will see that it was not long before there came upon them the penalty for the exclamation which they had uttered under the same Pilate, when they cried out that they had no other king than Cæsar. John 19:15

6. The same writer further records that after this another calamity overtook them. He writes as follows: After this he stirred up another tumult by making use of the holy treasure, which is called Corban, in the construction of an

aqueduct three hundred stadia in length.

7. The multitude were greatly displeased at it, and when Pilate was in Jerusalem they surrounded his tribunal and gave utterance to loud complaints. But he, anticipating the tumult, had distributed through the crowd armed soldiers disguised in citizen's clothing, forbidding them to use the sword, but commanding them to strike with clubs those who should make an outcry. To them he now gave the preconcerted signal from the tribunal. And the Jews being beaten, many of them perished in consequence of the blows, while many others were trampled under foot by their own countrymen in their flight, and thus lost their lives. But the multitude, overawed by the fate of those who were slain, held their peace.

8. In addition to these the same author records many other tumults which were stirred up in Jerusalem itself, and shows that from that time seditions and wars and mischievous plots followed each other in quick succession, and never ceased in the city and in all Judea until finally the siege of Vespasian overwhelmed them. Thus the divine vengeance overtook the Jews for the crimes which they dared to commit against Christ.

Chapter 7. Pilate's Suicide.

It is worthy of note that Pilate himself, who was governor in the time of our Saviour, is reported to have fallen into such misfortunes under Caius, whose times we are recording, that he was forced to become his own murderer and executioner; and thus divine vengeance, as it seems, was not long in overtaking him. This is stated by those Greek historians who have recorded the Olympiads, together with the respective events which have taken place in each period.

Chapter 8. The Famine which took Place in the Reign of Claudius.

1. Caius had held the power not quite four years, when he was succeeded by the emperor Claudius. Under him the world was visited with a famine, which writers that are entire strangers to our religion have recorded in their histories. And thus the prediction of Agabus recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts 11:28 according to which the whole world was to be visited by a famine, received its fulfillment.

2. And Luke, in the Acts, after mentioning the famine in the time of Claudius, and stating that the brethren of Antioch, each according to his ability, sent to the brethren of Judea by the hands of Paul and Barnabas, Acts 11:29-30 adds the following account.

Chapter 9. The Martyrdom of James the Apostle.

1. Acts 12:1-2 Now about that time (it is clear that he means the time of Claudius) Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the Church. And he killed James the brother of John with the sword.

2. And concerning this James, Clement, in the seventh book of his Hypotyposes, relates a story which is worthy of mention; telling it as he received it from those who had lived before him. He says that the one who led James to the judgment-seat, when he saw him bearing his testimony, was moved, and confessed that he was himself also a Christian.

3. They were both therefore, he says, led away together; and on the way he begged James to forgive him. And he, after considering a little, said, Peace be with you, and kissed him. And thus they were both beheaded at the same time.

4. And then, as the divine Scripture says, Acts 12:3 sqq. Herod, upon the death of James, seeing that the deed pleased the Jews, attacked Peter also and committed him to prison, and would have slain him if he had not, by the divine appearance of an angel who came to him by night, been wonderfully released from his bonds, and thus liberated for the service of the Gospel. Such was the providence of God in respect to Peter.

Chapter 10. Agrippa, who was also called Herod, having persecuted the Apostles, immediately experienced the Divine Vengeance.

1. The consequences of the king's undertaking against the apostles were not long deferred, but the avenging minister of divine justice overtook him immediately after his plots against them, as the Book of Acts records. For when he had journeyed to Cæsarea, on a notable feast-day, clothed in a splendid and royal garment, he delivered an address to the people from a lofty throne in front of the tribunal. And when all the multitude applauded the speech, as if it were the voice of a god and not of a man, the Scripture relates that an angel of the Lord smote him, and being eaten of worms he gave up the ghost. Acts 12:23

2. We must admire the account of Josephus for its agreement with the divine Scriptures in regard to this wonderful event; for he clearly bears witness to the truth in the nineteenth book of his Antiquities, where he relates the wonder in the following words:

3. He had completed the third year of his reign over all Judea when he came to Cæsarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower. northwest of Jerusalem. In the time of Strabo there was simply a small town at this point, called "Strato's Tower"; but about 10 BC Herod the Great built the city of Cæsarea, which soon became the principal Roman city of Palestine, and was noted for its magnificence. It became, later, the seat of an important Christian school, and played quite a part in Church history. Eusebius himself was Bishop of Cæsarea. It was a city of importance, even in the time of the crusades, but is now a scene of utter desolation.} — > There he held games in honor of Cæsar, learning that this was a festival observed in behalf of Cæsar's safety. At this festival was collected a great multitude of the highest and most honorable men in the province.

4. And on the second day of the games he proceeded to the theater at break of day, wearing a garment entirely of silver and of wonderful texture. And there the silver, illuminated by the reflection of the sun's earliest rays, shone marvelously, gleaming so brightly as to produce a sort of fear and terror in those who gazed upon him.

5. And immediately his flatterers, some from one place, others from

another, raised up their voices in a way that was not for his good, calling him a god, and saying, 'Be merciful; if up to this time we have feared you as a man, henceforth we confess that you are superior to the nature of mortals.'

6. The king did not rebuke them, nor did he reject their impious flattery. But after a little, looking up, he saw an angel sitting above his head. And this he quickly perceived would be the cause of evil as it had once been the cause of good fortune, and he was smitten with a heart-piercing pain.

7. And straightway distress, beginning with the greatest violence, seized his bowels. And looking upon his friends he said, 'I, your god, am now commanded to depart this life; and fate thus on the spot disproves the lying words you have just uttered concerning me. He who has been called immortal by you is now led away to die; but our destiny must be accepted as God has determined it. For we have passed our life by no means ingloriously, but in that splendor which is called happiness.'

8. And when he had said this he labored with an increase of pain. He was accordingly carried in haste to the palace, while the report spread among all that the king would undoubtedly soon die. But the multitude, with their wives and children, sitting on sackcloth after the custom of their fathers, implored God in behalf of the king, and every place was filled with lamentation and tears. And the king as he lay in a lofty chamber, and saw them below lying prostrate on the ground, could not refrain from weeping himself.

9. And after suffering continually for five days with pain in the bowels, he departed this life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh year of his reign. Four years he ruled under the Emperor Caius — three of them over the tetrarchy of Philip, to which was added in the fourth year that of Herod — and three years during the reign of the Emperor Claudius.

10. I marvel greatly that Josephus, in these things as well as in others, so fully agrees with the divine Scriptures. But if there should seem to any one to be a disagreement in respect to the name of the king, the time at least and the events show that the same person is meant, whether the change of name has been caused by the error of a copyist, or is due to the fact that he, like so many, bore two names.

Chapter 11. The Impostor Theudas and his Followers.

1. Luke, in the Acts, introduces Gamaliel as saying, at the consultation which was held concerning the apostles, that at the time referred to, rose up Theudas boasting himself to be somebody; who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered. Acts 5:36 Let us therefore add the account of Josephus concerning this man. He records in the work mentioned just above, the following circumstances:

2. While Fadus was procurator of Judea a certain impostor called Theudas persuaded a very great multitude to take their possessions and follow him to the river Jordan. For he said that he was a prophet, and that the river should be divided at his command, and afford them an easy passage.

3. And with these words he deceived many. But Fadus did not permit them to enjoy their folly, but sent a troop of horsemen against them, who fell upon them unexpectedly and slew many of them and took many others alive, while they took Theudas himself captive, and cut off his head and carried it to Jerusalem. Besides this he also makes mention of the famine, which took place in the reign of Claudius, in the following words.

Chapter 12. Helen, the Queen of the Osrhoenians.

1. And at this time it came to pass that the great famine took place in Judea, in which the queen Helen, having purchased grain from Egypt with large sums, distributed it to the needy.

2. You will find this statement also in agreement with the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said that the disciples at Antioch, each according to his ability, determined to send relief to the brethren that dwelt in Judea; which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Paul.

3. But splendid monuments of this Helen, of whom the historian has made mention, are still shown in the suburbs of the city which is now called Ælia. But she is said to have been queen of the Adiabeni.

Chapter 13. Simon Magus.

1. But faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ having now been diffused among all men, the enemy of man's salvation contrived a plan for seizing the imperial city for himself. He conducted there the above-mentioned Simon, aided him in his deceitful arts, led many of the inhabitants of Rome astray, and thus brought them into his own power.

2. This is stated by Justin, one of our distinguished writers who lived not long after the time of the apostles. Concerning him I shall speak in the proper place. Take and read the work of this man, who in the first Apology which he addressed to Antonine in behalf of our religion writes as follows:

3. And after the ascension of the Lord into heaven the demons put forward certain men who said they were gods, and who were not only allowed by you to go unpersecuted, but were even deemed worthy of honors. One of them was Simon, a Samaritan of the village of Gitto, who in the reign of Claudius Cæsar performed in your imperial city some mighty acts of magic by the art of demons operating in him, and was considered a god, and as a god was honored by you with a statue, which was erected in the river Tiber, between the two bridges, and bore this inscription in the Latin tongue, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the Holy God*.

4. And nearly all the Samaritans and a few even of other nations confess and worship him as the first God. And there went around with him at that time a certain Helena who had formerly been a prostitute in Tyre of Phœnicia; and her they call the first idea that proceeded from him.

5. Justin relates these things, and Irenæus also agrees with him in the first book of his work, *Against Heresies*, where he gives an account of the man and of his profane and impure teaching. It would be superfluous to quote his account here, for it is possible for those who wish to know the origin and the lives and the false doctrines of each of the heresiarchs that have followed him, as well as the customs practiced by them all, to find them treated at length in the above-mentioned work of Irenæus.

6. We have understood that Simon was the author of all heresy. From his time down to the present those who have followed his heresy have feigned the sober philosophy of the Christians, which is celebrated among all on account of its purity of life. But they nevertheless have embraced again the

superstitions of idols, which they seemed to have renounced; and they fall down before pictures and images of Simon himself and of the above-mentioned Helena who was with him; and they venture to worship them with incense and sacrifices and libations.

7. But those matters which they keep more secret than these, in regard to which they say that one upon first hearing them would be astonished, and, to use one of the written phrases in vogue among them, would be confounded, are in truth full of amazing things, and of madness and folly, being of such a sort that it is impossible not only to commit them to writing, but also for modest men even to utter them with the lips on account of their excessive baseness and lewdness.

8. For whatever could be conceived of, viler than the vilest thing — all that has been outdone by this most abominable sect, which is composed of those who make a sport of those miserable females that are literally overwhelmed with all kinds of vices.

Chapter 14. The Preaching of the Apostle Peter in Rome.

1. The evil power, who hates all that is good and plots against the salvation of men, constituted Simon at that time the father and author of such wickedness, as if to make him a mighty antagonist of the great, inspired apostles of our Saviour.

2. For that divine and celestial grace which co-operates with its ministers, by their appearance and presence, quickly extinguished the kindled flame of evil, and humbled and cast down through them every high thing that exalted itself against the knowledge of God. 2 Corinthians 10:5

3. Wherefore neither the conspiracy of Simon nor that of any of the others who arose at that period could accomplish anything in those apostolic times. For everything was conquered and subdued by the splendors of the truth and by the divine word itself which had but lately begun to shine from heaven upon men, and which was then flourishing upon earth, and dwelling in the apostles themselves.

4. Immediately the above-mentioned impostor was smitten in the eyes of his mind by a divine and miraculous flash, and after the evil deeds done by him had been first detected by the apostle Peter in Judea, he fled and made a great journey across the sea from the East to the West, thinking that only thus could he live according to his mind.

5. And coming to the city of Rome, by the mighty co-operation of that power which was lying in wait there, he was in a short time so successful in his undertaking that those who dwelt there honored him as a god by the erection of a statue.

6. But this did not last long. For immediately, during the reign of Claudius, the all-good and gracious Providence, which watches over all things, led Peter, that strongest and greatest of the apostles, and the one who on account of his virtue was the speaker for all the others, to Rome against this great corrupter of life. Clad in divine armor like a noble commander of God, He carried the costly merchandise of the light of the understanding from the East to those who dwelt in the West, proclaiming the light itself, and the word which brings salvation to souls, and preaching the kingdom of heaven.

Chapter 15. The Gospel according to Mark.

1. And thus when the divine word had made its home among them, the power of Simon was quenched and immediately destroyed, together with the man himself. And so greatly did the splendor of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark.

2. And they say that Peter — when he had learned, through a revelation of the Spirit, of that which had been done — was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the churches. Clement in the eighth book of his Hypotyposes gives this account, and with him agrees the bishop of Hierapolis named Papias. And Peter makes mention of Mark in his first epistle which they say that he wrote in Rome itself, as is indicated by him, when he calls the city, by a figure, Babylon, as he does in the following words: The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, salutes you; and so does Marcus my son.
1 Peter 5:13

Chapter 16. Mark first proclaimed Christianity to the Inhabitants of Egypt.

1. And they say that this Mark was the first that was sent to Egypt, and that he proclaimed the Gospel which he had written, and first established churches in Alexandria.

2. And the multitude of believers, both men and women, that were collected there at the very outset, and lived lives of the most philosophical and excessive asceticism, was so great, that Philo thought it worth while to describe their pursuits, their meetings, their entertainments, and their whole manner of life.

Chapter 17. Philo's Account of the Ascetics of Egypt.

1. It is also said that Philo in the reign of Claudius became acquainted at Rome with Peter, who was then preaching there. Nor is this indeed improbable, for the work of which we have spoken, and which was composed by him some years later, clearly contains those rules of the Church which are even to this day observed among us.

2. And since he describes as accurately as possible the life of our ascetics, it is clear that he not only knew, but that he also approved, while he venerated and extolled, the apostolic men of his time, who were as it seems of the Hebrew race, and hence observed, after the manner of the Jews, the most of the customs of the ancients.

3. In the work to which he gave the title, *On a Contemplative Life or on Suppliants*, after affirming in the first place that he will add to those things which he is about to relate nothing contrary to truth or of his own invention, he says that these men were called Therapeutæ and the women that were with them Therapeutrides. He then adds the reasons for such a name, explaining it from the fact that they applied remedies and healed the souls of those who came to them, by relieving them like physicians, of evil passions, or from the fact that they served and worshipped the Deity in purity and sincerity.

4. Whether Philo himself gave them this name, employing an epithet well suited to their mode of life, or whether the first of them really called themselves so in the beginning, since the name of Christians was not yet everywhere known, we need not discuss here.

5. He bears witness, however, that first of all they renounce their property. When they begin the philosophical mode of life, he says, they give up their goods to their relatives, and then, renouncing all the cares of life, they go forth beyond the walls and dwell in lonely fields and gardens, knowing well that intercourse with people of a different character is unprofitable and harmful. They did this at that time, as seems probable, under the influence of a spirited and ardent faith, practicing in emulation the prophets' mode of life.

6. For in the Acts of the Apostles, a work universally acknowledged as authentic, it is recorded that all the companions of the apostles sold their possessions and their property and distributed to all according to the necessity of each one, so that no one among them was in want. For as many as were

possessors of lands or houses, as the account says, sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet, so that distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. Acts 2:45

7. Philo bears witness to facts very much like those here described and then adds the following account: Everywhere in the world is this race found. For it was fitting that both Greek and Barbarian should share in what is perfectly good. But the race particularly abounds in Egypt, in each of its so-called *nomes*, and especially about Alexandria.

8. The best men from every quarter emigrate, as if to a colony of the Therapeutæ's fatherland, to a certain very suitable spot which lies above the Lake Maria upon a low hill excellently situated on account of its security and the mildness of the atmosphere.

9. And then a little further on, after describing the kind of houses which they had, he speaks as follows concerning their churches, which were scattered about here and there: In each house there is a sacred apartment which is called a sanctuary and monastery, where, quite alone, they perform the mysteries of the religious life. They bring nothing into it, neither drink nor food, nor any of the other things which contribute to the necessities of the body, but only the laws, and the inspired oracles of the prophets, and hymns and such other things as augment and make perfect their knowledge and piety.

10. And after some other matters he says:

The whole interval, from morning to evening, is for them a time of exercise. For they read the holy Scriptures, and explain the philosophy of their fathers in an allegorical manner, regarding the written words as symbols of hidden truth which is communicated in obscure figures.

11. They have also writings of ancient men, who were the founders of their sect, and who left many monuments of the allegorical method. These they use as models, and imitate their principles.

12. These things seem to have been stated by a man who had heard them expounding their sacred writings. But it is highly probable that the works of the ancients, which he says they had, were the Gospels and the writings of the apostles, and probably some expositions of the ancient prophets, such as are contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in many others of Paul's Epistles.

13. Then again he writes as follows concerning the new psalms which they composed: So that they not only spend their time in meditation, but they also

compose songs and hymns to God in every variety of metre and melody, though they divide them, of course, into measures of more than common solemnity.

14. The same book contains an account of many other things, but it seemed necessary to select those facts which exhibit the characteristics of the ecclesiastical mode of life.

15. But if any one thinks that what has been said is not peculiar to the Gospel polity, but that it can be applied to others besides those mentioned, let him be convinced by the subsequent words of the same author, in which, if he is unprejudiced, he will find undisputed testimony on this subject. Philo's words are as follows:

16. Having laid down temperance as a sort of foundation in the soul, they build upon it the other virtues. None of them may take food or drink before sunset, since they regard philosophizing as a work worthy of the light, but attention to the wants of the body as proper only in the darkness, and therefore assign the day to the former, but to the latter a small portion of the night.

17. But some, in whom a great desire for knowledge dwells, forget to take food for three days; and some are so delighted and feast so luxuriously upon wisdom, which furnishes doctrines richly and without stint, that they abstain even twice as long as this, and are accustomed, after six days, scarcely to take necessary food. These statements of Philo we regard as referring clearly and indisputably to those of our communion.

18. But if after these things any one still obstinately persists in denying the reference, let him renounce his incredulity and be convinced by yet more striking examples, which are to be found nowhere else than in the evangelical religion of the Christians.

19. For they say that there were women also with those of whom we are speaking, and that the most of them were aged virgins who had preserved their chastity, not out of necessity, as some of the priestesses among the Greeks, but rather by their own choice, through zeal and a desire for wisdom. And that in their earnest desire to live with it as their companion they paid no attention to the pleasures of the body, seeking not mortal but immortal progeny, which only the pious soul is able to bear of itself.

20. Then after a little he adds still more emphatically: They expound the Sacred Scriptures figuratively by means of allegories. For the whole law

seems to these men to resemble a living organism, of which the spoken words constitute the body, while the hidden sense stored up within the words constitutes the soul. This hidden meaning has first been particularly studied by this sect, which sees, revealed as in a mirror of names, the surpassing beauties of the thoughts.

21. Why is it necessary to add to these things their meetings and the respective occupations of the men and of the women during those meetings, and the practices which are even to the present day habitually observed by us, especially such as we are accustomed to observe at the feast of the Saviour's passion, with fasting and night watching and study of the divine Word.

22. These things the above-mentioned author has related in his own work, indicating a mode of life which has been preserved to the present time by us alone, recording especially the vigils kept in connection with the great festival, and the exercises performed during those vigils, and the hymns customarily recited by us, and describing how, while one sings regularly in time, the others listen in silence, and join in chanting only the close of the hymns; and how, on the days referred to they sleep on the ground on beds of straw, and to use his own words, taste no wine at all, nor any flesh, but water is their only drink, and the reish with their bread is salt and hyssop.

23. In addition to this Philo describes the order of dignities which exists among those who carry on the services of the church, mentioning the diaconate, and the office of bishop, which takes the precedence over all the others. But whosoever desires a more accurate knowledge of these matters may get it from the history already cited.

24. But that Philo, when he wrote these things, had in view the first heralds of the Gospel and the customs handed down from the beginning by the apostles, is clear to every one.

Chapter 18. The Works of Philo that have come down to us.

1. Copious in language, comprehensive in thought, sublime and elevated in his views of divine Scripture, Philo has produced manifold and various expositions of the sacred books. On the one hand, he expounds in order the events recorded in Genesis in the books to which he gives the title *Allegories of the Sacred Laws*; on the other hand, he makes successive divisions of the chapters in the Scriptures which are the subject of investigation, and gives objections and solutions, in the books which he quite suitably calls *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus*.

2. There are, besides these, treatises expressly worked out by him on certain subjects, such as the two books *On Agriculture*, and the same number *On Drunkenness*; and some others distinguished by different titles corresponding to the contents of each; for instance, *Concerning the Things Which the Sober Mind Desires and Execrates*, *On the Confusion of Tongues*, *On Flight and Discovery*, *On Assembly for the Sake of Instruction*, *On the Question, 'Who is Heir to Things Divine?'* or *On the Division of Things into Equal and Unequal*, and still further the work *On the Three Virtues Which With Others Have Been Described by Moses*.

3. In addition to these is the work *On Those Whose Names Have Been Changed and Why They Have Been Changed*, in which he says that he had written also two books *On Covenants*.

4. And there is also a work of his *On Emigration*, and one *On the Life of a Wise Man Made Perfect in Righteousness*, or *On Unwritten Laws*; and still further the work *On Giants* or *On the Immutability of God*, and a first, second, third, fourth and fifth book *On the Proposition, That Dreams According to Moses are Sent by God*. These are the books on Genesis that have come down to us.

5. But on Exodus we are acquainted with the first, second, third, fourth and fifth books of *Questions and Answers*; also with that *On the Tabernacle*, and that *On the Ten Commandments*, and the four books *On the Laws Which Refer Especially to the Principal Divisions of the Ten Commandments*, and another *On Animals Intended for Sacrifice* and *On the Kinds of Sacrifice*, and another *On the Rewards Fixed in the Law for the Good, and on the Punishments and*

Curses Fixed for the Wicked.

6. In addition to all these there are extant also some single-volumed works of his; as for instance, the work *On Providence*, and the book composed by him *On the Jews*, and *The Statesman*; and still further, *Alexander*, or *On the Possession of Reason by the Irrational Animals*. Besides these there is a work *On the Proposition that Every Wicked Man is a Slave*, to which is subjoined the work *On the Proposition that Every Good Man is Free*.

7. After these was composed by him the work *On the Contemplative Life*, or *On Suppliants*, from which we have drawn the facts concerning the life of the apostolic men; and still further, the *Interpretation of the Hebrew Names in the Law and in the Prophets* are said to be the result of his industry.

8. And he is said to have read in the presence of the whole Roman Senate during the reign of Claudius the work which he had written, when he came to Rome under Caius, concerning Caius' hatred of the gods, and to which, with ironical reference to its character, he had given the title *On the Virtues*. And his discourses were so much admired as to be deemed worthy of a place in the libraries.

9. At this time, while Paul was completing his journey from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum, Romans 15:19 Claudius drove the Jews out of Rome; and Aquila and Priscilla, leaving Rome with the other Jews, came to Asia, and there abode with the apostle Paul, who was confirming the churches of that region whose foundations he had newly laid. The sacred book of the Acts informs us also of these things.

Chapter 19. The Calamity which befell the Jews in Jerusalem on the Day of the Passover.

1. While Claudius was still emperor, it happened that so great a tumult and disturbance took place in Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover, that thirty thousand of those Jews alone who were forcibly crowded together at the gate of the temple perished, being trampled under foot by one another. Thus the festival became a season of mourning for all the nation, and there was weeping in every house. These things are related literally by Josephus.

2. But Claudius appointed Agrippa, son of Agrippa, king of the Jews, having sent Felix as procurator of the whole country of Samaria and Galilee, and of the land called Perea. And after he had reigned thirteen years and eight months he died, and left Nero as his successor in the empire.

Chapter 20. The Events which took Place in Jerusalem during the Reign of Nero.

1. Josephus again, in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, relates the quarrel which arose among the priests during the reign of Nero, while Felix was procurator of Judea.

2. His words are as follows : There arose a quarrel between the high priests on the one hand and the priests and leaders of the people of Jerusalem on the other. And each of them collected a body of the boldest and most restless men, and put himself at their head, and whenever they met they hurled invectives and stones at each other. And there was no one that would interpose; but these things were done at will as if in a city destitute of a ruler.

3. And so great was the shamelessness and audacity of the high priests that they dared to send their servants to the threshing-floors to seize the tithes due to the priests; and thus those of the priests that were poor were seen to be perishing of want. In this way did the violence of the factions prevail over all justice.

4. And the same author again relates that about the same time there sprang up in Jerusalem a certain kind of robbers, who by day, as he says, and in the middle of the city slew those who met them.

5. For, especially at the feasts, they mingled with the multitude, and with short swords, which they concealed under their garments, they stabbed the most distinguished men. And when they fell, the murderers themselves were among those who expressed their indignation. And thus on account of the confidence which was reposed in them by all, they remained undiscovered.

6. The first that was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest; and after him many were killed every day, until the fear became worse than the evil itself, each one, as in battle, hourly expecting death.

Chapter 21. The Egyptian, who is mentioned also in the Acts of the Apostles.

1. After other matters he proceeds as follows: But the Jews were afflicted with a greater plague than these by the Egyptian false prophet. For there appeared in the land an impostor who aroused faith in himself as a prophet, and collected about thirty thousand of those whom he had deceived, and led them from the desert to the so-called Mount of Olives whence he was prepared to enter Jerusalem by force and to overpower the Roman garrison and seize the government of the people, using those who made the attack with him as body guards.

2. But Felix anticipated his attack, and went out to meet him with the Roman legionaries, and all the people joined in the defense, so that when the battle was fought the Egyptian fled with a few followers, but the most of them were destroyed or taken captive.

3. Josephus relates these events in the second book of his History. But it is worth while comparing the account of the Egyptian given here with that contained in the Acts of the Apostles. In the time of Felix it was said to Paul by the centurion in Jerusalem, when the multitude of the Jews raised a disturbance against the apostle, Are you not he who before these days made an uproar, and led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers? Acts 21:38 These are the events which took place in the time of Felix.

Chapter 22. Paul having been sent bound from Judea to Rome, made his Defense, and was acquitted of every Charge.

1. Festus was sent by Nero to be Felix's successor. Under him Paul, having made his defense, was sent bound to Rome. Aristarchus was with him, whom he also somewhere in his epistles quite naturally calls his fellow-prisoner. Colossians 4:10 And Luke, who wrote the Acts of the Apostles, brought his history to a close at this point, after stating that Paul spent two whole years at Rome as a prisoner at large, and preached the word of God without restraint.

2. Thus after he had made his defense it is said that the apostle was sent again upon the ministry of preaching, and that upon coming to the same city a second time he suffered martyrdom. In this imprisonment he wrote his second epistle to Timothy, in which he mentions his first defense and his impending death.

3. But hear his testimony on these matters: At my first answer, he says, no man stood with me, but all men forsook me: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge. Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear: and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion. 2 Timothy 4:16-17

4. He plainly indicates in these words that on the former occasion, in order that the preaching might be fulfilled by him, he was rescued from the mouth of the lion, referring, in this expression, to Nero, as is probable on account of the latter's cruelty. He did not therefore afterward add the similar statement, He will rescue me from the mouth of the lion; for he saw in the spirit that his end would not be long delayed.

5. Wherefore he adds to the words, And he delivered me from the mouth of the lion, this sentence: The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom, 2 Timothy 4:18 indicating his speedy martyrdom; which he also foretells still more clearly in the same epistle, when he writes, For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.

6. In his second epistle to Timothy, moreover, he indicates that Luke was with him when he wrote, but at his first defense not even he. Whence it is

probable that Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles at that time, continuing his history down to the period when he was with Paul.

7. But these things have been adduced by us to show that Paul's martyrdom did not take place at the time of that Roman sojourn which Luke records.

8. It is probable indeed that as Nero was more disposed to mildness in the beginning, Paul's defense of his doctrine was more easily received; but that when he had advanced to the commission of lawless deeds of daring, he made the apostles as well as others the subjects of his attacks.

Chapter 23. The Martyrdom of James, who was called the Brother of the Lord.

1. But after Paul, in consequence of his appeal to Cæsar, had been sent to Rome by Festus, the Jews, being frustrated in their hope of entrapping him by the snares which they had laid for him, turned against James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the episcopal seat at Jerusalem had been entrusted by the apostles. The following daring measures were undertaken by them against him.

2. Leading him into their midst they demanded of him that he should renounce faith in Christ in the presence of all the people. But, contrary to the opinion of all, with a clear voice, and with greater boldness than they had anticipated, he spoke out before the whole multitude and confessed that our Saviour and Lord Jesus is the Son of God. But they were unable to bear longer the testimony of the man who, on account of the excellence of ascetic virtue and of piety which he exhibited in his life, was esteemed by all as the most just of men, and consequently they slew him. Opportunity for this deed of violence was furnished by the prevailing anarchy, which was caused by the fact that Festus had died just at this time in Judea, and that the province was thus without a governor and head.

3. The manner of James' death has been already indicated by the above-quoted words of Clement, who records that he was thrown from the pinnacle of the temple, and was beaten to death with a club. But Hegesippus, who lived immediately after the apostles, gives the most accurate account in the fifth book of his Memoirs. He writes as follows:

4. James, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the apostles. He has been called the Just by all from the time of our Saviour to the present day; for there were many that bore the name of James.

5. He was holy from his mother's womb; and he drank no wine nor strong drink, nor did he eat flesh. No razor came upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not use the bath.

6. He alone was permitted to enter into the holy place; for he wore not woollen but linen garments. And he was in the habit of entering alone into the temple, and was frequently found upon his knees begging forgiveness for the

people, so that his knees became hard like those of a camel, in consequence of his constantly bending them in his worship of God, and asking forgiveness for the people.

7. Because of his exceeding great justice he was called the Just, and Oblias, which signifies in Greek, 'Bulwark of the people' and 'Justice,' in accordance with what the prophets declare concerning him.

8. Now some of the seven sects, which existed among the people and which have been mentioned by me in the Memoirs, asked him, 'What is the gate of Jesus?' and he replied that he was the Saviour.

9. On account of these words some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the sects mentioned above did not believe either in a resurrection or in one's coming to give to every man according to his works. But as many as believed did so on account of James.

10. Therefore when many even of the rulers believed, there was a commotion among the Jews and Scribes and Pharisees, who said that there was danger that the whole people would be looking for Jesus as the Christ. Coming therefore in a body to James they said, 'We entreat you, restrain the people; for they are gone astray in regard to Jesus, as if he were the Christ. We entreat you to persuade all that have come to the feast of the Passover concerning Jesus; for we all have confidence in you. For we bear you witness, as do all the people, that you are just, and do not respect persons. Matthew 22:16

11. Therefore, persuade the multitude not to be led astray concerning Jesus. For the whole people, and all of us also, have confidence in you. Stand therefore upon the pinnacle of the temple, that from that high position you may be clearly seen, and that your words may be readily heard by all the people. For all the tribes, with the Gentiles also, have come together on account of the Passover.'

12. The aforesaid Scribes and Pharisees therefore placed James upon the pinnacle of the temple, and cried out to him and said: 'You just one, in whom we ought all to have confidence, forasmuch as the people are led astray after Jesus, the crucified one, declare to us, what is the gate of Jesus.'

13. And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why do you ask me concerning Jesus, the Son of Man? He himself sits in heaven at the right hand of the great Power, and is about to come upon the clouds of heaven.'

14. And when many were fully convinced and gloried in the testimony of James, and said, 'Hosanna to the Son of David,' these same Scribes and Pharisees said again to one another, 'We have done badly in supplying such testimony to Jesus. But let us go up and throw him down, in order that they may be afraid to believe him.'

15. And they cried out, saying, 'Oh! Oh! The just man is also in error.' And they fulfilled the Scripture written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just man, because he is troublesome to us: therefore they shall eat the fruit of their doings.'

16. So they went up and threw down the just man, and said to each other, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned and knelt down and said, 'I entreat you, Lord God our Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Luke 23:34

17. And while they were thus stoning him one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, the son of the Rechabites, who are mentioned by Jeremiah the prophet, cried out, saying, 'Stop. What are you doing? The just one prays for you.'

18. And one of them, who was a fuller, took the club with which he beat out clothes and struck the just man on the head. And thus he suffered martyrdom. And they buried him on the spot, by the temple, and his monument still remains by the temple. He became a true witness, both to Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian besieged them.

19. These things are related at length by Hegesippus, who is in agreement with Clement. James was so admirable a man and so celebrated among all for his justice, that the more sensible even of the Jews were of the opinion that this was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem, which happened to them immediately after his martyrdom for no other reason than their daring act against him.

20. Josephus, at least, has not hesitated to testify this in his writings, where he says, These things happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus, that is called the Christ. For the Jews slew him, although he was a most just man.

21. And the same writer records his death also in the twentieth book of his Antiquities in the following words: But the emperor, when he learned of the

death of Festus, sent Albinus to be procurator of Judea. But the younger Ananus, who, as we have already said, had obtained the high priesthood, was of an exceedingly bold and reckless disposition. He belonged, moreover, to the sect of the Sadducees, who are the most cruel of all the Jews in the execution of judgment, as we have already shown.

22. Ananus, therefore, being of this character, and supposing that he had a favorable opportunity on account of the fact that Festus was dead, and Albinus was still on the way, called together the Sanhedrin, and brought before them the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, James by name, together with some others, and accused them of violating the law, and condemned them to be stoned.

23. But those in the city who seemed most moderate and skilled in the law were very angry at this, and sent secretly to the king, requesting him to order Ananus to cease such proceedings. For he had not done right even this first time. And certain of them also went to meet Albinus, who was journeying from Alexandria, and reminded him that it was not lawful for Ananus to summon the Sanhedrin without his knowledge.

24. And Albinus, being persuaded by their representations, wrote in anger to Ananus, threatening him with punishment. And the king, Agrippa, in consequence, deprived him of the high priesthood, which he had held three months, and appointed Jesus, the son of Damnæus.

25. These things are recorded in regard to James, who is said to be the author of the first of the so-called catholic epistles. But it is to be observed that it is disputed; at least, not many of the ancients have mentioned it, as is the case likewise with the epistle that bears the name of Jude, which is also one of the seven so-called catholic epistles. Nevertheless we know that these also, with the rest, have been read publicly in very many churches.

Chapter 24. Annianus the First Bishop of the Church of Alexandria after Mark.

1. When Nero was in the eighth year of his reign, Annianus succeeded Mark the Evangelist in the administration of the parish of Alexandria.

Chapter 25. The Persecution under Nero in which Paul and Peter were honored at Rome with Martyrdom in Behalf of Religion.

1. When the government of Nero was now firmly established, he began to plunge into unholy pursuits, and armed himself even against the religion of the God of the universe.

2. To describe the greatness of his depravity does not lie within the plan of the present work. As there are many indeed that have recorded his history in most accurate narratives, every one may at his pleasure learn from them the coarseness of the man's extraordinary madness, under the influence of which, after he had accomplished the destruction of so many myriads without any reason, he ran into such blood-guiltiness that he did not spare even his nearest relatives and dearest friends, but destroyed his mother and his brothers and his wife, with very many others of his own family as he would private and public enemies, with various kinds of deaths.

3. But with all these things this particular in the catalogue of his crimes was still wanting, that he was the first of the emperors who showed himself an enemy of the divine religion.

4. The Roman Tertullian is likewise a witness of this. He writes as follows: Examine your records. There you will find that Nero was the first that persecuted this doctrine, particularly then when after subduing all the east, he exercised his cruelty against all at Rome. We glory in having such a man the leader in our punishment. For whoever knows him can understand that nothing was condemned by Nero unless it was something of great excellence.

5. Thus publicly announcing himself as the first among God's chief enemies, he was led on to the slaughter of the apostles. It is, therefore, recorded that Paul was beheaded in Rome itself, and that Peter likewise was crucified under Nero. This account of Peter and Paul is substantiated by the fact that their names are preserved in the cemeteries of that place even to the present day.

6. It is confirmed likewise by Caius, a member of the Church, who arose under Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome. He, in a published disputation with Proclus, the leader of the Phrygian heresy, speaks as follows concerning the places where the sacred corpses of the aforesaid apostles are laid:

7. But I can show the trophies of the apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian way, you will find the trophies of those who laid the foundations of this church.

8. And that they both suffered martyrdom at the same time is stated by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, in his epistle to the Romans, in the following words: You have thus by such an admonition bound together the planting of Peter and of Paul at Rome and Corinth. For both of them planted and likewise taught us in our Corinth. And they taught together in like manner in Italy, and suffered martyrdom at the same time. I have quoted these things in order that the truth of the history might be still more confirmed.

Chapter 26. The Jews, afflicted with Innumerable Evils, commenced the Last War Against the Romans.

1. Josephus again, after relating many things in connection with the calamity which came upon the whole Jewish nation, records, in addition to many other circumstances, that a great many of the most honorable among the Jews were scourged in Jerusalem itself and then crucified by Florus. It happened that he was procurator of Judea when the war began to be kindled, in the twelfth year of Nero.

2. Josephus says that at that time a terrible commotion was stirred up throughout all Syria in consequence of the revolt of the Jews, and that everywhere the latter were destroyed without mercy, like enemies, by the inhabitants of the cities, so that one could see cities filled with unburied corpses, and the dead bodies of the aged scattered about with the bodies of infants, and women without even a covering for their nakedness, and the whole province full of indescribable calamities, while the dread of those things that were threatened was greater than the sufferings themselves which they anywhere endured. Such is the account of Josephus; and such was the condition of the Jews at that time.

Book III

Chapter 1. The Parts of the World in which the Apostles preached Christ.

1. Such was the condition of the Jews. Meanwhile the holy apostles and disciples of our Saviour were dispersed throughout the world. Parthia, according to tradition, was allotted to Thomas as his field of labor, Scythia to Andrew, and Asia to John, who, after he had lived some time there, died at Ephesus.

2. Peter appears to have preached in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia to the Jews of the dispersion. And at last, having come to Rome, he was crucified head-downwards; for he had requested that he might suffer in this way. What do we need to say concerning Paul, who preached the Gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and afterwards suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero? These facts are related by Origen in the third volume of his Commentary on Genesis.

Chapter 2. The First Successor to St. Peter in Rome.

1. After the martyrdom of Paul and of Peter, Linus was the first to obtain the episcopate of the church at Rome. Paul mentions him, when writing to Timothy from Rome, in the salutation at the end of the epistle.

Chapter 3. The Epistles of the Apostles.

1. One epistle of Peter, that called the first, is acknowledged as genuine. And this the ancient elders used freely in their own writings as an undisputed work. But we have learned that his extant second Epistle does not belong to the canon; yet, as it has appeared profitable to many, it has been used with the other Scriptures.

2. The so-called Acts of Peter, however, and the Gospel which bears his name, and the Preaching and the Apocalypse, as they are called, we know have not been universally accepted, because no ecclesiastical writer, ancient or modern, has made use of testimonies drawn from them.

3. But in the course of my history I shall be careful to show, in addition to the official succession, what ecclesiastical writers have from time to time made use of any of the disputed works, and what they have said in regard to the canonical and accepted writings, as well as in regard to those which are not of this class.

4. Such are the writings that bear the name of Peter, only one of which I know to be genuine and acknowledged by the ancient elders.

5. Paul's fourteen epistles are well known and undisputed. It is not indeed right to overlook the fact that some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it is disputed by the church of Rome, on the ground that it was not written by Paul. But what has been said concerning this epistle by those who lived before our time I shall quote in the proper place. In regard to the so-called Acts of Paul, I have not found them among the undisputed writings.

6. But as the same apostle, in the salutations at the end of the Epistle to the Romans, has made mention among others of Hermas, to whom the book called The Shepherd is ascribed, it should be observed that this too has been disputed by some, and on their account cannot be placed among the acknowledged books; while by others it is considered quite indispensable, especially to those who need instruction in the elements of the faith. Hence, as we know, it has been publicly read in churches, and I have found that some of the most ancient writers used it.

7. This will serve to show the divine writings that are undisputed as well as those that are not universally acknowledged.

Chapter 4. The First Successors of the Apostles.

1. That Paul preached to the Gentiles and laid the foundations of the churches from Jerusalem round about even unto Illyricum, is evident both from his own words, Romans 15:19 and from the account which Luke has given in the Acts.

2. And in how many provinces Peter preached Christ and taught the doctrine of the new covenant to those of the circumcision is clear from his own words in his epistle already mentioned as undisputed, in which he writes to the Hebrews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Peter 1:1

3. But the number and the names of those among them that became true and zealous followers of the apostles, and were judged worthy to tend the churches founded by them, it is not easy to tell, except those mentioned in the writings of Paul.

4. For he had innumerable fellow-laborers, or fellow-soldiers, as he called them, and most of them were honored by him with an imperishable memorial, for he gave enduring testimony concerning them in his own epistles.

5. Luke also in the Acts speaks of his friends, and mentions them by name.

6. Timothy, so it is recorded, was the first to receive the episcopate of the parish in Ephesus, Titus of the churches in Crete.

7. But Luke, who was of Antiochian parentage and a physician by profession, and who was especially intimate with Paul and well acquainted with the rest of the apostles, has left us, in two inspired books, proofs of that spiritual healing art which he learned from them. One of these books is the Gospel, which he testifies that he wrote as those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses and ministers of the word delivered unto him, all of whom, as he says, he followed accurately from the first. Luke 1:2-3 The other book is the Acts of the Apostles which he composed not from the accounts of others, but from what he had seen himself.

8. And they say that Paul meant to refer to Luke's Gospel wherever, as if speaking of some gospel of his own, he used the words, according to my Gospel.

9. As to the rest of his followers, Paul testifies that Crescens was sent to Gaul; but Linus, whom he mentions in the Second Epistle to Timothy 2 Timothy 4:21 as his companion at Rome, was Peter's successor in the

episcopate of the church there, as has already been shown.

10. Clement also, who was appointed third bishop of the church at Rome, was, as Paul testifies, his co-laborer and fellow-soldier.

11. Besides these, that Areopagite, named Dionysius, who was the first to believe after Paul's address to the Athenians in the Areopagus (as recorded by Luke in the Acts) is mentioned by another Dionysius, an ancient writer and pastor of the parish in Corinth, as the first bishop of the church at Athens.

12. But the events connected with the apostolic succession we shall relate at the proper time. Meanwhile let us continue the course of our history.

Chapter 5. The Last Siege of the Jews after Christ.

1. After Nero had held the power thirteen years, and Galba and Otho had ruled a year and six months, Vespasian, who had become distinguished in the campaigns against the Jews, was proclaimed sovereign in Judea and received the title of Emperor from the armies there. Setting out immediately, therefore, for Rome, he entrusted the conduct of the war against the Jews to his son Titus.

2. For the Jews after the ascension of our Saviour, in addition to their crime against him, had been devising as many plots as they could against his apostles. First Stephen was stoned to death by them, and after him James, the son of Zebedee and the brother of John, was beheaded, and finally James, the first that had obtained the episcopal seat in Jerusalem after the ascension of our Saviour, died in the manner already described. But the rest of the apostles, who had been incessantly plotted against with a view to their destruction, and had been driven out of the land of Judea, went unto all nations to preach the Gospel, relying upon the power of Christ, who had said to them, Go and make disciples of all the nations in my name.

3. But the people of the church in Jerusalem had been commanded by a revelation, vouchsafed to approved men there before the war, to leave the city and to dwell in a certain town of Perea called Pella. And when those that believed in Christ had come there from Jerusalem, then, as if the royal city of the Jews and the whole land of Judea were entirely destitute of holy men, the judgment of God at length overtook those who had committed such outrages against Christ and his apostles, and totally destroyed that generation of impious men.

4. But the number of calamities which everywhere fell upon the nation at that time; the extreme misfortunes to which the inhabitants of Judea were especially subjected, the thousands of men, as well as women and children, that perished by the sword, by famine, and by other forms of death innumerable — all these things, as well as the many great sieges which were carried on against the cities of Judea, and the excessive sufferings endured by those that fled to Jerusalem itself, as to a city of perfect safety, and finally the general course of the whole war, as well as its particular occurrences in detail, and how at last the abomination of desolation, proclaimed by the prophets,

Daniel 9:27 stood in the very temple of God, so celebrated of old, the temple which was now awaiting its total and final destruction by fire — all these things any one that wishes may find accurately described in the history written by Josephus.

5. But it is necessary to state that this writer records that the multitude of those who were assembled from all Judea at the time of the Passover, to the number of three million souls, were shut up in Jerusalem as in a prison, to use his own words.

6. For it was right that in the very days in which they had inflicted suffering upon the Saviour and the Benefactor of all, the Christ of God, that in those days, shut up as in a prison, they should meet with destruction at the hands of divine justice.

7. But passing by the particular calamities which they suffered from the attempts made upon them by the sword and by other means, I think it necessary to relate only the misfortunes which the famine caused, that those who read this work may have some means of knowing that God was not long in executing vengeance upon them for their wickedness against the Christ of God.

Chapter 6. The Famine which oppressed them.

1. Taking the fifth book of the History of Josephus again in our hands, let us go through the tragedy of events which then occurred.

2. For the wealthy, he says, it was equally dangerous to remain. For under pretense that they were going to desert, men were put to death for their wealth. The madness of the seditions increased with the famine and both the miseries were inflamed more and more day by day.

3. Nowhere was food to be seen; but, bursting into the houses men searched them thoroughly, and whenever they found anything to eat they tormented the owners on the ground that they had denied that they had anything; but if they found nothing, they tortured them on the ground that they had more carefully concealed it.

4. The proof of their having or not having food was found in the bodies of the poor wretches. Those of them who were still in good condition they assumed were well supplied with food, while those who were already wasted away they passed by, for it seemed absurd to slay those who were on the point of perishing for want.

5. Many, indeed, secretly sold their possessions for one measure of wheat, if they belonged to the wealthier class, of barley if they were poorer. Then shutting themselves up in the innermost parts of their houses, some ate the grain uncooked on account of their terrible want, while others baked it according as necessity and fear dictated.

6. Nowhere were tables set, but, snatching the yet uncooked food from the fire, they tore it in pieces. Wretched was the fare, and a lamentable spectacle it was to see the more powerful secure an abundance while the weaker mourned.

7. Of all evils, indeed, famine is the worst, and it destroys nothing so effectively as shame. For that which under other circumstances is worthy of respect, in the midst of famine is despised. Thus women snatched the food from the very mouths of their husbands and children, from their fathers, and what was most pitiable of all, mothers from their babes. And while their dearest ones were wasting away in their arms, they were not ashamed to take away from them the last drops that supported life.

8. And even while they were eating thus they did not remain undiscovered. But everywhere the rioters appeared, to rob them even of these portions of

food. For whenever they saw a house shut up, they regarded it as a sign that those inside were taking food. And immediately bursting open the doors they rushed in and seized what they were eating, almost forcing it out of their very throats.

9. Old men who clung to their food were beaten, and if the women concealed it in their hands, their hair was torn for so doing. There was pity neither for gray hairs nor for infants, but, taking up the babes that clung to their morsels of food, they dashed them to the ground. But to those that anticipated their entrance and swallowed what they were about to seize, they were still more cruel, just as if they had been wronged by them.

10. And they devised the most terrible modes of torture to discover food, stopping up the privy passages of the poor wretches with bitter herbs, and piercing their seats with sharp rods. And men suffered things horrible even to hear of, for the sake of compelling them to confess to the possession of one loaf of bread, or in order that they might be made to disclose a single drachm of barley which they had concealed. But the tormentors themselves did not suffer hunger.

11. Their conduct might indeed have seemed less barbarous if they had been driven to it by necessity; but they did it for the sake of exercising their madness and of providing sustenance for themselves for days to come.

12. And when any one crept out of the city by night as far as the outposts of the Romans to collect wild herbs and grass, they went to meet him; and when he thought he had already escaped the enemy, they seized what he had brought with him, and even though oftentimes the man would entreat them, and, calling upon the most awful name of God, adjure them to give him a portion of what he had obtained at the risk of his life, they would give him nothing back. Indeed, it was fortunate if the one that was plundered was not also slain.

13. To this account Josephus, after relating other things, adds the following: The possibility of going out of the city being brought to an end, all hope of safety for the Jews was cut off. And the famine increased and devoured the people by houses and families. And the rooms were filled with dead women and children, the lanes of the city with the corpses of old men.

14. Children and youths, swollen with the famine, wandered about the marketplaces like shadows, and fell down wherever the death agony overtook

them. The sick were not strong enough to bury even their own relatives, and those who had the strength hesitated because of the multitude of the dead and the uncertainty as to their own fate. Many, indeed, died while they were burying others, and many betook themselves to their graves before death came upon them.

15. There was neither weeping nor lamentation under these misfortunes; but the famine stifled the natural affections. Those that were dying a lingering death looked with dry eyes upon those that had gone to their rest before them. Deep silence and death-laden night encircled the city.

16. But the robbers were more terrible than these miseries; for they broke open the houses, which were now mere sepulchres, robbed the dead and stripped the covering from their bodies, and went away with a laugh. They tried the points of their swords in the dead bodies, and some that were lying on the ground still alive they thrust through in order to test their weapons. But those that prayed that they would use their right hand and their sword upon them, they contemptuously left to be destroyed by the famine. Every one of these died with eyes fixed upon the temple; and they left the seditious alive.

17. These at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, for they could not endure the stench. But afterward, when they were not able to do this, they threw the bodies from the walls into the trenches.

18. And as Titus went around and saw the trenches filled with the dead, and the thick blood oozing out of the putrid bodies, he groaned aloud, and, raising his hands, called God to witness that this was not his doing.

19. After speaking of some other things, Josephus proceeds as follows: I cannot hesitate to declare what my feelings compel me to. I suppose, if the Romans had longer delayed in coming against these guilty wretches, the city would have been swallowed up by a chasm, or overwhelmed with a flood, or struck with such thunderbolts as destroyed Sodom. For it had brought forth a generation of men much more godless than were those that suffered such punishment. By their madness indeed was the whole people brought to destruction.

20. And in the sixth book he writes as follows: Of those that perished by famine in the city the number was countless, and the miseries they underwent unspeakable. For if so much as the shadow of food appeared in any house,

there was war, and the dearest friends engaged in hand-to-hand conflict with one another, and snatched from each other the most wretched supports of life.

21. Nor would they believe that even the dying were without food; but the robbers would search them while they were expiring, lest any one should feign death while concealing food in his bosom. With mouths gaping for want of food, they stumbled and staggered along like mad dogs, and beat the doors as if they were drunk, and in their impotence they would rush into the same houses twice or thrice in one hour.

22. Necessity compelled them to eat anything they could find, and they gathered and devoured things that were not fit even for the filthiest of irrational beasts. Finally they did not abstain even from their girdles and shoes, and they stripped the hides off their shields and devoured them. Some used even wisps of old hay for food, and others gathered stubble and sold the smallest weight of it for four Attic drachmæ.

23. But why should I speak of the shamelessness which was displayed during the famine toward inanimate things? For I am going to relate a fact such as is recorded neither by Greeks nor Barbarians; horrible to relate, incredible to hear. And indeed I should gladly have omitted this calamity, that I might not seem to posterity to be a teller of fabulous tales, if I had not innumerable witnesses to it in my own age. And besides, I should render my country poor service if I suppressed the account of the sufferings which she endured.

24. There was a certain woman named Mary that dwelt beyond Jordan, whose father was Eleazer, of the village of Bathezor (which signifies the *house of hyssop*). She was distinguished for her family and her wealth, and had fled with the rest of the multitude to Jerusalem and was shut up there with them during the siege.

25. The tyrants had robbed her of the rest of the property which she had brought with her into the city from Perea. And the remnants of her possessions and whatever food was to be seen the guards rushed in daily and snatched away from her. This made the woman terribly angry, and by her frequent reproaches and imprecations she aroused the anger of the rapacious villains against herself.

26. But no one either through anger or pity would slay her; and she grew weary of finding food for others to eat. The search, too, was already become

everywhere difficult, and the famine was piercing her bowels and marrow, and resentment was raging more violently than famine. Taking, therefore, anger and necessity as her counsellors, she proceeded to do a most unnatural thing.

27. Seizing her child, a boy which was sucking at her breast, she said, Oh, wretched child, in war, in famine, in sedition, for what do I preserve you? Slaves among the Romans we shall be even if we are allowed to live by them. But even slavery is anticipated by the famine, and the rioters are more cruel than both. Come, be food for me, a fury for these rioters, and a bye-word to the world, for this is all that is wanting to complete the calamities of the Jews.

28. And when she had said this she slew her son; and having roasted him, she ate one half herself, and covering up the remainder, she kept it. Very soon the rioters appeared on the scene, and, smelling the nefarious odor, they threatened to slay her immediately unless she should show them what she had prepared. She replied that she had saved an excellent portion for them, and with that she uncovered the remains of the child.

29. They were immediately seized with horror and amazement and stood transfixed at the sight. But she said, This is my own son, and the deed is mine. Eat for I too have eaten. Be not more merciful than a woman, nor more compassionate than a mother. But if you are too pious and shrink from my sacrifice, I have already eaten of it; let the rest also remain for me.

30. At these words the men went out trembling, in this one case being affrighted; yet with difficulty did they yield that food to the mother. Forthwith the whole city was filled with the awful crime, and as all pictured the terrible deed before their own eyes, they trembled as if they had done it themselves.

31. Those that were suffering from the famine now longed for death; and blessed were they that had died before hearing and seeing miseries like these.

32. Such was the reward which the Jews received for their wickedness and impiety, against the Christ of God.

Chapter 7. The Predictions of Christ.

1. It is fitting to add to these accounts the true prediction of our Saviour in which he foretold these very events.

2. His words are as follows: Woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days! But pray that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the Sabbath day. For there shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be.

3. The historian, reckoning the whole number of the slain, says that eleven hundred thousand persons perished by famine and sword, and that the rest of the rioters and robbers, being betrayed by each other after the taking of the city, were slain. But the tallest of the youths and those that were distinguished for beauty were preserved for the triumph. Of the rest of the multitude, those that were over seventeen years of age were sent as prisoners to labor in the works of Egypt, while still more were scattered through the provinces to meet their death in the theaters by the sword and by beasts. Those under seventeen years of age were carried away to be sold as slaves, and of these alone the number reached ninety thousand.

4. These things took place in this manner in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, in accordance with the prophecies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who by divine power saw them beforehand as if they were already present, and wept and mourned according to the statement of the holy evangelists, who give the very words which he uttered, when, as if addressing Jerusalem herself, he said:

5. If you had known, even you, in this day, the things which belong unto your peace! But now they are hid from your eyes. For the days shall come upon you, that your enemies shall cast a rampart about you, and compass you round, and keep you in on every side, and shall lay you and your children even with the ground.

6. And then, as if speaking concerning the people, he says, For there shall be great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. And again: When you shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is near.

7. If any one compares the words of our Saviour with the other accounts of the historian concerning the whole war, how can one fail to wonder, and to admit that the foreknowledge and the prophecy of our Saviour were truly divine and marvellously strange.

8. Concerning those calamities, then, that befell the whole Jewish nation after the Saviour's passion and after the words which the multitude of the Jews uttered, when they begged the release of the robber and murderer, but besought that the Prince of Life should be taken from their midst, it is not necessary to add anything to the account of the historian.

9. But it may be proper to mention also those events which exhibited the graciousness of that all-good Providence which held back their destruction full forty years after their crime against Christ — during which time many of the apostles and disciples, and James himself the first bishop there, the one who is called the brother of the Lord, were still alive, and dwelling in Jerusalem itself, remained the surest bulwark of the place. Divine Providence thus still proved itself long-suffering toward them in order to see whether by repentance for what they had done they might obtain pardon and salvation; and in addition to such long-suffering, Providence also furnished wonderful signs of the things which were about to happen to them if they did not repent.

10. Since these matters have been thought worthy of mention by the historian already cited, we cannot do better than to recount them for the benefit of the readers of this work.

Chapter 8. The Signs which preceded the War.

1. Taking, then, the work of this author, read what he records in the sixth book of his History. His words are as follows: Thus were the miserable people won over at this time by the impostors and false prophets; but they did not heed nor give credit to the visions and signs that foretold the approaching desolation. On the contrary, as if struck by lightning, and as if possessing neither eyes nor understanding, they slighted the proclamations of God.

2. At one time a star, in form like a sword, stood over the city, and a comet, which lasted for a whole year; and again before the revolt and before the disturbances that led to the war, when the people were gathered for the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone about the altar and the temple that it seemed to be bright day; and this continued for half an hour. This seemed to the unskillful a good sign, but was interpreted by the sacred scribes as portending those events which very soon took place.

3. And at the same feast a cow, led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple.

4. And the eastern gate of the inner temple, which was of bronze and very massive, and which at evening was closed with difficulty by twenty men, and rested upon iron-bound beams, and had bars sunk deep in the ground, was seen at the sixth hour of the night to open of itself.

5. And not many days after the feast, on the twenty-first of the month Artemisium, a certain marvelous vision was seen which passes belief. The prodigy might seem fabulous were it not related by those who saw it, and were not the calamities which followed deserving of such signs. For before the setting of the sun chariots and armed troops were seen throughout the whole region in mid-air, wheeling through the clouds and encircling the cities.

6. And at the feast which is called Pentecost, when the priests entered the temple at night, as was their custom, to perform the services, they said that at first they perceived a movement and a noise, and afterward a voice as of a great multitude, saying, 'Let us go hence.'

7. But what follows is still more terrible; for a certain Jesus, the son of Ananias, a common countryman, four years before the war, when the city was particularly prosperous and peaceful, came to the feast, at which it was

customary for all to make tents at the temple to the honor of God, and suddenly began to cry out: 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people.' Day and night he went through all the alleys crying thus.

8. But certain of the more distinguished citizens, vexed at the ominous cry, seized the man and beat him with many stripes. But without uttering a word in his own behalf, or saying anything in particular to those that were present, he continued to cry out in the same words as before.

9. And the rulers, thinking, as was true, that the man was moved by a higher power, brought him before the Roman governor. And then, though he was scourged to the bone, he neither made supplication nor shed tears, but, changing his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, he answered each stroke with the words, 'Woe, woe unto Jerusalem.'

10. The same historian records another fact still more wonderful than this. He says that a certain oracle was found in their sacred writings which declared that at that time a certain person should go forth from their country to rule the world. He himself understood that this was fulfilled in Vespasian.

11. But Vespasian did not rule the whole world, but only that part of it which was subject to the Romans. With better right could it be applied to Christ; to whom it was said by the Father, Ask of me, and I will give you the heathen for your inheritance, and the ends of the earth for your possession. At that very time, indeed, the voice of his holy apostles went throughout all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

Chapter 9. Josephus and the Works which he has left.

1. After all this it is fitting that we should know something in regard to the origin and family of Josephus, who has contributed so much to the history in hand. He himself gives us information on this point in the following words: Josephus, the son of Mattathias, a priest of Jerusalem, who himself fought against the Romans in the beginning and was compelled to be present at what happened afterward.

2. He was the most noted of all the Jews of that day, not only among his own people, but also among the Romans, so that he was honored by the erection of a statue in Rome, and his works were deemed worthy of a place in the library.

3. He wrote the whole of the *Antiquities of the Jews* in twenty books, and a history of the war with the Romans which took place in his time, in seven books. He himself testifies that the latter work was not only written in Greek, but that it was also translated by himself into his native tongue. He is worthy of credit here because of his truthfulness in other matters.

4. There are extant also two other books of his which are worth reading. They treat of the antiquity of the Jews, and in them he replies to Apion the Grammarian, who had at that time written a treatise against the Jews, and also to others who had attempted to vilify the hereditary institutions of the Jewish people.

5. In the first of these books he gives the number of the canonical books of the so-called Old Testament. Apparently drawing his information from ancient tradition, he shows what books were accepted without dispute among the Hebrews. His words are as follows.

Chapter 10. The Manner in which Josephus mentions the Divine Books.

1. We have not, therefore, a multitude of books disagreeing and conflicting with one another; but we have only twenty-two, which contain the record of all time and are justly held to be divine.

2. Of these, five are by Moses, and contain the laws and the tradition respecting the origin of man, and continue the history down to his own death. This period embraces nearly three thousand years.

3. From the death of Moses to the death of Artaxerxes, who succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets that followed Moses wrote the history of their own times in thirteen books. The other four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the regulation of the life of men.

4. From the time of Artaxerxes to our own day all the events have been recorded, but the accounts are not worthy of the same confidence that we repose in those which preceded them, because there has not been during this time an exact succession of prophets.

5. How much we are attached to our own writings is shown plainly by our treatment of them. For although so great a period has already passed by, no one has ventured either to add to or to take from them, but it is inbred in all Jews from their very birth to regard them as the teachings of God, and to abide by them, and, if necessary, cheerfully to die for them.

These remarks of the historian I have thought might advantageously be introduced in this connection.

6. Another work of no little merit has been produced by the same writer, *On the Supremacy of Reason*, which some have called *Maccabaicum*, because it contains an account of the struggles of those Hebrews who contended manfully for the true religion, as is related in the books called Maccabees.

7. And at the end of the twentieth book of his Antiquities Josephus himself intimates that he had purposed to write a work in four books concerning God and his existence, according to the traditional opinions of the Jews, and also concerning the laws, why it is that they permit some things while prohibiting others. And the same writer also mentions in his own works other books written by himself.

8. In addition to these things it is proper to quote also the words that are

found at the close of his Antiquities, in confirmation of the testimony which we have drawn from his accounts. In that place he attacks Justus of Tiberias, who, like himself, had attempted to write a history of contemporary events, on the ground that he had not written truthfully. Having brought many other accusations against the man, he continues in these words:

9. I indeed was not afraid in respect to my writings as you were, but, on the contrary, I presented my books to the emperors themselves when the events were almost under men's eyes. For I was conscious that I had preserved the truth in my account, and hence was not disappointed in my expectation of obtaining their attestation.

10. And I presented my history also to many others, some of whom were present at the war, as, for instance, King Agrippa and some of his relatives.

11. For the Emperor Titus desired so much that the knowledge of the events should be communicated to men by my history alone, that he endorsed the books with his own hand and commanded that they should be published. And King Agrippa wrote sixty-two epistles testifying to the truthfulness of my account. Of these epistles Josephus subjoins two. But this will suffice in regard to him. Let us now proceed with our history.

Chapter 11. Symeon rules the Church of Jerusalem after James.

1. After the martyrdom of James and the conquest of Jerusalem which immediately followed, it is said that those of the apostles and disciples of the Lord that were still living came together from all directions with those that were related to the Lord according to the flesh (for the majority of them also were still alive) to take counsel as to who was worthy to succeed James.

2. They all with one consent pronounced Symeon, the son of Clopas, of whom the Gospel also makes mention; to be worthy of the episcopal throne of that parish. He was a cousin, as they say, of the Saviour. For Hegesippus records that Clopas was a brother of Joseph.

Chapter 12. Vespasian commands the Descendants of David to be sought.

He also relates that Vespasian after the conquest of Jerusalem gave orders that all that belonged to the lineage of David should be sought out, in order that none of the royal race might be left among the Jews; and in consequence of this a most terrible persecution again hung over the Jews.

Chapter 13. Anencletus, the Second Bishop of Rome.

After Vespasian had reigned ten years Titus, his son, succeeded him. In the second year of his reign, Linus, who had been bishop of the church of Rome for twelve years, delivered his office to Anencletus. But Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian after he had reigned two years and the same number of months.

Chapter 14. Abilius, the Second Bishop of Alexandria.

In the fourth year of Domitian, Annianus, the first bishop of the parish of Alexandria, died after holding office twenty-two years, and was succeeded by Abilius, the second bishop.

Chapter 15. Clement, the Third Bishop of Rome.

In the twelfth year of the same reign Clement succeeded Anencletus after the latter had been bishop of the church of Rome for twelve years. The apostle in his Epistle to the Philippians informs us that this Clement was his fellow-worker. His words are as follows: With Clement and the rest of my fellow-laborers whose names are in the book of life.

Chapter 16. The Epistle of Clement.

There is extant an epistle of this Clement which is acknowledged to be genuine and is of considerable length and of remarkable merit. He wrote it in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth, when a sedition had arisen in the latter church. We know that this epistle also has been publicly used in a great many churches both in former times and in our own. And of the fact that a sedition did take place in the church of Corinth at the time referred to Hegesippus is a trustworthy witness.

Chapter 17. The Persecution under Domitian.

Domitian, having shown great cruelty toward many, and having unjustly put to death no small number of well-born and notable men at Rome, and having without cause exiled and confiscated the property of a great many other illustrious men, finally became a successor of Nero in his hatred and enmity toward God. He was in fact the second that stirred up a persecution against us, although his father Vespasian had undertaken nothing prejudicial to us.

Chapter 18. The Apostle John and the Apocalypse.

1. It is said that in this persecution the apostle and evangelist John, who was still alive, was condemned to dwell on the island of Patmos in consequence of his testimony to the divine word.

2. Irenæus, in the fifth book of his work *Against Heresies*, where he discusses the number of the name of Antichrist which is given in the so-called *Apocalypse of John*, speaks as follows concerning him:

3. If it were necessary for his name to be proclaimed openly at the present time, it would have been declared by him who saw the revelation. For it was seen not long ago, but almost in our own generation, at the end of the reign of Domitian.

4. To such a degree, indeed, did the teaching of our faith flourish at that time that even those writers who were far from our religion did not hesitate to mention in their histories the persecution and the martyrdoms which took place during it.

5. And they, indeed, accurately indicated the time. For they recorded that in the fifteenth year of Domitian Flavia Domitilla, daughter of a sister of Flavius Clement, who at that time was one of the consuls of Rome, was exiled with many others to the island of Pontia in consequence of testimony borne to Christ.

Chapter 19. Domitian commands the Descendants of David to be slain.

But when this same Domitian had commanded that the descendants of David should be slain, an ancient tradition says that some of the heretics brought accusation against the descendants of Jude (said to have been a brother of the Saviour according to the flesh), on the ground that they were of the lineage of David and were related to Christ himself. Hegesippus relates these facts in the following words.

Chapter 20. The Relatives of our Saviour.

1. Of the family of the Lord there were still living the grandchildren of Jude, who is said to have been the Lord's brother according to the flesh.

2. Information was given that they belonged to the family of David, and they were brought to the Emperor Domitian by the Evocatus. For Domitian feared the coming of Christ as Herod also had feared it. And he asked them if they were descendants of David, and they confessed that they were. Then he asked them how much property they had, or how much money they owned. And both of them answered that they had only nine thousand denarii, half of which belonged to each of them.

4. And this property did not consist of silver, but of a piece of land which contained only thirty-nine acres, and from which they raised their taxes and supported themselves by their own labor.

5. Then they showed their hands, exhibiting the hardness of their bodies and the callousness produced upon their hands by continuous toil as evidence of their own labor.

6. And when they were asked concerning Christ and his kingdom, of what sort it was and where and when it was to appear, they answered that it was not a temporal nor an earthly kingdom, but a heavenly and angelic one, which would appear at the end of the world, when he should come in glory to judge the quick and the dead, and to give unto every one according to his works.

7. Upon hearing this, Domitian did not pass judgment against them, but, despising them as of no account, he let them go, and by a decree put a stop to the persecution of the Church.

8. But when they were released they ruled the churches because they were witnesses and were also relatives of the Lord. And peace being established, they lived until the time of Trajan. These things are related by Hegesippus.

9. Tertullian also has mentioned Domitian in the following words: Domitian also, who possessed a share of Nero's cruelty, attempted once to do the same thing that the latter did. But because he had, I suppose, some intelligence, he very soon ceased, and even recalled those whom he had banished.

10. But after Domitian had reigned fifteen years, and Nerva had succeeded to the empire, the Roman Senate, according to the writers that record the

history of those days, voted that Domitian's honors should be cancelled, and that those who had been unjustly banished should return to their homes and have their property restored to them.

11. It was at this time that the apostle John returned from his banishment in the island and took up his abode at Ephesus, according to an ancient Christian tradition.

Chapter 21. Cerdon becomes the Third Ruler of the Church of Alexandria.

1. After Nerva had reigned a little more than a year he was succeeded by Trajan. It was during the first year of his reign that Abilius, who had ruled the church of Alexandria for thirteen years, was succeeded by Cerdon.

2. He was the third that presided over that church after Annianus, who was the first. At that time Clement still ruled the church of Rome, being also the third that held the episcopate there after Paul and Peter.

3. Linus was the first, and after him came Anencletus.

Chapter 22. Ignatius, the Second Bishop of Antioch.

At this time Ignatius was known as the second bishop of Antioch, Evodius having been the first. Symeon likewise was at that time the second ruler of the church of Jerusalem, the brother of our Saviour having been the first.

Chapter 23. Narrative Concerning John the Apostle.

1. At that time the apostle and evangelist John, the one whom Jesus loved, was still living in Asia, and governing the churches of that region, having returned after the death of Domitian from his exile on the island.

2. And that he was still alive at that time may be established by the testimony of two witnesses. They should be trustworthy who have maintained the orthodoxy of the Church; and such indeed were Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria.

3. The former in the second book of his work *Against Heresies*, writes as follows: And all the elders that associated with John the disciple of the Lord in Asia bear witness that John delivered it to them. For he remained among them until the time of Trajan.

4. And in the third book of the same work he attests the same thing in the following words: But the church in Ephesus also, which was founded by Paul, and where John remained until the time of Trajan, is a faithful witness of the apostolic tradition.

5. Clement likewise in his book entitled *What Rich Man can be saved?* indicates the time, and subjoins a narrative which is most attractive to those that enjoy hearing what is beautiful and profitable. Take and read the account which runs as follows:

6. Listen to a tale, which is not a mere tale, but a narrative concerning John the apostle, which has been handed down and treasured up in memory. For when, after the tyrant's death, he returned from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus, he went away upon their invitation to the neighboring territories of the Gentiles, to appoint bishops in some places, in other places to set in order whole churches, elsewhere to choose to the ministry some one of those that were pointed out by the Spirit.

7. When he had come to one of the cities not far away (the name of which is given by some), and had consoled the brethren in other matters, he finally turned to the bishop that had been appointed, and seeing a youth of powerful physique, of pleasing appearance, and of ardent temperament, he said, 'This one I commit to you in all earnestness in the presence of the Church and with Christ as witness.' And when the bishop had accepted the charge and had promised all, he repeated the same injunction with an appeal to the same

witnesses, and then departed for Ephesus.

8. But the presbyter taking home the youth committed to him, reared, kept, cherished, and finally baptized him. After this he relaxed his stricter care and watchfulness, with the idea that in putting upon him the seal of the Lord he had given him a perfect protection.

9. But some youths of his own age, idle and dissolute, and accustomed to evil practices, corrupted him when he was thus prematurely freed from restraint. At first they enticed him by costly entertainments; then, when they went forth at night for robbery, they took him with them, and finally they demanded that he should unite with them in some greater crime.

10. He gradually became accustomed to such practices, and on account of the positiveness of his character, leaving the right path, and taking the bit in his teeth like a hard-mouthed and powerful horse, he rushed the more violently down into the depths.

11. And finally despairing of salvation in God, he no longer meditated what was insignificant, but having committed some great crime, since he was now lost once for all, he expected to suffer a like fate with the rest. Taking them, therefore, and forming a band of robbers, he became a bold bandit-chief, the most violent, most bloody, most cruel of them all.

12. Time passed, and some necessity having arisen, they sent for John. But he, when he had set in order the other matters on account of which he had come, said, 'Come, O bishop, restore us the deposit which both I and Christ committed to you, the church, over which you preside, being witness.'

13. But the bishop was at first confounded, thinking that he was falsely charged in regard to money which he had not received, and he could neither believe the accusation respecting what he had not, nor could he disbelieve John. But when he said, 'I demand the young man and the soul of the brother,' the old man, groaning deeply and at the same time bursting into tears, said, 'He is dead.' 'How and what kind of death?' 'He is dead to God,' he said; 'for he turned wicked and abandoned, and at last a robber. And now, instead of the church, he haunts the mountain with a band like himself.'

14. But the Apostle rent his clothes, and beating his head with great lamentation, he said, 'A fine guard I left for a brother's soul! But let a horse be brought me, and let some one show me the way.' He rode away from the church just as he was, and coming to the place, he was taken prisoner by the

robbers' outpost.

15. He, however, neither fled nor made entreaty, but cried out, 'For this did I come; lead me to your captain.'

16. The latter, meanwhile, was waiting, armed as he was. But when he recognized John approaching, he turned in shame to flee.

17. But John, forgetting his age, pursued him with all his might, crying out, 'Why, my son, do you flee from me, your own father, unarmed, aged? Pity me, my son; fear not; you have still hope of life. I will give account to Christ for you. If need be, I will willingly endure your death as the Lord suffered death for us. For you will I give up my life. Stand, believe; Christ has sent me.'

18. And he, when he heard, first stopped and looked down; then he threw away his arms, and then trembled and wept bitterly. And when the old man approached, he embraced him, making confession with lamentations as he was able, baptizing himself a second time with tears, and concealing only his right hand.

19. But John, pledging himself, and assuring him on oath that he would find forgiveness with the Saviour, besought him, fell upon his knees, kissed his right hand itself as if now purified by repentance, and led him back to the church. And making intercession for him with copious prayers, and struggling together with him in continual fastings, and subduing his mind by various utterances, he did not depart, as they say, until he had restored him to the church, furnishing a great example of true repentance and a great proof of regeneration, a trophy of a visible resurrection.

Chapter 24. The Order of the Gospels.

1. This extract from Clement I have inserted here for the sake of the history and for the benefit of my readers. Let us now point out the undisputed writings of this apostle.

2. And in the first place his Gospel, which is known to all the churches under heaven, must be acknowledged as genuine. That it has with good reason been put by the ancients in the fourth place, after the other three Gospels, may be made evident in the following way.

3. Those great and truly divine men, I mean the apostles of Christ, were purified in their life, and were adorned with every virtue of the soul, but were uncultivated in speech. They were confident indeed in their trust in the divine and wonder-working power which was granted unto them by the Saviour, but they did not know how, nor did they attempt to proclaim the doctrines of their teacher in studied and artistic language, but employing only the demonstration of the divine Spirit, which worked with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ, which was displayed through them, they published the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven throughout the whole world, paying little attention to the composition of written works.

4. And this they did because they were assisted in their ministry by one greater than man. Paul, for instance, who surpassed them all in vigor of expression and in richness of thought, committed to writing no more than the briefest epistles, although he had innumerable mysterious matters to communicate, for he had attained even unto the sights of the third heaven, had been carried to the very paradise of God, and had been deemed worthy to hear unspeakable utterances there.

5. And the rest of the followers of our Saviour, the twelve apostles, the seventy disciples, and countless others besides, were not ignorant of these things. Nevertheless, of all the disciples of the Lord, only Matthew and John have left us written memorials, and they, tradition says, were led to write only under the pressure of necessity.

6. For Matthew, who had at first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other peoples, committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue, and thus compensated those whom he was obliged to leave for the loss of his presence.

7. And when Mark and Luke had already published their Gospels, they say that John, who had employed all his time in proclaiming the Gospel orally, finally proceeded to write for the following reason. The three Gospels already mentioned having come into the hands of all and into his own too, they say that he accepted them and bore witness to their truthfulness; but that there was lacking in them an account of the deeds done by Christ at the beginning of his ministry.

8. And this indeed is true. For it is evident that the three evangelists recorded only the deeds done by the Saviour for one year after the imprisonment of John the Baptist, and indicated this in the beginning of their account.

9. For Matthew, after the forty days' fast and the temptation which followed it, indicates the chronology of his work when he says: Now when he heard that John was delivered up he withdrew from Judea into Galilee. Matthew 4:12

10. Mark likewise says: Now after that John was delivered up Jesus came into Galilee. Mark 1:14 And Luke, before commencing his account of the deeds of Jesus, similarly marks the time, when he says that Herod, adding to all the evil deeds which he had done, shut up John in prison. Luke 3:20

11. They say, therefore, that the apostle John, being asked to do it for this reason, gave in his Gospel an account of the period which had been omitted by the earlier evangelists, and of the deeds done by the Saviour during that period; that is, of those which were done before the imprisonment of the Baptist. And this is indicated by him, they say, in the following words: This beginning of miracles did Jesus; and again when he refers to the Baptist, in the midst of the deeds of Jesus, as still baptizing in Ænon near Salim; John 3:23 where he states the matter clearly in the words: For John was not yet cast into prison.

12. John accordingly, in his Gospel, records the deeds of Christ which were performed before the Baptist was cast into prison, but the other three evangelists mention the events which happened after that time.

13. One who understands this can no longer think that the Gospels are at variance with one another, inasmuch as the Gospel according to John contains the first acts of Christ, while the others give an account of the latter part of his life. And the genealogy of our Saviour according to the flesh John quite

naturally omitted, because it had been already given by Matthew and Luke, and began with the doctrine of his divinity, which had, as it were, been reserved for him, as their superior, by the divine Spirit.

14. These things may suffice, which we have said concerning the Gospel of John. The cause which led to the composition of the Gospel of Mark has been already stated by us.

15. But as for Luke, in the beginning of his Gospel, he states himself the reasons which led him to write it. He states that since many others had more rashly undertaken to compose a narrative of the events of which he had acquired perfect knowledge, he himself, feeling the necessity of freeing us from their uncertain opinions, delivered in his own Gospel an accurate account of those events in regard to which he had learned the full truth, being aided by his intimacy and his stay with Paul and by his acquaintance with the rest of the apostles.

16. So much for our own account of these things. But in a more fitting place we shall attempt to show by quotations from the ancients, what others have said concerning them.

17. But of the writings of John, not only his Gospel, but also the former of his epistles, has been accepted without dispute both now and in ancient times. But the other two are disputed.

18. In regard to the Apocalypse, the opinions of most men are still divided. But at the proper time this question likewise shall be decided from the testimony of the ancients.

Chapter 25. The Divine Scriptures that are accepted and those that are not.

1. Since we are dealing with this subject it is proper to sum up the writings of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. First then must be put the holy quaternion of the Gospels; following them the Acts of the Apostles.

2. After this must be reckoned the epistles of Paul; next in order the extant former epistle of John, and likewise the epistle of Peter, must be maintained. After them is to be placed, if it really seem proper, the Apocalypse of John, concerning which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time. These then belong among the accepted writings.

3. Among the disputed writings, which are nevertheless recognized by many, are extant the so-called epistle of James and that of Jude, also the second epistle of Peter, and those that are called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name.

4. Among the rejected writings must be reckoned also the Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to these the extant epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles; and besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the accepted books.

5. And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted. And all these may be reckoned among the disputed books.

6. But we have nevertheless felt compelled to give a catalogue of these also, distinguishing those works which according to ecclesiastical tradition are true and genuine and commonly accepted, from those others which, although not canonical but disputed, are yet at the same time known to most ecclesiastical writers — we have felt compelled to give this catalogue in order that we might be able to know both these works and those that are cited by the heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles, which no one belonging to the succession of ecclesiastical writers has deemed worthy of

mention in his writings.

7. And further, the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of the things that are related in them are so completely out of accord with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics. Wherefore they are not to be placed even among the rejected writings, but are all of them to be cast aside as absurd and impious.

Let us now proceed with our history.

Chapter 26. Menander the Sorcerer.

1. Menander, who succeeded Simon Magus, showed himself in his conduct another instrument of diabolical power, not inferior to the former. He also was a Samaritan and carried his sorceries to no less an extent than his teacher had done, and at the same time reveled in still more marvelous tales than he.

2. For he said that he was himself the Saviour, who had been sent down from invisible æons for the salvation of men; and he taught that no one could gain the mastery over the world-creating angels themselves unless he had first gone through the magical discipline imparted by him and had received baptism from him. Those who were deemed worthy of this would partake even in the present life of perpetual immortality, and would never die, but would remain here forever, and without growing old become immortal. These facts can be easily learned from the works of Irenæus.

3. And Justin, in the passage in which he mentions Simon, gives an account of this man also, in the following words: And we know that a certain Menander, who was also a Samaritan, from the village of Capparattea, was a disciple of Simon, and that he also, being driven by the demons, came to Antioch and deceived many by his magical art. And he persuaded his followers that they should not die. And there are still some of them that assert this.

4. And it was indeed an artifice of the devil to endeavor, by means of such sorcerers, who assumed the name of Christians, to defame the great mystery of godliness by magic art, and through them to make ridiculous the doctrines of the Church concerning the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead. But they that have chosen these men as their saviours have fallen away from the true hope.

Chapter 27. The Heresy of the Ebionites.

1. The evil demon, however, being unable to tear certain others from their allegiance to the Christ of God, yet found them susceptible in a different direction, and so brought them over to his own purposes. The ancients quite properly called these men Ebionites, because they held poor and mean opinions concerning Christ.

2. For they considered him a plain and common man, who was justified only because of his superior virtue, and who was the fruit of the intercourse of a man with Mary. In their opinion the observance of the ceremonial law was altogether necessary, on the ground that they could not be saved by faith in Christ alone and by a corresponding life.

3. There were others, however, besides them, that were of the same name, but avoided the strange and absurd beliefs of the former, and did not deny that the Lord was born of a virgin and of the Holy Spirit. But nevertheless, inasmuch as they also refused to acknowledge that he pre-existed, being God, Word, and Wisdom, they turned aside into the impiety of the former, especially when they, like them, endeavored to observe strictly the bodily worship of the law.

4. These men, moreover, thought that it was necessary to reject all the epistles of the apostle, whom they called an apostate from the law; and they used only the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews and made small account of the rest.

5. The Sabbath and the rest of the discipline of the Jews they observed just like them, but at the same time, like us, they celebrated the Lord's days as a memorial of the resurrection of the Saviour.

6. Wherefore, in consequence of such a course they received the name of Ebionites, which signified the poverty of their understanding. For this is the name by which a poor man is called among the Hebrews.

Chapter 28. Cerinthus the Heresiarch.

1. We have understood that at this time Cerinthus, the author of another heresy, made his appearance. Caius, whose words we quoted above, in the Disputation which is ascribed to him, writes as follows concerning this man:

2. But Cerinthus also, by means of revelations which he pretends were written by a great apostle, brings before us marvelous things which he falsely claims were shown him by angels; and he says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be set up on earth, and that the flesh dwelling in Jerusalem will again be subject to desires and pleasures. And being an enemy of the Scriptures of God, he asserts, with the purpose of deceiving men, that there is to be a period of a thousand years for marriage festivals.

3. And Dionysius, who was bishop of the parish of Alexandria in our day, in the second book of his work *On the Promises*, where he says some things concerning the Apocalypse of John which he draws from tradition, mentions this same man in the following words:

4. But (they say that) Cerinthus, who founded the sect which was called, after him, the Cerinthian, desiring reputable authority for his fiction, prefixed the name. For the doctrine which he taught was this: that the kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one.

5. And as he was himself devoted to the pleasures of the body and altogether sensual in his nature, he dreamed that that kingdom would consist in those things which he desired, namely, in the delights of the belly and of sexual passion, that is to say, in eating and drinking and marrying, and in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims, under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace.

6. These are the words of Dionysius. But Irenæus, in the first book of his work *Against Heresies*, gives some more abominable false doctrines of the same man, and in the third book relates a story which deserves to be recorded. He says, on the authority of Polycarp, that the apostle John once entered a bath to bathe; but, learning that Cerinthus was within, he sprang from the place and rushed out of the door, for he could not bear to remain under the same roof with him. And he advised those that were with him to do the same, saying, Let us flee, lest the bath fall; for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.

Chapter 29. Nicolaus and the Sect named after him.

1. At this time the so-called sect of the Nicolaitans made its appearance and lasted for a very short time. Mention is made of it in the Apocalypse of John. They boasted that the author of their sect was Nicolaus, one of the deacons who, with Stephen, were appointed by the apostles for the purpose of ministering to the poor. Clement of Alexandria, in the third book of his *Stromata*, relates the following things concerning him.

2. They say that he had a beautiful wife, and after the ascension of the Saviour, being accused by the apostles of jealousy, he led her into their midst and gave permission to any one that wished to marry her. For they say that this was in accord with that saying of his, that one ought to abuse the flesh. And those that have followed his heresy, imitating blindly and foolishly that which was done and said, commit fornication without shame.

3. But I understand that Nicolaus had to do with no other woman than her to whom he was married, and that, so far as his children are concerned, his daughters continued in a state of virginity until old age, and his son remained uncorrupt. If this is so, when he brought his wife, whom he jealously loved, into the midst of the apostles, he was evidently renouncing his passion; and when he used the expression, 'to abuse the flesh,' he was inculcating self-control in the face of those pleasures that are eagerly pursued. For I suppose that, in accordance with the command of the Saviour, he did not wish to serve two masters, pleasure and the Lord.

4. But they say that Matthias also taught in the same manner that we ought to fight against and abuse the flesh, and not give way to it for the sake of pleasure, but strengthen the soul by faith and knowledge. So much concerning those who then attempted to pervert the truth, but in less time than it has taken to tell it became entirely extinct.

Chapter 30. The Apostles that were Married.

1. Clement, indeed, whose words we have just quoted, after the above-mentioned facts gives a statement, on account of those who rejected marriage, of the apostles that had wives. Or will they, says he, reject even the apostles? For Peter and Philip begot children; and Philip also gave his daughters in marriage. And Paul does not hesitate, in one of his epistles, to greet his wife, whom he did not take about with him, that he might not be inconvenienced in his ministry.

2. And since we have mentioned this subject it is not improper to subjoin another account which is given by the same author and which is worth reading. In the seventh book of his *Stromata* he writes as follows: They say, accordingly, that when the blessed Peter saw his own wife led out to die, he rejoiced because of her summons and her return home, and called to her very encouragingly and comfortingly, addressing her by name, and saying, 'Remember the Lord.' Such was the marriage of the blessed, and their perfect disposition toward those dearest to them. This account being in keeping with the subject in hand, I have related here in its proper place.

Chapter 31. The Death of John and Philip.

1. The time and the manner of the death of Paul and Peter as well as their burial places, have been already shown by us.

2. The time of John's death has also been given in a general way, but his burial place is indicated by an epistle of Polycrates (who was bishop of the parish of Ephesus), addressed to Victor, bishop of Rome. In this epistle he mentions him together with the apostle Philip and his daughters in the following words:

3. For in Asia also great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise again on the last day, at the coming of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven and shall seek out all the saints. Among these are Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin daughters, and another daughter who lived in the Holy Spirit and now rests at Ephesus; and moreover John, who was both a witness and a teacher, who reclined upon the bosom of the Lord, and being a priest wore the sacerdotal plate. He also sleeps at Ephesus.

4. So much concerning their death. And in the Dialogue of Caius which we mentioned a little above, Proclus, against whom he directed his disputation, in agreement with what has been quoted, speaks thus concerning the death of Philip and his daughters: After him there were four prophetesses, the daughters of Philip, at Hierapolis in Asia. Their tomb is there and the tomb of their father. Such is his statement.

5. But Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, mentions the daughters of Philip who were at that time at Cæsarea in Judea with their father, and were honored with the gift of prophecy. His words are as follows: We came unto Cæsarea; and entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven, we abode with him. Now this man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy.

6. We have thus set forth in these pages what has come to our knowledge concerning the apostles themselves and the apostolic age, and concerning the sacred writings which they have left us, as well as concerning those which are disputed, but nevertheless have been publicly used by many in a great number of churches, and moreover, concerning those that are altogether rejected and are out of harmony with apostolic orthodoxy. Having done this, let us now

proceed with our history.

Chapter 32. Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, suffers Martyrdom.

1. It is reported that after the age of Nero and Domitian, under the emperor whose times we are now recording, a persecution was stirred up against us in certain cities in consequence of a popular uprising. In this persecution we have understood that Symeon, the son of Clopas, who, as we have shown, was the second bishop of the church of Jerusalem, suffered martyrdom.

2. Hegesippus, whose words we have already quoted in various places, is a witness to this fact also. Speaking of certain heretics he adds that Symeon was accused by them at this time; and since it was clear that he was a Christian, he was tortured in various ways for many days, and astonished even the judge himself and his attendants in the highest degree, and finally he suffered a death similar to that of our Lord.

3. But there is nothing like hearing the historian himself, who writes as follows: Certain of these heretics brought accusation against Symeon, the son of Clopas, on the ground that he was a descendant of David and a Christian; and thus he suffered martyrdom, at the age of one hundred and twenty years, while Trajan was emperor and Atticus governor.

4. And the same writer says that his accusers also, when search was made for the descendants of David, were arrested as belonging to that family. And it might be reasonably assumed that Symeon was one of those that saw and heard the Lord, judging from the length of his life, and from the fact that the Gospel makes mention of Mary, the wife of Clopas, who was the father of Symeon, as has been already shown.

5. The same historian says that there were also others, descended from one of the so-called brothers of the Saviour, whose name was Judas, who, after they had borne testimony before Domitian, as has been already recorded, in behalf of faith in Christ, lived until the same reign.

6. He writes as follows: They came, therefore, and took the lead of every church as witnesses and as relatives of the Lord. And profound peace being established in every church, they remained until the reign of the Emperor Trajan, and until the above-mentioned Symeon, son of Clopas, an uncle of the Lord, was informed against by the heretics, and was himself in like manner accused for the same cause before the governor Atticus. And after being

tortured for many days he suffered martyrdom, and all, including even the proconsul, marveled that, at the age of one hundred and twenty years, he could endure so much. And orders were given that he should be crucified.

7. In addition to these things the same man, while recounting the events of that period, records that the Church up to that time had remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin, since, if there were any that attempted to corrupt the sound norm of the preaching of salvation, they lay until then concealed in obscure darkness.

8. But when the sacred college of apostles had suffered death in various forms, and the generation of those that had been deemed worthy to hear the inspired wisdom with their own ears had passed away, then the league of godless error took its rise as a result of the folly of heretical teachers, who, because none of the apostles was still living, attempted henceforth, with a bold face, to proclaim, in opposition to the preaching of the truth, the ‘knowledge which is falsely so-called.’

Chapter 33. Trajan forbids the Christians to be sought after.

1. So great a persecution was at that time opened against us in many places that Plinius Secundus, one of the most noted of governors, being disturbed by the great number of martyrs, communicated with the emperor concerning the multitude of those that were put to death for their faith. At the same time, he informed him in his communication that he had not heard of their doing anything profane or contrary to the laws — except that they arose at dawn and sang hymns to Christ as a God; but that they renounced adultery and murder and like criminal offenses, and did all things in accordance with the laws.

2. In reply to this Trajan made the following decree: that the race of Christians should not be sought after, but when found should be punished. On account of this the persecution which had threatened to be a most terrible one was to a certain degree checked, but there were still left plenty of pretexts for those who wished to do us harm. Sometimes the people, sometimes the rulers in various places, would lay plots against us, so that, although no great persecutions took place, local persecutions were nevertheless going on in particular provinces, and many of the faithful endured martyrdom in various forms.

3. We have taken our account from the Latin Apology of Tertullian which we mentioned above. The translation runs as follows: And indeed we have found that search for us has been forbidden. For when Plinius Secundus, the governor of a province, had condemned certain Christians and deprived them of their dignity, he was confounded by the multitude, and was uncertain what further course to pursue. He therefore communicated with Trajan the emperor, informing him that, aside from their unwillingness to sacrifice, he had found no impiety in them.

4. And he reported this also, that the Christians arose early in the morning and sang hymns unto Christ as a God, and for the purpose of preserving their discipline forbade murder, adultery, avarice, robbery, and the like. In reply to this Trajan wrote that the race of Christians should not be sought after, but when found should be punished. Such were the events which took place at that time.

Chapter 34. Evarestus, the Fourth Bishop of the Church of Rome.

1. In the third year of the reign of the emperor mentioned above, Clement committed the episcopal government of the church of Rome to Evarestus, and departed this life after he had superintended the teaching of the divine word nine years in all.

Chapter 35. Justus, the Third Bishop of Jerusalem.

1. But when Symeon also had died in the manner described, a certain Jew by the name of Justus succeeded to the episcopal throne in Jerusalem. He was one of the many thousands of the circumcision who at that time believed in Christ.

Chapter 36. Ignatius and His Epistles.

1. At that time Polycarp, a disciple of the apostles, was a man of eminence in Asia, having been entrusted with the episcopate of the church of Smyrna by those who had seen and heard the Lord.

2. And at the same time Papias, bishop of the parish of Hierapolis, became well known, as did also Ignatius, who was chosen bishop of Antioch, second in succession to Peter, and whose fame is still celebrated by a great many.

3. Report says that he was sent from Syria to Rome, and became food for wild beasts on account of his testimony to Christ.

4. And as he made the journey through Asia under the strictest military surveillance, he fortified the parishes in the various cities where he stopped by oral homilies and exhortations, and warned them above all to be especially on their guard against the heresies that were then beginning to prevail, and exhorted them to hold fast to the tradition of the apostles. Moreover, he thought it necessary to attest that tradition in writing, and to give it a fixed form for the sake of greater security.

5. So when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote an epistle to the church of Ephesus, in which he mentions Onesimus, its pastor; and another to the church of Magnesia, situated upon the Mæander, in which he makes mention again of a bishop Damas; and finally one to the church of Tralles, whose bishop, he states, was at that time Polybius.

6. In addition to these he wrote also to the church of Rome, entreating them not to secure his release from martyrdom, and thus rob him of his earnest hope. In confirmation of what has been said it is proper to quote briefly from this epistle.

7. He writes as follows: From Syria even unto Rome I fight with wild beasts, by land and by sea, by night and by day, being bound amidst ten leopards that is, a company of soldiers who only become worse when they are well treated. In the midst of their wrongdoings, however, I am more fully learning discipleship, but I am not thereby justified.

8. May I have joy of the beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that I may find them ready; I will even coax them to devour me quickly that they may not treat me as they have some whom they have refused to touch through fear. And if they are unwilling, I will compel them. Forgive me.

9. I know what is expedient for me. Now do I begin to be a disciple. May nothing of things visible and things invisible envy me; that I may attain unto Jesus Christ. Let fire and cross and attacks of wild beasts, let wrenching of bones, cutting of limbs, crushing of the whole body, tortures of the devil — let all these come upon me if only I may attain unto Jesus Christ.

10. These things he wrote from the above-mentioned city to the churches referred to. And when he had left Smyrna he wrote again from Troas to the Philadelphians and to the church of Smyrna; and particularly to Polycarp, who presided over the latter church. And since he knew him well as an apostolic man, he commended to him, like a true and good shepherd, the flock at Antioch, and besought him to care diligently for it.

11. And the same man, writing to the Smyrnæans, used the following words concerning Christ, taken I know not whence: But I know and believe that he was in the flesh after the resurrection. And when he came to Peter and his companions he said to them, Take, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit. And immediately they touched him and believed.

12. Irenæus also knew of his martyrdom and mentions his epistles in the following words: As one of our people said, when he was condemned to the beasts on account of his testimony unto God, I am God's wheat, and by the teeth of wild beasts am I ground, that I may be found pure bread.

13. Polycarp also mentions these letters in the epistle to the Philippians which is ascribed to him. His words are as follows: I exhort all of you, therefore, to be obedient and to practice all patience such as you saw with your own eyes not only in the blessed Ignatius and Rufus and Zosimus, but also in others from among yourselves as well as in Paul himself and the rest of the apostles; being persuaded that all these ran not in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are gone to their rightful place beside the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they loved not the present world, but him that died for our sakes and was raised by God for us.

14. And afterwards he adds: You have written to me, both you and Ignatius, that if any one go to Syria he may carry with him the letters from you. And this I will do if I have a suitable opportunity, either I myself or one whom I send to be an ambassador for you also.

15. The epistles of Ignatius which were sent to us by him and the others which we had with us we sent to you as you gave charge. They are appended

to this epistle, and from them you will be able to derive great advantage. For they comprise faith and patience, and every kind of edification that pertains to our Lord. So much concerning Ignatius. But he was succeeded by Heros in the episcopate of the church of Antioch.

Chapter 37. The Evangelists that were still Eminent at that Time.

1. Among those that were celebrated at that time was Quadratus, who, report says, was renowned along with the daughters of Philip for his prophetic gifts. And there were many others besides these who were known in those days, and who occupied the first place among the successors of the apostles. And they also, being illustrious disciples of such great men, built up the foundations of the churches which had been laid by the apostles in every place, and preached the Gospel more and more widely and scattered the saving seeds of the kingdom of heaven far and near throughout the whole world.

2. For indeed most of the disciples of that time, animated by the divine word with a more ardent love for philosophy, had already fulfilled the command of the Saviour, and had distributed their goods to the needy. Then starting out upon long journeys they performed the office of evangelists, being filled with the desire to preach Christ to those who had not yet heard the word of faith, and to deliver to them the divine Gospels.

3. And when they had only laid the foundations of the faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors, and entrusted them with the nurture of those that had recently been brought in, while they themselves went on again to other countries and nations, with the grace and the co-operation of God. For a great many wonderful works were done through them by the power of the divine Spirit, so that at the first hearing whole multitudes of men eagerly embraced the religion of the Creator of the universe.

4. But since it is impossible for us to enumerate the names of all that became shepherds or evangelists in the churches throughout the world in the age immediately succeeding the apostles, we have recorded, as was fitting, the names of those only who have transmitted the apostolic doctrine to us in writings still extant.

Chapter 38. The Epistle of Clement and the Writings falsely ascribed to him.

1. Thus Ignatius has done in the epistles which we have mentioned, and Clement in his epistle which is accepted by all, and which he wrote in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth. In this epistle he gives many thoughts drawn from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and also quotes verbally some of its expressions, thus showing most plainly that it is not a recent production.

2. Wherefore it has seemed reasonable to reckon it with the other writings of the apostle. For as Paul had written to the Hebrews in his native tongue, some say that the evangelist Luke, others that this Clement himself, translated the epistle.

3. The latter seems more probable, because the epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews have a similar character in regard to style, and still further because the thoughts contained in the two works are not very different.

4. But it must be observed also that there is said to be a second epistle of Clement. But we do not know that this is recognized like the former, for we do not find that the ancients have made any use of it.

5. And certain men have lately brought forward other wordy and lengthy writings under his name, containing dialogues of Peter and Apion. But no mention has been made of these by the ancients; for they do not even preserve the pure stamp of apostolic orthodoxy. The acknowledged writing of Clement is well known. We have spoken also of the works of Ignatius and Polycarp.

Chapter 39. The Writings of Papias.

1. There are extant five books of Papias, which bear the title Expositions of Oracles of the Lord. Irenæus makes mention of these as the only works written by him, in the following words: These things are attested by Papias, an ancient man who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book. For five books have been written by him. These are the words of Irenæus.

2. But Papias himself in the preface to his discourses by no means declares that he was himself a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles, but he shows by the words which he uses that he received the doctrines of the faith from those who were their friends.

3. He says: But I shall not hesitate also to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have at any time learned carefully from the elders and carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to faith, and springing from the truth itself.

4. If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders — what Andrew or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the presbyter John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice.

5. It is worth while observing here that the name John is twice enumerated by him. The first one he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist; but the other John he mentions after an interval, and places him among others outside of the number of the apostles, putting Aristion before him, and he distinctly calls him a presbyter.

6. This shows that the statement of those is true, who say that there were two persons in Asia that bore the same name, and that there were two tombs in Ephesus, each of which, even to the present day, is called John's. It is

important to notice this. For it is probable that it was the second, if one is not willing to admit that it was the first that saw the Revelation, which is ascribed by name to John.

7. And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he received the words of the apostles from those that followed them, but says that he was himself a hearer of Aristion and the presbyter John. At least he mentions them frequently by name, and gives their traditions in his writings. These things, we hope, have not been uselessly adduced by us.

8. But it is fitting to subjoin to the words of Papias which have been quoted, other passages from his works in which he relates some other wonderful events which he claims to have received from tradition.

9. That Philip the apostle dwelt at Hierapolis with his daughters has been already stated. But it must be noted here that Papias, their contemporary, says that he heard a wonderful tale from the daughters of Philip. For he relates that in his time one rose from the dead. And he tells another wonderful story of Justus, surnamed Barsabbas: that he drank a deadly poison, and yet, by the grace of the Lord, suffered no harm.

10. The Book of Acts records that the holy apostles after the ascension of the Saviour, put forward this Justus, together with Matthias, and prayed that one might be chosen in place of the traitor Judas, to fill up their number. The account is as follows: And they put forward two, Joseph, called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said. Acts 1:23

11. The same writer gives also other accounts which he says came to him through unwritten tradition, certain strange parables and teachings of the Saviour, and some other more mythical things.

12. To these belong his statement that there will be a period of some thousand years after the resurrection of the dead, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this very earth. I suppose he got these ideas through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts, not perceiving that the things said by them were spoken mystically in figures.

13. For he appears to have been of very limited understanding, as one can see from his discourses. But it was due to him that so many of the Church Fathers after him adopted a like opinion, urging in their own support the antiquity of the man; as for instance Irenæus and any one else that may have proclaimed similar views.

14. Papias gives also in his own work other accounts of the words of the Lord on the authority of Aristion who was mentioned above, and traditions as handed down by the presbyter John; to which we refer those who are fond of learning. But now we must add to the words of his which we have already quoted the tradition which he gives in regard to Mark, the author of the Gospel.

15. This also the presbyter said: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not in order, whatsoever he remembered of the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him, but afterward, as I said, he followed Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs of his hearers, but with no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's discourses, so that Mark committed no error while he thus wrote some things as he remembered them. For he was careful of one thing, not to omit any of the things which he had heard, and not to state any of them falsely. These things are related by Papias concerning Mark.

16. But concerning Matthew he writes as follows: So then Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able. And the same writer uses testimonies from the first Epistle of John and from that of Peter likewise. And he relates another story of a woman, who was accused of many sins before the Lord, which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. These things we have thought it necessary to observe in addition to what has been already stated.

Book IV

Chapter 1. The Bishops of Rome and of Alexandria during the Reign of Trajan.

1. About the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan the above-mentioned bishop of the parish of Alexandria died, and Primus, the fourth in succession from the apostles, was chosen to the office.

2. At that time also Alexander, the fifth in the line of succession from Peter and Paul, received the episcopate at Rome, after Evarestus had held the office eight years.

Chapter 2. The Calamities of the Jews during Trajan's Reign.

1. The teaching and the Church of our Saviour flourished greatly and made progress from day to day; but the calamities of the Jews increased, and they underwent a constant succession of evils. In the eighteenth year of Trajan's reign there was another disturbance of the Jews, through which a great multitude of them perished.

2. For in Alexandria and in the rest of Egypt, and also in Cyrene, as if incited by some terrible and factious spirit, they rushed into seditious measures against their fellow-inhabitants, the Greeks. The insurrection increased greatly, and in the following year, while Lupus was governor of all Egypt, it developed into a war of no mean magnitude.

3. In the first attack it happened that they were victorious over the Greeks, who fled to Alexandria and imprisoned and slew the Jews that were in the city. But the Jews of Cyrene, although deprived of their aid, continued to plunder the land of Egypt and to devastate its districts, under the leadership of Lucuas. Against them the emperor sent Marcius Turbo with a foot and naval force and also with a force of cavalry.

4. He carried on the war against them for a long time and fought many battles, and slew many thousands of Jews, not only of those of Cyrene, but also of those who dwelt in Egypt and had come to the assistance of their king Lucuas.

5. But the emperor, fearing that the Jews in Mesopotamia would also make an attack upon the inhabitants of that country, commanded Lucius Quintus to clear the province of them. And he having marched against them slew a great multitude of those that dwelt there; and in consequence of his success he was made governor of Judea by the emperor. These events are recorded also in these very words by the Greek historians that have written accounts of those times.

Chapter 3. The Apologists that wrote in Defense of the Faith during the Reign of Adrian.

1. After Trajan had reigned for nineteen and a half years Ælius Adrian became his successor in the empire. To him Quadratus addressed a discourse containing an apology for our religion, because certain wicked men had attempted to trouble the Christians. The work is still in the hands of a great many of the brethren, as also in our own, and furnishes clear proofs of the man's understanding and of his apostolic orthodoxy.

2. He himself reveals the early date at which he lived in the following words: But the works of our Saviour were always present, for they were genuine: — those that were healed, and those that were raised from the dead, who were seen not only when they were healed and when they were raised, but were also always present; and not merely while the Saviour was on earth, but also after his death, they were alive for quite a while, so that some of them lived even to our day. Such then was Quadratus.

3. Aristides also, a believer earnestly devoted to our religion, left, like Quadratus, an apology for the faith, addressed to Adrian. His work, too, has been preserved even to the present day by a great many persons.

Chapter 4. The Bishops of Rome and of Alexandria under the Same Emperor.

In the third year of the same reign, Alexander, bishop of Rome, died after holding office ten years. His successor was Xystus. About the same time Primus, bishop of Alexandria, died in the twelfth year of his episcopate, and was succeeded by Justus.

Chapter 5. The Bishops of Jerusalem from the Age of our Saviour to the Period under Consideration

1. The chronology of the bishops of Jerusalem I have nowhere found preserved in writing; for tradition says that they were all short lived.

2. But I have learned this much from writings, that until the siege of the Jews, which took place under Adrian, there were fifteen bishops in succession there, all of whom are said to have been of Hebrew descent, and to have received the knowledge of Christ in purity, so that they were approved by those who were able to judge of such matters, and were deemed worthy of the episcopate. For their whole church consisted then of believing Hebrews who continued from the days of the apostles until the siege which took place at this time; in which siege the Jews, having again rebelled against the Romans, were conquered after severe battles.

3. But since the bishops of the circumcision ceased at this time, it is proper to give here a list of their names from the beginning. The first, then, was James, the so-called brother of the Lord; the second, Symeon; the third, Justus; the fourth, Zacchæus; the fifth, Tobias; the sixth, Benjamin; the seventh, John; the eighth, Matthias; the ninth, Philip; the tenth, Seneca; the eleventh, Justus; the twelfth, Levi; the thirteenth, Ephres; the fourteenth, Joseph; and finally, the fifteenth, Judas.

4. These are the bishops of Jerusalem that lived between the age of the apostles and the time referred to, all of them belonging to the circumcision.

5. In the twelfth year of the reign of Adrian, Xystus, having completed the tenth year of his episcopate, was succeeded by Telesphorus, the seventh in succession from the apostles. In the meantime, after the lapse of a year and some months, Eumenes, the sixth in order, succeeded to the leadership of the Alexandrian church, his predecessor having held office eleven years.

Chapter 6. The Last Siege of the Jews under Adrian.

1. As the rebellion of the Jews at this time grew much more serious, Rufus, governor of Judea, after an auxiliary force had been sent him by the emperor, using their madness as a pretext, proceeded against them without mercy, and destroyed indiscriminately thousands of men and women and children, and in accordance with the laws of war reduced their country to a state of complete subjection.

2. The leader of the Jews at this time was a man by the name of Barcocheba (which signifies a star), who possessed the character of a robber and a murderer, but nevertheless, relying upon his name, boasted to them, as if they were slaves, that he possessed wonderful powers; and he pretended that he was a star that had come down to them out of heaven to bring them light in the midst of their misfortunes.

3. The war raged most fiercely in the eighteenth year of Adrian, at the city of Bithara, which was a very secure fortress, situated not far from Jerusalem. When the siege had lasted a long time, and the rebels had been driven to the last extremity by hunger and thirst, and the instigator of the rebellion had suffered his just punishment, the whole nation was prohibited from this time on by a decree, and by the commands of Adrian, from ever going up to the country about Jerusalem. For the emperor gave orders that they should not even see from a distance the land of their fathers. Such is the account of Aristo of Pella.

4. And thus, when the city had been emptied of the Jewish nation and had suffered the total destruction of its ancient inhabitants, it was colonized by a different race, and the Roman city which subsequently arose changed its name and was called *Ælia*, in honor of the emperor *Ælius* Adrian. And as the church there was now composed of Gentiles, the first one to assume the government of it after the bishops of the circumcision was Marcus.

Chapter 7. The Persons that became at that Time Leaders of Knowledge falsely so-called.

1. As the churches throughout the world were now shining like the most brilliant stars, and faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was flourishing among the whole human race, the demon who hates everything that is good, and is always hostile to the truth, and most bitterly opposed to the salvation of man, turned all his arts against the Church. In the beginning he armed himself against it with external persecutions.

2. But now, being shut off from the use of such means, he devised all sorts of plans, and employed other methods in his conflict with the Church, using base and deceitful men as instruments for the ruin of souls and as ministers of destruction. Instigated by him, impostors and deceivers, assuming the name of our religion, brought to the depth of ruin such of the believers as they could win over, and at the same time, by means of the deeds which they practiced, turned away from the path which leads to the word of salvation those who were ignorant of the faith.

3. Accordingly there proceeded from that Menander, whom we have already mentioned as the successor of Simon, a certain serpent-like power, double-tongued and two-headed, which produced the leaders of two different heresies, Saturninus, an Antiochian by birth, and Basilides, an Alexandrian. The former of these established schools of godless heresy in Syria, the latter in Alexandria.

4. Irenæus states that the false teaching of Saturninus agreed in most respects with that of Menander, but that Basilides, under the pretext of unspeakable mysteries, invented monstrous fables, and carried the fictions of his impious heresy quite beyond bounds.

5. But as there were at that time a great many members of the Church who were fighting for the truth and defending apostolic and ecclesiastical doctrine with uncommon eloquence, so there were some also that furnished posterity through their writings with means of defense against the heresies to which we have referred.

6. Of these there has come down to us a most powerful refutation of Basilides by Agrippa Castor, one of the most renowned writers of that day, which shows the terrible imposture of the man.

7. While exposing his mysteries he says that Basilides wrote twenty-four books upon the Gospel, and that he invented prophets for himself named Barcabbas and Barcoph, and others that had no existence, and that he gave them barbarous names in order to amaze those who marvel at such things; that he taught also that the eating of meat offered to idols and the unguarded renunciation of the faith in times of persecution were matters of indifference; and that he enjoined upon his followers, like Pythagoras, a silence of five years.

8. Other similar things the above-mentioned writer has recorded concerning Basilides, and has ably exposed the error of his heresy.

9. Irenæus also writes that Carpocrates was a contemporary of these men, and that he was the father of another heresy, called the heresy of the Gnostics, who did not wish to transmit any longer the magic arts of Simon, as that one had done, in secret, but openly. For they boasted — as of something great — of love potions that were carefully prepared by them, and of certain demons that sent them dreams and lent them their protection, and of other similar agencies; and in accordance with these things they taught that it was necessary for those who wished to enter fully into their mysteries, or rather into their abominations, to practice all the worst kinds of wickedness, on the ground that they could escape the cosmic powers, as they called them, in no other way than by discharging their obligations to them all by infamous conduct.

10. Thus it came to pass that the malignant demon, making use of these ministers, on the one hand enslaved those that were so pitiably led astray by them to their own destruction, while on the other hand he furnished to the unbelieving heathen abundant opportunities for slandering the divine word, inasmuch as the reputation of these men brought infamy upon the whole race of Christians.

11. In this way, therefore, it came to pass that there was spread abroad in regard to us among the unbelievers of that age, the infamous and most absurd suspicion that we practiced unlawful commerce with mothers and sisters, and enjoyed impious feasts.

12. He did not, however, long succeed in these artifices, as the truth established itself and in time shone with great brilliancy.

13. For the machinations of its enemies were refuted by its power and speedily vanished. One new heresy arose after another, and the former ones

always passed away, and now at one time, now at another, now in one way, now in other ways, were lost in ideas of various kinds and various forms. But the splendor of the catholic and only true Church, which is always the same, grew in magnitude and power, and reflected its piety and simplicity and freedom, and the modesty and purity of its inspired life and philosophy to every nation both of Greeks and of Barbarians.

14. At the same time the slanderous accusations which had been brought against the whole Church also vanished, and there remained our teaching alone, which has prevailed over all, and which is acknowledged to be superior to all in dignity and temperance, and in divine and philosophical doctrines. So that none of them now ventures to affix a base calumny upon our faith, or any such slander as our ancient enemies formerly delighted to utter.

15. Nevertheless, in those times the truth again called forth many champions who fought in its defense against the godless heresies, refuting them not only with oral, but also with written arguments.

Chapter 8. Ecclesiastical Writers.

1. Among these Hegesippus was well known. We have already quoted his words a number of times, relating events which happened in the time of the apostles according to his account.

2. He records in five books the true tradition of apostolic doctrine in a most simple style, and he indicates the time in which he flourished when he writes as follows concerning those that first set up idols: To whom they erected cenotaphs and temples, as is done to the present day. Among whom is also Antinoüs, a slave of the Emperor Adrian, in whose honor are celebrated also the Antinoian games, which were instituted in our day. For he also founded a city named after Antinoüs, and appointed prophets.

3. At the same time also Justin, a genuine lover of the true philosophy, was still continuing to busy himself with Greek literature. He indicates this time in the Apology which he addressed to Antonine, where he writes as follows: We do not think it out of place to mention here Antinoüs also, who lived in our day, and whom all were driven by fear to worship as a god, although they knew who he was and whence he came.

4. The same writer, speaking of the Jewish war which took place at that time, adds the following: For in the late Jewish war Barcocheba, the leader of the Jewish rebellion, commanded that Christians alone should be visited with terrible punishments unless they would deny and blaspheme Jesus Christ.

5. And in the same work he shows that his conversion from Greek philosophy to Christianity was not without reason, but that it was the result of deliberation on his part. His words are as follows: For I myself, while I was delighted with the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw that they were afraid neither of death nor of anything else ordinarily looked upon as terrible, concluded that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure. For what pleasure-loving or intemperate man, or what man that counts it good to feast on human flesh, could welcome death that he might be deprived of his enjoyments, and would not rather strive to continue permanently his present life, and to escape the notice of the rulers, instead of giving himself up to be put to death?

6. The same writer, moreover, relates that Adrian having received from Serennius Granianus, a most distinguished governor, a letter in behalf of the

Christians, in which he stated that it was not just to slay the Christians without a regular accusation and trial, merely for the sake of gratifying the outcries of the populace, sent a rescript to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, commanding him to condemn no one without an indictment and a well-grounded accusation.

7. And he gives a copy of the epistle, preserving the original Latin in which it was written, and prefacing it with the following words: Although from the epistle of the greatest and most illustrious Emperor Adrian, your father, we have good ground to demand that you order judgment to be given as we have desired, yet we have asked this not because it was ordered by Adrian, but rather because we know that what we ask is just. And we have subjoined the copy of Adrian's epistle that you may know that we are speaking the truth in this matter also. And this is the copy.

8. After these words the author referred to gives the rescript in Latin, which we have translated into Greek as accurately as we could. It reads as follows:

Chapter 9. The Epistle of Adrian, decreeing that we should not be punished without a Trial.

1. To Minucius Fundanus. I have received an epistle, written to me by Serennius Granianus, a most illustrious man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me that the matter should be passed by without examination, lest the men be harassed and opportunity be given to the informers for practicing villainy.

2. If, therefore, the inhabitants of the province can clearly sustain this petition against the Christians so as to give answer in a court of law, let them pursue this course alone, but let them not have resort to men's petitions and outcries. For it is far more proper, if any one wishes to make an accusation, that you should examine into it.

3. If any one therefore accuses them and shows that they are doing anything contrary to the laws, do you pass judgment according to the heinousness of the crime. But, by Hercules! If any one bring an accusation through mere calumny, decide in regard to his criminality, and see to it that you inflict punishment.

Such are the contents of Adrian's rescript.

Chapter 10. The Bishops of Rome and of Alexandria during the Reign of Antoninus.

Adrian having died after a reign of twenty-one years, was succeeded in the government of the Romans by Antoninus, called the Pious. In the first year of his reign Telesphorus died in the eleventh year of his episcopate, and Hyginus became bishop of Rome. Irenæus records that Telesphorus' death was made glorious by martyrdom, and in the same connection he states that in the time of the above-mentioned Roman bishop Hyginus, Valentinus, the founder of a sect of his own, and Cerdon, the author of Marcion's error, were both well known at Rome. He writes as follows:

Chapter 11. The Heresiarchs of that Age.

1. For Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus, flourished under Pius, and remained until Anicetus. Cerdon also, Marcion's predecessor, entered the Church in the time of Hyginus, the ninth bishop, and made confession, and continued in this way, now teaching in secret, now making confession again, and now denounced for corrupt doctrine and withdrawing from the assembly of the brethren.

2. These words are found in the third book of the work Against Heresies. And again in the first book he speaks as follows concerning Cerdon: A certain Cerdon, who had taken his system from the followers of Simon, and had come to Rome under Hyginus, the ninth in the episcopal succession from the apostles, taught that the God proclaimed by the law and prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter unknown; and the former was just, but the latter good. Marcion of Pontus succeeded Cerdon and developed his doctrine, uttering shameless blasphemies.

3. The same Irenæus unfolds with the greatest vigor the unfathomable abyss of Valentinus' errors in regard to matter, and reveals his wickedness, secret and hidden like a serpent lurking in its nest.

4. And in addition to these men he says that there was also another that lived in that age, Marcus by name, who was remarkably skilled in magic arts. And he describes also their unholy initiations and their abominable mysteries in the following words:

5. For some of them prepare a nuptial couch and perform a mystic rite with certain forms of expression addressed to those who are being initiated, and they say that it is a spiritual marriage which is celebrated by them, after the likeness of the marriages above. But others lead them to water, and while they baptize them they repeat the following words: Into the name of the unknown father of the universe, into truth, the mother of all things, into the one that descended upon Jesus. Others repeat Hebrew names in order the better to confound those who are being initiated.

6. But Hyginus having died at the close of the fourth year of his episcopate, Pius succeeded him in the government of the church of Rome. In Alexandria Marcus was appointed pastor, after Eumenes had filled the office thirteen

years in all. And Marcus having died after holding office ten years was succeeded by Celadion in the government of the church of Alexandria.

7. And in Rome Pius died in the fifteenth year of his episcopate, and Anicetus assumed the leadership of the Christians there. Hegesippus records that he himself was in Rome at this time, and that he remained there until the episcopate of Eleutherus.

8. But Justin was especially prominent in those days. In the guise of a philosopher he preached the divine word, and contended for the faith in his writings. He wrote also a work against Marcion, in which he states that the latter was alive at the time he wrote.

9. He speaks as follows: And there is a certain Marcion of Pontus, who is even now still teaching his followers to think that there is some other God greater than the Creator. And by the aid of the demons he has persuaded many of every race of men to utter blasphemy, and to deny that the maker of this universe is the father of Christ, and to confess that some other, greater than he, was the creator. And all who followed them are, as we have said, called Christians, just as the name of philosophy is given to philosophers, although they may have no doctrines in common.

10. To this he adds: And we have also written a work against all the heresies that have existed, which we will give you if you wish to read it.

11. But this same Justin contended most successfully against the Greeks, and addressed discourses containing an apology for our faith to the Emperor Antoninus, called Pius, and to the Roman senate. For he lived at Rome. But who and whence he was he shows in his Apology in the following words.

Chapter 12. The Apology of Justin addressed to Antoninus.

To the Emperor Titus Ælius Adrian Antoninus Pius Cæsar Augustus, and to Verissimus his son, the philosopher, and to Lucius the philosopher, own son of Cæsar and adopted son of Pius, a lover of learning, and to the sacred senate and to the whole Roman people, I, Justin, son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, of Flavia Neapolis in Palestine, Syria, present this address and petition in behalf of those men of every nation who are unjustly hated and persecuted, I myself being one of them. And the same emperor having learned also from other brethren in Asia of the injuries of all kinds which they were suffering from the inhabitants of the province, thought it proper to address the following ordinance to the Common Assembly of Asia.

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Chapter 13. The Epistle of Antoninus to the Common Assembly of Asia in Regard to our Doctrine.

1. The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, for the fifteenth time Tribune, for the third time Consul, to the Common Assembly of Asia, Greeting.

2. I know that the gods also take care that such persons do not escape detection. For they would much rather punish those who will not worship them than you would.

3. But you throw them into confusion, and while you accuse them of atheism you only confirm them in the opinion which they hold. It would indeed be more desirable for them, when accused, to appear to die for their God, than to live. Wherefore also they come off victorious when they give up their lives rather than yield obedience to your commands.

4. And in regard to the earthquakes which have been and are still taking place, it is not improper to admonish you who lose heart whenever they occur, and nevertheless are accustomed to compare your conduct with theirs.

5. They indeed become the more confident in God, while you, during the whole time, neglect, in apparent ignorance, the other gods and the worship of the Immortal, and oppress and persecute even unto death the Christians who worship him.

6. But in regard to these persons, many of the governors of the provinces wrote also to our most divine father, to whom he wrote in reply that they should not trouble these people unless it should appear that they were attempting something affecting the Roman government. And to me also many have sent communications concerning these men, but I have replied to them in the same way that my father did.

7. But if any one still persists in bringing accusations against any of these people as such, the person who is accused shall be acquitted of the charge, even if it appear that he is one of them, but the accuser shall be punished. Published in Ephesus in the Common Assembly of Asia.

8. To these things Melito, bishop of the church of Sardis, and a man well known at that time, is a witness, as is clear from his words in the Apology which he addressed to the Emperor Verus in behalf of our doctrine.

Chapter 14. The Circumstances related of Polycarp, a Friend of the Apostles.

1. At this time, while Anicetus was at the head of the church of Rome, Irenæus relates that Polycarp, who was still alive, was at Rome, and that he had a conference with Anicetus on a question concerning the day of the paschal feast.

2. And the same writer gives another account of Polycarp which I feel constrained to add to that which has been already related in regard to him. The account is taken from the third book of Irenæus' work *Against Heresies*, and is as follows:

3. But Polycarp also was not only instructed by the apostles, and acquainted with many that had seen Christ, but was also appointed by apostles in Asia bishop of the church of Smyrna.

4. We too saw him in our early youth; for he lived a long time, and died, when a very old man, a glorious and most illustrious martyr's death, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, which the Church also hands down, and which alone are true.

5. To these things all the Asiatic churches testify, as do also those who, down to the present time, have succeeded Polycarp, who was a much more trustworthy and certain witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and the rest of the heretics. He also was in Rome in the time of Anicetus and caused many to turn away from the above-mentioned heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received from the apostles this one and only system of truth which has been transmitted by the Church.

6. And there are those that heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out of the bath-house without bathing, crying, 'Let us flee, lest even the bath fall, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.'

7. And Polycarp himself, when Marcion once met him and said, 'Do you know us?' replied, 'I know the first born of Satan.' Such caution did the apostles and their disciples exercise that they might not even converse with any of those who perverted the truth; as Paul also said, 'A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject; knowing he that is such is subverted, and sins, being condemned of himself.' Titus 3:10-11

8. There is also a very powerful epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those that wish to do so, and that are concerned for their own salvation, may learn the character of his faith and the preaching of the truth. Such is the account of Irenæus.

9. But Polycarp, in his above-mentioned epistle to the Philippians, which is still extant, has made use of certain testimonies drawn from the First Epistle of Peter.

10. And when Antoninus, called Pius, had completed the twenty-second year of his reign, Marcus Aurelius Verus, his son, who was also called Antoninus, succeeded him, together with his brother Lucius.

Chapter 15. Under Verus, Polycarp with Others suffered Martyrdom at Smyrna.

1. At this time, when the greatest persecutions were exciting Asia, Polycarp ended his life by martyrdom. But I consider it most important that his death, a written account of which is still extant, should be recorded in this history.

2. There is a letter, written in the name of the church over which he himself presided, to the parishes in Pontus, which relates the events that befell him, in the following words:

3. The church of God which dwells in Philomelium, and to all the parishes of the holy Catholic Church in every place; mercy and peace and love from God the Father be multiplied. We write unto you, brethren, an account of what happened to those that suffered martyrdom and to the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution, having, as it were, sealed it by his martyrdom.

4. After these words, before giving the account of Polycarp, they record the events which befell the rest of the martyrs, and describe the great firmness which they exhibited in the midst of their pains. For they say that the bystanders were struck with amazement when they saw them lacerated with scourges even to the innermost veins and arteries, so that the hidden inward parts of the body, both their bowels and their members, were exposed to view; and then laid upon sea-shells and certain pointed spits, and subjected to every species of punishment and of torture, and finally thrown as food to wild beasts.

5. And they record that the most noble Germanicus especially distinguished himself, overcoming by the grace of God the fear of bodily death implanted by nature. When indeed the proconsul wished to persuade him, and urged his youth, and besought him, as he was very young and vigorous, to take compassion on himself, he did not hesitate, but eagerly lured the beast toward himself, all but compelling and irritating him, in order that he might the sooner be freed from their unrighteous and lawless life.

6. After his glorious death the whole multitude, marveling at the bravery of the God-beloved martyr and at the fortitude of the whole race of Christians, began to cry out suddenly, Away with the atheists; let Polycarp be sought.

7. And when a very great tumult arose in consequence of the cries, a certain Phrygian, Quintus by name, who was newly come from Phrygia,

seeing the beasts and the additional tortures, was smitten with cowardice and gave up the attainment of salvation.

8. But the above-mentioned epistle shows that he, too hastily and without proper discretion, had rushed forward with others to the tribunal, but when seized had furnished a clear proof to all, that it is not right for such persons rashly and recklessly to expose themselves to danger. Thus did matters turn out in connection with them.

9. But the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard of these things, continued undisturbed, preserved a quiet and unshaken mind, and determined to remain in the city. But being persuaded by his friends who entreated and exhorted him to retire secretly, he went out to a farm not far distant from the city and abode there with a few companions, night and day doing nothing but wrestle with the Lord in prayer, beseeching and imploring, and asking peace for the churches throughout the whole world. For this was always his custom.

10. And three days before his arrest, while he was praying, he saw in a vision at night the pillow under his head suddenly seized by fire and consumed; and upon this awakening he immediately interpreted the vision to those that were present, almost foretelling that which was about to happen, and declaring plainly to those that were with him that it would be necessary for him for Christ's sake to die by fire.

11. Then, as those who were seeking him pushed the search with vigor, they say that he was again constrained by the solicitude and love of the brethren to go to another farm. Thither his pursuers came after no long time, and seized two of the servants there, and tortured one of them for the purpose of learning from him Polycarp's hiding-place.

12. And coming late in the evening, they found him lying in an upper room, whence he might have gone to another house, but he would not, saying, The will of God be done.

13. And when he learned that they were present, as the account says, he went down and spoke to them with a very cheerful and gentle countenance, so that those who did not already know the man thought that they beheld a miracle when they observed his advanced age and the gravity and firmness of his bearing, and they marveled that so much effort should be made to capture a man like him.

14. But he did not hesitate, but immediately gave orders that a table should

be spread for them. Then he invited them to partake of a bounteous meal, and asked of them one hour that he might pray undisturbed. And when they had given permission, he stood up and prayed, being full of the grace of the Lord, so that those who were present and heard him praying were amazed, and many of them now repented that such a venerable and godly old man was about to be put to death.

15. In addition to these things the narrative concerning him contains the following account: But when at length he had brought his prayer to an end, after remembering all that had ever come into contact with him, small and great, famous and obscure, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour of departure having come, they put him upon an ass and brought him to the city, it being a great Sabbath. And he was met by Herod, the captain of police, and by his father Nicetes, who took him into their carriage, and sitting beside him endeavored to persuade him, saying, 'For what harm is there in saying, Lord Cæsar, and sacrificing and saving your life?' He at first did not answer; but when they persisted, he said, 'I am not going to do what you advise me.'

16. And when they failed to persuade him, they uttered dreadful words, and thrust him down with violence, so that as he descended from the carriage he lacerated his shin. But without turning round, he went on his way promptly and rapidly, as if nothing had happened to him, and was taken to the stadium.

17. But there was such a tumult in the stadium that not many heard a voice from heaven, which came to Polycarp as he was entering the place: 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man.' And no one saw the speaker, but many of our people heard the voice.

18. And when he was led forward, there was a great tumult, as they heard that Polycarp was taken. Finally, when he came up, the proconsul asked if he were Polycarp. And when he confessed that he was, he endeavored to persuade him to deny, saying, 'Have regard for your age,' and other like things, which it is their custom to say: 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar; repent and say, Away with the Atheists.'

19. But Polycarp, looking with dignified countenance upon the whole crowd that was gathered in the stadium, waved his hand to them, and groaned, and raising his eyes toward heaven, said, 'Away with the Atheists.'

20. But when the magistrate pressed him, and said, 'Swear, and I will

release you; revile Christ,' Polycarp said, 'Fourscore and six years have I been serving him, and he has done me no wrong; how then can I blaspheme my king who saved me?'

21. But when he again persisted, and said, 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar,' Polycarp replied, 'If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Cæsar, as you say, feigning to be ignorant who I am, hear plainly: I am a Christian. But if you desire to learn the doctrine of Christianity, assign a day and hear.'

22. The proconsul said, 'Persuade the people.' But Polycarp said, 'As for you, I thought you worthy of an explanation; for we have been taught to render to princes and authorities ordained by God the honor that is due, so long as it does not injure us; but as for these, I do not esteem them the proper persons to whom to make my defense.'

23. But the proconsul said, 'I have wild beasts; I will throw you to them unless you repent.' But he said, 'Call them; for repentance from better to worse is a change we cannot make. But it is a noble thing to turn from wickedness to righteousness.'

24. But he again said to him, 'If you despise the wild beasts, I will cause you to be consumed by fire, unless you repent.' But Polycarp said, 'You threaten a fire which burns for an hour, and after a little is quenched; for you know not the fire of the future judgment and of the eternal punishment which is reserved for the impious. But why do you delay? Do what you will.'

25. Saying these and other words besides, he was filled with courage and joy, and his face was suffused with grace, so that not only was he not terrified and dismayed by the words that were spoken to him, but, on the contrary, the proconsul was amazed, and sent his herald to proclaim three times in the midst of the stadium: 'Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian.'

26. And when this was proclaimed by the herald, the whole multitude, both of Gentiles and of Jews, who dwelt in Smyrna, cried out with ungovernable wrath and with a great shout, 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the overthrower of our gods, who teaches many not to sacrifice nor to worship.'

27. When they had said this, they cried out and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon Polycarp. But he said that it was not lawful for him, since he had closed the games. Then they thought fit to cry out with one accord that

Polycarp should be burned alive.

28. For it was necessary that the vision should be fulfilled which had been shown him concerning his pillow, when he saw it burning while he was praying, and turned and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him, 'I must needs be burned alive.'

29. These things were done with great speed — more quickly than they were said — the crowds immediately collecting from the workshops and baths timber and fagots, the Jews being especially zealous in the work, as is their wont.

30. But when the pile was ready, taking off all his upper garments, and loosing his girdle, he attempted also to remove his shoes, although he had never before done this, because of the effort which each of the faithful always made to touch his skin first; for he had been treated with all honor on account of his virtuous life even before his gray hairs came.

31. Forthwith then the materials prepared for the pile were placed about him; and as they were also about to nail him to the stake, he said, 'Leave me thus; for he who has given me strength to endure the fire, will also grant me strength to remain in the fire unmoved without being secured by you with nails.' So they did not nail him, but bound him.

32. And he, with his hands behind him, and bound like a noble ram taken from a great flock, an acceptable burnt-offering unto God omnipotent, said,

33. 'Father of your beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of you, the God of angels and of powers and of the whole creation and of the entire race of the righteous who live in your presence, I bless you that you have deemed me worthy of this day and hour, that I might receive a portion in the number of the martyrs, in the cup of Christ, unto resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and of body, in the immortality of the Holy Spirit.

34. Among these may I be received before you this day, in a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as you, the faithful and true God, have beforehand prepared and revealed, and have fulfilled.

35. Wherefore I praise you also for everything; I bless you, I glorify you, through the eternal high priest, Jesus Christ, your beloved Son, through whom, with him, in the Holy Spirit, be glory unto you, both now and for the ages to come, Amen.'

36. When he had offered up his Amen and had finished his prayer, the firemen lighted the fire and as a great flame blazed out, we, to whom it was given to see, saw a wonder, and we were preserved that we might relate what happened to the others.

37. For the fire presented the appearance of a vault, like the sail of a vessel filled by the wind, and made a wall about the body of the martyr, and it was in the midst not like flesh burning, but like gold and silver refined in a furnace. For we perceived such a fragrant odor, as of the fumes of frankincense or of some other precious spices.

38. So at length the lawless men, when they saw that the body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to approach and pierce him with the sword.

39. And when he had done this there came forth a quantity of blood so that it extinguished the fire; and the whole crowd marveled that there should be such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this man also was one, the most wonderful teacher in our times, apostolic and prophetic, who was bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. For every word which came from his mouth was accomplished and will be accomplished.

40. But the jealous and envious Evil One, the adversary of the race of the righteous, when he saw the greatness of his martyrdom, and his blameless life from the beginning, and when he saw him crowned with the crown of immortality and bearing off an incontestable prize, took care that not even his body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do it and to have communion with his holy flesh.

41. Accordingly certain ones secretly suggested to Nicetes, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, that he should plead with the magistrate not to give up his body, 'lest,' it was said, 'they should abandon the crucified One and begin to worship this man.' They said these things at the suggestion and impulse of the Jews, who also watched as we were about to take it from the fire, not knowing that we shall never be able either to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those that are saved, or to worship any other.

42. For we worship him who is the Son of God, but the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, we love as they deserve on account of their matchless affection for their own king and teacher. May we also be made

partakers and fellow-disciples with them.

43. The centurion, therefore, when he saw the contentiousness exhibited by the Jews, placed him in the midst and burned him, as was their custom. And so we afterwards gathered up his bones, which were more valuable than precious stones and more to be esteemed than gold, and laid them in a suitable place.

44. There the Lord will permit us to come together as we are able, in gladness and joy to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, for the commemoration of those who have already fought and for the training and preparation of those who shall hereafter do the same.

45. Such are the events that befell the blessed Polycarp, who suffered martyrdom in Smyrna with the eleven from Philadelphia. This one man is remembered more than the others by all, so that even by the heathen he is talked about in every place.

46. Of such an end was the admirable and apostolic Polycarp deemed worthy, as recorded by the brethren of the church of Smyrna in their epistle which we have mentioned. In the same volume concerning him are subjoined also other martyrdoms which took place in the same city, Smyrna, about the same period of time with Polycarp's martyrdom. Among them also Metrodorus, who appears to have been a proselyte of the Marcionitic sect, suffered death by fire.

47. A celebrated martyr of those times was a certain man named Pionius. Those who desire to know his several confessions, and the boldness of his speech, and his apologies in behalf of the faith before the people and the rulers, and his instructive addresses and, moreover, his greetings to those who had yielded to temptation in the persecution, and the words of encouragement which he addressed to the brethren who came to visit him in prison, and the tortures which he endured in addition, and besides these the sufferings and the nailings, and his firmness on the pile, and his death after all the extraordinary trials, — those we refer to that epistle which has been given in the Martyrdoms of the Ancients, collected by us, and which contains a very full account of him.

48. And there are also records extant of others that suffered martyrdom in Pergamus, a city of Asia — of Carpus and Papyrus, and a woman named Agathonice, who, after many and illustrious testimonies, gloriously ended

their lives.

Chapter 16. Justin the Philosopher preaches the Word of Christ in Rome and suffers Martyrdom.

1. About this time Justin, who was mentioned by us just above, after he had addressed a second work in behalf of our doctrines to the rulers already named, was crowned with divine martyrdom, in consequence of a plot laid against him by Crescens, a philosopher who emulated the life and manners of the Cynics, whose name he bore. After Justin had frequently refuted him in public discussions he won by his martyrdom the prize of victory, dying in behalf of the truth which he preached.

2. And he himself, a man most learned in the truth, in his Apology already referred to clearly predicts how this was about to happen to him, although it had not yet occurred.

3. His words are as follows: I, too, therefore, expect to be plotted against and put in the stocks by some one of those whom I have named, or perhaps by Crescens, that unphilosophical and vainglorious man. For the man is not worthy to be called a philosopher who publicly bears witness against those concerning whom he knows nothing, declaring, for the sake of captivating and pleasing the multitude, that the Christians are atheistical and impious.

4. Doing this he errs greatly. For if he assails us without having read the teachings of Christ, he is thoroughly depraved, and is much worse than the illiterate, who often guard against discussing and bearing false witness about matters which they do not understand. And if he has read them and does not understand the majesty that is in them, or, understanding it, does these things in order that he may not be suspected of being an adherent, he is far more base and totally depraved, being enslaved to vulgar applause and irrational fear.

5. For I would have you know that when I proposed certain questions of the sort and asked him in regard to them, I learned and proved that he indeed knows nothing. And to show that I speak the truth I am ready, if these disputations have not been reported to you, to discuss the questions again in your presence. And this indeed would be an act worthy of an emperor.

6. But if my questions and his answers have been made known to you, it is obvious to you that he knows nothing about our affairs; or if he knows, but does not dare to speak because of those who hear him, he shows himself to be, as I have already said, not a philosopher, but a vainglorious man, who indeed

does not even regard that most admirable saying of Socrates. These are the words of Justin.

7. And that he met his death as he had predicted that he would, in consequence of the machinations of Crescens, is stated by Tatian, a man who early in life lectured upon the sciences of the Greeks and won no little fame in them, and who has left a great many monuments of himself in his writings. He records this fact in his work against the Greeks, where he writes as follows: And that most admirable Justin declared with truth that the aforesaid persons were like robbers.

8. Then, after making some remarks about the philosophers, he continues as follows: Crescens, indeed, who made his nest in the great city, surpassed all in his unnatural lust, and was wholly devoted to the love of money.

9. And he who taught that death should be despised, was himself so greatly in fear of it that he endeavored to inflict death, as if it were a great evil, upon Justin, because the latter, when preaching the truth, had proved that the philosophers were gluttons and impostors. And such was the cause of Justin's martyrdom.

Chapter 17. The Martyrs whom Justin mentions in his Own Work.

1. The same man, before his conflict, mentions in his first Apology others that suffered martyrdom before him, and most fittingly records the following events.

2. He writes thus: A certain woman lived with a dissolute husband; she herself, too, having formerly been of the same character. But when she came to the knowledge of the teachings of Christ, she became temperate, and endeavored to persuade her husband likewise to be temperate, repeating the teachings, and declaring the punishment in eternal fire which shall come upon those who do not live temperately and conformably to right reason.

3. But he, continuing in the same excesses, alienated his wife by his conduct. For she finally, thinking it wrong to live as a wife with a man who, contrary to the law of nature and right, sought every possible means of pleasure, desired to be divorced from him.

4. And when she was earnestly entreated by her friends, who counseled her still to remain with him, on the ground that her husband might some time give hope of amendment, she did violence to herself and remained.

5. But when her husband had gone to Alexandria, and was reported to be conducting himself still worse, she — in order that she might not, by continuing in wedlock, and by sharing his board and bed, become a partaker in his lawlessness and impiety — gave him what we call a bill of divorce and left him.

6. But her noble and excellent husband — instead of rejoicing, as he ought to have done, that she had given up those actions which she had formerly recklessly committed with the servants and hirelings, when she delighted in drunkenness and in every vice, and that she desired him likewise to give them up — when she had gone from him contrary to his wish, brought an accusation concerning her, declaring that she was a Christian.

7. And she petitioned you, the emperor, that she might be permitted first to set her affairs in order, and afterwards, after the settlement of her affairs, to make her defense against the accusation. And this you granted.

8. But he who had once been her husband, being no longer able to prosecute her, directed his attacks against a certain Ptolemæus, who had been

her teacher in the doctrines of Christianity, and whom Urbicius had punished. Against him he proceeded in the following manner:

9. He persuaded a centurion who was his friend to cast Ptolemæus into prison, and to take him and ask him this only: was he a Christian? And when Ptolemæus, who was a lover of truth, and not of a deceitful and false disposition, confessed that he was a Christian, the centurion bound him and punished him for a long time in the prison.

10. And finally, when the man was brought before Urbicius he was likewise asked this question only: was he a Christian? And again, conscious of the benefits which he enjoyed through the teaching of Christ, he confessed his schooling in divine virtue.

11. For whoever denies that he is a Christian, either denies because he despises Christianity, or he avoids confession because he is conscious that he is unworthy and an alien to it; neither of which is the case with the true Christian.

12. And when Urbicius commanded that he be led away to punishment, a certain Lucius, who was also a Christian, seeing judgment so unjustly passed, said to Urbicius, ‘Why have you punished this man who is not an adulterer, nor a fornicator, nor a murderer, nor a thief, nor a robber, nor has been convicted of committing any crime at all, but has confessed that he bears the name of Christian? You do not judge, O Urbicius, in a manner befitting the Emperor Pius, or the philosophical son of Cæsar, or the sacred senate.’

13. And without making any other reply, he said to Lucius, ‘You also seem to me to be one.’ And when Lucius said, ‘Certainly,’ he again commanded that he too should be led away to punishment. But he professed his thanks, for he was liberated, he added, from such wicked rulers and was going to the good Father and King, God. And still a third having come forward was condemned to be punished.

14. To this, Justin fittingly and consistently adds the words which we quoted above, saying, I, too, therefore expect to be plotted against by some one of those whom I have named, etc.

Chapter 18. The Works of Justin which have come down to us.

1. This writer has left us a great many monuments of a mind educated and practiced in divine things, which are replete with profitable matter of every kind. To them we shall refer the studious, noting as we proceed those that have come to our knowledge.

2. There is a certain discourse of his in defense of our doctrine addressed to Antoninus surnamed the Pious, and to his sons, and to the Roman senate. Another work contains his second Apology in behalf of our faith, which he offered to him who was the successor of the emperor mentioned and who bore the same name, Antoninus Verus, the one whose times we are now recording.

3. Also another work against the Greeks, in which he discourses at length upon most of the questions at issue between us and the Greek philosophers, and discusses the nature of demons. It is not necessary for me to add any of these things here.

4. And still another work of his against the Greeks has come down to us, to which he gave the title Refutation. And besides these another, On the Sovereignty of God, which he establishes not only from our Scriptures, but also from the books of the Greeks.

5. Still further, a work entitled Psaltes, and another disputation On the Soul, in which, after propounding various questions concerning the problem under discussion, he gives the opinions of the Greek philosophers, promising to refute it, and to present his own view in another work.

6. He composed also a dialogue against the Jews, which he held in the city of Ephesus with Trypho, a most distinguished man among the Hebrews of that day. In it he shows how the divine grace urged him on to the doctrine of the faith, and with what earnestness he had formerly pursued philosophical studies, and how ardent a search he had made for the truth.

7. And he records of the Jews in the same work, that they were plotting against the teaching of Christ, asserting the same things against Trypho: Not only did you not repent of the wickedness which you had committed, but you selected at that time chosen men, and you sent them out from Jerusalem through all the land, to announce that the godless heresy of the Christians had made its appearance, and to accuse them of those things which all that are

ignorant of us say against us, so that you become the causes not only of your own injustice, but also of all other men's.

8. He writes also that even down to his time prophetic gifts shone in the Church. And he mentions the Apocalypse of John, saying distinctly that it was the apostle's. He also refers to certain prophetic declarations, and accuses Trypho on the ground that the Jews had cut them out of the Scripture. A great many other works of his are still in the hands of many of the brethren.

9. And the discourses of the man were thought so worthy of study even by the ancients, that Irenæus quotes his words: for instance, in the fourth book of his work *Against Heresies*, where he writes as follows: And Justin well says in his work against Marcion, that he would not have believed the Lord himself if he had preached another God besides the Creator; and again in the fifth book of the same work he says: And Justin well said that before the coming of the Lord, Satan never dared to blaspheme God, because he did not yet know his condemnation.

10. These things I have deemed it necessary to say for the sake of stimulating the studious to peruse his works with diligence. So much concerning him.

Chapter 19. The Rulers of the Churches of Rome and Alexandria during the Reign of Verus.

1. In the eighth year of the above-mentioned reign Soter succeeded Anicetus as bishop of the church of Rome, after the latter had held office eleven years in all. But when Celadion had presided over the church of Alexandria for fourteen years he was succeeded by Agripinnus.

Chapter 20. The Rulers of the Church of Antioch.

1. At that time also in the church of Antioch, Theophilus was well known as the sixth from the apostles. For Cornelius, who succeeded Hero, was the fourth, and after him Eros, the fifth in order, had held the office of bishop.

Chapter 21. The Ecclesiastical Writers that flourished in Those Days.

1. At that time there flourished in the Church Hegesippus, whom we know from what has gone before, and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, and another bishop, Pinytus of Crete, and besides these, Philip, and Apolinarius, and Melito, and Musanus, and Modestus, and finally, Irenæus. From them has come down to us in writing, the sound and orthodox faith received from apostolic tradition.

Chapter 22. Hegesippus and the Events which he mentions.

1. Hegesippus in the five books of Memoirs which have come down to us has left a most complete record of his own views. In them he states that on a journey to Rome he met a great many bishops, and that he received the same doctrine from all. It is fitting to hear what he says after making some remarks about the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.

2. His words are as follows: And the church of Corinth continued in the true faith until Primus was bishop in Corinth. I conversed with them on my way to Rome, and abode with the Corinthians many days, during which we were mutually refreshed in the true doctrine.

3. And when I had come to Rome I remained there until Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. And Anicetus was succeeded by Soter, and he by Eleutherus. In every succession, and in every city that is held which is preached by the law and the prophets and the Lord.

4. The same author also describes the beginnings of the heresies which arose in his time, in the following words: And after James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as the Lord had also on the same account, Symeon, the son of the Lord's uncle, Clopas, was appointed the next bishop. All proposed him as second bishop because he was a cousin of the Lord.

Therefore, they called the Church a virgin, for it was not yet corrupted by vain discourses.

5. But Thebuthis, because he was not made bishop, began to corrupt it. He also was sprung from the seven sects among the people, like Simon, from whom came the Simonians, and Cleobius, from whom came the Cleobians, and Dositheus, from whom came the Dositheans, and Gorthæus, from whom came the Goratheni, and Masbotheus, from whom came the Masbothæans. From them sprang the Menandrianists, and Marcionists, and Carpocratians, and Valentinians, and Basilidians, and Saturnilians. Each introduced privately and separately his own peculiar opinion. From them came false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, who divided the unity of the Church by corrupt doctrines uttered against God and against his Christ.

6. The same writer also records the ancient heresies which arose among the Jews, in the following words: There were, moreover, various opinions in the

circumcision, among the children of Israel. The following were those that were opposed to the tribe of Judah and the Christ: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbothæans, Samaritans, Sadducees, Pharisees.

7. And he wrote of many other matters, which we have in part already mentioned, introducing the accounts in their appropriate places. And from the Syriac Gospel according to the Hebrews he quotes some passages in the Hebrew tongue, showing that he was a convert from the Hebrews, and he mentions other matters as taken from the unwritten tradition of the Jews.

8. And not only he, but also Irenæus and the whole company of the ancients, called the Proverbs of Solomon All-virtuous Wisdom. And when speaking of the books called Apocrypha, he records that some of them were composed in his day by certain heretics. But let us now pass on to another.

Chapter 23. Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, and the Epistles which he wrote.

1. And first we must speak of Dionysius, who was appointed bishop of the church in Corinth, and communicated freely of his inspired labors not only to his own people, but also to those in foreign lands, and rendered the greatest service to all in the catholic epistles which he wrote to the churches.

2. Among these is the one addressed to the Lacedæmonians, containing instruction in the orthodox faith and an admonition to peace and unity; the one also addressed to the Athenians, exciting them to faith and to the life prescribed by the Gospel, which he accuses them of esteeming lightly, as if they had almost apostatized from the faith since the martyrdom of their ruler Publius, which had taken place during the persecutions of those days.

3. He mentions Quadratus also, stating that he was appointed their bishop after the martyrdom of Publius, and testifying that through his zeal they were brought together again and their faith revived. He records, moreover, that Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted to the faith by the apostle Paul, according to the statement in the Acts of the Apostles, first obtained the episcopate of the church at Athens.

4. And there is extant another epistle of his addressed to the Nicomedians, in which he attacks the heresy of Marcion, and stands fast by the canon of the truth.

5. Writing also to the church that is in Gortyna, together with the other parishes in Crete, he commends their bishop Philip, because of the many acts of fortitude which are testified to as performed by the church under him, and he warns them to be on their guard against the aberrations of the heretics.

6. And writing to the church that is in Amastris, together with those in Pontus, he refers to Bacchylides and Elpistus, as having urged him to write, and he adds explanations of passages of the divine Scriptures, and mentions their bishop Palmas by name. He gives them much advice also in regard to marriage and chastity, and commands them to receive those who come back again after any fall, whether it be delinquency or heresy.

7. Among these is inserted also another epistle addressed to the Cnosians, in which he exhorts Pinytus, bishop of the parish, not to lay upon the brethren a grievous and compulsory burden in regard to chastity, but to have regard to

the weakness of the multitude.

8. Pinytus, replying to this epistle, admires and commends Dionysius, but exhorts him in turn to impart some time more solid food, and to feed the people under him, when he wrote again, with more advanced teaching, that they might not be fed continually on these milky doctrines and imperceptibly grow old under a training calculated for children. In this epistle also Pinytus' orthodoxy in the faith and his care for the welfare of those placed under him, his learning and his comprehension of divine things, are revealed as in a most perfect image.

9. There is extant also another epistle written by Dionysius to the Romans, and addressed to Soter, who was bishop at that time. We cannot do better than to subjoin some passages from this epistle, in which he commends the practice of the Romans which has been retained down to the persecution in our own days. His words are as follows:

10. For from the beginning it has been your practice to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send contributions to many churches in every city. Thus relieving the want of the needy, and making provision for the brethren in the mines by the gifts which you have sent from the beginning, you Romans keep up the hereditary customs of the Romans, which your blessed bishop Soter has not only maintained, but also added to, furnishing an abundance of supplies to the saints, and encouraging the brethren from abroad with blessed words, as a loving father his children.

11. In this same epistle he makes mention also of Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, showing that it had been the custom from the beginning to read it in the church. His words are as follows: Today we have passed the Lord's holy day, in which we have read your epistle. From it, whenever we read it, we shall always be able to draw advice, as also from the former epistle, which was written to us through Clement.

12. The same writer also speaks as follows concerning his own epistles, alleging that they had been mutilated: As the brethren desired me to write epistles, I wrote. And these epistles the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, cutting out some things and adding others. For them a woe is reserved. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if some have attempted to adulterate the Lord's writings also, since they have formed designs even against writings which are of less account.

There is extant, in addition to these, another epistle of Dionysius, written to Chrysophora, a most faithful sister. In it he writes what is suitable, and imparts to her also the proper spiritual food. So much concerning Dionysius.

Chapter 24. Theophilus Bishop of Antioch.

1. Of Theophilus, whom we have mentioned as bishop of the church of Antioch, three elementary works addressed to Autolycus are extant; also another writing entitled *Against the Heresy of Hermogenes*, in which he makes use of testimonies from the Apocalypse of John, and finally certain other catechetical books.

2. And as the heretics, no less then than at other times, were like tares, destroying the pure harvest of apostolic teaching, the pastors of the churches everywhere hastened to restrain them as wild beasts from the fold of Christ, at one time by admonitions and exhortations to the brethren, at another time by contending more openly against them in oral discussions and refutations, and again by correcting their opinions with most accurate proofs in written works.

3. And that Theophilus also, with the others, contended against them, is manifest from a certain discourse of no common merit written by him against Marcion. This work too, with the others of which we have spoken, has been preserved to the present day.

Maximinus, the seventh from the apostles, succeeded him as bishop of the church of Antioch.

Chapter 25. Philip and Modestus.

Philip who, as we learn from the words of Dionysius, was bishop of the parish of Gortyna, likewise wrote a most elaborate work against Marcion, as did also Irenæus and Modestus. The last named has exposed the error of the man more clearly than the rest to the view of all. There are a number of others also whose works are still presented by a great many of the brethren.

Chapter 26. Melito and the Circumstances which he records.

1. In those days also Melito, bishop of the parish in Sardis, and Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, enjoyed great distinction. Each of them on his own part addressed apologies in behalf of the faith to the above-mentioned emperor of the Romans who was reigning at that time.

2. The following works of these writers have come to our knowledge. Of Melito, the two books *On the Passover*, and one *On the Conduct of Life and the Prophets*, the discourse *On the Church*, and one *On the Lord's Day*, still further one *On the Faith of Man*, and one *On his Creation*, another also *On the Obedience of Faith*, and one *On the Senses*; besides these the work *On the Soul and Body*, and that *On Baptism*, and the one *On Truth*, and *On the Creation and Generation of Christ*; his discourse also *On Prophecy*, and that *On Hospitality*; still further, *The Key*, and the books *On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John*, and the work *On the Corporeality of God*, and finally the book addressed to Antoninus.

3. In the books *On the Passover* he indicates the time at which he wrote, beginning with these words: While Servilius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, at the time when Sagaris suffered martyrdom, there arose in Laodicea a great strife concerning the Passover, which fell according to rule in those days; and these were written.

4. And Clement of Alexandria refers to this work in his own discourse *On the Passover*, which, he says, he wrote on occasion of Melito's work.

5. But in his book addressed to the emperor he records that the following events happened to us under him: For, what never before happened, the race of the pious is now suffering persecution, being driven about in Asia by new decrees. For the shameless informers and coveters of the property of others, taking occasion from the decrees, openly carry on robbery night and day, despoiling those who are guilty of no wrong. And a little further on he says: If these things are done by your command, well and good. For a just ruler will never take unjust measures; and we indeed gladly accept the honor of such a death.

6. But this request alone we present to you, that you would yourself first examine the authors of such strife, and justly judge whether they be worthy of

death and punishment, or of safety and quiet. But if, on the other hand, this counsel and this new decree, which is not fit to be executed even against barbarian enemies, be not from you, much more do we beseech you not to leave us exposed to such lawless plundering by the populace.

7. Again he adds the following: For our philosophy formerly flourished among the Barbarians; but having sprung up among the nations under your rule, during the great reign of your ancestor Augustus, it became to your empire especially a blessing of auspicious omen. For from that time the power of the Romans has grown in greatness and splendor. To this power you have succeeded, as the desired possessor, and such shall you continue with your son, if you guard the philosophy which grew up with the empire and which came into existence with Augustus; that philosophy which your ancestors also honored along with the other religions.

8. And a most convincing proof that our doctrine flourished for the good of an empire happily begun, is this — that there has no evil happened since Augustus' reign, but that, on the contrary, all things have been splendid and glorious, in accordance with the prayers of all.

9. Nero and Domitian, alone, persuaded by certain calumniators, have wished to slander our doctrine, and from them it has come to pass that the falsehood has been handed down, in consequence of an unreasonable practice which prevails of bringing slanderous accusations against the Christians.

10. But your pious fathers corrected their ignorance, having frequently rebuked in writing many who dared to attempt new measures against them. Among them your grandfather Adrian appears to have written to many others, and also to Fundanus, the proconsul and governor of Asia. And your father, when you also were ruling with him, wrote to the cities, forbidding them to take any new measures against us; among the rest to the Larissæans, to the Thessalonians, to the Athenians, and to all the Greeks.

11. And as for you — since your opinions respecting the Christians are the same as theirs, and indeed much more benevolent and philosophic — we are the more persuaded that you will do all that we ask of you. These words are found in the above-mentioned work.

12. But in the Extracts made by him the same writer gives at the beginning of the introduction a catalogue of the acknowledged books of the Old Testament, which it is necessary to quote at this point. He writes as follows:

13. Melito to his brother Onesimus, greeting: Since you have often, in your zeal for the word, expressed a wish to have extracts made from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour and concerning our entire faith, and has also desired to have an accurate statement of the ancient book, as regards their number and their order, I have endeavored to perform the task, knowing your zeal for the faith, and your desire to gain information in regard to the word, and knowing that you, in your yearning after God, esteem these things above all else, struggling to attain eternal salvation.

14. Accordingly when I went East and came to the place where these things were preached and done, I learned accurately the books of the Old Testament, and send them to you as written below. Their names are as follows: Of Moses, five books: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy; Jesus Nave, Judges, Ruth; of Kings, four books; of Chronicles, two; the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, Wisdom also, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job; of Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah; of the twelve prophets, one book ; Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. From which also I have made the extracts, dividing them into six books. Such are the words of Melito.

Chapter 27. Apolinarius, Bishop of the Church of Hierapolis.

A number of works of Apolinarius have been preserved by many, and the following have reached us: the Discourse addressed to the above-mentioned emperor, five books Against the Greeks, On Truth, a first and second book, and those which he subsequently wrote against the heresy of the Phrygians, which not long afterwards came out with its innovations, but at that time was, as it were, in its incipency, since Montanus, with his false prophetesses, was then laying the foundations of his error.

Chapter 28. Musanus and His Writings.

And as for Musanus, whom we have mentioned among the foregoing writers, a certain very elegant discourse is extant, which was written by him against some brethren that had gone over to the heresy of the so-called Encratites, which had recently sprung up, and which introduced a strange and pernicious error. It is said that Tatian was the author of this false doctrine.

Chapter 29. The Heresy of Tatian.

1. He is the one whose words we quoted a little above in regard to that admirable man, Justin, and whom we stated to have been a disciple of the martyr. Irenæus declares this in the first book of his work *Against Heresies*, where he writes as follows concerning both him and his heresy:

2. Those who are called Encratites, and who sprung from Saturninus and Marcion, preached celibacy, setting aside the original arrangement of God and tacitly censuring him who made male and female for the propagation of the human race. They introduced also abstinence from the things called by them animate, thus showing ingratitude to the God who made all things. And they deny the salvation of the first man.

3. But this has been only recently discovered by them, a certain Tatian being the first to introduce this blasphemy. He was a hearer of Justin, and expressed no such opinion while he was with him, but after the martyrdom of the latter he left the Church, and becoming exalted with the thought of being a teacher, and puffed up with the idea that he was superior to others, he established a peculiar type of doctrine of his own, inventing certain invisible æons like the followers of Valentinus, while, like Marcion and Saturninus, he pronounced marriage to be corruption and fornication. His argument against the salvation of Adam, however, he devised for himself. Irenæus at that time wrote thus.

4. But a little later a certain man named Severus put new strength into the aforesaid heresy, and thus brought it about that those who took their origin from it were called, after him, Severians.

5. They, indeed, use the Law and Prophets and Gospels, but interpret in their own way the utterances of the Sacred Scriptures. And they abuse Paul the apostle and reject his epistles, and do not accept even the Acts of the Apostles.

6. But their original founder, Tatian, formed a certain combination and collection of the Gospels, I know not how, to which he gave the title *Diatessaron*, and which is still in the hands of some. But they say that he ventured to paraphrase certain words of the apostle, in order to improve their style.

7. He has left a great many writings. Of these the one most in use among

many persons is his celebrated *Address to the Greeks*, which also appears to be the best and most useful of all his works. In it he deals with the most ancient times, and shows that Moses and the Hebrew prophets were older than all the celebrated men among the Greeks. So much in regard to these men.

Chapter 30. Bardesanes the Syrian and his Extant Works.

1. In the same reign, as heresies were abounding in the region between the rivers, a certain Bardesanes, a most able man and a most skillful disputant in the Syriac tongue, having composed dialogues against Marcion's followers and against certain others who were authors of various opinions, committed them to writing in his own language, together with many other works. His pupils, of whom he had very many (for he was a powerful defender of the faith), translated these productions from the Syriac into Greek.

2. Among them there is also his most able dialogue *On Fate*, addressed to Antoninus, and other works which they say he wrote on occasion of the persecution which arose at that time.

3. He indeed was at first a follower of Valentinus, but afterward, having rejected his teaching and having refuted most of his fictions, he fancied that he had come over to the more correct opinion. Nevertheless he did not entirely wash off the filth of the old heresy.

About this time also Soter, bishop of the Church of Rome, departed this life.

Book V

Introduction.

1. Soter, bishop of the church of Rome, died after an episcopate of eight years, and was succeeded by Eleutherus, the twelfth from the apostles. In the seventeenth year of the Emperor Antoninus Verus, the persecution of our people was rekindled more fiercely in certain districts on account of an insurrection of the masses in the cities; and judging by the number in a single nation, myriads suffered martyrdom throughout the world. A record of this was written for posterity, and in truth it is worthy of perpetual remembrance.

2. A full account, containing the most reliable information on the subject, is given in our Collection of Martyrdoms, which constitutes a narrative instructive as well as historical. I will repeat here such portions of this account as may be needful for the present purpose.

3. Other writers of history record the victories of war and trophies won from enemies, the skill of generals, and the manly bravery of soldiers, defiled with blood and with innumerable slaughters for the sake of children and country and other possessions.

4. But our narrative of the government of God will record in ineffaceable letters the most peaceful wars waged in behalf of the peace of the soul, and will tell of men doing brave deeds for truth rather than country, and for piety rather than dearest friends. It will hand down to imperishable remembrance the discipline and the much-tried fortitude of the athletes of religion, the trophies won from demons, the victories over invisible enemies, and the crowns placed upon all their heads.

Chapter 1. The Number of those who fought for Religion in Gaul Under Verus and the Nature of their Conflicts.

1. The country in which the arena was prepared for them was Gaul, of which Lyons and Vienne are the principal and most celebrated cities. The Rhone passes through both of them, flowing in a broad stream through the entire region.

2. The most celebrated churches in that country sent an account of the witnesses to the churches in Asia and Phrygia, relating in the following manner what was done among them.

I will give their own words.

3. The servants of Christ residing at Vienne and Lyons, in Gaul, to the brethren through out Asia and Phrygia, who hold the same faith and hope of redemption, peace and grace and glory from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Lord.

4. Then, having related some other matters, they begin their account in this manner: The greatness of the tribulation in this region, and the fury of the heathen against the saints, and the sufferings of the blessed witnesses, we cannot recount accurately, nor indeed could they possibly be recorded.

5. For with all his might the adversary fell upon us, giving us a foretaste of his unbridled activity at his future coming. He endeavored in every manner to practice and exercise his servants against the servants of God, not only shutting us out from houses and baths and markets, but forbidding any of us to be seen in any place whatever.

6. But the grace of God led the conflict against him, and delivered the weak, and set them as firm pillars, able through patience to endure all the wrath of the Evil One. And they joined battle with him, undergoing all kinds of shame and injury; and regarding their great sufferings as little, they hastened to Christ, manifesting truly that 'the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us afterward.' Romans 8:18

7. First of all, they endured nobly the injuries heaped upon them by the populace; clamors and blows and draggings and robberies and stonings and imprisonments, and all things which an infuriated mob delight in inflicting on enemies and adversaries.

8. Then, being taken to the forum by the chiliarch and the authorities of the city, they were examined in the presence of the whole multitude, and having confessed, they were imprisoned until the arrival of the governor.

9. When, afterwards, they were brought before him, and he treated us with the utmost cruelty, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, and a man filled with love for God and his neighbor, interfered. His life was so consistent that, although young, he had attained a reputation equal to that of the elder Zacharias: for he ‘walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless,’ Luke 1:6 and was untiring in every good work for his neighbor, zealous for God and fervent in spirit. Such being his character, he could not endure the unreasonable judgment against us, but was filled with indignation, and asked to be permitted to testify in behalf of his brethren, that there is among us nothing ungodly or impious.

10. But those about the judgment seat cried out against him, for he was a man of distinction; and the governor refused to grant his just request, and merely asked if he also were a Christian. And he, confessing this with a loud voice, was himself taken into the order of the witnesses, being called the Advocate of the Christians, but having the Advocate in himself, the Spirit more abundantly than Zacharias. He showed this by the fullness of his love, being well pleased even to lay down his life in defense of the brethren. For he was and is a true disciple of Christ, ‘following the Lamb wherever he goes.’ Revelation 14:4

11. Then the others were divided, and the proto-witnesses were manifestly ready, and finished their confession with all eagerness. But some appeared unprepared and untrained, weak as yet, and unable to endure so great a conflict. About ten of these proved abortions, causing us great grief and sorrow beyond measure, and impairing the zeal of the others who had not yet been seized, but who, though suffering all kinds of affliction, continued constantly with the witnesses and did not forsake them.

12. Then all of us feared greatly on account of uncertainty as to their confession; not because we dreaded the sufferings to be endured, but because we looked to the end, and were afraid that some of them might fall away.

13. But those who were worthy were seized day by day, filling up their number, so that all the zealous persons, and those through whom especially our affairs had been established, were collected together out of the two

churches.

14. And some of our heathen servants also were seized, as the governor had commanded that all of us should be examined publicly. These, being ensnared by Satan, and fearing for themselves the tortures which they beheld the saints endure, and being also urged on by the soldiers, accused us falsely of Thyestean banquets and Œdipodean intercourse, and of deeds which are not only unlawful for us to speak of or to think, but which we cannot believe were ever done by men.

15. When these accusations were reported, all the people raged like wild beasts against us, so that even if any had before been moderate on account of friendship, they were now exceedingly furious and gnashed their teeth against us. And that which was spoken by our Lord was fulfilled: 'The time will come when whosoever kills you will think that he does God service.' John 16:2

16. Then finally the holy witnesses endured sufferings beyond description, Satan striving earnestly that some of the slanders might be uttered by them also.

17. But the whole wrath of the populace, and governor, and soldiers was aroused exceedingly against Sanctus, the deacon from Vienne, and Maturus, a late convert, yet a noble combatant, and against Attalus, a native of Pergamos where he had always been a pillar and foundation, and Blandina, through whom Christ showed that things which appear mean and obscure and despicable to men are with God of great glory, 1 Corinthians 1:27-28 through love toward him manifested in power, and not boasting in appearance.

18. For while we all trembled, and her earthly mistress, who was herself also one of the witnesses, feared that on account of the weakness of her body, she would be unable to make bold confession, Blandina was filled with such power as to be delivered and raised above those who were torturing her by turns from morning till evening in every manner, so that they acknowledged that they were conquered, and could do nothing more to her. And they were astonished at her endurance, as her entire body was mangled and broken; and they testified that one of these forms of torture was sufficient to destroy life, not to speak of so many and so great sufferings.

19. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, renewed her strength in her confession; and her comfort and recreation and relief from the pain of her sufferings was in exclaiming, 'I am a Christian, and there is nothing vile done

by us.'

20. But Sanctus also endured marvelously and superhumanly all the outrages which he suffered. While the wicked men hoped, by the continuance and severity of his tortures to wring something from him which he ought not to say, he girded himself against them with such firmness that he would not even tell his name, or the nation or city to which he belonged, or whether he was bond or free, but answered in the Roman tongue to all their questions, 'I am a Christian.' He confessed this instead of name and city and race and everything besides, and the people heard from him no other word.

21. There arose therefore on the part of the governor and his tormentors a great desire to conquer him; but having nothing more that they could do to him, they finally fastened red-hot brazen plates to the most tender parts of his body.

22. And these indeed were burned, but he continued unbending and unyielding, firm in his confession, and refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly fountain of the water of life, flowing from the bowels of Christ.

23. And his body was a witness of his sufferings, being one complete wound and bruise, drawn out of shape, and altogether unlike a human form. Christ, suffering in him, manifested his glory, delivering him from his adversary, and making him an ensample for the others, showing that nothing is fearful where the love of the Father is, and nothing painful where there is the glory of Christ.

24. For when the wicked men tortured him a second time after some days, supposing that with his body swollen and inflamed to such a degree that he could not bear the touch of a hand, if they should again apply the same instruments, they would overcome him, or at least by his death under his sufferings others would be made afraid, not only did not this occur, but, contrary to all human expectation, his body arose and stood erect in the midst of the subsequent torments, and resumed its original appearance and the use of its limbs, so that, through the grace of Christ, these second sufferings became to him, not torture, but healing.

25. But the devil, thinking that he had already consumed Biblias, who was one of those who had denied Christ, desiring to increase her condemnation through the utterance of blasphemy, brought her again to the torture, to compel her, as already feeble and weak, to report impious things concerning

us.

26. But she recovered herself under the suffering, and as if awaking from a deep sleep, and reminded by the present anguish of the eternal punishment in hell, she contradicted the blasphemers. ‘How,’ she said, ‘could those eat children who do not think it lawful to taste the blood even of irrational animals?’ And thenceforward she confessed herself a Christian, and was given a place in the order of the witnesses.

27. But as the tyrannical tortures were made by Christ of none effect through the patience of the blessed, the devil invented other contrivances — confinement in the dark and most loathsome parts of the prison, stretching of the feet to the fifth hole in the stocks, and the other outrages which his servants are accustomed to inflict upon the prisoners when furious and filled with the devil. A great many were suffocated in prison, being chosen by the Lord for this manner of death, that he might manifest in them his glory.

28. For some, though they had been tortured so cruelly that it seemed impossible that they could live, even with the most careful nursing, yet, destitute of human attention, remained in the prison, being strengthened by the Lord, and invigorated both in body and soul; and they exhorted and encouraged the rest. But such as were young, and arrested recently, so that their bodies had not become accustomed to torture, were unable to endure the severity of their confinement, and died in prison.

29. The blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the bishopric of Lyons, was dragged to the judgment seat. He was more than ninety years of age, and very infirm, scarcely indeed able to breathe because of physical weakness; but he was strengthened by spiritual zeal through his earnest desire for martyrdom. Though his body was worn out by old age and disease, his life was preserved that Christ might triumph in it.

30. When he was brought by the soldiers to the tribunal, accompanied by the civil magistrates and a multitude who shouted against him in every manner as if he were Christ himself, he bore noble witness.

31. Being asked by the governor, Who was the God of the Christians, he replied, ‘If you are worthy, you shall know.’ Then he was dragged away harshly, and received blows of every kind. Those near him struck him with their hands and feet, regardless of his age; and those at a distance hurled at him whatever they could seize; all of them thinking that they would be guilty

of great wickedness and impiety if any possible abuse were omitted. For thus they thought to avenge their own deities. Scarcely able to breathe, he was cast into prison and died after two days.

32. Then a certain great dispensation of God occurred, and the compassion of Jesus appeared beyond measure, in a manner rarely seen among the brotherhood, but not beyond the power of Christ.

33. For those who had recanted at their first arrest were imprisoned with the others, and endured terrible sufferings, so that their denial was of no profit to them even for the present. But those who confessed what they were were imprisoned as Christians, no other accusation being brought against them. But the first were treated afterwards as murderers and defiled, and were punished twice as severely as the others.

34. For the joy of martyrdom, and the hope of the promises, and love for Christ, and the Spirit of the Father supported the latter; but their consciences so greatly distressed the former that they were easily distinguishable from all the rest by their very countenances when they were led forth.

35. For the first went out rejoicing, glory and grace being blended in their faces, so that even their bonds seemed like beautiful ornaments, as those of a bride adorned with variegated golden fringes; and they were perfumed with the sweet savor of Christ, so that some supposed they had been anointed with earthly ointment. But the others were downcast and humble and dejected and filled with every kind of disgrace, and they were reproached by the heathen as ignoble and weak, bearing the accusation of murderers, and having lost the one honorable and glorious and life-giving Name. The rest, beholding this, were strengthened, and when apprehended, they confessed without hesitation, paying no attention to the persuasions of the devil.

36. After certain other words they continue:

After these things, finally, their martyrdoms were divided into every form. For plaiting a crown of various colors and of all kinds of flowers, they presented it to the Father. It was proper therefore that the noble athletes, having endured a manifold strife, and conquered grandly, should receive the crown, great and incorruptible.

37. Maturus, therefore, and Sanctus and Blandina and Attalus were led to the amphitheater to be exposed to the wild beasts, and to give to the heathen public a spectacle of cruelty, a day for fighting with wild beasts being

specially appointed on account of our people.

38. Both Maturus and Sanctus passed again through every torment in the amphitheater, as if they had suffered nothing before, or rather, as if, having already conquered their antagonist in many contests, they were now striving for the crown itself. They endured again the customary running of the gauntlet and the violence of the wild beasts, and everything which the furious people called for or desired, and at last, the iron chair in which their bodies being roasted, tormented them with the fumes.

39. And not with this did the persecutors cease, but were yet more mad against them, determined to overcome their patience. But even thus they did not hear a word from Sanctus except the confession which he had uttered from the beginning.

40. These, then, after their life had continued for a long time through the great conflict, were at last sacrificed, having been made throughout that day a spectacle to the world, in place of the usual variety of combats.

41. But Blandina was suspended on a stake, and exposed to be devoured by the wild beasts who should attack her. And because she appeared as if hanging on a cross, and because of her earnest prayers, she inspired the combatants with great zeal. For they looked on her in her conflict, and beheld with their outward eyes, in the form of their sister, him who was crucified for them, that he might persuade those who believe in him, that every one who suffers for the glory of Christ has fellowship always with the living God.

42. As none of the wild beasts at that time touched her, she was taken down from the stake, and cast again into prison. She was preserved thus for another contest, that, being victorious in more conflicts, she might make the punishment of the crooked serpent irrevocable; and, though small and weak and despised, yet clothed with Christ the mighty and conquering Athlete, she might arouse the zeal of the brethren, and, having overcome the adversary many times might receive, through her conflict, the crown incorruptible.

43. But Attalus was called for loudly by the people, because he was a person of distinction. He entered the contest readily on account of a good conscience and his genuine practice in Christian discipline, and as he had always been a witness for the truth among us.

44. He was led around the amphitheater, a tablet being carried before him on which was written in the Roman language 'This is Attalus the Christian,'

and the people were filled with indignation against him. But when the governor learned that he was a Roman, he commanded him to be taken back with the rest of those who were in prison concerning whom he had written to Cæsar, and whose answer he was awaiting.

45. But the intervening time was not wasted nor fruitless to them; for by their patience the measureless compassion of Christ was manifested. For through their continued life the dead were made alive, and the witnesses showed favor to those who had failed to witness. And the virgin mother had much joy in receiving alive those whom she had brought forth as dead.

46. For through their influence many who had denied were restored, and re-begotten, and rekindled with life, and learned to confess. And being made alive and strengthened, they went to the judgment seat to be again interrogated by the governor; God, who desires not the death of the sinner, Ezekiel 33:11 but mercifully invites to repentance, treating them with kindness.

47. For Cæsar commanded that they should be put to death, but that any who might deny should be set free. Therefore, at the beginning of the public festival which took place there, and which was attended by crowds of men from all nations, the governor brought the blessed ones to the judgment seat, to make of them a show and spectacle for the multitude. Wherefore also he examined them again, and beheaded those who appeared to possess Roman citizenship, but he sent the others to the wild beasts.

48. And Christ was glorified greatly in those who had formerly denied him, for, contrary to the expectation of the heathen, they confessed. For they were examined by themselves, as about to be set free; but confessing, they were added to the order of the witnesses. But some continued without, who had never possessed a trace of faith, nor any apprehension of the wedding garment, Matthew 22:11 nor an understanding of the fear of God; but, as sons of perdition, they blasphemed the Way through their apostasy.

49. But all the others were added to the Church. While these were being examined, a certain Alexander, a Phrygian by birth, and physician by profession, who had resided in Gaul for many years, and was well known to all on account of his love to God and boldness of speech (for he was not without a share of apostolic grace), standing before the judgment seat, and by signs encouraging them to confess, appeared to those standing by as if in

travail.

50. But the people being enraged because those who formerly denied now confessed, cried out against Alexander as if he were the cause of this. Then the governor summoned him and inquired who he was. And when he answered that he was a Christian, being very angry he condemned him to the wild beasts. And on the next day he entered along with Attalus. For to please the people, the governor had ordered Attalus again to the wild beasts.

51. And they were tortured in the amphitheater with all the instruments contrived for that purpose, and having endured a very great conflict, were at last sacrificed. Alexander neither groaned nor murmured in any manner, but communed in his heart with God.

52. But when Attalus was placed in the iron seat, and the fumes arose from his burning body, he said to the people in the Roman language: 'Lo! This which you do is devouring men; but we do not devour men; nor do any other wicked thing.' And being asked, what name God has, he replied, 'God has not a name as man has.'

53. After all these, on the last day of the contests, Blandina was again brought in, with Ponticus, a boy about fifteen years old. They had been brought every day to witness the sufferings of the others, and had been pressed to swear by the idols. But because they remained steadfast and despised them, the multitude became furious, so that they had no compassion for the youth of the boy nor respect for the sex of the woman.

54. Therefore they exposed them to all the terrible sufferings and took them through the entire round of torture, repeatedly urging them to swear, but being unable to effect this; for Ponticus, encouraged by his sister so that even the heathen could see that she was confirming and strengthening him, having nobly endured every torture, gave up the ghost.

55. But the blessed Blandina, last of all, having, as a noble mother, encouraged her children and sent them before her victorious to the King, endured herself all their conflicts and hastened after them, glad and rejoicing in her departure as if called to a marriage supper, rather than cast to wild beasts.

56. And, after the scourging, after the wild beasts, after the roasting seat, she was finally enclosed in a net, and thrown before a bull. And having been tossed about by the animal, but feeling none of the things which were

happening to her, on account of her hope and firm hold upon what had been entrusted to her, and her communion with Christ, she also was sacrificed. And the heathen themselves confessed that never among them had a woman endured so many and such terrible tortures.

57. But not even thus was their madness and cruelty toward the saints satisfied. For, incited by the Wild Beast, wild and barbarous tribes were not easily appeased, and their violence found another peculiar opportunity in the dead bodies.

58. For, through their lack of manly reason, the fact that they had been conquered did not put them to shame, but rather the more enkindled their wrath as that of a wild beast, and aroused alike the hatred of governor and people to treat us unjustly; that the Scripture might be fulfilled: 'He that is lawless, let him be lawless still, and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still.'

59. For they cast to the dogs those who had died of suffocation in the prison, carefully guarding them by night and day, lest any one should be buried by us. And they exposed the remains left by the wild beasts and by fire, mangled and charred, and placed the heads of the others by their bodies, and guarded them in like manner from burial by a watch of soldiers for many days.

60. And some raged and gnashed their teeth against them, desiring to execute more severe vengeance upon them; but others laughed and mocked at them, magnifying their own idols, and imputed to them the punishment of the Christians. Even the more reasonable, and those who had seemed to sympathize somewhat, reproached them often, saying, 'Where is their God, and what has their religion, which they have chosen rather than life, profited them?'

61. So various was their conduct toward us; but we were in deep affliction because we could not bury the bodies. For neither did night avail us for this purpose, nor did money persuade, nor entreaty move to compassion; but they kept watch in every way, as if the prevention of the burial would be of some great advantage to them.

In addition, they say after other things:

62. The bodies of the martyrs, having thus in every manner been exhibited and exposed for six days, were afterward burned and reduced to ashes, and

swept into the Rhone by the wicked men, so that no trace of them might appear on the earth.

63. And this they did, as if able to conquer God, and prevent their new birth; 'that,' as they said, 'they may have no hope of a resurrection, through trust in which they bring to us this foreign and new religion, and despise terrible things, and are ready even to go to death with joy. Now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God is able to help them, and to deliver them out of our hands.'

Chapter 2. The Martyrs, beloved of God, kindly ministered unto those who fell in the Persecution.

1. Such things happened to the churches of Christ under the above-mentioned emperor, from which we may reasonably conjecture the occurrences in the other provinces. It is proper to add other selections from the same letter, in which the moderation and compassion of these witnesses is recorded in the following words:

2. They were also so zealous in their imitation of Christ— ‘who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God,’ Philippians 2:6 — that, though they had attained such honor, and had borne witness, not once or twice, but many times — having been brought back to prison from the wild beasts, covered with burns and scars and wounds — yet they did not proclaim themselves witnesses, nor did they suffer us to address them by this name. If any one of us, in letter or conversation, spoke of them as witnesses, they rebuked him sharply.

3. For they conceded cheerfully the appellation of Witness to Christ ‘the faithful and true Witness,’ Revelation 3:14 and ‘firstborn of the dead,’ Revelation 1:5 and prince of the life of God; and they reminded us of the witnesses who had already departed, and said, ‘They are already witnesses whom Christ has deemed worthy to be taken up in their confession, having sealed their testimony by their departure; but we are lowly and humble confessors.’ And they besought the brethren with tears that earnest prayers should be offered that they might be made perfect.

4. They showed in their deeds the power of ‘testimony,’ manifesting great boldness toward all the brethren, and they made plain their nobility through patience and fearlessness and courage, but they refused the title of Witnesses as distinguishing them from their brethren, being filled with the fear of God.

5. A little further on they say: They humbled themselves under the mighty hand, by which they are now greatly exalted. They defended all, but accused none. They absolved all, but bound none. And they prayed for those who had inflicted cruelties upon them, even as Stephen, the perfect witness, ‘Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ Acts 7:60 But if he prayed for those who stoned him, how much more for the brethren!

6. And again after mentioning other matters, they say:

For, through the genuineness of their love, their greatest contest with him was that the Beast, being choked, might cast out alive those whom he supposed he had swallowed. For they did not boast over the fallen, but helped them in their need with those things in which they themselves abounded, having the compassion of a mother, and shedding many tears on their account before the Father.

7. They asked for life, and he gave it to them, and they shared it with their neighbors. Victorious over everything, they departed to God. Having always loved peace, and having commended peace to us they went in peace to God, leaving no sorrow to their mother, nor division or strife to the brethren, but joy and peace and concord and love.

8. This record of the affection of those blessed ones toward the brethren that had fallen may be profitably added on account of the inhuman and unmerciful disposition of those who, after these events, acted unsparingly toward the members of Christ.

Chapter 3. The Vision which appeared in a Dream to the Witness Attalus.

1. The same letter of the above-mentioned witnesses contains another account worthy of remembrance. No one will object to our bringing it to the knowledge of our readers.

2. It runs as follows: For a certain Alcibiades, who was one of them, led a very austere life, partaking of nothing whatever but bread and water. When he endeavored to continue this same sort of life in prison, it was revealed to Attalus after his first conflict in the amphitheater that Alcibiades was not doing well in refusing the creatures of God and placing a stumbling-block before others.

3. And Alcibiades obeyed, and partook of all things without restraint, giving thanks to God. For they were not deprived of the grace of God, but the Holy Ghost was their counselor. Let this suffice for these matters.

4. The followers of Montanus, Alcibiades and Theodotus in Phrygia were now first giving wide circulation to their assumption in regard to prophecy — for the many other miracles that, through the gift of God, were still wrought in the different churches caused their prophesying to be readily credited by many — and as dissension arose concerning them, the brethren in Gaul set forth their own prudent and most orthodox judgment in the matter, and published also several epistles from the witnesses that had been put to death among them. These they sent, while they were still in prison, to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, and also to Eleutherus, who was then bishop of Rome, negotiating for the peace of the churches.

Chapter 4. Irenæus commended by the Witnesses in a Letter.

1. The same witnesses also recommended Irenæus, who was already at that time a presbyter of the parish of Lyons, to the above-mentioned bishop of Rome, saying many favorable things in regard to him, as the following extract shows:

2. We pray, father Eleutherus, that you may rejoice in God in all things and always. We have requested our brother and comrade Irenæus to carry this letter to you, and we ask you to hold him in esteem, as zealous for the covenant of Christ. For if we thought that office could confer righteousness upon any one, we should commend him among the first as a presbyter of the church, which is his position.

3. Why should we transcribe the catalogue of the witnesses given in the letter already mentioned, of whom some were beheaded, others cast to the wild beasts, and others fell asleep in prison, or give the number of confessors still surviving at that time? For whoever desires can readily find the full account by consulting the letter itself, which, as I have said, is recorded in our Collection of Martyrdoms. Such were the events which happened under Antoninus.

Chapter 5. God sent Rain from Heaven for Marcus Aurelius Cæsar in Answer to the Prayers of our People.

1. It is reported that Marcus Aurelius Cæsar, brother of Antoninus, being about to engage in battle with the Germans and Sarmatians, was in great trouble on account of his army suffering from thirst. But the soldiers of the so-called Melitene legion, through the faith which has given strength from that time to the present, when they were drawn up before the enemy, kneeled on the ground, as is our custom in prayer, and engaged in supplications to God.

2. This was indeed a strange sight to the enemy, but it is reported that a stranger thing immediately followed. The lightning drove the enemy to flight and destruction, but a shower refreshed the army of those who had called on God, all of whom had been on the point of perishing with thirst.

3. This story is related by non-Christian writers who have been pleased to treat the times referred to, and it has also been recorded by our own people. By those historians who were strangers to the faith, the marvel is mentioned, but it is not acknowledged as an answer to our prayers. But by our own people, as friends of the truth, the occurrence is related in a simple and artless manner.

4. Among these is Apolinarius, who says that from that time the legion through whose prayers the wonder took place received from the emperor a title appropriate to the event, being called in the language of the Romans the Thundering Legion.

5. Tertullian is a trustworthy witness of these things. In the Apology for the Faith, which he addressed to the Roman Senate, and which work we have already mentioned, he confirms the history with greater and stronger proofs.

6. He writes that there are still extant letters of the most intelligent Emperor Marcus in which he testifies that his army, being on the point of perishing with thirst in Germany, was saved by the prayers of the Christians. And he says also that this emperor threatened death to those who brought accusation against us.

7. He adds further:

What kind of laws are those which impious, unjust, and cruel persons use against us alone? Which Vespasian, though he had conquered the Jews, did not regard; which Trajan partially annulled, forbidding Christians to be sought

after; which neither Adrian, though inquisitive in all matters, nor he who was called Pius sanctioned. But let any one treat these things as he chooses; we must pass on to what followed.

8. Pothinus having died with the other martyrs in Gaul at ninety years of age, Irenæus succeeded him in the episcopate of the church at Lyons. We have learned that, in his youth, he was a hearer of Polycarp.

9. In the third book of his work *Against Heresies* he has inserted a list of the bishops of Rome, bringing it down as far as Eleutherus (whose times we are now considering), under whom he composed his work. He writes as follows:

Chapter 6. Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome.

1. The blessed apostles having founded and established the church, entrusted the office of the episcopate to Linus. Paul speaks of this Linus in his Epistles to Timothy. 2 Timothy 4:21

2. Anencletus succeeded him, and after Anencletus, in the third place from the apostles, Clement received the episcopate. He had seen and conversed with the blessed apostles, and their preaching was still sounding in his ears, and their tradition was still before his eyes. Nor was he alone in this, for many who had been taught by the apostles yet survived.

3. In the times of Clement, a serious dissension having arisen among the brethren in Corinth, the church of Rome sent a most suitable letter to the Corinthians, reconciling them in peace, renewing their faith, and proclaiming the doctrine lately received from the apostles.

4. A little farther on he says:

Evarestus succeeded Clement, and Alexander, Evarestus. Then Xystus, the sixth from the apostles, was appointed. After him Telesphorus, who suffered martyrdom gloriously; then Hyginus; then Pius; and after him Anicetus; Soter succeeded Anicetus; and now, in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherus holds the office of bishop.

5. In the same order and succession the tradition in the Church and the preaching of the truth has descended from the apostles unto us.

Chapter 7. Even down to those Times Miracles were performed by the Faithful.

1. These things Irenæus, in agreement with the accounts already given by us, records in the work which comprises five books, and to which he gave the title Refutation and Overthrow of the Knowledge Falsely So-called. In the second book of the same treatise he shows that manifestations of divine and miraculous power continued to his time in some of the churches.

2. He says:

But so far do they come short of raising the dead, as the Lord raised them, and the apostles through prayer. And oftentimes in the brotherhood, when, on account of some necessity, our entire Church has besought with fasting and much supplication, the spirit of the dead has returned, and the man has been restored through the prayers of the saints.

3. And again, after other remarks, he says:

If they will say that even the Lord did these things in mere appearance, we will refer them to the prophetic writings, and show from them that all things were beforehand spoken of him in this manner, and were strictly fulfilled; and that he alone is the Son of God. Wherefore his true disciples, receiving grace from him, perform such works in his Name for the benefit of other men, as each has received the gift from him.

4. For some of them drive out demons effectually and truly, so that those who have been cleansed from evil spirits frequently believe and unite with the Church. Others have a foreknowledge of future events, and visions, and prophetic revelations. Still others heal the sick by the laying on of hands, and restore them to health. And, as we have said, even dead persons have been raised, and remained with us many years.

5. But why should we say more? It is not possible to recount the number of gifts which the Church, throughout all the world, has received from God in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and exercises every day for the benefit of the heathen, never deceiving any nor doing it for money. For as she has received freely from God, freely also does she minister.

6. And in another place the same author writes:

As also we hear that many brethren in the Church possess prophetic gifts,

and speak, through the Spirit, with all kinds of tongues, and bring to light the secret things of men for their good, and declare the mysteries of God.

So much in regard to the fact that various gifts remained among those who were worthy even until that time.

Chapter 8. The Statements of Irenæus in regard to the Divine Scriptures.

1. Since, in the beginning of this work, we promised to give, when needful, the words of the ancient presbyters and writers of the Church, in which they have declared those traditions which came down to them concerning the canonical books, and since Irenæus was one of them, we will now give his words and, first, what he says of the sacred Gospels:

2. Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the church in Rome.

3. After their departure Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing those things which Peter had preached; and Luke, the attendant of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel which Paul had declared.

4. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reclined on his bosom, published his Gospel, while staying at Ephesus in Asia.

5. He states these things in the third book of his above-mentioned work. In the fifth book he speaks as follows concerning the Apocalypse of John, and the number of the name of Antichrist:

As these things are so, and this number is found in all the approved and ancient copies, and those who saw John face to face confirm it, and reason teaches us that the number of the name of the beast, according to the mode of calculation among the Greeks, appears in its letters....

6. And further on he says concerning the same:

We are not bold enough to speak confidently of the name of Antichrist. For if it were necessary that his name should be declared clearly at the present time, it would have been announced by him who saw the revelation. For it was seen, not long ago, but almost in our generation, toward the end of the reign of Domitian.

7. He states these things concerning the Apocalypse in the work referred to. He also mentions the first Epistle of John, taking many proofs from it, and likewise the first Epistle of Peter. And he not only knows, but also receives, The Shepherd, writing as follows:

Well did the Scripture speak, saying, 'First of all believe that God is one, who has created and completed all things,' etc.

8. And he uses almost the precise words of the Wisdom of Solomon, saying: The vision of God produces immortality, but immortality renders us near to God. He mentions also the memoirs of a certain apostolic presbyter, whose name he passes by in silence, and gives his expositions of the sacred Scriptures.

9. And he refers to Justin the Martyr, and to Ignatius, using testimonies also from their writings. Moreover, he promises to refute Marcion from his own writings, in a special work.

10. Concerning the translation of the inspired Scriptures by the Seventy, hear the very words which he writes:

God in truth became man, and the Lord himself saved us, giving the sign of the virgin; but not as some say, who now venture to translate the Scripture, 'Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bring forth a son,' as Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus, both of them Jewish proselytes, interpreted; following whom, the Ebionites say that he was begotten by Joseph.

11. Shortly after he adds:

For before the Romans had established their empire, while the Macedonians were still holding Asia, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, being desirous of adorning the library which he had founded in Alexandria with the meritorious writings of all men, requested the people of Jerusalem to have their Scriptures translated into the Greek language.

12. But, as they were then subject to the Macedonians, they sent to Ptolemy seventy elders, who were the most skilled among them in the Scriptures and in both languages. Thus God accomplished his purpose.

13. But wishing to try them individually, as he feared lest, by taking counsel together, they might conceal the truth of the Scriptures by their interpretation, he separated them from one another, and commanded all of them to write the same translation. He did this for all the books.

14. But when they came together in the presence of Ptolemy, and compared their several translations, God was glorified, and the Scriptures were recognized as truly divine. For all of them had rendered the same things in the same words and with the same names from beginning to end, so that the heathen perceived that the Scriptures had been translated by the inspiration of God.

15. And this was nothing wonderful for God to do, who, in the captivity of

the people under Nebuchadnezzar, when the Scriptures had been destroyed, and the Jews had returned to their own country after seventy years, afterwards, in the time of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, inspired Ezra the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to relate all the words of the former prophets, and to restore to the people the legislation of Moses.

Such are the words of Irenæus.

Chapter 9. The Bishops under Commodus.

1. After Antoninus had been emperor for nineteen years, Commodus received the government. In his first year Julian became bishop of the Alexandrian churches, after Agripinnus had held the office for twelve years.

Chapter 10. Pantænus the Philosopher.

1. About that time, Pantænus, a man highly distinguished for his learning, had charge of the school of the faithful in Alexandria. A school of sacred learning, which continues to our day, was established there in ancient times, and as we have been informed, was managed by men of great ability and zeal for divine things. Among these it is reported that Pantænus was at that time especially conspicuous, as he had been educated in the philosophical system of those called Stoics.

2. They say that he displayed such zeal for the divine Word, that he was appointed as a herald of the Gospel of Christ to the nations in the East, and was sent as far as India. For indeed there were still many evangelists of the Word who sought earnestly to use their inspired zeal, after the examples of the apostles, for the increase and building up of the Divine Word.

3. Pantænus was one of these, and is said to have gone to India. It is reported that among persons there who knew of Christ, he found the Gospel according to Matthew, which had anticipated his own arrival. For Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached to them, and left with them the writing of Matthew in the Hebrew language, which they had preserved till that time.

4. After many good deeds, Pantænus finally became the head of the school at Alexandria, and expounded the treasures of divine doctrine both orally and in writing.

Chapter 11. Clement of Alexandria.

1. At this time Clement, being trained with him in the divine Scriptures at Alexandria, became well known. He had the same name as the one who anciently was at the head of the Roman church, and who was a disciple of the apostles.

2. In his Hypotyposes he speaks of Pantænus by name as his teacher. It seems to me that he alludes to the same person also in the first book of his Stromata, when, referring to the more conspicuous of the successors of the apostles whom he had met, he says:

3. This work is not a writing artfully constructed for display; but my notes are stored up for old age, as a remedy against forgetfulness; an image without art, and a rough sketch of those powerful and animated words which it was my privilege to hear, as well as of blessed and truly remarkable men.

4. Of these the one — the Ionian — was in Greece, the other in Magna Græcia; the one of them was from Cœle-Syria, the other from Egypt. There were others in the East, one of them an Assyrian, the other a Hebrew in Palestine. But when I met with the last, — in ability truly he was first — having hunted him out in his concealment in Egypt, I found rest.

5. These men, preserving the true tradition of the blessed doctrine, directly from the holy apostles, Peter and James and John and Paul, the son receiving it from the father (but few were like the fathers), have come by God's will even to us to deposit those ancestral and apostolic seeds.

Chapter 12. The Bishops in Jerusalem.

1. At this time Narcissus was the bishop of the church at Jerusalem, and he is celebrated by many to this day. He was the fifteenth in succession from the siege of the Jews under Adrian. We have shown that from that time first the church in Jerusalem was composed of Gentiles, after those of the circumcision, and that Marcus was the first Gentile bishop that presided over them.

2. After him the succession in the episcopate was: first Cassianus; after him Publius; then Maximus; following them Julian; then Gaius; after him Symmachus and another Gaius, and again another Julian; after these Capito and Valens and Dolichianus; and after all of them Narcissus, the thirtieth in regular succession from the apostles.

Chapter 13. Rhodo and his Account of the Dissension of Marcion.

1. At this time Rhodo, a native of Asia, who had been instructed, as he himself states, by Tatian, with whom we have already become acquainted, having written several books, published among the rest one against the heresy of Marcion. He says that this heresy was divided in his time into various opinions; and while describing those who occasioned the division, he refutes accurately the falsehoods devised by each of them.

2. But hear what he writes:

Therefore also they disagree among themselves, maintaining an inconsistent opinion. For Apelles, one of the herd, priding himself on his manner of life and his age, acknowledges one principle, but says that the prophecies are from an opposing spirit, being led to this view by the responses of a maiden by name Philumene, who was possessed by a demon.

3. But others, among whom are Potitus and Basilicus, hold to two principles, as does the mariner Marcion himself.

4. These following the wolf of Pontus, and, like him, unable to fathom the division of things, became reckless, and without giving any proof asserted two principles. Others, again, drifting into a worse error, consider that there are not only two, but three natures. Of these, Syneros is the leader and chief, as those who defend his teaching say.

5. The same author writes that he engaged in conversation with Apelles. He speaks as follows:

For the old man Apelles, when conversing with us, was refuted in many things which he spoke falsely; whence also he said that it was not at all necessary to examine one's doctrine, but that each one should continue to hold what he believed. For he asserted that those who trusted in the Crucified would be saved, if only they were found doing good works. But as we have said before, his opinion concerning God was the most obscure of all. For he spoke of one principle, as also our doctrine does.

6. Then, after stating fully his own opinion, he adds:

When I said to him, Tell me how you know this or how can you assert that there is one principle, he replied that the prophecies refuted themselves, because they have said nothing true; for they are inconsistent, and false, and

self-contradictory. But how there is one principle he said that he did not know, but that he was thus persuaded.

7. As I then adjured him to speak the truth, he swore that he did so when he said that he did not know how there is one unbegotten God, but that he believed it. Thereupon I laughed and reproved him because, though calling himself a teacher, he knew not how to confirm what he taught.

8. In the same work, addressing Callistio, the same writer acknowledges that he had been instructed at Rome by Tatian. And he says that a book of Problems had been prepared by Tatian, in which he promised to explain the obscure and hidden parts of the divine Scriptures. Rhodo himself promises to give in a work of his own solutions of Tatian's problems. There is also extant a Commentary of his on the Hexæmeron.

9. But this Apelles wrote many things, in an impious manner, of the law of Moses, blaspheming the divine words in many of his works, being, as it seemed, very zealous for their refutation and overthrow.

So much concerning these.

Chapter 14. The False Prophets of the Phrygians.

The enemy of God's Church, who is emphatically a hater of good and a lover of evil, and leaves untried no manner of craft against men, was again active in causing strange heresies to spring up against the Church. For some persons, like venomous reptiles, crawled over Asia and Phrygia, boasting that Montanus was the Paraclete, and that the women that followed him, Priscilla and Maximilla, were prophetesses of Montanus.

Chapter 15. The Schism of Blastus at Rome.

Others, of whom Florinus was chief, flourished at Rome. He fell from the presbyterate of the Church, and Blastus was involved in a similar fall. They also drew away many of the Church to their opinion, each striving to introduce his own innovations in respect to the truth.

Chapter 16. The Circumstances related of Montanus and his False Prophets.

1. Against the so-called Phrygian heresy, the power which always contends for the truth raised up a strong and invincible weapon, Apolinarius of Hierapolis, whom we have mentioned before, and with him many other men of ability, by whom abundant material for our history has been left.

2. A certain one of these, in the beginning of his work against them, first intimates that he had contended with them in oral controversies.

3. He commences his work in this manner:

Having for a very long and sufficient time, O beloved Avircius Marcellus, been urged by you to write a treatise against the heresy of those who are called after Miltiades, I have hesitated till the present time, not through lack of ability to refute the falsehood or bear testimony for the truth, but from fear and apprehension that I might seem to some to be making additions to the doctrines or precepts of the Gospel of the New Testament, which it is impossible for one who has chosen to live according to the Gospel, either to increase or to diminish.

4. But being recently in Ancyra in Galatia, I found the church there greatly agitated by this novelty, not prophecy, as they call it, but rather false prophecy, as will be shown. Therefore, to the best of our ability, with the Lord's help, we disputed in the church many days concerning these and other matters separately brought forward by them, so that the church rejoiced and was strengthened in the truth, and those of the opposite side were for the time confounded, and the adversaries were grieved.

5. The presbyters in the place, our fellow presbyter Zoticus of Otrous also being present, requested us to leave a record of what had been said against the opposers of the truth. We did not do this, but we promised to write it out as soon as the Lord permitted us, and to send it to them speedily.

6. Having said this with other things, in the beginning of his work, he proceeds to state the cause of the above-mentioned heresy as follows:

Their opposition and their recent heresy which has separated them from the Church arose on the following account.

7. There is said to be a certain village called Ardabau in that part of Mysia, which borders upon Phrygia. There first, they say, when Gratus was proconsul

of Asia, a recent convert, Montanus by name, through his unquenchable desire for leadership, gave the adversary opportunity against him. And he became beside himself, and being suddenly in a sort of frenzy and ecstasy, he raved, and began to babble and utter strange things, prophesying in a manner contrary to the constant custom of the Church handed down by tradition from the beginning.

8. Some of those who heard his spurious utterances at that time were indignant, and they rebuked him as one that was possessed, and that was under the control of a demon, and was led by a deceitful spirit, and was distracting the multitude; and they forbade him to talk, remembering the distinction drawn by the Lord and his warning to guard watchfully against the coming of false prophets. Matthew 7:15 But others imagining themselves possessed of the Holy Spirit and of a prophetic gift, were elated and not a little puffed up; and forgetting the distinction of the Lord, they challenged the mad and insidious and seducing spirit, and were cheated and deceived by him. In consequence of this, he could no longer be held in check, so as to keep silence.

9. Thus by artifice, or rather by such a system of wicked craft, the devil, devising destruction for the disobedient, and being unworthily honored by them, secretly excited and inflamed their understandings which had already become estranged from the true faith. And he stirred up besides two women, and filled them with the false spirit, so that they talked wildly and unreasonably and strangely, like the person already mentioned. And the spirit pronounced them blessed as they rejoiced and gloried in him, and puffed them up by the magnitude of his promises. But sometimes he rebuked them openly in a wise and faithful manner, that he might seem to be a reprover. But those of the Phrygians that were deceived were few in number.

And the arrogant spirit taught them to revile the entire universal Church under heaven, because the spirit of false prophecy received neither honor from it nor entrance into it.

10. For the faithful in Asia met often in many places throughout Asia to consider this matter, and examined the novel utterances and pronounced them profane, and rejected the heresy, and thus these persons were expelled from the Church and debarred from communion.

11. Having related these things at the outset, and continued the refutation

of their delusion through his entire work, in the second book he speaks as follows of their end:

12. Since, therefore, they called us slayers of the prophets because we did not receive their loquacious prophets, who, they say, are those that the Lord promised to send to the people, Matthew 23:34 let them answer as in God's presence: Who is there, O friends, of these who began to talk, from Montanus and the women down, that was persecuted by the Jews, or slain by lawless men? None. Or has any of them been seized and crucified for the Name? Truly not. Or has one of these women ever been scourged in the synagogues of the Jews, or stoned? No; never anywhere.

13. But by another kind of death Montanus and Maximilla are said to have died. For the report is that, incited by the spirit of frenzy, they both hung themselves; not at the same time, but at the time which common report gives for the death of each. And thus they died, and ended their lives like the traitor Judas.

14. So also, as general report says, that remarkable person, the first steward, as it were, of their so-called prophecy, one Theodotus — who, as if at sometime taken up and received into heaven, fell into trances, and entrusted himself to the deceitful spirit — was pitched like a quoit, and died miserably.

15. They say that these things happened in this manner. But as we did not see them, O friend, we do not pretend to know. Perhaps in such a manner, perhaps not, Montanus and Theodotus and the above-mentioned woman died.

16. He says again in the same book that the holy bishops of that time attempted to refute the spirit in Maximilla, but were prevented by others who plainly co-operated with the spirit.

17. He writes as follows:

And let not the spirit, in the same work of Asterius Urbanus, say through Maximilla, 'I am driven away from the sheep like a wolf. I am not a wolf. I am word and spirit and power.' But let him show clearly and prove the power in the spirit. And by the spirit let him compel those to confess him who were then present for the purpose of proving and reasoning with the talkative spirit, — those eminent men and bishops, Zoticus, from the village Comana, and Julian, from Apamea, whose mouths the followers of Themiso muzzled, refusing to permit the false and seductive spirit to be refuted by them.

18. Again in the same work, after saying other things in refutation of the

false prophecies of Maximilla, he indicates the time when he wrote these accounts, and mentions her predictions in which she prophesied wars and anarchy. Their falsehood he censures in the following manner:

19. And has not this been shown clearly to be false? For it is today more than thirteen years since the woman died, and there has been neither a partial nor general war in the world; but rather, through the mercy of God, continued peace even to the Christians. These things are taken from the second book.

20. I will add also short extracts from the third book, in which he speaks thus against their boasts that many of them had suffered martyrdom:

When therefore they are at a loss, being refuted in all that they say, they try to take refuge in their martyrs, alleging that they have many martyrs, and that this is sure evidence of the power of the so-called prophetic spirit that is with them. But this, as it appears, is entirely fallacious.

21. For some of the heresies have a great many martyrs; but surely we shall not on that account agree with them or confess that they hold the truth. And first, indeed, those called Marcionites, from the heresy of Marcion, say that they have a multitude of martyrs for Christ; yet they do not confess Christ himself in truth.

A little farther on he continues:

22. When those called to martyrdom from the Church for the truth of the faith have met with any of the so-called martyrs of the Phrygian heresy, they have separated from them, and died without any fellowship with them, because they did not wish to give their assent to the spirit of Montanus and the women. And that this is true and took place in our own time in Apamea on the Mæander, among those who suffered martyrdom with Gaius and Alexander of Eumenia, is well known.

Chapter 17. Miltiades and His Works.

1. In this work he mentions a writer, Miltiades, stating that he also wrote a certain book against the above-mentioned heresy. After quoting some of their words, he adds:

Having found these things in a certain work of theirs in opposition to the work of the brother Alcibiades, in which he shows that a prophet ought not to speak in ecstasy, I made an abridgment.

2. A little further on in the same work he gives a list of those who prophesied under the new covenant, among whom he enumerates a certain Ammia and Quadratus, saying:

But the false prophet falls into an ecstasy, in which he is without shame or fear. Beginning with purposed ignorance, he passes on, as has been stated, to involuntary madness of soul.

3. They cannot show that one of the old or one of the new prophets was thus carried away in spirit. Neither can they boast of Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or any others not belonging to them.

4. And again after a little he says: For if after Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia, as they assert, the women with Montanus received the prophetic gift, let them show who among them received it from Montanus and the women. For the apostle thought it necessary that the prophetic gift should continue in all the Church until the final coming. But they cannot show it, though this is the fourteenth year since the death of Maximilla.

5. He writes thus. But the Miltiades to whom he refers has left other monuments of his own zeal for the Divine Scriptures, in the discourses which he composed against the Greeks and against the Jews, answering each of them separately in two books. And in addition he addresses an apology to the earthly rulers, in behalf of the philosophy which he embraced.

Chapter 18. The Manner in which Apollonius refuted the Phrygians, and the Persons whom he Mentions.

1. As the so-called Phrygian heresy was still flourishing in Phrygia in his time, Apollonius also, an ecclesiastical writer, undertook its refutation, and wrote a special work against it, correcting in detail the false prophecies current among them and reproving the life of the founders of the heresy. But hear his own words respecting Montanus:

2. His actions and his teaching show who this new teacher is. This is he who taught the dissolution of marriage; who made laws for fasting; who named Pepuza and Tymion, small towns in Phrygia, Jerusalem, wishing to gather people to them from all directions; who appointed collectors of money; who contrived the receiving of gifts under the name of offerings; who provided salaries for those who preached his doctrine, that its teaching might prevail through gluttony.

3. He writes thus concerning Montanus; and a little farther on he writes as follows concerning his prophetesses: We show that these first prophetesses themselves, as soon as they were filled with the Spirit, abandoned their husbands. How falsely therefore they speak who call Prisca a virgin.

4. Afterwards he says: Does not all Scripture seem to you to forbid a prophet to receive gifts and money? When therefore I see the prophetess receiving gold and silver and costly garments, how can I avoid reproving her?

5. And again a little farther on he speaks thus concerning one of their confessors:

So also Themiso, who was clothed with plausible covetousness, could not endure the sign of confession, but threw aside bonds for an abundance of possessions. Yet, though he should have been humble on this account, he dared to boast as a martyr, and in imitation of the apostle, he wrote a certain catholic epistle, to instruct those whose faith was better than his own, contending for words of empty sound, and blaspheming against the Lord and the apostles and the holy Church.

6. And again concerning others of those honored among them as martyrs, he writes as follows:

Not to speak of many, let the prophetess herself tell us of Alexander, who called himself a martyr, with whom she is in the habit of banqueting, and who

is worshipped by many. We need not mention his robberies and other daring deeds for which he was punished, but the archives contain them.

7. Which of these forgives the sins of the other? Does the prophet the robberies of the martyr, or the martyr the covetousness of the prophet? For although the Lord said, 'Provide neither gold, nor silver, neither two coats,' Matthew 10:9-10 these men, in complete opposition, transgress in respect to the possession of the forbidden things. For we will show that those whom they call prophets and martyrs gather their gain not only from rich men, but also from the poor, and orphans, and widows.

8. But if they are confident, let them stand up and discuss these matters, that if convicted they may hereafter cease transgressing. For the fruits of the prophet must be tried; 'for the tree is known by its fruit.' Matthew 12:33

9. But that those who wish may know concerning Alexander, he was tried by Æmilius Frontinus, proconsul at Ephesus; not on account of the Name, but for the robberies which he had committed, being already an apostate. Afterwards, having falsely declared for the name of the Lord, he was released, having deceived the faithful that were there. And his own parish, from which he came, did not receive him, because he was a robber. Those who wish to learn about him have the public records of Asia. And yet the prophet with whom he spent many years knows nothing about him!

10. Exposing him, through him we expose also the pretense of the prophet. We could show the same thing of many others. But if they are confident, let them endure the test.

11. Again, in another part of his work he speaks as follows of the prophets of whom they boast:

If they deny that their prophets have received gifts, let them acknowledge this: that if they are convicted of receiving them, they are not prophets. And we will bring a multitude of proofs of this. But it is necessary that all the fruits of a prophet should be examined. Tell me, does a prophet dye his hair? Does a prophet stain his eyelids? Does a prophet delight in adornment? Does a prophet play with tables and dice? Does a prophet lend on usury? Let them confess whether these things are lawful or not; but I will show that they have been done by them.

12. This same Apollonius states in the same work that, at the time of his writing, it was the fortieth year since Montanus had begun his pretended

prophecy.

13. And he says also that Zoticus, who was mentioned by the former writer, when Maximilla was pretending to prophesy in Pepuza, resisted her and endeavored to refute the spirit that was working in her; but was prevented by those who agreed with her. He mentions also a certain Thraseas among the martyrs of that time.

He speaks, moreover, of a tradition that the Saviour commanded his apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years. He uses testimonies also from the Revelation of John, and he relates that a dead man had, through the Divine power, been raised by John himself in Ephesus. He also adds other things by which he fully and abundantly exposes the error of the heresy of which we have been speaking. These are the matters recorded by Apollonius.

Chapter 19. Serapion on the Heresy of the Phrygians.

1. Serapion, who, as report says, succeeded Maximinus at that time as bishop of the church of Antioch, mentions the works of Apolinarius against the above-mentioned heresy. And he alludes to him in a private letter to Caricus and Pontius, in which he himself exposes the same heresy, and adds the following words:

2. That you may see that the doings of this lying band of the new prophecy, so called, are an abomination to all the brotherhood throughout the world, I have sent you writings of the most blessed Claudius Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.

3. In the same letter of Serapion the signatures of several bishops are found, one of whom subscribes himself as follows:

I, Aurelius Cyrenius, a witness, pray for your health.

And another in this manner:

Ælius Publius Julius, bishop of Debeltum, a colony of Thrace. As God lives in the heavens, the blessed Sotas in Anchialus desired to cast the demon out of Priscilla, but the hypocrites did not permit him.

4. And the autograph signatures of many other bishops who agreed with them are contained in the same letter.

So much for these persons.

Chapter 20. The Writings of Irenæus against the Schismatics at Rome.

1. Irenæus wrote several letters against those who were disturbing the sound ordinance of the Church at Rome. One of them was to Blastus On Schism; another to Florinus On Monarchy, or That God is not the Author of Evil. For Florinus seemed to be defending this opinion. And because he was being drawn away by the error of Valentinus, Irenæus wrote his work On the Ogdoad, in which he shows that he himself had been acquainted with the first successors of the apostles.

2. At the close of the treatise we have found a most beautiful note which we are constrained to insert in this work. It runs as follows:

I adjure you who may copy this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious advent when he comes to judge the living and the dead, to compare what you shall write, and correct it carefully by this manuscript, and also to write this adjuration, and place it in the copy.

3. These things may be profitably read in his work, and related by us, that we may have those ancient and truly holy men as the best example of painstaking carefulness.

4. In the letter to Florinus, of which we have spoken, Irenæus mentions again his intimacy with Polycarp, saying:

These doctrines, O Florinus, to speak mildly, are not of sound judgment. These doctrines disagree with the Church, and drive into the greatest impiety those who accept them. These doctrines, not even the heretics outside of the Church, have ever dared to publish. These doctrines, the presbyters who were before us, and who were companions of the apostles, did not deliver to you.

5. For when I was a boy, I saw you in lower Asia with Polycarp, moving in splendor in the royal court, and endeavoring to gain his approbation.

6. I remember the events of that time more clearly than those of recent years. For what boys learn, growing with their mind, becomes joined with it; so that I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and the manner of his life, and his physical appearance, and his discourses to the people, and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord. And as he remembered their words, and what he heard

from them concerning the Lord, and concerning his miracles and his teaching, having received them from eyewitnesses of the 'Word of life,' 1 John 1:1 Polycarp related all things in harmony with the Scriptures.

7. These things being told me by the mercy of God, I listened to them attentively, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart. And continually, through God's grace, I recall them faithfully. And I am able to bear witness before God that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard any such thing, he would have cried out, and stopped his ears, and as was his custom, would have exclaimed, O good God, unto what times have you spared me that I should endure these things? And he would have fled from the place where, sitting or standing, he had heard such words.

8. And this can be shown plainly from the letters which he sent, either to the neighboring churches for their confirmation, or to some of the brethren, admonishing and exhorting them. Thus far Irenæus.

Chapter 21. How Appolonius suffered Martyrdom at Rome.

1. About the same time, in the reign of Commodus, our condition became more favorable, and through the grace of God the churches throughout the entire world enjoyed peace, and the word of salvation was leading every soul, from every race of man to the devout worship of the God of the universe. So that now at Rome many who were highly distinguished for wealth and family turned with all their household and relatives unto their salvation.

2. But the demon who hates what is good, being malignant in his nature, could not endure this, but prepared himself again for conflict, contriving many devices against us. And he brought to the judgment seat Apollonius, of the city of Rome, a man renowned among the faithful for learning and philosophy, having stirred up one of his servants, who was well fitted for such a purpose, to accuse him.

3. But this wretched man made the charge unseasonably, because by a royal decree it was unlawful that informers of such things should live. And his legs were broken immediately, Perennius the judge having pronounced this sentence upon him.

4. But the martyr, highly beloved of God, being earnestly entreated and requested by the judge to give an account of himself before the Senate, made in the presence of all an eloquent defense of the faith for which he was witnessing. And as if by decree of the Senate he was put to death by decapitation; an ancient law requiring that those who were brought to the judgment seat and refused to recant should not be liberated. Whoever desires to know his arguments before the judge and his answers to the questions of Perennius, and his entire defense before the Senate will find them in the records of the ancient martyrdoms which we have collected.

Chapter 22. The Bishops that were well known at this Time.

In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus, Victor succeeded Eleutherus, the latter having held the episcopate for thirteen years. In the same year, after Julian had completed his tenth year, Demetrius received the charge of the parishes at Alexandria. At this time the above-mentioned Serapion, the eighth from the apostles, was still well known as bishop of the church at Antioch. Theophilus presided at Cæsarea in Palestine; and Narcissus, whom we have mentioned before, still had charge of the church at Jerusalem. Bacchylus at the same time was bishop of Corinth in Greece, and Polycrates of the parish of Ephesus. And besides these a multitude of others, as is likely, were then prominent. But we have given the names of those alone, the soundness of whose faith has come down to us in writing.

Chapter 23. The Question then agitated concerning the Passover.

1. A question of no small importance arose at that time. For the parishes of all Asia, as from an older tradition, held that the fourteenth day of the moon, on which day the Jews were commanded to sacrifice the lamb, should be observed as the feast of the Saviour's passover. It was therefore necessary to end their fast on that day, whatever day of the week it should happen to be. But it was not the custom of the churches in the rest of the world to end it at this time, as they observed the practice which, from apostolic tradition, has prevailed to the present time, of terminating the fast on no other day than on that of the resurrection of our Saviour.

2. Synods and assemblies of bishops were held on this account, and all, with one consent, through mutual correspondence drew up an ecclesiastical decree, that the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord should be celebrated on no other but the Lord's day, and that we should observe the close of the paschal fast on this day only. There is still extant a writing of those who were then assembled in Palestine, over whom Theophilus, bishop of Cæsarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, presided. And there is also another writing extant of those who were assembled at Rome to consider the same question, which bears the name of Bishop Victor; also of the bishops in Pontus over whom Palmas, as the oldest, presided; and of the parishes in Gaul of which Irenæus was bishop, and of those in Osrhoëne and the cities there; and a personal letter of Bacchylus, bishop of the church at Corinth, and of a great many others, who uttered the same opinion and judgment, and cast the same vote.

3. And that which has been given above was their unanimous decision.

Chapter 24. The Disagreement in Asia.

1. But the bishops of Asia, led by Polycrates, decided to hold to the old custom handed down to them. He himself, in a letter which he addressed to Victor and the church of Rome, set forth in the following words the tradition which had come down to him:

2. We observe the exact day; neither adding, nor taking away. For in Asia also great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise again on the day of the Lord's coming, when he shall come with glory from heaven, and shall seek out all the saints. Among these are Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who fell asleep in Hierapolis; and his two aged virgin daughters, and another daughter, who lived in the Holy Spirit and now rests at Ephesus; and, moreover, John, who was both a witness and a teacher, who reclined upon the bosom of the Lord, and, being a priest, wore the sacerdotal plate.

3. He fell asleep at Ephesus.

4. And Polycarp in Smyrna, who was a bishop and martyr; and Thraseas, bishop and martyr from Eumenia, who fell asleep in Smyrna.

5. Why need I mention the bishop and martyr Sagaris who fell asleep in Laodicea, or the blessed Papirius, or Melito, the Eunuch who lived altogether in the Holy Spirit, and who lies in Sardis, awaiting the episcopate from heaven, when he shall rise from the dead?

6. All these observed the fourteenth day of the passover according to the Gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith. And I also, Polycrates, the least of you all, do according to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have closely followed. For seven of my relatives were bishops; and I am the eighth. And my relatives always observed the day when the people put away the leaven.

7. I, therefore, brethren, who have lived sixty-five years in the Lord, and have met with the brethren throughout the world, and have gone through every Holy Scripture, am not affrighted by terrifying words. For those greater than I have said 'We ought to obey God rather than man.' Acts 5:29

8. He then writes of all the bishops who were present with him and thought as he did. His words are as follows:

I could mention the bishops who were present, whom I summoned at your desire; whose names, should I write them, would constitute a great multitude.

And they, beholding my littleness, gave their consent to the letter, knowing that I did not bear my gray hairs in vain, but had always governed my life by the Lord Jesus.

9. Thereupon Victor, who presided over the church at Rome, immediately attempted to cut off from the common unity the parishes of all Asia, with the churches that agreed with them, as heterodox; and he wrote letters and declared all the brethren there wholly excommunicate.

10. But this did not please all the bishops. And they besought him to consider the things of peace, and of neighborly unity and love. Words of theirs are extant, sharply rebuking Victor.

11. Among them was Irenæus, who, sending letters in the name of the brethren in Gaul over whom he presided, maintained that the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord should be observed only on the Lord's day. He fittingly admonishes Victor that he should not cut off whole churches of God which observed the tradition of an ancient custom and after many other words he proceeds as follows:

12. For the controversy is not only concerning the day, but also concerning the very manner of the fast. For some think that they should fast one day, others two, yet others more; some, moreover, count their day as consisting of forty hours day and night.

13. And this variety in its observance has not originated in our time; but long before in that of our ancestors. It is likely that they did not hold to strict accuracy, and thus formed a custom for their posterity according to their own simplicity and peculiar mode. Yet all of these lived none the less in peace, and we also live in peace with one another; and the disagreement in regard to the fast confirms the agreement in the faith.

14. He adds to this the following account, which I may properly insert:

Among these were the presbyters before Soter, who presided over the church which you now rule. We mean Anicetus, and Pius, and Hyginus, and Telesphorus, and Xystus. They neither observed it themselves, nor did they permit those after them to do so. And yet though not observing it, they were none the less at peace with those who came to them from the parishes in which it was observed; although this observance was more opposed to those who did not observe it.

15. But none were ever cast out on account of this form; but the presbyters

before you who did not observe it, sent the eucharist to those of other parishes who observed it.

16. And when the blessed Polycarp was at Rome in the time of Anicetus, and they disagreed a little about certain other things, they immediately made peace with one another, not caring to quarrel over this matter. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe what he had always observed with John the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had associated; neither could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it as he said that he ought to follow the customs of the presbyters that had preceded him.

17. But though matters were in this shape, they communed together, and Anicetus conceded the administration of the eucharist in the church to Polycarp, manifestly as a mark of respect. And they parted from each other in peace, both those who observed, and those who did not, maintaining the peace of the whole church.

18. Thus Irenæus, who truly was well named, became a peacemaker in this matter, exhorting and negotiating in this way in behalf of the peace of the churches. And he conferred by letter about this mooted question, not only with Victor, but also with most of the other rulers of the churches.

Chapter 25. How All came to an Agreement respecting the Passover.

1. Those in Palestine whom we have recently mentioned, Narcissus and Theophilus, and with them Cassius, bishop of the church of Tyre, and Clarus of the church of Ptolemais, and those who met with them, having stated many things respecting the tradition concerning the passover which had come to them in succession from the apostles, at the close of their writing add these words:

2. Endeavor to send copies of our letter to every church, that we may not furnish occasion to those who easily deceive their souls. We show you indeed that also in Alexandria they keep it on the same day that we do. For letters are carried from us to them and from them to us, so that in the same manner and at the same time we keep the sacred day.

Chapter 26. The Elegant Works of Irenæus which have come down to us.

Besides the works and letters of Irenæus which we have mentioned, a certain book of his *On Knowledge*, written against the Greeks, very concise and remarkably forcible, is extant; and another, which he dedicated to a brother Marcian, *In Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*; and a volume containing various Dissertations, in which he mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews and the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, making quotations from them. These are the works of Irenæus which have come to our knowledge.

Commodus having ended his reign after thirteen years, Severus became emperor in less than six months after his death, Pertinax having reigned during the intervening time.

Chapter 27. The Works of Others that flourished at that Time.

Numerous memorials of the faithful zeal of the ancient ecclesiastical men of that time are still preserved by many. Of these we would note particularly the writings of Heraclitus On the Apostle, and those of Maximus on the question so much discussed among heretics, the Origin of Evil, and on the Creation of Matter. Also those of Candidus on the Hexæmeron, and of Apion on the same subject; likewise of Sextus on the Resurrection, and another treatise of Arabianus, and writings of a multitude of others, in regard to whom, because we have no data, it is impossible to state in our work when they lived, or to give any account of their history. And works of many others have come down to us whose names we are unable to give, orthodox and ecclesiastical, as their interpretations of the Divine Scriptures show, but unknown to us, because their names are not stated in their writings.

Chapter 28. Those who first advanced the Heresy of Artemon; their Manner of Life, and how they dared to corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.

1. In a laborious work by one of these writers against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata attempted to revive again in our day, there is an account appropriate to the history which we are now examining.

2. For he criticises, as a late innovation, the above-mentioned heresy which teaches that the Saviour was a mere man, because they were attempting to magnify it as ancient. Having given in his work many other arguments in refutation of their blasphemous falsehood, he adds the following words:

3. For they say that all the early teachers and the apostles received and taught what they now declare, and that the truth of the Gospel was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop of Rome from Peter, but that from his successor, Zephyrinus, the truth had been corrupted.

4. And what they say might be plausible, if first of all the Divine Scriptures did not contradict them. And there are writings of certain brethren older than the times of Victor, which they wrote in behalf of the truth against the heathen, and against the heresies which existed in their day. I refer to Justin and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement and many others, in all of whose works Christ is spoken of as God.

5. For who does not know the works of Irenæus and of Melito and of others which teach that Christ is God and man? And how many psalms and hymns, written by the faithful brethren from the beginning, celebrate Christ the Word of God, speaking of him as Divine.

6. How then since the opinion held by the Church has been preached for so many years, can its preaching have been delayed as they affirm, until the times of Victor? And how is it that they are not ashamed to speak thus falsely of Victor, knowing well that he cut off from communion Theodotus, the cobbler, the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, and the first to declare that Christ is mere man? For if Victor agreed with their opinions, as their slander affirms, how came he to cast out Theodotus, the inventor of this heresy?

7. So much in regard to Victor. His bishopric lasted ten years, and Zephyrinus was appointed his successor about the ninth year of the reign of

Severus. The author of the above-mentioned book, concerning the founder of this heresy, narrates another event which occurred in the time of Zephyrinus, using these words:

8. I will remind many of the brethren of a fact which took place in our time, which, had it happened in Sodom, might, I think, have proved a warning to them. There was a certain confessor, Natalius, not long ago, but in our own day.

9. This man was deceived at one time by Asclepiodotus and another Theodotus, a money-changer. Both of them were disciples of Theodotus, the cobbler, who, as I have said, was the first person excommunicated by Victor, bishop at that time, on account of this sentiment, or rather senselessness.

10. Natalius was persuaded by them to allow himself to be chosen bishop of this heresy with a salary, to be paid by them, of one hundred and fifty denarii a month.

11. When he had thus connected himself with them, he was warned oftentimes by the Lord through visions. For the compassionate God and our Lord Jesus Christ was not willing that a witness of his own sufferings, being cast out of the Church, should perish.

12. But as he paid little regard to the visions, because he was ensnared by the first position among them and by that shameful covetousness which destroys a great many, he was scourged by holy angels, and punished severely through the entire night. Thereupon having risen in the morning, he put on sackcloth and covered himself with ashes, and with great haste and tears he fell down before Zephyrinus, the bishop, rolling at the feet not only of the clergy, but also of the laity; and he moved with his tears the compassionate Church of the merciful Christ. And though he used much supplication, and showed the welts of the stripes which he had received, yet scarcely was he taken back into communion.

13. We will add from the same writer some other extracts concerning them, which run as follows:

They have treated the Divine Scriptures recklessly and without fear. They have set aside the rule of ancient faith; and Christ they have not known. They do not endeavor to learn what the Divine Scriptures declare, but strive laboriously after any form of syllogism which may be devised to sustain their impiety. And if any one brings before them a passage of Divine Scripture,

they see whether a conjunctive or disjunctive form of syllogism can be made from it.

14. And as being of the earth and speaking of the earth, and as ignorant of him who comes from above, they forsake the holy writings of God to devote themselves to geometry. Euclid is laboriously measured by some of them; and Aristotle and Theophrastus are admired; and Galen, perhaps, by some is even worshipped.

15. But that those who use the arts of unbelievers for their heretical opinions and adulterate the simple faith of the Divine Scriptures by the craft of the godless, are far from the faith, what need is there to say? Therefore they have laid their hands boldly upon the Divine Scriptures, alleging that they have corrected them.

16. That I am not speaking falsely of them in this matter, whoever wishes may learn. For if any one will collect their respective copies, and compare them one with another, he will find that they differ greatly.

17. Those of Asclepiades, for example, do not agree with those of Theodotus. And many of these can be obtained, because their disciples have assiduously written the corrections, as they call them, that is the corruptions, of each of them. Again, those of Hermophilus do not agree with these, and those of Apollonides are not consistent with themselves. For you can compare those prepared by them at an earlier date with those which they corrupted later, and you will find them widely different.

18. But how daring this offense is, it is not likely that they themselves are ignorant. For either they do not believe that the Divine Scriptures were spoken by the Holy Spirit, and thus are unbelievers, or else they think themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and in that case what else are they than demoniacs? For they cannot deny the commission of the crime, since the copies have been written by their own hands. For they did not receive such Scriptures from their instructors, nor can they produce any copies from which they were transcribed.

19. But some of them have not thought it worth while to corrupt them, but simply deny the law and the prophets, and thus through their lawless and impious teaching under pretense of grace, have sunk to the lowest depths of perdition.

Let this suffice for these things.

Book VI

Chapter 1. The Persecution under Severus.

When Severus began to persecute the churches, glorious testimonies were given everywhere by the athletes of religion. This was especially the case in Alexandria, to which city, as to a most prominent theater, athletes of God were brought from Egypt and all Thebais according to their merit, and won crowns from God through their great patience under many tortures and every mode of death. Among these was Leonides, who was called the father of Origen, and who was beheaded while his son was still young. How remarkable the predilection of this son was for the Divine Word, in consequence of his father's instruction, it will not be amiss to state briefly, as his fame has been very greatly celebrated by many.

Chapter 2. The Training of Origen from Childhood.

1. Many things might be said in attempting to describe the life of the man while in school; but this subject alone would require a separate treatise. Nevertheless, for the present, abridging most things, we shall state a few facts concerning him as briefly as possible, gathering them from certain letters, and from the statement of persons still living who were acquainted with him.

2. What they report of Origen seems to me worthy of mention, even, so to speak, from his swathing-bands.

It was the tenth year of the reign of Severus, while Lætus was governor of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and Demetrius had lately received the episcopate of the parishes there, as successor of Julian.

3. As the flame of persecution had been kindled greatly, and multitudes had gained the crown of martyrdom, such desire for martyrdom seized the soul of Origen, although yet a boy, that he went close to danger, springing forward and rushing to the conflict in his eagerness.

4. And truly the termination of his life had been very near had not the divine and heavenly Providence, for the benefit of many, prevented his desire through the agency of his mother.

5. For, at first, entreating him, she begged him to have compassion on her motherly feelings toward him; but finding, that when he had learned that his father had been seized and imprisoned, he was set the more resolutely, and completely carried away with his zeal for martyrdom, she hid all his clothing, and thus compelled him to remain at home.

6. But, as there was nothing else that he could do, and his zeal beyond his age would not allow him to be quiet, he sent to his father an encouraging letter on martyrdom, in which he exhorted him, saying, Take heed not to change your mind on our account. This may be recorded as the first evidence of Origen's youthful wisdom and of his genuine love for piety.

7. For even then he had stored up no small resources in the words of the faith, having been trained in the Divine Scriptures from childhood. And he had not studied them with indifference, for his father, besides giving him the usual liberal education, had made them a matter of no secondary importance.

8. First of all, before inducting him into the Greek sciences, he drilled him in sacred studies, requiring him to learn and recite every day.

9. Nor was this irksome to the boy, but he was eager and diligent in these studies. And he was not satisfied with learning what was simple and obvious in the sacred words, but sought for something more, and even at that age busied himself with deeper speculations. So that he puzzled his father with inquiries for the true meaning of the inspired Scriptures.

10. And his father rebuked him seemingly to his face, telling him not to search beyond his age, or further than the manifest meaning. But by himself he rejoiced greatly and thanked God, the author of all good, that he had deemed him worthy to be the father of such a child.

11. And they say that often, standing by the boy when asleep, he uncovered his breast as if the Divine Spirit were enshrined within it, and kissed it reverently; considering himself blessed in his goodly offspring. These and other things like them are related of Origen when a boy.

12. But when his father ended his life in martyrdom, he was left with his mother and six younger brothers when he was not quite seventeen years old.

13. And the property of his father being confiscated to the royal treasury, he and his family were in want of the necessities of life. But he was deemed worthy of Divine care. And he found welcome and rest with a woman of great wealth, and distinguished in her manner of life and in other respects. She was treating with great honor a famous heretic then in Alexandria; who, however, was born in Antioch. He was with her as an adopted son, and she treated him with the greatest kindness.

14. But although Origen was under the necessity of associating with him, he nevertheless gave from this time on strong evidences of his orthodoxy in the faith. For when on account of the apparent skill in argument of Paul — for this was the man's name — a great multitude came to him, not only of heretics but also of our people, Origen could never be induced to join with him in prayer; for he held, although a boy, the rule of the Church, and abominated, as he somewhere expresses it, heretical teachings. Having been instructed in the sciences of the Greeks by his father, he devoted him after his death more assiduously and exclusively to the study of literature, so that he obtained considerable preparation in philology and was able not long after the death of his father, by devoting himself to that subject, to earn a compensation amply sufficient for his needs at his age.

Chapter 3. While still very Young, he taught diligently the Word of Christ.

1. But while he was lecturing in the school, as he tells us himself, and there was no one at Alexandria to give instruction in the faith, as all were driven away by the threat of persecution, some of the heathen came to him to hear the word of God.

2. The first of them, he says, was Plutarch, who after living well, was honored with divine martyrdom. The second was Heraclas, a brother of Plutarch; who after he too had given with him abundant evidence of a philosophic and ascetic life, was esteemed worthy to succeed Demetrius in the bishopric of Alexandria.

3. He was in his eighteenth year when he took charge of the catechetical school. He was prominent also at this time, during the persecution under Aquila, the governor of Alexandria, when his name became celebrated among the leaders in the faith, through the kindness and goodwill which he manifested toward all the holy martyrs, whether known to him or strangers.

4. For not only was he with them while in bonds, and until their final condemnation, but when the holy martyrs were led to death, he was very bold and went with them into danger. So that as he acted bravely, and with great boldness saluted the martyrs with a kiss, oftentimes the heathen multitude round about them became infuriated, and were on the point of rushing upon him.

5. But through the helping hand of God, he escaped absolutely and marvelously. And this same divine and heavenly power, again and again, it is impossible to say how often, on account of his great zeal and boldness for the words of Christ, guarded him when thus endangered. So great was the enmity of the unbelievers toward him, on account of the multitude that were instructed by him in the sacred faith, that they placed bands of soldiers around the house where he abode.

6. Thus day by day the persecution burned against him, so that the whole city could no longer contain him; but he removed from house to house and was driven in every direction because of the multitude who attended upon the divine instruction which he gave. For his life also exhibited right and admirable conduct according to the practice of genuine philosophy.

7. For they say that his manner of life was as his doctrine, and his doctrine as his life. Therefore, by the divine Power working with him he aroused a great many to his own zeal.

8. But when he saw yet more coming to him for instruction, and the catechetical school had been entrusted to him alone by Demetrius, who presided over the church, he considered the teaching of grammatical science inconsistent with training in divine subjects, and immediately he gave up his grammatical school as unprofitable and a hindrance to sacred learning.

9. Then, with becoming consideration, that he might not need aid from others, he disposed of whatever valuable books of ancient literature he possessed, being satisfied with receiving from the purchaser four oboli a day. For many years he lived philosophically in this manner, putting away all the incentives of youthful desires. Through the entire day he endured no small amount of discipline; and for the greater part of the night he gave himself to the study of the Divine Scriptures. He restrained himself as much as possible by a most philosophic life; sometimes by the discipline of fasting, again by limited time for sleep. And in his zeal he never lay upon a bed, but upon the ground.

10. Most of all, he thought that the words of the Saviour in the Gospel should be observed, in which he exhorts not to have two coats nor to use shoes nor to occupy oneself with cares for the future.

11. With a zeal beyond his age he continued in cold and nakedness; and, going to the very extreme of poverty, he greatly astonished those about him. And indeed he grieved many of his friends who desired to share their possessions with him, on account of the wearisome toil which they saw him enduring in the teaching of divine things.

12. But he did not relax his perseverance. He is said to have walked for a number of years never wearing a shoe, and, for a great many years, to have abstained from the use of wine, and of all other things beyond his necessary food; so that he was in danger of breaking down and destroying his constitution.

13. By giving such evidences of a philosophic life to those who saw him, he aroused many of his pupils to similar zeal; so that prominent men even of the unbelieving heathen and men that followed learning and philosophy were led to his instruction. Some of them having received from him into the depth

of their souls faith in the Divine Word, became prominent in the persecution then prevailing; and some of them were seized and suffered martyrdom.

Chapter 4. The pupils of Origen that became Martyrs.

1. The first of these was Plutarch, who was mentioned just above. As he was led to death, the man of whom we are speaking being with him at the end of his life, came near being slain by his fellow citizens, as if he were the cause of his death. But the providence of God preserved him at this time also.

2. After Plutarch, the second martyr among the pupils of Origen was Serenus, who gave through fire a proof of the faith which he had received.

3. The third martyr from the same school was Heraclides, and after him the fourth was Hero. The former of these was as yet a catechumen, and the latter had but recently been baptized. Both of them were beheaded. After them, the fifth from the same school proclaimed as an athlete of piety was another Serenus, who, it is reported, was beheaded, after a long endurance of tortures. And of women, Herais died while yet a catechumen, receiving baptism by fire, as Origen himself somewhere says.

Chapter 5. Potamiaëna.

1. Basilides may be counted the seventh of these. He led to martyrdom the celebrated Potamiaëna, who is still famous among the people of the country for the many things which she endured for the preservation of her chastity and virginity. For she was blooming in the perfection of her mind and her physical graces. Having suffered much for the faith of Christ, finally after tortures dreadful and terrible to speak of, she with her mother, Marcella, was put to death by fire.

2. They say that the judge, Aquila by name, having inflicted severe tortures upon her entire body, at last threatened to hand her over to the gladiators for bodily abuse. After a little consideration, being asked for her decision, she made a reply which was regarded as impious.

3. Thereupon she received sentence immediately, and Basilides, one of the officers of the army, led her to death. But as the people attempted to annoy and insult her with abusive words, he drove back her insulters, showing her much pity and kindness. And perceiving the man's sympathy for her, she exhorted him to be of good courage, for she would supplicate her Lord for him after her departure, and he would soon receive a reward for the kindness he had shown her.

4. Having said this, she nobly sustained the issue, burning pitch being poured little by little, over various parts of her body, from the sole of her feet to the crown of her head. Such was the conflict endured by this famous maiden.

5. Not long after this Basilides, being asked by his fellow-soldiers to swear for a certain reason, declared that it was not lawful for him to swear at all, for he was a Christian, and he confessed this openly. At first they thought that he was jesting, but when he continued to affirm it, he was led to the judge, and, acknowledging his conviction before him, he was imprisoned. But the brethren in God coming to him and inquiring the reason of this sudden and remarkable resolution, he is reported to have said that Potamiaëna, for three days after her martyrdom, stood beside him by night and placed a crown on his head and said that she had besought the Lord for him and had obtained what she asked, and that soon she would take him with her.

6. Thereupon the brethren gave him the seal of the Lord; and on the next

day, after giving glorious testimony for the Lord, he was beheaded. And many others in Alexandria are recorded to have accepted speedily the word of Christ in those times.

7. For Potamiæna appeared to them in their dreams and exhorted them. But let this suffice in regard to this matter.

Chapter 6. Clement of Alexandria.

Clement having succeeded Pantænus, had charge at that time of the catechetical instruction in Alexandria, so that Origen also, while still a boy, was one of his pupils. In the first book of the work called Stromata, which Clement wrote, he gives a chronological table, bringing events down to the death of Commodus. So it is evident that that work was written during the reign of Severus, whose times we are now recording.

Chapter 7. The Writer, Judas.

At this time another writer, Judas, discoursing about the seventy weeks in Daniel, brings down the chronology to the tenth year of the reign of Severus. He thought that the coming of Antichrist, which was much talked about, was then near. So greatly did the agitation caused by the persecution of our people at this time disturb the minds of many.

Chapter 8. Origen's Daring Deed.

1. At this time while Origen was conducting catechetical instruction at Alexandria, a deed was done by him which evidenced an immature and youthful mind, but at the same time gave the highest proof of faith and continence. For he took the words, There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, Matthew 19:12 in too literal and extreme a sense. And in order to fulfill the Saviour's word, and at the same time to take away from the unbelievers all opportunity for scandal — for, although young, he met for the study of divine things with women as well as men, — he carried out in action the word of the Saviour.

2. He thought that this would not be known by many of his acquaintances. But it was impossible for him, though desiring to do so, to keep such an action secret.

3. When Demetrius, who presided over that parish, at last learned of this, he admired greatly the daring nature of the act, and as he perceived his zeal and the genuineness of his faith, he immediately exhorted him to courage, and urged him the more to continue his work of catechetical instruction.

4. Such was he at that time. But soon afterward, seeing that he was prospering, and becoming great and distinguished among all men, the same Demetrius, overcome by human weakness, wrote of his deed as most foolish to the bishops throughout the world. But the bishops of Cesarea and Jerusalem, who were especially notable and distinguished among the bishops of Palestine, considering Origen worthy in the highest degree of the honor, ordained him a presbyter.

5. Thereupon his fame increased greatly, and his name became renowned everywhere, and he obtained no small reputation for virtue and wisdom. But Demetrius, having nothing else that he could say against him, save this deed of his boyhood, accused him bitterly, and dared to include with him in these accusations those who had raised him to the presbyterate.

6. These things, however, took place a little later. But at this time Origen continued fearlessly the instruction in divine things at Alexandria by day and night to all who came to him; devoting his entire leisure without cessation to divine studies and to his pupils.

7. Severus, having held the government for eighteen years, was succeeded

by his son, Antoninus. Among those who had endured courageously the persecution of that time, and had been preserved by the Providence of God through the conflicts of confession, was Alexander, of whom we have spoken already as bishop of the church in Jerusalem. On account of his pre-eminence in the confession of Christ he was thought worthy of that bishopric, while Narcissus, his predecessor, was still living.

Chapter 9. The Miracles of Narcissus.

1. The citizens of that parish mention many other miracles of Narcissus, on the tradition of the brethren who succeeded him; among which they relate the following wonder as performed by him.

2. They say that the oil once failed while the deacons were watching through the night at the great paschal vigil. Thereupon the whole multitude being dismayed, Narcissus directed those who attended to the lights, to draw water and bring it to him.

3. This being immediately done he prayed over the water, and with firm faith in the Lord, commanded them to pour it into the lamps. And when they had done so, contrary to all expectation by a wonderful and divine power, the nature of the water was changed into that of oil. A small portion of it has been preserved even to our day by many of the brethren there as a memento of the wonder.

4. They tell many other things worthy to be noted of the life of this man, among which is this. Certain base men being unable to endure the strength and firmness of his life, and fearing punishment for the many evil deeds of which they were conscious, sought by plotting to anticipate him, and circulated a terrible slander against him.

5. And to persuade those who heard of it, they confirmed their accusations with oaths: one invoked upon himself destruction by fire; another the wasting of his body by a foul disease; the third the loss of his eyes. But though they swore in this manner, they could not affect the mind of the believers; because the continence and virtuous life of Narcissus were well known to all.

6. But he could not in any wise endure the wickedness of these men; and as he had followed a philosophic life for a long time, he fled from the whole body of the Church, and hid himself in desert and secret places, and remained there many years.

7. But the great eye of judgment was not unmoved by these things, but soon looked down upon these impious men, and brought on them the curses with which they had bound themselves. The residence of the first, from nothing but a little spark falling upon it, was entirely consumed by night, and he perished with all his family. The second was speedily covered with the disease which he had imprecated upon himself, from the sole of his feet to his

head.

8. But the third, perceiving what had happened to the others, and fearing the inevitable judgment of God, the ruler of all, confessed publicly what they had plotted together. And in his repentance he became so wasted by his great lamentations, and continued weeping to such an extent, that both his eyes were destroyed. Such were the punishments which these men received for their falsehood.

Chapter 10. The Bishops of Jerusalem.

Narcissus having departed, and no one knowing where he was, those presiding over the neighboring churches thought it best to ordain another bishop. His name was Dios. He presided but a short time, and Germanus succeeded him. He was followed by Gordius, in whose time Narcissus appeared again, as if raised from the dead. And immediately the brethren besought him to take the episcopate, as all admired him the more on account of his retirement and philosophy, and especially because of the punishment with which God had avenged him.

Chapter 11. Alexander.

1. But as on account of his great age Narcissus was no longer able to perform his official duties, the Providence of God called to the office with him, by a revelation given him in a night vision, the above-mentioned Alexander, who was then bishop of another parish.

2. Thereupon, as by Divine direction, he journeyed from the land of Cappadocia, where he first held the episcopate, to Jerusalem, in consequence of a vow and for the sake of information in regard to its places. They received him there with great cordiality, and would not permit him to return, because of another revelation seen by them at night, which uttered the clearest message to the most zealous among them. For it made known that if they would go outside the gates, they would receive the bishop foreordained for them by God. And having done this, with the unanimous consent of the bishops of the neighboring churches, they constrained him to remain.

3. Alexander, himself, in private letters to the Antinoites, which are still preserved among us, mentions the joint episcopate of Narcissus and himself, writing in these words at the end of the epistle:

4. Narcissus salutes you, who held the episcopate here before me, and is now associated with me in prayers, being one hundred and sixteen years of age; and he exhorts you, as I do, to be of one mind.

These things took place in this manner. But, on the death of Serapion, Asclepiades, who had been himself distinguished among the confessors during the persecution, succeeded to the episcopate of the church at Antioch. Alexander alludes to his appointment, writing thus to the church at Antioch:

5. Alexander, a servant and prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the blessed church of Antioch, greeting in the Lord. The Lord has made my bonds during the time of my imprisonment light and easy, since I learned that, by the Divine Providence, Asclepiades, who in regard to the true faith is eminently qualified, has undertaken the bishopric of your holy church at Antioch.

6. He indicates that he sent this epistle by Clement, writing toward its close as follows:

My honored brethren, I have sent this letter to you by Clement, the blessed presbyter, a man virtuous and approved, whom you yourselves also know and will recognize. Being here, in the providence and oversight of the Master, he

has strengthened and built up the Church of the Lord.

Chapter 12. Serapion and his Extant Works.

1. It is probable that others have preserved other memorials of Serapion's literary industry, but there have reached us only those addressed to a certain Domninus, who, in the time of persecution, fell away from faith in Christ to the Jewish will-worship; and those addressed to Pontius and Caricus, ecclesiastical men, and other letters to different persons, and still another work composed by him on the so-called Gospel of Peter.

2. He wrote this last to refute the falsehoods which that Gospel contained, on account of some in the parish of Rhossus who had been led astray by it into heterodox notions. It may be well to give some brief extracts from his work, showing his opinion of the book. He writes as follows:

3. For we, brethren, receive both Peter and the other apostles as Christ; but we reject intelligently the writings falsely ascribed to them, knowing that such were not handed down to us.

4. When I visited you I supposed that all of you held the true faith, and as I had not read the Gospel which they put forward under the name of Peter, I said, If this is the only thing which occasions dispute among you, let it be read. But now having learned, from what has been told me, that their mind was involved in some heresy, I will hasten to come to you again. Therefore, brethren, expect me shortly.

5. But you will learn, brethren, from what has been written to you, that we perceived the nature of the heresy of Marcianus, and that, not understanding what he was saying, he contradicted himself.

6. For having obtained this Gospel from others who had studied it diligently, namely, from the successors of those who first used it, whom we call Docetæ (for most of their opinions are connected with the teaching of that school) we have been able to read it through, and we find many things in accordance with the true doctrine of the Saviour, but some things added to that doctrine, which we have pointed out for you farther on. So much in regard to Serapion.

Chapter 13. The Writings of Clement.

1. All the eight Stromata of Clement are preserved among us, and have been given by him the following title: Titus Flavius Clement's Stromata of Gnostic Notes on the True Philosophy.

2. The books entitled Hypotyposes are of the same number. In them he mentions Pantænus by name as his teacher, and gives his opinions and traditions.

3. Besides these there is his Hortatory Discourse addressed to the Greeks; three books of a work entitled the Instructor; another with the title What Rich Man is Saved? the work on the Passover; discussions on Fasting and on Evil Speaking; the Hortatory Discourse on Patience, or To Those Recently Baptized; and the one bearing the title Ecclesiastical Canon, or Against the Judaizers, which he dedicated to Alexander, the bishop mentioned above.

4. In the Stromata, he has not only treated extensively of the Divine Scripture, but he also quotes from the Greek writers whenever anything that they have said seems to him profitable.

5. He elucidates the opinions of many, both Greeks and barbarians. He also refutes the false doctrines of the heresiarchs, and besides this, reviews a large portion of history, giving us specimens of very various learning; with all the rest he mingles the views of philosophers. It is likely that on this account he gave his work the appropriate title of Stromata.

6. He makes use also in these works of testimonies from the disputed Scriptures, the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, and of Jesus, the son of Sirach, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of Barnabas, and Clement and Jude.

7. He mentions also Tatian's Discourse to the Greeks, and speaks of Cassianus as the author of a chronological work. He refers to the Jewish authors Philo, Aristobulus, Josephus, Demetrius, and Eupolemus, as showing, all of them, in their works, that Moses and the Jewish race existed before the earliest origin of the Greeks.

8. These books abound also in much other learning. In the first of them the author speaks of himself as next after the successors of the apostles.

9. In them he promises also to write a commentary on Genesis. In his book on the Passover he acknowledges that he had been urged by his friends to commit to writing, for posterity, the traditions which he had heard from the

ancient presbyters; and in the same work he mentions Melito and Irenæus, and certain others, and gives extracts from their writings.

Chapter 14. The Scriptures mentioned by Him.

1. To sum up briefly, he has given in the Hypotyposes abridged accounts of all canonical Scripture, not omitting the disputed books, — I refer to Jude and the other Catholic epistles, and Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter.

2. He says that the Epistle to the Hebrews is the work of Paul, and that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language; but that Luke translated it carefully and published it for the Greeks, and hence the same style of expression is found in this epistle and in the Acts.

3. But he says that the words, Paul the Apostle, were probably not prefixed, because, in sending it to the Hebrews, who were prejudiced and suspicious of him, he wisely did not wish to repel them at the very beginning by giving his name.

4. Farther on he says: But now, as the blessed presbyter said, since the Lord being the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, as sent to the Gentiles, on account of his modesty did not subscribe himself an apostle of the Hebrews, through respect for the Lord, and because being a herald and apostle of the Gentiles he wrote to the Hebrews out of his superabundance.

5. Again, in the same books, Clement gives the tradition of the earliest presbyters, as to the order of the Gospels, in the following manner:

6. The Gospels containing the genealogies, he says, were written first. The Gospel according to Mark had this occasion. As Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome, and declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who were present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And having composed the Gospel he gave it to those who had requested it.

7. When Peter learned of this, he neither directly forbade nor encouraged it. But, last of all, John, perceiving that the external facts had been made plain in the Gospel, being urged by his friends, and inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel. This is the account of Clement.

8. Again the above-mentioned Alexander, in a certain letter to Origen, refers to Clement, and at the same time to Pantænus, as being among his familiar acquaintances. He writes as follows:

For this, as you know, was the will of God, that the ancestral friendship existing between us should remain unshaken; nay, rather should be warmer

and stronger.

9. For we know well those blessed fathers who have trodden the way before us, with whom we shall soon be; Pantænus, the truly blessed man and master, and the holy Clement, my master and benefactor, and if there is any other like them, through whom I became acquainted with you, the best in everything, my master and brother.

10. So much for these matters. But Adamantius, — for this also was a name of Origen — when Zephyrinus was bishop of Rome, visited Rome, desiring, as he himself somewhere says, to see the most ancient church of Rome.

11. After a short stay there he returned to Alexandria. And he performed the duties of catechetical instruction there with great zeal; Demetrius, who was bishop there at that time, urging and even entreating him to work diligently for the benefit of the brethren.

Chapter 15. Heraclas.

1. But when he saw that he had not time for the deeper study of divine things, and for the investigation and interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, and also for the instruction of those who came to him — for coming, one after another, from morning till evening to be taught by him, they scarcely gave him time to breathe — he divided the multitude. And from those whom he knew well, he selected Heraclas, who was a zealous student of divine things, and in other respects a very learned man, not ignorant of philosophy, and made him his associate in the work of instruction. He entrusted to him the elementary training of beginners, but reserved for himself the teaching of those who were farther advanced.

Chapter 16. Origen's Earnest Study of the Divine Scriptures.

1. So earnest and assiduous was Origen's research into the divine words that he learned the Hebrew language, and procured as his own the original Hebrew Scriptures which were in the hands of the Jews. He investigated also the works of other translators of the Sacred Scriptures besides the Seventy. And in addition to the well-known translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, he discovered certain others which had been concealed from remote times — in what out-of-the-way corners I know not — and by his search he brought them to light.

2. Since he did not know the authors, he simply stated that he had found this one in Nicopolis near Actium and that one in some other place.

3. In the Hexapla of the Psalms, after the four prominent translations, he adds not only a fifth, but also a sixth and seventh. He states of one of these that he found it in a jar in Jericho in the time of Antoninus, the son of Severus.

4. Having collected all of these, he divided them into sections, and placed them opposite each other, with the Hebrew text itself. He thus left us the copies of the so-called Hexapla. He arranged also separately an edition of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion with the Septuagint, in the Tetrapla.

Chapter 17. The Translator Symmachus.

As to these translators it should be stated that Symmachus was an Ebionite. But the heresy of the Ebionites, as it is called, asserts that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, considering him a mere man, and insists strongly on keeping the law in a Jewish manner, as we have seen already in this history. Commentaries of Symmachus are still extant in which he appears to support this heresy by attacking the Gospel of Matthew. Origen states that he obtained these and other commentaries of Symmachus on the Scriptures from a certain Juliana, who, he says, received the books by inheritance from Symmachus himself.

Chapter 18. Ambrose.

1. About this time Ambrose, who held the heresy of Valentinus, was convinced by Origen's presentation of the truth, and, as if his mind were illumined by light, he accepted the orthodox doctrine of the Church.

2. Many others also, drawn by the fame of Origen's learning, which resounded everywhere, came to him to make trial of his skill in sacred literature. And a great many heretics, and not a few of the most distinguished philosophers, studied under him diligently, receiving instruction from him not only in divine things, but also in secular philosophy.

3. For when he perceived that any persons had superior intelligence he instructed them also in philosophic branches — in geometry, arithmetic, and other preparatory studies — and then advanced to the systems of the philosophers and explained their writings. And he made observations and comments upon each of them, so that he became celebrated as a great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves.

4. And he instructed many of the less learned in the common school branches, saying that these would be no small help to them in the study and understanding of the Divine Scriptures. On this account he considered it especially necessary for himself to be skilled in secular and philosophic learning.

Chapter 19. Circumstances Related of Origen.

1. The Greek philosophers of his age are witnesses to his proficiency in these subjects. We find frequent mention of him in their writings. Sometimes they dedicated their own works to him; again, they submitted their labors to him as a teacher for his judgment.

2. Why need we say these things when even Porphyry, who lived in Sicily in our own times and wrote books against us, attempting to traduce the Divine Scriptures by them, mentions those who have interpreted them; and being unable in any way to find a base accusation against the doctrines, for lack of arguments turns to reviling and calumniating their interpreters, attempting especially to slander Origen, whom he says he knew in his youth.

3. But truly, without knowing it, he commends the man; telling the truth about him in some cases where he could not do otherwise; but uttering falsehoods where he thinks he will not be detected. Sometimes he accuses him as a Christian; again he describes his proficiency in philosophic learning. But hear his own words:

4. Some persons, desiring to find a solution of the baseness of the Jewish Scriptures rather than abandon them, have had recourse to explanations inconsistent and incongruous with the words written, which explanations, instead of supplying a defense of the foreigners, contain rather approval and praise of themselves. For they boast that the plain words of Moses are enigmas, and regard them as oracles full of hidden mysteries; and having bewildered the mental judgment by folly, they make their explanations. Farther on he says:

5. As an example of this absurdity take a man whom I met when I was young, and who was then greatly celebrated and still is, on account of the writings which he has left. I refer to Origen, who is highly honored by the teachers of these doctrines.

6. For this man, having been a hearer of Ammonius, who had attained the greatest proficiency in philosophy of any in our day, derived much benefit from his teacher in the knowledge of the sciences; but as to the correct choice of life, he pursued a course opposite to his.

7. For Ammonius, being a Christian, and brought up by Christian parents, when he gave himself to study and to philosophy straightway conformed to

the life required by the laws. But Origen, having been educated as a Greek in Greek literature, went over to the barbarian recklessness. And carrying over the learning which he had obtained, he hawked it about, in his life conducting himself as a Christian and contrary to the laws, but in his opinions of material things and of the Deity being like a Greek, and mingling Grecian teachings with foreign fables.

8. For he was continually studying Plato, and he busied himself with the writings of Numenius and Cronius, Apollophanes, Longinus, Moderatus, and Nicomachus, and those famous among the Pythagoreans. And he used the books of Chæremon the Stoic, and of Cornutus. Becoming acquainted through them with the figurative interpretation of the Grecian mysteries, he applied it to the Jewish Scriptures.

9. These things are said by Porphyry in the third book of his work against the Christians. He speaks truly of the industry and learning of the man, but plainly utters a falsehood (for what will not an opposer of Christians do?) when he says that he went over from the Greeks, and that Ammonius fell from a life of piety into heathen customs.

10. For the doctrine of Christ was taught to Origen by his parents, as we have shown above. And Ammonius held the divine philosophy unshaken and unadulterated to the end of his life. His works yet extant show this, as he is celebrated among many for the writings which he has left. For example, the work entitled *The Harmony of Moses and Jesus*, and such others as are in the possession of the learned.

11. These things are sufficient to evince the slander of the false accuser, and also the proficiency of Origen in Grecian learning. He defends his diligence in this direction against some who blamed him for it, in a certain epistle, where he writes as follows:

12. When I devoted myself to the word, and the fame of my proficiency went abroad, and when heretics and persons conversant with Grecian learning, and particularly with philosophy, came to me, it seemed necessary that I should examine the doctrines of the heretics, and what the philosophers say concerning the truth.

13. And in this we have followed Pantænus, who benefited many before our time by his thorough preparation in such things, and also Heraclas, who is now a member of the presbytery of Alexandria. I found him with the teacher

of philosophic learning, with whom he had already continued five years before I began to hear lectures on those subjects.

14. And though he had formerly worn the common dress, he laid it aside and assumed and still wears the philosopher's garment; and he continues the earnest investigation of Greek works.

He says these things in defending himself for his study of Grecian literature.

15. About this time, while he was still at Alexandria, a soldier came and delivered a letter from the governor of Arabia to Demetrius, bishop of the parish, and to the prefect of Egypt who was in office at that time, requesting that they would with all speed send Origen to him for an interview. Being sent by them, he went to Arabia. And having in a short time accomplished the object of his visit, he returned to Alexandria.

16. But sometime after a considerable war broke out in the city, and he departed from Alexandria. And thinking that it would be unsafe for him to remain in Egypt, he went to Palestine and abode in Cæsarea. While there the bishops of the church in that country requested him to preach and expound the Scriptures publicly, although he had not yet been ordained as presbyter.

17. This is evident from what Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, wrote to Demetrius in regard to the matter, defending themselves thus:

He has stated in his letter that such a thing was never heard of before, neither has hitherto taken place, that laymen should preach in the presence of bishops. I know not how he comes to say what is plainly untrue.

18. For whenever persons able to instruct the brethren are found, they are exhorted by the holy bishops to preach to the people. Thus in Laranda, Euelpis by Neon; and in Iconium, Paulinus by Celsus; and in Synada, Theodorus by Atticus, our blessed brethren. And probably this has been done in other places unknown to us.

He was honored in this manner while yet a young man, not only by his countrymen, but also by foreign bishops.

19. But Demetrius sent for him by letter, and urged him through members and deacons of the church to return to Alexandria. So he returned and resumed his accustomed duties.

Chapter 20. The Extant Works of the Writers of that Age.

1. There flourished many learned men in the Church at that time, whose letters to each other have been preserved and are easily accessible. They have been kept until our time in the library at Ælia, which was established by Alexander, who at that time presided over that church. We have been able to gather from that library material for our present work.

2. Among these Beryllus has left us, besides letters and treatises, various elegant works. He was bishop of Bostra in Arabia. Likewise also Hippolytus, who presided over another church, has left writings.

3. There has reached us also a dialogue of Caius, a very learned man, which was held at Rome under Zephyrinus, with Proclus, who contended for the Phrygian heresy. In this he curbs the rashness and boldness of his opponents in setting forth new Scriptures. He mentions only thirteen epistles of the holy apostle, not counting that to the Hebrews with the others. And unto our day there are some among the Romans who do not consider this a work of the apostle.

Chapter 21. The Bishops that were well known at that Time.

1. After Antoninus had reigned seven years and six months, Macrinus succeeded him. He held the government but a year, and was succeeded by another Antoninus. During his first year the Roman bishop, Zephyrinus, having held his office for eighteen years, died, and Callistus received the episcopate.

2. He continued for five years, and was succeeded by Urbanus. After this, Alexander became Roman emperor, Antoninus having reigned but four years. At this time Philetus also succeeded Asclepiades in the church of Antioch.

3. The mother of the emperor, Mammæa by name, was a most pious woman, if there ever was one, and of religious life. When the fame of Origen had extended everywhere and had come even to her ears, she desired greatly to see the man, and above all things to make trial of his celebrated understanding of divine things.

4. Staying for a time in Antioch, she sent for him with a military escort. Having remained with her a while and shown her many things which were for the glory of the Lord and of the excellence of the divine teaching, he hastened back to his accustomed work.

Chapter 22. The Works of Hippolytus which have reached us.

1. At that time Hippolytus, besides many other treatises, wrote a work on the passover. He gives in this a chronological table, and presents a certain paschal canon of sixteen years, bringing the time down to the first year of the Emperor Alexander.

2. Of his other writings the following have reached us: On the Hexæmeron, On the Works after the Hexæmeron, Against Marcion, On the Song of Songs, On Portions of Ezekiel, On the Passover, Against All the Heresies; and you can find many other works preserved by many.

Chapter 23. Origen's Zeal and his Elevation to the Presbyterate.

1. At that time Origen began his commentaries on the Divine Scriptures, being urged thereto by Ambrose, who employed innumerable incentives, not only exhorting him by word, but also furnishing abundant means.

2. For he dictated to more than seven amanuenses, who relieved each other at appointed times. And he employed no fewer copyists, besides girls who were skilled in elegant writing. For all these Ambrose furnished the necessary expense in abundance, manifesting himself an inexpressible earnestness in diligence and zeal for the divine oracles, by which he especially pressed him on to the preparation of his commentaries.

3. While these things were in progress, Urbanus, who had been for eight years bishop of the Roman church, was succeeded by Pontianus, and Zebinus succeeded Philetus in Antioch.

4. At this time Origen was sent to Greece on account of a pressing necessity in connection with ecclesiastical affairs, and went through Palestine, and was ordained as presbyter in Cæsarea by the bishops of that country. The matters that were agitated concerning him on this account, and the decisions on these matters by those who presided over the churches, besides the other works concerning the divine word which he published while in his prime, demand a separate treatise. We have written of them to some extent in the second book of the Defense which we have composed in his behalf.

Chapter 24. The Commentaries which he prepared at Alexandria.

1. It may be well to add that in the sixth book of his exposition of the Gospel of John he states that he prepared the first five while in Alexandria. Of his work on the entire Gospel only twenty-two volumes have come down to us.

2. In the ninth of those on Genesis, of which there are twelve in all, he states that not only the preceding eight had been composed at Alexandria, but also those on the first twenty-five Psalms and on Lamentations. Of these last five volumes have reached us.

3. In them he mentions also his books On the Resurrection, of which there are two. He wrote also the books De Principiis before leaving Alexandria; and the discourses entitled Stromata, ten in number, he composed in the same city during the reign of Alexander, as the notes by his own hand preceding the volumes indicate.

Chapter 25. His Review of the Canonical Scriptures.

1. When expounding the first Psalm, he gives a catalogue of the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament as follows:

It should be stated that the canonical books, as the Hebrews have handed them down, are twenty-two; corresponding with the number of their letters. Farther on he says:

2. The twenty-two books of the Hebrews are the following: That which is called by us Genesis, but by the Hebrews, from the beginning of the book, Bresith, which means, 'In the beginning'; Exodus, Welesmoth, that is, 'These are the names'; Leviticus, Wikra, 'And he called'; Numbers, Ammesphekodeim; Deuteronomy, Eleaddebareim, 'These are the words'; Jesus, the son of Nave, Josoue ben Noun; Judges and Ruth, among them in one book, Saphateim; the First and Second of Kings, among them one, Samouel, that is, 'The called of God'; the Third and Fourth of Kings in one, Wammelch David, that is, 'The kingdom of David'; of the Chronicles, the First and Second in one, Dabreïamein, that is, 'Records of days'; Esdras, First and Second in one, Ezra, that is, 'An assistant'; the book of Psalms, Spharthelleim; the Proverbs of Solomon, Meloth; Ecclesiastes, Koelth; the Song of Songs (not, as some suppose, Songs of Songs), Sir Hassirim; Isaiah, Jessia; Jeremiah, with Lamentations and the epistle in one, Jeremia; Daniel, Daniel; Ezekiel, Jezekiel; Job, Job; Esther, Esther. And besides these there are the Maccabees, which are entitled Sarbeth Sabanaiel. He gives these in the above-mentioned work.

3. In his first book on Matthew's Gospel, maintaining the Canon of the Church, he testifies that he knows only four Gospels, writing as follows:

4. Among the four Gospels, which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the first was written by Matthew, who was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, and it was prepared for the converts from Judaism, and published in the Hebrew language.

5. The second is by Mark, who composed it according to the instructions of Peter, who in his Catholic epistle acknowledges him as a son, saying, 'The church that is at Babylon elected together with you, salutes you, and so does Marcus, my son.' 1 Peter 5:13

6. And the third by Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, and composed for Gentile converts. Last of all that by John.

7. In the fifth book of his Expositions of John's Gospel, he speaks thus concerning the epistles of the apostles: But he who was 'made sufficient to be a minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit,' 2 Corinthians 3:6 that is, Paul, who 'fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum,' Romans 15:19 did not write to all the churches which he had instructed and to those to which he wrote he sent but few lines.

8. And Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, 'against which the gates of hell shall not prevail,' Matthew 16:18 has left one acknowledged epistle; perhaps also a second, but this is doubtful.

9. Why need we speak of him who reclined upon the bosom of Jesus, John, who has left us one Gospel, though he confessed that he might write so many that the world could not contain them? And he wrote also the Apocalypse, but was commanded to keep silence and not to write the words of the seven thunders.

10. He has left also an epistle of very few lines; perhaps also a second and third; but not all consider them genuine, and together they do not contain hundred lines.

11. In addition he makes the following statements in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews in his Homilies upon it: That the verbal style of the epistle entitled 'To the Hebrews,' is not rude like the language of the apostle, who acknowledged himself 'rude in speech' 2 Corinthians 11:6 that is, in expression; but that its diction is purer Greek, any one who has the power to discern differences of phraseology will acknowledge.

12. Moreover, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged apostolic writings, any one who carefully examines the apostolic text will admit.'

13. Farther on he adds: If I gave my opinion, I should say that the thoughts are those of the apostle, but the diction and phraseology are those of some one who remembered the apostolic teachings, and wrote down at his leisure what had been said by his teacher. Therefore if any church holds that this epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this. For not without reason have the ancients handed it down as Paul's.

14. But who wrote the epistle, in truth, God knows. The statement of some who have gone before us is that Clement, bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, and of others that Luke, the author of the Gospel and the Acts, wrote it. But let this suffice on these matters.

Chapter 26. Heraclas becomes Bishop of Alexandria.

It was in the tenth year of the above-mentioned reign that Origen removed from Alexandria to Cæsarea, leaving the charge of the catechetical school in that city to Heraclas. Not long afterward Demetrius, bishop of the church of Alexandria, died, having held the office for forty-three full years, and Heraclas succeeded him. At this time Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, was conspicuous.

Chapter 27. How the Bishops regarded Origen.

He was so earnestly affected toward Origen, that he urged him to come to that country for the benefit of the churches, and moreover he visited him in Judea, remaining with him for some time, for the sake of improvement in divine things. And Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea, attended on him constantly, as their only teacher, and allowed him to expound the Divine Scriptures, and to perform the other duties pertaining to ecclesiastical discourse.

Chapter 28. The Persecution under Maximinus.

The Roman emperor, Alexander, having finished his reign in thirteen years, was succeeded by Maximinus Cæsar. On account of his hatred toward the household of Alexander, which contained many believers, he began a persecution, commanding that only the rulers of the churches should be put to death, as responsible for the Gospel teaching. Thereupon Origen composed his work *On Martyrdom*, and dedicated it to Ambrose and Protocletus, a presbyter of the parish of Cæsarea, because in the persecution there had come upon them both unusual hardships, in which it is reported that they were eminent in confession during the reign of Maximinus, which lasted but three years. Origen has noted this as the time of the persecution in the twenty-second book of his *Commentaries on John*, and in several epistles.

Chapter 29. Fabianus, who was wonderfully designated Bishop of Rome by God.

1. Gordianus succeeded Maximinus as Roman emperor; and Pontianus, who had been bishop of the church at Rome for six years, was succeeded by Anteros. After he had held the office for a month, Fabianus succeeded him.

2. They say that Fabianus having come, after the death of Anteros, with others from the country, was staying at Rome, and that while there he was chosen to the office through a most wonderful manifestation of divine and heavenly grace.

3. For when all the brethren had assembled to select by vote him who should succeed to the episcopate of the church, several renowned and honorable men were in the minds of many, but Fabianus, although present, was in the mind of none. But they relate that suddenly a dove flying down lighted on his head, resembling the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Saviour in the form of a dove.

4. Thereupon all the people, as if moved by one Divine Spirit, with all eagerness and unanimity cried out that he was worthy, and without delay they took him and placed him upon the episcopal seat.

5. About that time Zebinus, bishop of Antioch died, and Babylas succeeded him. And in Alexandria Heraclas, having received the episcopal office after Demetrius, was succeeded in the charge of the catechetical school by Dionysius, who had also been one of Origen's pupils.

Chapter 30. The Pupils of Origen.

While Origen was carrying on his customary duties in Cæsarea, many pupils came to him not only from the vicinity, but also from other countries. Among these Theodorus, the same that was distinguished among the bishops of our day under the name of Gregory, and his brother Athenodorus, we know to have been especially celebrated. Finding them deeply interested in Greek and Roman learning, he infused into them a love of philosophy, and led them to exchange their old zeal for the study of divinity. Remaining with him five years, they made such progress in divine things, that although they were still young, both of them were honored with a bishopric in the churches of Pontus.

Chapter 31. Africanus.

1. At this time also Africanus, the writer of the books entitled Cesti, was well known. There is extant an epistle of his to Origen, expressing doubts of the story of Susannah in Daniel, as being spurious and fictitious. Origen answered this very fully.

2. Other works of the same Africanus which have reached us are his five books on Chronology, a work accurately and laboriously prepared. He says in this that he went to Alexandria on account of the great fame of Heraclas, who excelled especially in philosophic studies and other Greek learning, and whose appointment to the bishopric of the church there we have already mentioned.

3. There is extant also another epistle from the same Africanus to Aristides on the supposed discrepancy between Matthew and Luke in the Genealogies of Christ. In this he shows clearly the agreement of the evangelists, from an account which had come down to him, which we have already given in its proper place in the first book of this work.

Chapter 32. The Commentaries which Origen composed in Cæsarea in Palestine.

1. About this time Origen prepared his Commentaries on Isaiah and on Ezekiel. Of the former there have come down to us thirty books, as far as the third part of Isaiah, to the vision of the beasts in the desert; on Ezekiel twenty-five books, which are all that he wrote on the whole prophet.

2. Being at that time in Athens, he finished his work on Ezekiel and commenced his Commentaries on the Song of Songs, which he carried forward to the fifth book. After his return to Cæsarea, he completed these also, ten books in number.

3. But why should we give in this history an accurate catalogue of the man's works, which would require a separate treatise? we have furnished this also in our narrative of the life of Pamphilus, a holy martyr of our own time. After showing how great the diligence of Pamphilus was in divine things, we give in that a catalogue of the library which he collected of the works of Origen and of other ecclesiastical writers. Whoever desires may learn readily from this which of Origen's works have reached us. But we must proceed now with our history.

Chapter 33. The Error of Beryllus.

1. Beryllus, whom we mentioned recently as bishop of Bostra in Arabia, turned aside from the ecclesiastical standard and attempted to introduce ideas foreign to the faith. He dared to assert that our Saviour and Lord did not pre-exist in a distinct form of being of his own before his abode among men, and that he does not possess a divinity of his own, but only that of the Father dwelling in him.

2. Many bishops carried on investigations and discussions with him on this matter, and Origen having been invited with the others, went down at first for a conference with him to ascertain his real opinion. But when he understood his views, and perceived that they were erroneous, having persuaded him by argument, and convinced him by demonstration, he brought him back to the true doctrine, and restored him to his former sound opinion.

3. There are still extant writings of Beryllus and of the synod held on his account, which contain the questions put to him by Origen, and the discussions which were carried on in his parish, as well as all the things done at that time.

4. The elder brethren among us have handed down many other facts respecting Origen which I think proper to omit, as not pertaining to this work. But whatever it has seemed necessary to record about him can be found in the Apology in his behalf written by us and Pamphilus, the holy martyr of our day. We prepared this carefully and did the work jointly on account of faultfinders.

Chapter 34. Philip Cæsar.

Gordianus had been Roman emperor for six years when Philip, with his son Philip, succeeded him. It is reported that he, being a Christian, desired, on the day of the last paschal vigil, to share with the multitude in the prayers of the Church, but that he was not permitted to enter, by him who then presided, until he had made confession and had numbered himself among those who were reckoned as transgressors and who occupied the place of penance. For if he had not done this, he would never have been received by him, on account of the many crimes which he had committed. It is said that he obeyed readily, manifesting in his conduct a genuine and pious fear of God.

Chapter 35. Dionysius succeeds Heraclas in the Episcopate.

In the third year of this emperor, Heraclas died, having held his office for sixteen years, and Dionysius received the episcopate of the churches of Alexandria.

Chapter 36. Other Works of Origen.

1. At this time, as the faith extended and our doctrine was proclaimed boldly before all, Origen, being, as they say, over sixty years old, and having gained great facility by his long practice, very properly permitted his public discourses to be taken down by stenographers, a thing which he had never before allowed.

2. He also at this time composed a work of eight books in answer to that entitled True Discourse, which had been written against us by Celsus the Epicurean, and the twenty-five books on the Gospel of Matthew, besides those on the Twelve Prophets, of which we have found only twenty-five.

3. There is extant also an epistle of his to the Emperor Philip, and another to Severa his wife, with several others to different persons. We have arranged in distinct books to the number of one hundred, so that they might be no longer scattered, as many of these as we have been able to collect, which have been preserved here and there by different persons.

4. He wrote also to Fabianus, bishop of Rome, and to many other rulers of the churches concerning his orthodoxy. You have examples of these in the eighth book of the Apology which we have written in his behalf.

Chapter 37. The Dissension of the Arabians.

About the same time others arose in Arabia, putting forward a doctrine foreign to the truth. They said that during the present time the human soul dies and perishes with the body, but that at the time of the resurrection they will be renewed together. And at that time also a synod of considerable size assembled, and Origen, being again invited there, spoke publicly on the question with such effect that the opinions of those who had formerly fallen were changed.

Chapter 38. The Heresy of the Elkesites.

Another error also arose at this time, called the heresy of the Elkesites, which was extinguished in the very beginning. Origen speaks of it in this manner in a public homily on the eighty-second Psalm:

A certain man came just now, puffed up greatly with his own ability, proclaiming that godless and impious opinion which has appeared lately in the churches, styled ‘of the Elkesites.’ I will show you what evil things that opinion teaches, that you may not be carried away by it. It rejects certain parts of every scripture. Again it uses portions of the Old Testament and the Gospel, but rejects the apostle altogether. It says that to deny Christ is an indifferent matter, and that he who understands will, under necessity, deny with his mouth, but not in his heart. They produce a certain book which they say fell from heaven. They hold that whoever hears and believes this shall receive remission of sins, another remission than that which Jesus Christ has given. Such is the account of these persons.

Chapter 39. The Persecution under Decius, and the Sufferings of Origen.

1. After a reign of seven years Philip was succeeded by Decius. On account of his hatred of Philip, he commenced a persecution of the churches, in which Fabianus suffered martyrdom at Rome, and Cornelius succeeded him in the episcopate.

2. In Palestine, Alexander, bishop of the church of Jerusalem, was brought again on Christ's account before the governor's judgment seat in Cæsarea, and having acquitted himself nobly in a second confession was cast into prison, crowned with the hoary locks of venerable age.

3. And after his honorable and illustrious confession at the tribunal of the governor, he fell asleep in prison, and Mazabanes became his successor in the bishopric of Jerusalem.

4. Babylas in Antioch, having like Alexander passed away in prison after his confession, was succeeded by Fabius in the episcopate of that church.

5. But how many and how great things came upon Origen in the persecution, and what was their final result — as the demon of evil marshaled all his forces, and fought against the man with his utmost craft and power, assaulting him beyond all others against whom he contended at that time — and what and how many things he endured for the word of Christ, bonds and bodily tortures and torments under the iron collar and in the dungeon; and how for many days with his feet stretched four spaces in the stocks he bore patiently the threats of fire and whatever other things were inflicted by his enemies; and how his sufferings terminated, as his judge strove eagerly with all his might not to end his life; and what words he left after these things, full of comfort to those needing aid, a great many of his epistles show with truth and accuracy.

Chapter 40. The Events which happened to Dionysius.

1. I shall quote from the epistle of Dionysius to Germanus an account of what befell the former. Speaking of himself, he writes as follows: I speak before God, and he knows that I do not lie. I did not flee on my own impulse nor without divine direction.

2. But even before this, at the very hour when the Decian persecution was commanded, Sabinus sent a frumentarius to search for me, and I remained at home four days awaiting his arrival.

3. But he went about examining all places — roads, rivers, and fields — where he thought I might be concealed or on the way. But he was smitten with blindness, and did not find the house, for he did not suppose, that being pursued, I would remain at home. And after the fourth day God commanded me to depart, and made a way for me in a wonderful manner; and I and my attendants and many of the brethren went away together. And that this occurred through the providence of God was made manifest by what followed, in which perhaps we were useful to some.

4. Farther on he relates in this manner what happened to him after his flight:

For about sunset, having been seized with those that were with me, I was taken by the soldiers to Taposiris, but in the providence of God, Timothy was not present and was not captured. But coming later, he found the house deserted and guarded by soldiers, and ourselves reduced to slavery.

5. After a little he says:

And what was the manner of his admirable management? For the truth shall be told. One of the country people met Timothy fleeing and disturbed, and inquired the cause of his haste. And he told him the truth.

6. And when the man heard it (he was on his way to a marriage feast, for it was customary to spend the entire night in such gatherings), he entered and announced it to those at the table. And they, as if on a preconcerted signal, arose with one impulse, and rushed out quickly and came and burst in upon us with a shout. Immediately the soldiers who were guarding us fled, and they came to us lying as we were upon the bare couches.

7. But I, God knows, thought at first that they were robbers who had come for spoil and plunder. So I remained upon the bed on which I was, clothed

only in a linen garment, and offered them the rest of my clothing which was lying beside me. But they directed me to rise and come away quickly.

8. Then I understood why they had come, and I cried out, beseeching and entreating them to depart and leave us alone. And I requested them, if they desired to benefit me in any way, to anticipate those who were carrying me off, and cut off my head themselves. And when I had cried out in this manner, as my companions and partners in everything know, they raised me by force. But I threw myself on my back on the ground; and they seized me by the hands and feet and dragged me away.

9. And the witnesses of all these occurrences followed: Gaius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul. But they who had seized me carried me out of the village hastily, and placing me on an ass without a saddle, bore me away.

Dionysius relates these things respecting himself.

Chapter 41. The Martyrs in Alexandria.

1. The same writer, in an epistle to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, relates as follows the sufferings of the martyrs in Alexandria under Decius:

The persecution among us did not begin with the royal decree, but preceded it an entire year. The prophet and author of evils to this city, whoever he was, previously moved and aroused against us the masses of the heathen, rekindling among them the superstition of their country.

2. And being thus excited by him and finding full opportunity for any wickedness, they considered this the only pious service of their demons, that they should slay us.

3. They seized first an old man named Metras, and commanded him to utter impious words. But as he would not obey, they beat him with clubs, and tore his face and eyes with sharp sticks, and dragged him out of the city and stoned him.

4. Then they carried to their idol temple a faithful woman, named Quinta, that they might force her to worship. And as she turned away in detestation, they bound her feet and dragged her through the entire city over the stone-paved streets, and dashed her against the millstones, and at the same time scourged her; then, taking her to the same place, they stoned her to death.

5. Then all with one impulse rushed to the homes of the pious, and they dragged forth whomsoever any one knew as a neighbor, and despoiled and plundered them. They took for themselves the more valuable property; but the poorer articles and those made of wood they scattered about and burned in the streets, so that the city appeared as if taken by an enemy.

6. But the brethren withdrew and went away, and ‘took joyfully the spoiling of their goods,’ like those to whom Paul bore witness. I know of no one unless possibly some one who fell into their hands, who, up to this time, denied the Lord.

7. Then they seized also that most admirable virgin, Apollonia, an old woman, and, smiting her on the jaws, broke out all her teeth. And they made a fire outside the city and threatened to burn her alive if she would not join with them in their impious cries. And she, supplicating a little, was released, when she leaped eagerly into the fire and was consumed.

8. Then they seized Serapion in his own house, and tortured him with harsh

cruelties, and having broken all his limbs, they threw him headlong from an upper story. And there was no street, nor public road, nor lane open to us, by night or day; for always and everywhere, all of them cried out that if any one would not repeat their impious words, he should immediately be dragged away and burned.

9. And matters continued thus for a considerable time. But a sedition and civil war came upon the wretched people and turned their cruelty toward us against one another. So we breathed for a little while as they ceased from their rage against us. But presently the change from that milder reign was announced to us, and great fear of what was threatened seized us.

10. For the decree arrived, almost like that most terrible time foretold by our Lord, which if it were possible would offend even the elect.

11. All truly were affrighted. And many of the more eminent in their fear came forward immediately; others who were in the public service were drawn on by their official duties; others were urged on by their acquaintances. And as their names were called they approached the impure and impious sacrifices. Some of them were pale and trembled as if they were not about to sacrifice, but to be themselves sacrifices and offerings to the idols; so that they were jeered at by the multitude who stood around, as it was plain to every one that they were afraid either to die or to sacrifice.

12. But some advanced to the altars more readily, declaring boldly that they had never been Christians. Of these the prediction of our Lord is most true that they shall 'hardly' be saved. Of the rest some followed the one, others the other of these classes, some fled and some were seized.

13. And of the latter some continued faithful until bonds and imprisonment, and some who had even been imprisoned for many days yet abjured the faith before they were brought to trial. Others having for a time endured great tortures finally retracted.

14. But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord being strengthened by him, and having received vigor and might suitable and appropriate to the strong faith which they possessed, became admirable witnesses of his kingdom.

15. The first of these was Julian, a man who suffered so much with the gout that he was unable to stand or walk. They brought him forward with two others who carried him. One of these immediately denied. But the other, whose name was Cronion, and whose surname was Eunus, and the old man

Julian himself, both of them having confessed the Lord, were carried on camels through the entire city, which, as you know, is a very large one, and in this elevated position were beaten and finally burned in a fierce fire, surrounded by all the populace.

16. But a soldier, named Besas, who stood by them as they were led away rebuked those who insulted them. And they cried out against him, and this most manly warrior of God was arraigned, and having done nobly in the great contest for piety, was beheaded.

17. A certain other one, a Libyan by birth, but in name and blessedness a true Macar, was strongly urged by the judge to recant; but as he would not yield he was burned alive. After them Epimachus and Alexander, having remained in bonds for a long time, and endured countless agonies from scrapers and scourges, were also consumed in a fierce fire.

18. And with them there were four women. Ammonarium, a holy virgin, the judge tortured relentlessly and excessively, because she declared from the first that she would utter none of those things which he commanded; and having kept her promise truly, she was dragged away. The others were Mercuria, a very remarkable old woman, and Dionysia, the mother of many children, who did not love her own children above the Lord. As the governor was ashamed of torturing thus ineffectually, and being always defeated by women, they were put to death by the sword, without the trial of tortures. For the champion, Ammonarium, endured these in behalf of all.

19. The Egyptians, Heron and Ater and Isidorus, and with them Dioscorus, a boy about fifteen years old, were delivered up. At first the judge attempted to deceive the lad by fair words, as if he could be brought over easily, and then to force him by tortures, as one who would readily yield. But Dioscorus was neither persuaded nor constrained.

20. As the others remained firm, he scourged them cruelly and then delivered them to the fire. But admiring the manner in which Dioscorus had distinguished himself publicly, and his wise answers to his persuasions, he dismissed him, saying that on account of his youth he would give him time for repentance. And this most godly Dioscorus is among us now, awaiting a longer conflict and more severe contest.

21. But a certain Nemesion, who also was an Egyptian, was accused as an associate of robbers; but when he had cleared himself before the centurion of

this charge most foreign to the truth, he was informed against as a Christian, and taken in bonds before the governor. And the most unrighteous magistrate inflicted on him tortures and scourgings double those which he executed on the robbers, and then burned him between the robbers, thus honoring the blessed man by the likeness to Christ.

22. A band of soldiers, Ammon and Zeno and Ptolemy and Ingenes, and with them an old man, Theophilus, were standing close together before the tribunal. And as a certain person who was being tried as a Christian, seemed inclined to deny, they standing by gnashed their teeth, and made signs with their faces and stretched out their hands, and gestured with their bodies. And when the attention of all was turned to them, before any one else could seize them, they rushed up to the tribunal saying that they were Christians, so that the governor and his council were affrighted. And those who were on trial appeared most courageous in prospect of their sufferings, while their judges trembled. And they went exultingly from the tribunal rejoicing in their testimony; God himself having caused them to triumph gloriously.

Chapter 42. Others of whom Dionysius gives an Account.

1. Many others, in cities and villages, were torn asunder by the heathen, of whom I will mention one as an illustration. Ischyriion was employed as a steward by one of the rulers. His employer commanded him to sacrifice, and on his refusal insulted him, and as he remained firm, abused him. And as he still held out he seized a long staff and thrust it through his bowels and slew him.

2. Why need I speak of the multitude that wandered in the deserts and mountains, and perished by hunger, and thirst, and cold, and sickness, and robbers, and wild beasts? Those of them who survived are witnesses of their election and victory.

3. But I will relate one occurrence as an example. Chæremon, who was very old, was bishop of the city called Nilus. He fled with his wife to the Arabian mountain and did not return. And though the brethren searched diligently they could not find either them or their bodies.

4. And many who fled to the same Arabian mountain were carried into slavery by the barbarian Saracens. Some of them were ransomed with difficulty and at a large price; others have not been to the present time. I have related these things, my brother, not without an object, but that you may understand how many and great distresses came upon us. Those indeed will understand them the best who have had the largest experience of them.

5. A little further on he adds: These divine martyrs among us, who now are seated with Christ, and are sharers in his kingdom, partakers of his judgment and judges with him, received some of the brethren who had fallen away and become chargeable with the guilt of sacrificing. When they perceived that their conversion and repentance were sufficient to be acceptable with him who by no means desires the death of the sinner, but his repentance, having proved them they received them back and brought them together, and met with them and had fellowship with them in prayers and feasts.

6. What counsel then, brethren, do you give us concerning such persons? What should we do? Shall we have the same judgment and rule as theirs, and observe their decision and charity, and show mercy to those whom they pitied? Or, shall we declare their decision unrighteous, and set ourselves as judges of their opinion, and grieve mercy and overturn order? These words

Dionysius very properly added when making mention of those who had been weak in the time of persecution.

Chapter 43. Novatus, his Manner of Life and his Heresy.

1. After this, Novatus, a presbyter of the church at Rome, being lifted up with arrogance against these persons, as if there was no longer for them a hope of salvation, not even if they should do all things pertaining to a genuine and pure conversion, became leader of the heresy of those who, in the pride of their imagination, call themselves Cathari.

2. There upon a very large synod assembled at Rome, of bishops in number sixty, and a great many more presbyters and deacons; while the pastors of the remaining provinces deliberated in their places privately concerning what ought to be done. A decree was confirmed by all, that Novatus and those who joined with him, and those who adopted his brother-hating and inhuman opinion, should be considered by the church as strangers; but that they should heal such of the brethren as had fallen into misfortune, and should minister to them with the medicines of repentance.

3. There have reached us epistles of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, to Fabius, of the church at Antioch, which show what was done at the synod at Rome, and what seemed best to all those in Italy and Africa and the regions thereabout. Also other epistles, written in the Latin language, of Cyprian and those with him in Africa, which show that they agreed as to the necessity of succoring those who had been tempted, and of cutting off from the Catholic Church the leader of the heresy and all that joined with him.

4. Another epistle of Cornelius, concerning the resolutions of the synod, is attached to these; and yet others, on the conduct of Novatus, from which it is proper for us to make selections, that any one who sees this work may know about him.

5. Cornelius informs Fabius what sort of a man Novatus was, in the following words:

But that you may know that a long time ago this remarkable man desired the episcopate, but kept this ambitious desire to himself and concealed it — using as a cloak for his rebellion those confessors who had adhered to him from the beginning — I desire to speak.

6. Maximus, one of our presbyters, and Urbanus, who twice gained the highest honor by confession, with Sidonius, and Celerinus, a man who by the grace of God most heroically endured all kinds of torture, and by the strength

of his faith overcame the weakness of the flesh, and mightily conquered the adversary — these men found him out and detected his craft and duplicity, his perjuries and falsehoods, his unsociability and cruel friendship. And they returned to the holy church and proclaimed in the presence of many, both bishops and presbyters and a large number of the laity, all his craft and wickedness, which for a long time he had concealed. And this they did with lamentations and repentance, because through the persuasions of the crafty and malicious beast they had left the church for the time. A little farther on he says:

7. How remarkable, beloved brother, the change and transformation which we have seen take place in him in a short time. For this most illustrious man, who bound himself with terrible oaths in nowise to seek the bishopric, suddenly appears a bishop as if thrown among us by some machine.

8. For this dogmatist, this defender of the doctrine of the Church, attempting to grasp and seize the episcopate, which had not been given him from above, chose two of his companions who had given up their own salvation. And he sent them to a small and insignificant corner of Italy, that there by some counterfeit argument he might deceive three bishops, who were rustic and very simple men. And they asserted positively and strongly that it was necessary that they should come quickly to Rome, in order that all the dissension which had arisen there might be appeased through their mediation, jointly with other bishops.

9. When they had come, being, as we have stated, very simple in the craft and artifice of the wicked, they were shut up with certain selected men like himself. And by the tenth hour, when they had become drunk and sick, he compelled them by force to confer on him the episcopate through a counterfeit and vain imposition of hands. Because it had not come to him, he avenged himself by craft and treachery.

10. One of these bishops shortly after came back to the church, lamenting and confessing his transgression. And we communed with him as with a layman, all the people present interceding for him. And we ordained successors of the other bishops, and sent them to the places where they were.

11. This avenger of the Gospel then did not know that there should be one bishop in a catholic church; yet he was not ignorant (for how could he be?) that in it there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons,

forty-two acolyths, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and janitors, and over fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom the grace and kindness of the Master nourish.

12. But not even this great multitude, so necessary in the church, nor those who, through God's providence, were rich and full, together with the very many, even innumerable people, could turn him from such desperation and presumption and recall him to the Church.

13. Again, farther on, he adds these words: Permit us to say further: On account of what works or conduct had he the assurance to contend for the episcopate? Was it that he had been brought up in the Church from the beginning, and had endured many conflicts in her behalf, and had passed through many and great dangers for religion? Truly this is not the fact.

14. But Satan, who entered and dwelt in him for a long time, became the occasion of his believing. Being delivered by the exorcists, he fell into a severe sickness; and as he seemed about to die, he received baptism by affusion, on the bed where he lay; if indeed we can say that such a one did receive it.

15. And when he was healed of his sickness he did not receive the other things which it is necessary to have according to the canon of the Church, even the being sealed by the bishop. And as he did not receive this, how could he receive the Holy Spirit?

16. Shortly after he says again:

In the time of persecution, through cowardice and love of life, he denied that he was a presbyter. For when he was requested and entreated by the deacons to come out of the chamber in which he had imprisoned himself and give aid to the brethren as far as was lawful and possible for a presbyter to assist those of the brethren who were in danger and needed help, he paid so little respect to the entreaties of the deacons that he went away and departed in anger. For he said that he no longer desired to be a presbyter, as he was an admirer of another philosophy.

17. Passing by a few things, he adds the following:

For this illustrious man forsook the Church of God, in which, when he believed, he was judged worthy of the presbyterate through the favor of the bishop who ordained him to the presbyterial office. This had been resisted by all the clergy and many of the laity; because it was unlawful that one who had

been affused on his bed on account of sickness as he had been should enter into any clerical office; but the bishop requested that he might be permitted to ordain this one only.

18. He adds to these yet another, the worst of all the man's offenses, as follows:

For when he has made the offerings, and distributed a part to each man, as he gives it he compels the wretched man to swear in place of the blessing. Holding his hands in both of his own, he will not release him until he has sworn in this manner (for I will give his own words):

‘Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that you will never forsake me and turn to Cornelius.’

19. And the unhappy man does not taste until he has called down imprecations on himself; and instead of saying Amen, as he takes the bread, he says, I will never return to Cornelius. Farther on he says again:

20. But know that he has now been made bare and desolate; as the brethren leave him every day and return to the church. Moses also, the blessed martyr, who lately suffered among us a glorious and admirable martyrdom, while he was yet alive, beholding his boldness and folly, refused to commune with him and with the five presbyters who with him had separated themselves from the church.

21. At the close of his letter he gives a list of the bishops who had come to Rome and condemned the silliness of Novatus, with their names and the parish over which each of them presided.

22. He mentions also those who did not come to Rome, but who expressed by letters their agreement with the vote of these bishops, giving their names and the cities from which they severally sent them. Cornelius wrote these things to Fabius, bishop of Antioch.

Chapter 44. Dionysius' Account of Serapion.

1. To this same Fabius, who seemed to lean somewhat toward this schism, Dionysius of Alexandria also wrote an epistle. He writes in this many other things concerning repentance, and relates the conflicts of those who had lately suffered martyrdom at Alexandria. After the other account he mentions a certain wonderful fact, which deserves a place in this work. It is as follows:

2. I will give you this one example which occurred among us. There was with us a certain Serapion, an aged believer who had lived for a long time blamelessly, but had fallen in the trial. He besought often, but no one gave heed to him, because he had sacrificed. But he became sick, and for three successive days continued speechless and senseless.

3. Having recovered somewhat on the fourth day he sent for his daughter's son, and said, How long do you detain me, my child? I beseech you, make haste, and absolve me speedily. Call one of the presbyters to me. And when he had said this, he became again speechless. And the boy ran to the presbyter. But it was night and he was sick, and therefore unable to come.

4. But as I had commanded that persons at the point of death, if they requested it, and especially if they had asked for it previously, should receive remission, that they might depart with a good hope, he gave the boy a small portion of the eucharist, telling him to soak it and let the drops fall into the old man's mouth.

5. The boy returned with it, and as he drew near, before he entered, Serapion again arousing, said, 'You have come, my child, and the presbyter could not come; but do quickly what he directed, and let me depart.' Then the boy soaked it and dropped it into his mouth. And when he had swallowed a little, immediately he gave up the ghost.

6. Is it not evident that he was preserved and his life continued till he was absolved, and, his sin having been blotted out, he could be acknowledged for the many good deeds which he had done?

Dionysius relates these things.

Chapter 45. An Epistle of Dionysius to Novatus.

1. But let us see how the same man addressed Novatus when he was disturbing the Roman brotherhood. As he pretended that some of the brethren were the occasion of his apostasy and schism, as if he had been forced by them to proceed as he had, observe the manner in which he writes to him:

2. Dionysius to his brother Novatus, greeting. If, as you say, you have been led on unwillingly, you will prove this if you retire willingly. For it were better to suffer everything, rather than divide the Church of God. Even martyrdom for the sake of preventing division would not be less glorious than for refusing to worship idols. Nay, to me it seems greater. For in the one case a man suffers martyrdom for the sake of his own soul; in the other case in behalf of the entire Church. And now if you can persuade or induce the brethren to come to unanimity, your righteousness will be greater than your error, and this will not be counted, but that will be praised. But if you can not prevail with the disobedient, at least save your own soul. I pray that you may fare well, maintaining peace in the Lord. This he wrote to Novatus.

Chapter 46. Other Epistles of Dionysius.

1. He wrote also an epistle to the brethren in Egypt on Repentance. In this he sets forth what seemed proper to him in regard to those who had fallen, and he describes the classes of transgressions.

2. There is extant also a private letter on Repentance, which he wrote to Conon, bishop of the parish of Hermopolis, and another of an admonitory character, to his flock at Alexandria. Among them also is the one written to Origen on Martyrdom and to the brethren at Laodicea, of whom Thelymidres was bishop. He likewise sent one on Repentance to the brethren in Armenia, of whom Merozanes was bishop.

3. Besides all these, he wrote to Cornelius of Rome, when he had received from him an epistle against Novatus. He states in this that he had been invited by Helenus, bishop of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and the others who were with him, Firmilianus, bishop in Cappadocia, and Theoctistus, of Palestine, to meet them at the synod in Antioch, where some persons were endeavoring to establish the schism of Novatus.

4. Besides this he writes that he had been informed that Fabius had fallen asleep, and that Demetrianus had been appointed his successor in the episcopate of Antioch. He writes also in these words concerning the bishop of Jerusalem: For the blessed Alexander having been confined in prison, passed away happily.

5. In addition to this there is extant also a certain other diaconal epistle of Dionysius, sent to those in Rome through Hippolytus. And he wrote another to them on Peace, and likewise on Repentance; and yet another to the confessors there who still held to the opinion of Novatus. He sent two more to the same persons after they had returned to the Church. And he communicated with many others by letters, which he has left behind him as a benefit in various ways to those who now diligently study his writings.

Book VII

Introduction.

In this seventh book of the Church History, the great bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius, shall again assist us by his own words; relating the several affairs of his time in the epistles which he has left. I will begin with them.

Chapter 1. The Wickedness of Decius and Gallus.

When Decius had reigned not quite two years, he was slain with his children, and Gallus succeeded him. At this time Origen died, being sixty-nine years of age. Dionysius, writing to Hermammon, speaks as follows of Gallus:

Gallus neither recognized the wickedness of Decius, nor considered what had destroyed him; but stumbled on the same stone, though it lay before his eyes. For when his reign was prosperous and affairs were proceeding according to his mind, he attacked the holy men who were interceding with God for his peace and welfare. Therefore with them he persecuted also their prayers in his behalf. So much concerning him.

Chapter 2. The Bishops of Rome in those Times.

Cornelius, having held the episcopate in the city of Rome about three years, was succeeded by Lucius. He died in less than eight months, and transmitted his office to Stephen. Dionysius wrote to him the first of his letters on baptism, as no small controversy had arisen as to whether those who had turned from any heresy should be purified by baptism. For the ancient custom prevailed in regard to such, that they should receive only the laying on of hands with prayers.

Chapter 3. Cyprian, and the Bishops with him, first taught that it was necessary to purify by Baptism those converted from Heresy.

First of all, Cyprian, pastor of the parish of Carthage, maintained that they should not be received except they had been purified from their error by baptism. But Stephen considering it unnecessary to add any innovation contrary to the tradition which had been held from the beginning, was very indignant at this.

Chapter 4. The Epistles which Dionysius wrote on this Subject.

Dionysius, therefore, having communicated with him extensively on this question by letter, finally showed him that since the persecution had abated, the churches everywhere had rejected the novelty of Novatus, and were at peace among themselves. He writes as follows:

Chapter 5. The Peace following the Persecution.

1. But know now, my brethren, that all the churches throughout the East and beyond, which formerly were divided, have become united. And all the bishops everywhere are of one mind, and rejoice greatly in the peace which has come beyond expectation. Thus Demetrianus in Antioch, Theoctistus in Cæsarea, Mazabanes in Ælia, Marinus in Tyre (Alexander having fallen asleep), Heliodorus in Laodicea (Thelymidres being dead), Helenus in Tarsus, and all the churches of Cilicia, Firmilianus, and all Cappadocia. I have named only the more illustrious bishops, that I may not make my epistle too long and my words too burdensome.

2. And all Syria, and Arabia to which you send help when needed, and whither you have just written, Mesopotamia, Pontus, Bithynia, and in short all everywhere are rejoicing and glorifying God for the unanimity and brotherly love. Thus far Dionysius.

3. But Stephen, having filled his office two years, was succeeded by Xystus. Dionysius wrote him a second epistle on baptism, in which he shows him at the same time the opinion and judgment of Stephen and the other bishops, and speaks in this manner of Stephen:

4. He therefore had written previously concerning Helenus and Firmilianus, and all those in Cilicia and Cappadocia and Galatia and the neighboring nations, saying that he would not commune with them for this same cause; namely, that they re-baptized heretics. But consider the importance of the matter.

5. For truly in the largest synods of the bishops, as I learn, decrees have been passed on this subject, that those coming over from heresies should be instructed, and then should be washed and cleansed from the filth of the old and impure leaven. And I wrote entreating him concerning all these things. Further on he says:

6. I wrote also, at first in few words, recently in many, to our beloved fellow presbyters, Dionysius and Philemon, who formerly had held the same opinion as Stephen, and had written to me on the same matters. So much in regard to the above-mentioned controversy.

Chapter 6. The Heresy of Sabellius.

He refers also in the same letter to the heretical teachings of Sabellius, which were in his time becoming prominent, and says:

For concerning the doctrine now agitated in Ptolemais of Pentapolis, — which is impious and marked by great blasphemy against the Almighty God, the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and contains much unbelief respecting his Only Begotten Son and the first-born of every creature, the Word which became man, and a want of perception of the Holy Spirit — as there came to me communications from both sides and brethren discussing the matter, I wrote certain letters treating the subject as instructively as, by the help. of God, I was able. Of these I send you copies.

Chapter 7. The Abominable Error of the Heretics; the Divine Vision of Dionysius; and the Ecclesiastical Canon which he received.

1. In the third epistle on baptism which this same Dionysius wrote to Philemon, the Roman presbyter, he relates the following: But I examined the works and traditions of the heretics, defiling my mind for a little time with their abominable opinions, but receiving this benefit from them, that I refuted them by myself, and detested them all the more.

2. And when a certain brother among the presbyters restrained me, fearing that I should be carried away with the filth of their wickedness (for it would defile my soul) — in which also, as I perceived, he spoke the truth, — a vision sent from God came and strengthened me.

3. And the word which came to me commanded me, saying distinctly, ‘Read everything which you can take in hand, for you are able to correct and prove all; and this has been to you from the beginning the cause of your faith.’ I received the vision as agreeing with the apostolic word, which says to them that are stronger, ‘Be skillful money-changers.’

4. Then after saying some things concerning all the heresies he adds: I received this rule and ordinance from our blessed father, Heraclas. For those who came over from heresies, although they had apostatized from the Church — or rather had not apostatized, but seemed to meet with them, yet were charged with resorting to some false teacher — when he had expelled them from the Church he did not receive them back, though they entreated for it, until they had publicly reported all things which they had heard from their adversaries; but then he received them without requiring of them another baptism. For they had formerly received the Holy Spirit from him.

5. Again, after treating the question thoroughly, he adds: I have learned also that this is not a novel practice introduced in Africa alone, but that even long ago in the times of the bishops before us this opinion has been adopted in the most populous churches, and in synods of the brethren in Iconium and Synnada, and by many others. To overturn their counsels and throw them into strife and contention, I cannot endure. For it is said, ‘You shall not remove your neighbor’s landmark, which your fathers have set.’ Deuteronomy 19:14

6. His fourth epistle on baptism was written to Dionysius of Rome, who

was then a presbyter, but not long after received the episcopate of that church. It is evident from what is stated of him by Dionysius of Alexandria, that he also was a learned and admirable man. Among other things he writes to him as follows concerning Novatus:

Chapter 8. The Heterodoxy of Novatus.

For with good reason do we feel hatred toward Novatian, who has sundered the Church and drawn some of the brethren into impiety and blasphemy, and has introduced impious teaching concerning God, and has calumniated our most compassionate Lord Jesus Christ as unmerciful. And besides all this he rejects the holy baptism, and overturns the faith and confession which precede it, and entirely banishes from them the Holy Ghost, if indeed there was any hope that he would remain or return to them.

Chapter 9. The Ungodly Baptism of the Heretics.

1. His fifth epistle was written to Xystus, bishop of Rome. In this, after saying much against the heretics, he relates a certain occurrence of his time as follows: For truly, brother, I am in need of counsel, and I ask your judgment concerning a certain matter which has come to me, fearing that I may be in error.

2. For one of the brethren that assemble, who has long been considered a believer, and who, before my ordination, and I think before the appointment of the blessed Heraclas, was a member of the congregation, was present with those who were recently baptized. And when he heard the questions and answers, he came to me weeping, and bewailing himself; and falling at my feet he acknowledged and protested that the baptism with which he had been baptized among the heretics was not of this character, nor in any respect like this, because it was full of impiety and blasphemy.

3. And he said that his soul was now pierced with sorrow, and that he had not confidence to lift his eyes to God, because he had set out from those impious words and deeds. And on this account he besought that he might receive this most perfect purification, and reception and grace.

4. But I did not dare to do this; and said that his long communion was sufficient for this. For I should not dare to renew from the beginning one who had heard the giving of thanks and joined in repeating the Amen; who had stood by the table and had stretched forth his hands to receive the blessed food; and who had received it, and partaken for a long while of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. But I exhorted him to be of good courage, and to approach the partaking of the saints with firm faith and good hope.

5. But he does not cease lamenting, and he shudders to approach the table, and scarcely, though entreated, does he dare to be present at the prayers.

6. Besides these there is also extant another epistle of the same man on baptism, addressed by him and his parish to Xystus and the church at Rome. In this he considers the question then agitated with extended argument. And there is extant yet another after these, addressed to Dionysius of Rome, concerning Lucian. So much with reference to these.

Chapter 10. Valerian and the Persecution under him.

1. Gallus and the other rulers, having held the government less than two years, were overthrown, and Valerian, with his son Gallienus, received the empire. The circumstances which Dionysius relates of him we may learn from his epistle to Hermammon, in which he gives the following account:

2. And in like manner it is revealed to John; 'For there was given to him,' he says, 'a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy; and there was given unto him authority and forty and two months.' Revelation 13:5

3. It is wonderful that both of these things occurred under Valerian; and it is the more remarkable in this case when we consider his previous conduct, for he had been mild and friendly toward the men of God, for none of the emperors before him had treated them so kindly and favorably; and not even those who were said openly to be Christians received them with such manifest hospitality and friendliness as he did at the beginning of his reign. For his entire house was filled with pious persons and was a church of God.

4. But the teacher and ruler of the synagogue of the Magi from Egypt persuaded him to change his course, urging him to slay and persecute pure and holy men because they opposed and hindered the corrupt and abominable incantations. For there are and there were men who, being present and being seen, though they only breathed and spoke, were able to scatter the counsels of the sinful demons. And he induced him to practice initiations and abominable sorceries and to offer unacceptable sacrifices; to slay innumerable children and to sacrifice the offspring of unhappy fathers; to divide the bowels of new-born babes and to mutilate and cut to pieces the creatures of God, as if by such practices they could attain happiness.

5. He adds to this the following: Splendid indeed were the thank-offerings which Macrianus brought them for the empire which was the object of his hopes. He is said to have been formerly the emperor's general finance minister ; yet he did nothing praiseworthy or of general benefit, but fell under the prophetic saying,

6. 'Woe unto those who prophesy from their own heart and do not consider the general good.' Ezekiel 13:3 For he did not perceive the general Providence, nor did he look for the judgment of Him who is before all, and through all, and over all. Wherefore he became an enemy of his Catholic

Church, and alienated and estranged himself from the compassion of God, and fled as far as possible from his salvation. In this he showed the truth of his own name.

7. And again, farther on he says: For Valerian, being instigated to such acts by this man, was given over to insults and reproaches, according to what was said by Isaiah: 'They have chosen their own ways and their abominations in which their soul delighted; I also will choose their delusions and will render unto them their sins.' Isaiah 66:3-4

8. But this man madly desired the kingdom though unworthy of it, and being unable to put the royal garment on his crippled body, set forward his two sons to bear their father's sins. For concerning them the declaration which God spoke was plain, 'Visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.' Exodus 20:5

9. For heaping on the heads of his sons his own evil desires, in which he had met with success, he wiped off upon them his own wickedness and hatred toward God.

Dionysius relates these things concerning Valerian.

Chapter 11. The Events which happened at this Time to Dionysius and those in Egypt.

1. But as regards the persecution which prevailed so fiercely in his reign, and the sufferings which Dionysius with others endured on account of piety toward the God of the universe, his own words shall show, which he wrote in answer to Germanus, a contemporary bishop who was endeavoring to slander him. His statement is as follows:

2. Truly I am in danger of falling into great folly and stupidity through being forced to relate the wonderful providence of God toward us. But since it is said that ‘it is good to keep close the secret of a king, but it is honorable to reveal the works of God,’ Tobit 12:7 I will join issue with the violence of Germanus.

3. I went not alone to Æmilianus; but my fellow presbyter, Maximus, and the deacons Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon, and a brother who was present from Rome, went with me.

4. But Æmilianus did not at first say to me: ‘Hold no assemblies;’ for this was superfluous to him, and the last thing to one who was seeking to accomplish the first. For he was not concerned about our assembling, but that we ourselves should not be Christians. And he commanded me to give this up; supposing if I turned from it, the others also would follow me.

5. But I answered him, neither unsuitably nor in many words: ‘We must obey God rather than men.’ Acts 5:29 And I testified openly that I worshipped the one only God, and no other; and that I would not turn from this nor would I ever cease to be a Christian. Thereupon he commanded us to go to a village near the desert, called Cephro.

6. But listen to the very words which were spoken on both sides, as they were recorded: Dionysius, Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus, and Chæremon being arraigned, Æmilianus the prefect said:

7. ‘I have reasoned verbally with you concerning the clemency which our rulers have shown to you; for they have given you the opportunity to save yourselves, if you will turn to that which is according to nature, and worship the gods that preserve their empire, and forget those that are contrary to nature. What then do you say to this? For I do not think that you will be ungrateful for their kindness, since they would turn you to a better course.’

8. Dionysius replied: 'Not all people worship all gods; but each one those whom he approves. We therefore reverence and worship the one God, the Maker of all; who has given the empire to the divinely favored and august Valerian and Gallienus; and we pray to him continually for their empire that it may remain unshaken.'

9. Æmilianus, the prefect, said to them: 'But who forbids you to worship him, if he is a god, together with those who are gods by nature. For you have been commanded to reverence the gods, and the gods whom all know.' Dionysius answered:

10. 'We worship no other.' Æmilianus, the prefect, said to them: 'I see that you are at once ungrateful, and insensible to the kindness of our sovereigns. Wherefore you shall not remain in this city. But you shall be sent into the regions of Libya, to a place called Cephro. For I have chosen this place at the command of our sovereigns, and it shall by no means be permitted you or any others, either to hold assemblies, or to enter into the so called cemeteries.

11. But if any one shall be seen without the place which I have commanded, or be found in any assembly, he will bring peril on himself. For suitable punishment shall not fail. Go, therefore where you have been ordered.'

And he hastened me away, though I was sick, not granting even a day's respite. What opportunity then did I have, either to hold assemblies, or not to hold them?

12. Farther on he says: But through the help of the Lord we did not give up the open assembly. But I called together the more diligently those who were in the city, as if I were with them; being, so to speak, 'absent in body but present in spirit.' 1 Corinthians 5:3 But in Cephro a large church gathered with us of the brethren that followed us from the city, and those that joined us from Egypt; and there 'God opened unto us a door for the Word.' Colossians 4:3

13. At first we were persecuted and stoned; but afterwards not a few of the heathen forsook the idols and turned to God. For until this time they had not heard the Word, since it was then first sown by us.

14. And as if God had brought us to them for this purpose, when we had performed this ministry he transferred us to another place. For Æmilianus, as it appeared, desired to transport us to rougher and more Libyan-like places; so he commanded them to assemble from all quarters in Mareotis, and assigned

to them different villages throughout the country. But he ordered us to be placed nearer the highway that we might be seized first. For evidently he arranged and prepared matters so that whenever he wished to seize us he could take all of us without difficulty.

15. When I was first ordered to go to Cephro I did not know where the place was, and had scarcely ever heard the name; yet I went readily and cheerfully. But when I was told that I was to remove to the district of Colluthion, those who were present know how I was affected.

16. For here I will accuse myself. At first I was grieved and greatly disturbed; for though these places were better known and more familiar to us, yet the country was said to be destitute of brethren and of men of character, and to be exposed to the annoyances of travelers and incursions of robbers.

17. But I was comforted when the brethren reminded me that it was nearer the city, and that while Cephro afforded us much intercourse with the brethren from Egypt, so that we were able to extend the Church more widely, as this place was nearer the city we should enjoy more frequently the sight of those who were truly beloved and most closely related and dearest to us. For they would come and remain, and special meetings could be held, as in the more remote suburbs. And thus it turned out. After other matters he writes again as follows of the things which happened to him:

18. Germanus indeed boasts of many confessions. He can speak forsooth of many adversities which he himself has endured. But is he able to reckon up as many as we can, of sentences, confiscations, proscriptions, plundering of goods, loss of dignities, contempt of worldly glory, disregard for the flatteries of governors and of councilors, and patient endurance of the threats of opponents, of outcries, of perils and persecutions, and wandering and distress, and all kinds of tribulation, such as came upon me under Decius and Sabinus, and such as continue even now under Æmilianus? But where has Germanus been seen? And what account is there of him?

19. But I turn from this great folly into which I am falling on account of Germanus. And for the same reason I desist from giving to the brethren who know it an account of everything which took place.

20. The same writer also in the epistle to Domitius and Didymus mentions some particulars of the persecution as follows: As our people are many and unknown to you, it would be superfluous to give their names; but understand

that men and women, young and old, maidens and matrons, soldiers and civilians, of every race and age, some by scourging and fire, others by the sword, have conquered in the strife and received their crowns.

21. But in the case of some a very long time was not sufficient to make them appear acceptable to the Lord; as, indeed, it seems also in my own case, that sufficient time has not yet elapsed. Wherefore he has retained me for the time which he knows to be fitting, saying, 'In an acceptable time have I heard you, and in a day of salvation have I helped you.' Isaiah 49:8

22. For as you have inquired of our affairs and desire us to tell you how we are situated, you have heard fully that when we — that is, myself and Gaius and Faustus and Peter and Paul — were led away as prisoners by a centurion and magistrates, with their soldiers and servants, certain persons from Mareotis came and dragged us away by force, as we were unwilling to follow them.

23. But now I and Gaius and Peter are alone, deprived of the other brethren, and shut up in a desert and dry place in Libya, three days' journey from Parætonium.

24. He says farther on: The presbyters, Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius concealed themselves in the city, and visited the brethren secretly; for Faustinus and Aquila, who are more prominent in the world, are wandering in Egypt. But the deacons, Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon, have survived those who died in the pestilence. Eusebius is one whom God has strengthened and endowed from the first to fulfill energetically the ministrations for the imprisoned confessors, and to attend to the dangerous task of preparing for burial the bodies of the perfected and blessed martyrs.

25. For as I have said before, unto the present time the governor continues to put to death in a cruel manner those who are brought to trial. And he destroys some with tortures, and wastes others away with imprisonment and bonds; and he suffers no one to go near them, and investigates whether any one does so. Nevertheless God gives relief to the afflicted through the zeal and persistence of the brethren.

26. Thus far Dionysius. But it should be known that Eusebius, whom he calls a deacon, shortly afterward became bishop of the church of Laodicea in Syria; and Maximus, of whom he speaks as being then a presbyter, succeeded Dionysius himself as bishop of Alexandria. But the Faustus who was with

him, and who at that time was distinguished for his confession, was preserved until the persecution in our day, when being very old and full of days, he closed his life by martyrdom, being beheaded. But such are the things which happened at that time to Dionysius.

Chapter 12. The Martyrs in Cæsarea in Palestine.

During the above-mentioned persecution under Valerian, three men in Cæsarea in Palestine, being conspicuous in their confession of Christ, were adorned with divine martyrdom, becoming food for wild beasts. One of them was called Priscus, another Malchus, and the name of the third was Alexander. They say that these men, who lived in the country, acted at first in a cowardly manner, as if they were careless and thoughtless. For when the opportunity was given to those who longed for the prize with heavenly desire, they treated it lightly, lest they should seize the Crown of martyrdom prematurely. But having deliberated on the matter, they hastened to Cæsarea, and went before the judge and met the end we have mentioned. They relate that besides these, in the same persecution and the same city, a certain woman endured a similar conflict. But it is reported that she belonged to the sect of Marcion.

Chapter 13. The Peace under Gallienus.

1. Shortly after this Valerian was reduced to slavery by the barbarians, and his son having become sole ruler, conducted the government more prudently. He immediately restrained the persecution against us by public proclamations, and directed the bishops to perform in freedom their customary duties, in a rescript which ran as follows:

2. The Emperor Cæsar Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and the other bishops. I have ordered the bounty of my gift to be declared through all the world, that they may depart from the places of religious worship. And for this purpose you may use this copy of my rescript, that no one may molest you. And this which you are now enabled lawfully to do, has already for a long time been conceded by me. Therefore Aurelius Cyrenius, who is the chief administrator of affairs, will observe this ordinance which I have given.

3. I have given this in a translation from the Latin, that it may be more readily understood. Another decree of his is extant addressed to other bishops, permitting them to take possession again of the so-called cemeteries.

Chapter 14. The Bishops that flourished at that Time.

At that time Xystus was still presiding over the church of Rome, and Demetrianus, successor of Fabius, over the church of Antioch, and Firmilianus over that of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and besides these, Gregory and his brother Athenodorus, friends of Origen, were presiding over the churches in Pontus; and Theoctistus of Cæsarea in Palestine having died, Domnus received the episcopate there. He held it but a short time, and Theotecnus, our contemporary, succeeded him. He also was a member of Origen's school. But in Jerusalem, after the death of Mazabanes, Hymenæus, who has been celebrated among us for a great many years, succeeded to his seat.

Chapter 15. The Martyrdom of Marinus at Cæsarea.

1. At this time, when the peace of the churches had been everywhere restored, Marinus in Cæsarea in Palestine, who was honored for his military deeds, and illustrious by virtue of family and wealth, was beheaded for his testimony to Christ, on the following account.

2. The vine-branch is a certain mark of honor among the Romans, and those who obtain it become, they say, centurions. A place being vacated, the order of succession called Marinus to this position. But when he was about to receive the honor, another person came before the tribunal and claimed that it was not legal, according to the ancient laws, for him to receive the Roman dignity, as he was a Christian and did not sacrifice to the emperors; but that the office belonged rather to him.

3. Thereupon the judge, whose name was Achæus, being disturbed, first asked what opinion Marinus held. And when he perceived that he continually confessed himself a Christian, he gave him three hours for reflection.

4. When he came out from the tribunal, Theotecnus, the bishop there, took him aside and conversed with him, and taking his hand led him into the church. And standing with him within, in the sanctuary, he raised his cloak a little, and pointed to the sword that hung by his side; and at the same time he placed before him the Scripture of the divine Gospels, and told him to choose which of the two he wished. And without hesitation he reached forth his right hand, and took the divine Scripture. Hold fast then, says Theotecnus to him, hold fast to God, and strengthened by him may thou obtain what you have chosen, and go in peace.

5. Immediately on his return the herald cried out calling him to the tribunal, for the appointed time was already completed. And standing before the tribunal, and manifesting greater zeal for the faith, immediately, as he was, he was led away and finished his course by death.

Chapter 16. Story in Regard to Astyrius.

Astyrius also is commemorated on account of his pious boldness in connection with this affair. He was a Roman of senatorial rank, and in favor with the emperors, and well known to all on account of his noble birth and wealth. Being present at the martyr's death, he took his body away on his shoulder, and arraying him in a splendid and costly garment, prepared him for the grave in a magnificent manner, and gave him fitting burial. The friends of this man, that remain to our day, relate many other facts concerning him.

Chapter 17. The Signs at Paneas of the Great Might of our Saviour.

Among these is also the following wonder. At Cæsarea Philippi, which the Phœnicians call Paneas, springs are shown at the foot of the Mountain Panius, out of which the Jordan flows. They say that on a certain feast day, a victim was thrown in, and that through the power of the demon it marvelously disappeared and that which happened was a famous wonder to those who were present. Astyrius was once there when these things were done, and seeing the multitude astonished at the affair, he pitied their delusion; and looking up to heaven he supplicated the God over all through Christ, that he would rebuke the demon who deceived the people, and bring the men's delusion to an end. And they say that when he had prayed thus, immediately the sacrifice floated on the surface of the fountain. And thus the miracle departed; and no wonder was ever afterward performed at the place.

Chapter 18. The Statue which the Woman with an Issue of Blood erected.

1. Since I have mentioned this city I do not think it proper to omit an account which is worthy of record for posterity. For they say that the woman with an issue of blood, who, as we learn from the sacred Gospel, received from our Saviour deliverance from her affliction, came from this place, and that her house is shown in the city, and that remarkable memorials of the kindness of the Saviour to her remain there.

2. For there stands upon an elevated stone, by the gates of her house, a brazen image of a woman kneeling, with her hands stretched out, as if she were praying. Opposite this is another upright image of a man, made of the same material, clothed decently in a double cloak, and extending his hand toward the woman. At his feet, beside the statue itself, is a certain strange plant, which climbs up to the hem of the brazen cloak, and is a remedy for all kinds of diseases.

3. They say that this statue is an image of Jesus. It has remained to our day, so that we ourselves also saw it when we were staying in the city.

4. Nor is it strange that those of the Gentiles who, of old, were benefited by our Saviour, should have done such things, since we have learned also that the likenesses of his apostles Paul and Peter, and of Christ himself, are preserved in paintings, the ancients being accustomed, as it is likely, according to a habit of the Gentiles, to pay this kind of honor indiscriminately to those regarded by them as deliverers.

Chapter 19. The Episcopal Chair of James.

The chair of James, who first received the episcopate of the church at Jerusalem from the Saviour himself and the apostles, and who, as the divine records show, was called a brother of Christ, has been preserved until now, the brethren who have followed him in succession there exhibiting clearly to all the reverence which both those of old times and those of our own day maintained and do maintain for holy men on account of their piety. So much as to this matter.

Chapter 20. The Festal Epistles of Dionysius, in which he also gives a Paschal Canon.

Dionysius, besides his epistles already mentioned, wrote at that time also his extant Festal Epistles, in which he uses words of panegyric respecting the passover feast. He addressed one of these to Flavius, and another to Domitius and Didymus, in which he sets forth a canon of eight years, maintaining that it is not proper to observe the paschal feast until after the vernal equinox. Besides these he sent another epistle to his fellow presbyters in Alexandria, as well as various others to different persons while the persecution was still prevailing.

Chapter 21. The Occurrences at Alexandria.

1. Peace had but just been restored when he returned to Alexandria; but as sedition and war broke out again, rendering it impossible for him to oversee all the brethren, separated in different places by the insurrection, at the feast of the passover, as if he were still an exile from Alexandria, he addressed them again by letter.

2. And in another festal epistle written later to Hierax, a bishop in Egypt, he mentions the sedition then prevailing in Alexandria, as follows:

What wonder is it that it is difficult for me to communicate by letters with those who live far away, when it is beyond my power even to reason with myself, or to take counsel for my own life?

3. Truly I need to send letters to those who are as my own bowels, dwelling in one home, and brethren of one soul, and citizens of the same church; but how to send them I cannot tell. For it would be easier for one to go, not only beyond the limits of the province, but even from the East to the West, than from Alexandria to Alexandria itself.

4. For the very heart of the city is more intricate and impassable than that great and trackless desert which Israel traversed for two generations. And our smooth and waveless harbors have become like the sea, divided and walled up, through which Israel drove and in whose highway the Egyptians were overwhelmed. For often from the slaughters there committed they appear like the Red Sea.

5. And the river which flows by the city has sometimes seemed drier than the waterless desert, and more parched than that in which Israel, as they passed through it, so suffered for thirst, that they cried out against Moses, and the water flowed for them from the steep rock, through him who alone does wonders.

6. Again it has overflowed so greatly as to flood all the surrounding country, and the roads and the fields; threatening to bring back the deluge of water that occurred in the days of Noah. And it flows along, polluted always with blood and slaughter and drownings, as it became for Pharaoh through the agency of Moses, when he changed it into blood, and it stank.

7. And what other water could purify the water which purifies everything? How could the ocean, so great and impassable for men, if poured into it,

cleanse this bitter sea? Or how could the great river which flowed out of Eden, if it poured the four heads into which it is divided into the one of Geon, wash away this pollution?

8. Or when can the air poisoned by these noxious exhalations become pure? For such vapors arise from the earth, and winds from the sea, and breezes from the river, and mists from the harbors, that the dews are, as it were, discharges from dead bodies putrefying in all the elements around us.

9. Yet men wonder and cannot understand whence these continuous pestilences; whence these severe sicknesses; whence these deadly diseases of all kinds; whence this various and vast human destruction; why this great city no longer contains as many inhabitants, from tender infants to those most advanced in life, as it formerly contained of those whom it called hearty old men. But the men from forty to seventy years of age were then so much more numerous that their number cannot now be filled out, even when those from fourteen to eighty years are enrolled and registered for the public allowance of food.

10. And the youngest in appearance have become, as it were, of equal age with those who formerly were the oldest. But though they see the race of men thus constantly diminishing and wasting away, and though their complete destruction is increasing and advancing, they do not tremble.

Chapter 22. The Pestilence which came upon them.

1. After these events a pestilential disease followed the war, and at the approach of the feast he wrote again to the brethren, describing the sufferings consequent upon this calamity.

2. To other men the present might not seem to be a suitable time for a festival. Nor indeed is this or any other time suitable for them; neither sorrowful times, nor even such as might be thought especially cheerful. Now, indeed, everything is tears and every one is mourning, and wailings resound daily through the city because of the multitude of the dead and dying.

3. For as it was written of the firstborn of the Egyptians, so now 'there has arisen a great cry, for there is not a house where there is not one dead.' Exodus 12:30 And would that this were all!

4. For many terrible things have happened already. First, they drove us out; and when alone, and persecuted, and put to death by all, even then we kept the feast. And every place of affliction was to us a place of festival: field, desert, ship, inn, prison; but the perfected martyrs kept the most joyous festival of all, feasting in heaven.

5. After these things war and famine followed, which we endured in common with the heathen. But we bore alone those things with which they afflicted us, and at the same time we experienced also the effects of what they inflicted upon and suffered from one another; and again, we rejoiced in the peace of Christ, which he gave to us alone.

6. But after both we and they had enjoyed a very brief season of rest this pestilence assailed us; to them more dreadful than any dread, and more intolerable than any other calamity; and, as one of their own writers has said, the only thing which prevails over all hope. But to us this was not so, but no less than the other things was it an exercise and probation. For it did not keep aloof even from us, but the heathen it assailed more severely.

7. Farther on he adds:

The most of our brethren were unsparing in their exceeding love and brotherly kindness. They held fast to each other and visited the sick fearlessly, and ministered to them continually, serving them in Christ. And they died with them most joyfully, taking the affliction of others, and drawing the sickness from their neighbors to themselves and willingly receiving their

pains. And many who cared for the sick and gave strength to others died themselves having transferred to themselves their death. And the popular saying which always seems a mere expression of courtesy, they then made real in action, taking their departure as the others' 'offscouring.'

8. Truly the best of our brethren departed from life in this manner, including some presbyters and deacons and those of the people who had the highest reputation; so that this form of death, through the great piety and strong faith it exhibited, seemed to lack nothing of martyrdom.

9. And they took the bodies of the saints in their open hands and in their bosoms, and closed their eyes and their mouths; and they bore them away on their shoulders and laid them out; and they clung to them and embraced them; and they prepared them suitably with washings and garments. And after a little they received like treatment themselves, for the survivors were continually following those who had gone before them.

10. But with the heathen everything was quite otherwise. They deserted those who began to be sick, and fled from their dearest friends. And they cast them out into the streets when they were half dead, and left the dead like refuse, unburied. They shunned any participation or fellowship with death; which yet, with all their precautions, it was not easy for them to escape.

11. After this epistle, when peace had been restored to the city, he wrote another festal letter to the brethren in Egypt, and again several others besides this. And there is also a certain one extant On the Sabbath, and another On Exercise.

12. Moreover, he wrote again an epistle to Hermammon and the brethren in Egypt, describing at length the wickedness of Decius and his successors, and mentioning the peace under Gallienus.

Chapter 23. The Reign of Gallienus.

1. But there is nothing like hearing his own words, which are as follows:

Then he, having betrayed one of the emperors that preceded him, and made war on the other, perished with his whole family speedily and utterly. But Gallienus was proclaimed and universally acknowledged at once an old emperor and a new, being before them and continuing after them.

2. For according to the word spoken by the prophet Isaiah, 'Behold the things from the beginning have come to pass, and new things shall now arise.' Isaiah 42:9 For as a cloud passing over the sun's rays and obscuring them for a little time hides it and appears in its place; but when the cloud has passed by or is dissipated, the sun which had risen before appears again; so Macrianus who put himself forward and approached the existing empire of Gallienus, is not, since he never was. But the other is just as he was.

3. And his kingdom, as if it had cast aside old age, and had been purified from the former wickedness, now blossoms out more vigorously, and is seen and heard farther, and extends in all directions.

4. He then indicates the time at which he wrote this in the following words:

It occurs to me again to review the days of the imperial years. For I perceive that those most impious men, though they have been famous, yet in a short time have become nameless. But the holier and more godly prince, having passed the seventh year, is now completing the ninth, in which we shall keep the feast.

Chapter 24. Nepos and his Schism.

1. Besides all these the two books on the Promises were prepared by him. The occasion of these was Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, who taught that the promises to the holy men in the Divine Scriptures should be understood in a more Jewish manner, and that there would be a certain millennium of bodily luxury upon this earth.

2. As he thought that he could establish his private opinion by the Revelation of John, he wrote a book on this subject, entitled Refutation of Allegorists.

3. Dionysius opposes this in his books on the Promises. In the first he gives his own opinion of the dogma; and in the second he treats of the Revelation of John, and mentioning Nepos at the beginning, writes of him in this manner:

4. But since they bring forward a certain work of Nepos, on which they rely confidently, as if it proved beyond dispute that there will be a reign of Christ upon earth, I confess that in many other respects I approve and love Nepos, for his faith and industry and diligence in the Scriptures, and for his extensive psalmody, with which many of the brethren are still delighted; and I hold him in the more reverence because he has gone to rest before us. But the truth should be loved and honored most of all. And while we should praise and approve ungrudgingly what is said aright, we ought to examine and correct what does not seem to have been written soundly.

5. Were he present to state his opinion orally, mere unwritten discussion, persuading and reconciling those who are opposed by question and answer, would be sufficient. But as some think his work very plausible, and as certain teachers regard the law and prophets as of no consequence, and do not follow the Gospels, and treat lightly the apostolic epistles, while they make promises as to the teaching of this work as if it were some great hidden mystery, and do not permit our simpler brethren to have any sublime and lofty thoughts concerning the glorious and truly divine appearing of our Lord, and our resurrection from the dead, and our being gathered together unto him, and made like him, but on the contrary lead them to hope for small and mortal things in the kingdom of God, and for things such as exist now — since this is the case, it is necessary that we should dispute with our brother Nepos as if he were present. Farther on he says:

6. When I was in the district of Arsinoë, where, as you know, this doctrine has prevailed for a long time, so that schisms and apostasies of entire churches have resulted, I called together the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages — such brethren as wished being also present — and I exhorted them to make a public examination of this question.

7. Accordingly when they brought me this book, as if it were a weapon and fortress impregnable, sitting with them from morning till evening for three successive days, I endeavored to correct what was written in it.

8. And I rejoiced over the constancy, sincerity, docility, and intelligence of the brethren, as we considered in order and with moderation the questions and the difficulties and the points of agreement. And we abstained from defending in every manner and contentiously the opinions which we had once held, unless they appeared to be correct. Nor did we evade objections, but we endeavored as far as possible to hold to and confirm the things which lay before us, and if the reason given satisfied us, we were not ashamed to change our opinions and agree with others; but on the contrary, conscientiously and sincerely, and with hearts laid open before God, we accepted whatever was established by the proofs and teachings of the Holy Scriptures.

9. And finally the author and mover of this teaching, who was called Coracion, in the hearing of all the brethren that were present, acknowledged and testified to us that he would no longer hold this opinion, nor discuss it, nor mention nor teach it, as he was fully convinced by the arguments against it. And some of the other brethren expressed their gratification at the conference, and at the spirit of conciliation and harmony which all had manifested.

Chapter 25. The Apocalypse of John.

1. Afterward he speaks in this manner of the Apocalypse of John.

Some before us have set aside and rejected the book altogether, criticising it chapter by chapter, and pronouncing it without sense or argument, and maintaining that the title is fraudulent.

2. For they say that it is not the work of John, nor is it a revelation, because it is covered thickly and densely by a veil of obscurity. And they affirm that none of the apostles, and none of the saints, nor any one in the Church is its author, but that Cerinthus, who founded the sect which was called after him the Cerinthian, desiring reputable authority for his fiction, prefixed the name.

3. For the doctrine which he taught was this: that the kingdom of Christ will be an earthly one. And as he was himself devoted to the pleasures of the body and altogether sensual in his nature, he dreamed that that kingdom would consist in those things which he desired, namely, in the delights of the belly and of sexual passion; that is to say, in eating and drinking and marrying, and in festivals and sacrifices and the slaying of victims, under the guise of which he thought he could indulge his appetites with a better grace.

4. But I could not venture to reject the book, as many brethren hold it in high esteem. But I suppose that it is beyond my comprehension, and that there is a certain concealed and more wonderful meaning in every part. For if I do not understand I suspect that a deeper sense lies beneath the words.

5. I do not measure and judge them by my own reason, but leaving the more to faith I regard them as too high for me to grasp. And I do not reject what I cannot comprehend, but rather wonder because I do not understand it.

6. After this he examines the entire Book of Revelation, and having proved that it is impossible to understand it according to the literal sense, proceeds as follows:

Having finished all the prophecy, so to speak, the prophet pronounces those blessed who shall observe it, and also himself. For he says, 'Blessed is he that keeps the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, who saw and heard these things.'

7. Therefore that he was called John, and that this book is the work of one John, I do not deny. And I agree also that it is the work of a holy and inspired man. But I cannot readily admit that he was the apostle, the son of Zebedee,

the brother of James, by whom the Gospel of John and the Catholic Epistle were written.

8. For I judge from the character of both, and the forms of expression, and the entire execution of the book, that it is not his. For the evangelist nowhere gives his name, or proclaims himself, either in the Gospel or Epistle.

9. Farther on he adds:

But John never speaks as if referring to himself, or as if referring to another person. But the author of the Apocalypse introduces himself at the very beginning: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which he gave him to show unto his servants quickly; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John, who bore witness of the word of God and of his testimony, even of all things that he saw.' Revelation 1:1-2

10. Then he writes also an epistle: 'John to the seven churches which are in Asia, grace be with you, and peace.' Revelation 1:4 But the evangelist did not prefix his name even to the Catholic Epistle; but without introduction he begins with the mystery of the divine revelation itself: 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes.' 1 John 1:1 For because of such a revelation the Lord also blessed Peter, saying, 'Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah, for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto you, but my heavenly Father.' Matthew 16:17

11. But neither in the reputed second or third epistle of John, though they are very short, does the name John appear; but there is written the anonymous phrase, 'the elder.' But this author did not consider it sufficient to give his name once and to proceed with his work; but he takes it up again: 'I, John, who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and in the patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus.' Revelation 1:9 And toward the close he speaks thus: 'Blessed is he that keeps the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, who saw and heard these things.'

12. But that he who wrote these things was called John must be believed, as he says it; but who he was does not appear. For he did not say, as often in the Gospel, that he was the beloved disciple of the Lord, or the one who lay on his breast, or the brother of James, or the eyewitness and hearer of the Lord.

13. For he would have spoken of these things if he had wished to show

himself plainly. But he says none of them; but speaks of himself as our brother and companion, and a witness of Jesus, and blessed because he had seen and heard the revelations.

14. But I am of the opinion that there were many with the same name as the apostle John, who, on account of their love for him, and because they admired and emulated him, and desired to be loved by the Lord as he was, took to themselves the same surname, as many of the children of the faithful are called Paul or Peter.

15. For example, there is also another John, surnamed Mark, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Barnabas and Paul took with them; of whom also it is said, ‘And they had also John as their attendant.’ Acts 13:5 But that it is he who wrote this, I would not say. For it not written that he went with them into Asia, but, ‘Now when Paul and his company set sail from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia and John departing from them returned to Jerusalem.’ Acts 13:13

16. But I think that he was some other one of those in Asia; as they say that there are two monuments in Ephesus, each bearing the name of John.

17. And from the ideas, and from the words and their arrangement, it may be reasonably conjectured that this one is different from that one.

18. For the Gospel and Epistle agree with each other and begin in the same manner. The one says, ‘In the beginning was the Word’; John 1:1 the other, ‘That which was from the beginning.’ 1 John 1:1 The one: ‘And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father’; John 1:14 the other says the same things slightly altered: ‘Which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes; which we have looked upon and our hands have handled of the Word of life — and the life was manifested.’ 1 John 1:1-2

19. For he introduces these things at the beginning, maintaining them, as is evident from what follows, in opposition to those who said that the Lord had not come in the flesh. Wherefore also he carefully adds, ‘And we have seen and bear witness, and declare unto you the eternal life which was with the Father and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also.’ 1 John 1:2-3

20. He holds to this and does not digress from his subject, but discusses everything under the same heads and names some of which we will briefly

mention.

21. Any one who examines carefully will find the phrases, 'the life,' 'the light,' 'turning from darkness,' frequently occurring in both; also continually, 'truth,' 'grace,' 'joy,' 'the flesh and blood of the Lord,' 'the judgment,' 'the forgiveness of sins,' 'the love of God toward us,' the 'commandment that we love one another,' that we should 'keep all the commandments'; the 'conviction of the world, of the Devil, of Anti-Christ,' the 'promise of the Holy Spirit,' the 'adoption of God,' the 'faith continually required of us,' 'the Father and the Son,' occur everywhere. In fact, it is plainly to be seen that one and the same character marks the Gospel and the Epistle throughout.

22. But the Apocalypse is different from these writings and foreign to them; not touching, nor in the least bordering upon them; almost, so to speak, without even a syllable in common with them.

23. Nay more, the Epistle — for I pass by the Gospel — does not mention nor does it contain any intimation of the Apocalypse, nor does the Apocalypse of the Epistle. But Paul, in his epistles, gives some indication of his revelations, though he has not written them out by themselves.

24. Moreover, it can also be shown that the diction of the Gospel and Epistle differs from that of the Apocalypse.

25. For they were written not only without error as regards the Greek language, but also with elegance in their expression, in their reasonings, and in their entire structure. They are far indeed from betraying any barbarism or solecism, or any vulgarism whatever. For the writer had, as it seems, both the requisites of discourse — that is, the gift of knowledge and the gift of expression — as the Lord had bestowed them both upon him.

26. I do not deny that the other writer saw a revelation and received knowledge and prophecy. I perceive, however, that his dialect and language are not accurate Greek, but that he uses barbarous idioms, and, in some places, solecisms.

27. It is unnecessary to point these out here, for I would not have any one think that I have said these things in a spirit of ridicule, for I have said what I have only with the purpose of showing clearly the difference between the writings.

Chapter 26. The Epistles of Dionysius.

1. Besides these, many other epistles of Dionysius are extant, as those against Sabellius, addressed to Ammon, bishop of the church of Bernice, and one to Telesphorus, and one to Euphranor, and again another to Ammon and Euporus. He wrote also four other books on the same subject, which he addressed to his namesake Dionysius, in Rome.

2. Besides these many of his epistles are with us, and large books written in epistolary form, as those on Nature, addressed to the young man Timothy, and one on Temptations, which he also dedicated to Euphranor.

3. Moreover, in a letter to Basilides, bishop of the parishes in Pentapolis, he says that he had written an exposition of the beginning of Ecclesiastes. And he has left us also various letters addressed to this same person. Thus much Dionysius.

But our account of these matters being now completed, permit us to show to posterity the character of our own age.

Chapter 27. Paul of Samosata, and the Heresy introduced by him at Antioch.

1. After Xystus had presided over the church of Rome for eleven years, Dionysius, namesake of him of Alexandria, succeeded him. About the same time Demetrianus died in Antioch, and Paul of Samosata received that episcopate.

2. As he held, contrary to the teaching of the Church, low and degraded views of Christ, namely, that in his nature he was a common man, Dionysius of Alexandria was entreated to come to the synod. But being unable to come on account of age and physical weakness, he gave his opinion on the subject under consideration by letter. But all the other pastors of the churches from all directions, made haste to assemble at Antioch, as against a despoiler of the flock of Christ.

Chapter 28. The Illustrious Bishops of that Time.

1. Of these, the most eminent were Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; the brothers Gregory and Athenodorus, pastors of the churches in Pontus; Helenus of the parish of Tarsus, and Nicomas of Iconium; moreover, Hymenæus, of the church of Jerusalem, and Theotecnus of the neighboring church of Cæsarea; and besides these Maximus, who presided in a distinguished manner over the brethren in Bostra. If any should count them up he could not fail to note a great many others, besides presbyters and deacons, who were at that time assembled for the same cause in the above-mentioned city. But these were the most illustrious.

2. When all of these assembled at different times and frequently to consider these matters, the arguments and questions were discussed at every meeting; the adherents of the Samosatian endeavoring to cover and conceal his heterodoxy, and the others striving zealously to lay bare and make manifest his heresy and blasphemy against Christ.

3. Meanwhile, Dionysius died in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, having held the episcopate of Alexandria for seventeen years, and Maximus succeeded him.

4. Gallienus after a reign of fifteen years was succeeded by Claudius, who in two years delivered the government to Aurelian.

Chapter 29. Paul, having been refuted by Malchion, a Presbyter from the Sophists, was excommunicated.

1. During his reign a final synod composed of a great many bishops was held, and the leader of heresy in Antioch was detected, and his false doctrine clearly shown before all, and he was excommunicated from the Catholic Church under heaven.

2. Malchion especially drew him out of his hiding-place and refuted him. He was a man learned in other respects, and principal of the sophist school of Grecian learning in Antioch; yet on account of the superior nobility of his faith in Christ he had been made a presbyter of that parish. This man, having conducted a discussion with him, which was taken down by stenographers and which we know is still extant, was alone able to detect the man who dissembled and deceived the others.

Chapter 30. The Epistle of the Bishops against Paul.

1. The pastors who had assembled about this matter, prepared by common consent an epistle addressed to Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and Maximus of Alexandria, and sent it to all the provinces. In this they make manifest to all their own zeal and the perverse error of Paul, and the arguments and discussions which they had with him, and show the entire life and conduct of the man. It may be well to put on record at the present time the following extracts from their writing:

2. To Dionysius and Maximus, and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven, Helenus, Hymenæus, Theophilus, Theotecnus, Maximus, Proclus, Nicomas, Ælianus, Paul, Bolanus, Protogenes, Hierax, Eutychius, Theodorus, Malchion, and Lucius, and all the others who dwell with us in the neighboring cities and nations, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and the churches of God, greeting to the beloved brethren in the Lord.

3. A little farther on they proceed thus: We sent for and called many of the bishops from a distance to relieve us from this deadly doctrine; as Dionysius of Alexandria and Firmilianus of Cappadocia, those blessed men. The first of these not considering the author of this delusion worthy to be addressed, sent a letter to Antioch, not written to him, but to the entire parish, of which we give a copy below.

4. But Firmilianus came twice and condemned his innovations, as we who were present know and testify, and many others understand. But as he promised to change his opinions, he believed him and hoped that without any reproach to the Word what was necessary would be done. So he delayed the matter, being deceived by him who denied even his own God and Lord, and had not kept the faith which he formerly held.

5. And now Firmilianus was again on his way to Antioch, and had come as far as Tarsus because he had learned by experience his God-denying wickedness. But while we, having come together, were calling for him and awaiting his arrival, he died.

6. After other things they describe as follows the manner of life which he led:

7. Whereas he has departed from the rule of faith, and has turned aside

after base and spurious teachings, it is not necessary, — since he is without — that we should pass judgment upon his practices: as for instance in that although formerly destitute and poor, and having received no wealth from his fathers, nor made anything by trade or business, he now possesses abundant wealth through his iniquities and sacrilegious acts, and through those things which he extorts from the brethren, depriving the injured of their rights and promising to assist them for reward, yet deceiving them, and plundering those who in their trouble are ready to give that they may obtain reconciliation with their oppressors, ‘supposing that gain is godliness’; 1 Timothy 6:5 —

8. or in that he is haughty, and is puffed up, and assumes worldly dignities, preferring to be called ducenarius rather than bishop; and struts in the market-places, reading letters and reciting them as he walks in public, attended by a bodyguard, with a multitude preceding and following him, so that the faith is envied and hated on account of his pride and haughtiness of heart —

9. or in that he practices chicanery in ecclesiastical assemblies, contrives to glorify himself, and deceive with appearances, and astonish the minds of the simple, preparing for himself a tribunal and lofty throne, — not like a disciple of Christ — and possessing a ‘secretum,’ — like the rulers of the world — and so calling it, and striking his thigh with his hand, and stamping on the tribunal with his feet — or in that he rebukes and insults those who do not applaud, and shake their handkerchiefs as in the theaters, and shout and leap about like the men and women that are stationed around him, and hear him in this unbecoming manner, but who listen reverently and orderly as in the house of God — or in that he violently and coarsely assails in public the expounders of the Word that have departed this life, and magnifies himself, not as a bishop, but as a sophist and juggler,

10. and stops the psalms to our Lord Jesus Christ, as being the modern productions of modern men, and trains women to sing psalms to himself in the midst of the church on the great day of the passover, which any one might shudder to hear, and persuades the bishops and presbyters of the neighboring districts and cities who fawn upon him, to advance the same ideas in their discourses to the people.

11. For to anticipate something of what we shall presently write, he is unwilling to acknowledge that the Son of God has come down from heaven. And this is not a mere assertion, but it is abundantly proved from the records

which we have sent you; and not least where he says 'Jesus Christ is from below.' But those singing to him and extolling him among the people say that their impious teacher has come down an angel from heaven. And he does not forbid such things; but the arrogant man is even present when they are uttered.

12. And there are the women, the 'subintroductæ,' as the people of Antioch call them, belonging to him and to the presbyters and deacons that are with him. Although he knows and has convicted these men, yet he connives at this and their other incurable sins, in order that they may be bound to him, and through fear for themselves may not dare to accuse him for his wicked words and deeds. But he has also made them rich; on which account he is loved and admired by those who covet such things.

13. We know, beloved, that the bishop and all the clergy should be an example to the people of all good works. And we are not ignorant how many have fallen or incurred suspicion, through the women whom they have thus brought in. So that even if we should allow that he commits no sinful act, yet he ought to avoid the suspicion which arises from such a thing, lest he scandalize some one, or lead others to imitate him.

14. For how can he reprove or admonish another not to be too familiar with women — lest he fall, as it is written, — when he has himself sent one away already, and now has two with him, blooming and beautiful, and takes them with him wherever he goes, and at the same time lives in luxury and surfeiting?

15. Because of these things all mourn and lament by themselves; but they so fear his tyranny and power, that they dare not accuse him.

16. But as we have said, while one might call the man to account for this conduct, if he held the Catholic doctrine and was numbered with us, since he has scorned the mystery and struts about in the abominable heresy of Artemas (for why should we not mention his father?), we think it unnecessary to demand of him an explanation of these things.

17. Afterwards, at the close of the epistle, they add these words:

Therefore we have been compelled to excommunicate him, since he sets himself against God, and refuses to obey; and to appoint in his place another bishop for the Catholic Church. By divine direction, as we believe, we have appointed Domnus, who is adorned with all the qualities becoming in a bishop, and who is a son of the blessed Demetrianus, who formerly presided

in a distinguished manner over the same parish. We have informed you of this that you may write to him, and may receive letters of communion from him. But let this man write to Artemas; and let those who think as Artemas does, communicate with him.

18. As Paul had fallen from the episcopate, as well as from the orthodox faith, Domnus, as has been said, became bishop of the church at Antioch.

19. But as Paul refused to surrender the church building, the Emperor Aurelian was petitioned; and he decided the matter most equitably, ordering the building to be given to those to whom the bishops of Italy and of the city of Rome should adjudge it. Thus this man was driven out of the church, with extreme disgrace, by the worldly power.

20. Such was Aurelian's treatment of us at that time; but in the course of his reign he changed his mind in regard to us, and was moved by certain advisers to institute a persecution against us. And there was great talk about this on every side.

21. But as he was about to do it, and was, so to speak, in the very act of signing the decrees against us, the divine judgment came upon him and restrained him at the very verge of his undertaking, showing in a manner that all could see clearly, that the rulers of this world can never find an opportunity against the churches of Christ, except the hand that defends them permits it, in divine and heavenly judgment, for the sake of discipline and correction, at such times as it sees best.

22. After a reign of six years, Aurelian was succeeded by Probus. He reigned for the same number of years, and Carus, with his sons, Carinus and Numerianus, succeeded him. After they had reigned less than three years the government devolved on Diocletian, and those associated with him. Under them took place the persecution of our time, and the destruction of the churches connected with it.

23. Shortly before this, Dionysius, bishop of Rome, after holding office for nine years, died, and was succeeded by Felix.

Chapter 31. The Perversive Heresy of the Manicheans which began at this Time.

1. At this time, the madman, named from his demoniacal heresy, armed himself in the perversion of his reason, as the devil, Satan, who himself fights against God, put him forward to the destruction of many. He was a barbarian in life, both in word and deed; and in his nature demoniacal and insane. In consequence of this he sought to pose as Christ, and being puffed up in his madness, he proclaimed himself the Paraclete and the very Holy Spirit; and afterwards, like Christ, he chose twelve disciples as partners of his new doctrine.

2. And he patched together false and godless doctrines collected from a multitude of long-extinct impieties, and swept them, like a deadly poison, from Persia to our part of the world. From him the impious name of the Manicheans is still prevalent among many. Such was the foundation of this knowledge falsely so-called, which sprang up in those times.

Chapter 32. The Distinguished Ecclesiastics of our Day, and which of them survived until the Destruction of the Churches.

1. At this time, Felix, having presided over the church of Rome for five years, was succeeded by Eutychianus, but he in less than ten months left the position to Caius, who lived in our day. He held it about fifteen years, and was in turn succeeded by Marcellinus, who was overtaken by the persecution.

2. About the same time Timæus received the episcopate of Antioch after Domnus, and Cyril, who lived in our day, succeeded him. In his time we became acquainted with Dorotheus, a man of learning among those of his day, who was honored with the office of presbyter in Antioch. He was a lover of the beautiful in divine things, and devoted himself to the Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with facility.

3. He belonged to those who were especially liberal, and was not unacquainted with Grecian propædæutics. Besides this he was a eunuch, having been so from his very birth. On this account, as if it were a miracle, the emperor took him into his family, and honored him by placing him over the purple dye-works at Tyre. We have heard him expound the Scriptures wisely in the Church.

4. After Cyril, Tyrannus received the episcopate of the parish of Antioch. In his time occurred the destruction of the churches.

5. Eusebius, who had come from the city of Alexandria, ruled the parishes of Laodicea after Socrates. The occasion of his removal there was the affair of Paul. He went on this account to Syria, and was restrained from returning home by those there who were zealous in divine things. Among our contemporaries he was a beautiful example of religion, as is readily seen from the words of Dionysius which we have quoted.

6. Anatolius was appointed his successor; one good man, as they say, following another. He also was an Alexandrian by birth. In learning and skill in Greek philosophy, such as arithmetic and geometry, astronomy, and dialectics in general, as well as in the theory of physics, he stood first among the ablest men of our time, and he was also at the head in rhetorical science. It is reported that for this reason he was requested by the citizens of Alexandria to establish there a school of Aristotelian philosophy.

7. They relate of him many other eminent deeds during the siege of the Pyrucheium in Alexandria, on account of which he was especially honored by all those in high office; but I will give the following only as an example.

8. They say that bread had failed the besieged, so that it was more difficult to withstand the famine than the enemy outside; but he being present provided for them in this manner. As the other part of the city was allied with the Roman army, and therefore was not under siege, Anatolius sent for Eusebius — for he was still there before his transfer to Syria, and was among those who were not besieged, and possessed, moreover, a great reputation and a renowned name which had reached even the Roman general — and he informed him of those who were perishing in the siege from famine.

9. When he learned this he requested the Roman commander as the greatest possible favor, to grant safety to deserters from the enemy. Having obtained his request, he communicated it to Anatolius. As soon as he received the message he convened the senate of Alexandria, and at first proposed that all should come to a reconciliation with the Romans. But when he perceived that they were angered by this advice, he said, But I do not think you will oppose me, if I counsel you to send the supernumeraries and those who are in nowise useful to us, as old women and children and old men, outside the gates, to go wherever they may please. For why should we retain for no purpose these who must at any rate soon die? And why should we destroy with hunger those who are crippled and maimed in body, when we ought to provide only for men and youth, and to distribute the necessary bread among those who are needed for the garrison of the city?

10. With such arguments he persuaded the assembly, and rising first he gave his vote that the entire multitude, whether of men or women, who were not needful for the army, should depart from the city, because if they remained and unnecessarily continued in the city, there would be for them no hope of safety, but they would perish with famine.

11. As all the others in the senate agreed to this, he saved almost all the besieged. He provided that first, those belonging to the church, and afterwards, of the others in the city, those of every age should escape, not only the classes included in the decree, but, under cover of these, a multitude of others, secretly clothed in women's garments; and through his management they went out of the gates by night and escaped to the Roman camp. There

Eusebius, like a father and physician, received all of them, wasted away through the long siege, and restored them by every kind of prudence and care.

12. The church of Laodicea was honored by two such pastors in succession, who, in the providence of God, came after the aforesaid war from Alexandria to that city.

13. Anatolius did not write very many works; but in such as have come down to us we can discern his eloquence and erudition. In these he states particularly his opinions on the passover. It seems important to give here the following extracts from them.

14. *From the Paschal Canons of Anatolius.* There is then in the first year the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of every cycle of nineteen years, on the twenty-sixth day of the Egyptian Phamenoth; but according to the months of the Macedonians, the twenty-second day of Dystrus, or, as the Romans would say, the eleventh before the Kalends of April.

15. On the said twenty-sixth of Phamenoth, the sun is found not only entered on the first segment, but already passing through the fourth day in it. They are accustomed to call this segment the first dodecatomorion, and the equinox, and the beginning of months, and the head of the cycle, and the starting-point of the planetary circuit. But they call the one preceding this the last of months, and the twelfth segment, and the final dodecatomorion, and the end of the planetary circuit. Wherefore we maintain that those who place the first month in it, and determine by it the fourteenth of the passover, commit no slight or common blunder.

16. And this is not an opinion of our own; but it was known to the Jews of old, even before Christ, and was carefully observed by them. This may be learned from what is said by Philo, Josephus, and Musæus; and not only by them, but also by those yet more ancient, the two Agathobuli, surnamed 'Masters,' and the famous Aristobulus, who was chosen among the seventy interpreters of the sacred and divine Hebrew Scriptures by Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father, and who also dedicated his exegetical books on the law of Moses to the same kings.

17. These writers, explaining questions in regard to the Exodus, say that all alike should sacrifice the passover offerings after the vernal equinox, in the middle of the first month. But this occurs while the sun is passing through the

first segment of the solar, or as some of them have styled it, the zodiacal circle. Aristobulus adds that it is necessary for the feast of the passover, that not only the sun should pass through the equinoctial segment, but the moon also.

18. For as there are two equinoctial segments, the vernal and the autumnal, directly opposite each other, and as the day of the passover was appointed on the fourteenth of the month, beginning with the evening, the moon will hold a position diametrically opposite the sun, as may be seen in full moons; and the sun will be in the segment of the vernal equinox, and of necessity the moon in that of the autumnal.

19. I know that many other things have been said by them, some of them probable, and some approaching absolute demonstration, by which they endeavor to prove that it is altogether necessary to keep the passover and the feast of unleavened bread after the equinox. But I refrain from demanding this sort of demonstration for matters from which the veil of the Mosaic law has been removed, so that now at length with uncovered face we continually behold as in a glass Christ and the teachings and sufferings of Christ. 2 Corinthians 3:18 But that with the Hebrews the first month was near the equinox, the teachings also of the Book of Enoch show.

20. The same writer has also left the Institutes of Arithmetic, in ten books, and other evidences of his experience and proficiency in divine things.

21. Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, first ordained him as bishop, designing to make him his successor in his own parish after his death. And for a short time both of them presided over the same church. But the synod which was held to consider Paul's case called him to Antioch, and as he passed through the city of Laodicea, Eusebius being dead, he was detained by the brethren there.

22. And after Anatolius had departed this life, the last bishop of that parish before the persecution was Stephen, who was admired by many for his knowledge of philosophy and other Greek learning. But he was not equally devoted to the divine faith, as the progress of the persecution manifested; for it showed that he was a cowardly and unmanly dissembler rather than a true philosopher.

23. But this did not seriously injure the church, for Theodotus restored their affairs, being straightway made bishop of that parish by God himself, the

Saviour of all. He justified by his deeds both his lordly name and his office of bishop. For he excelled in the medical art for bodies, and in the healing art for souls. Nor did any other man equal him in kindness, sincerity, sympathy, and zeal in helping such as needed his aid. He was also greatly devoted to divine learning. Such an one was he.

24. In Cæsarea in Palestine, Agapius succeeded Theotecnus, who had most zealously performed the duties of his episcopate. Him too we know to have labored diligently, and to have manifested most genuine providence in his oversight of the people, particularly caring for all the poor with liberal hand.

25. In his time we became acquainted with Pamphilus, that most eloquent man, of truly philosophical life, who was esteemed worthy of the office of presbyter in that parish. It would be no small matter to show what sort of a man he was and whence he came. But we have described, in our special work concerning him, all the particulars of his life, and of the school which he established, and the trials which he endured in many confessions during the persecution, and the crown of martyrdom with which he was finally honored. But of all that were there he was indeed the most admirable.

26. Among those nearest our times, we have known Pierius, of the presbyters in Alexandria, and Meletius, bishop of the churches in Pontus — rarest of men.

27. The first was distinguished for his life of extreme poverty and his philosophic learning, and was exceedingly diligent in the contemplation and exposition of divine things, and in public discourses in the church. Meletius, whom the learned called the honey of Attica, was a man whom every one would describe as most accomplished in all kinds of learning; and it would be impossible to admire sufficiently his rhetorical skill. It might be said that he possessed this by nature; but who could surpass the excellence of his great experience and erudition in other respects?

28. For in all branches of knowledge had you undertaken to try him even once, you would have said that he was the most skillful and learned. Moreover, the virtues of his life were not less remarkable. We observed him well in the time of the persecution, when for seven full years he was escaping from its fury in the regions of Palestine.

29. Zambdas received the episcopate of the church of Jerusalem after the bishop Hymenæus, whom we mentioned a little above. He died in a short

time, and Hermon, the last before the persecution in our day, succeeded to the apostolic chair, which has been preserved there until the present time.

30. In Alexandria, Maximus, who, after the death of Dionysius, had been bishop for eighteen years, was succeeded by Theonas. In his time Achillas, who had been appointed a presbyter in Alexandria at the same time with Pierius, became celebrated. He was placed over the school of the sacred faith, and exhibited fruits of philosophy most rare and inferior to none, and conduct genuinely evangelical.

31. After Theonas had held the office for nineteen years, Peter received the episcopate in Alexandria, and was very eminent among them for twelve entire years. Of these he governed the church less than three years before the persecution, and for the remainder of his life he subjected himself to a more rigid discipline and cared in no secret manner for the general interest of the churches. On this account he was beheaded in the ninth year of the persecution, and was adorned with the crown of martyrdom.

32. Having written out in these books the account of the successions from the birth of our Saviour to the destruction of the places of worship, — a period of three hundred and five years, — permit me to pass on to the contests of those who, in our day, have heroically fought for religion, and to leave in writing, for the information of posterity, the extent and the magnitude of those conflicts.

Book VIII

Introduction.

As we have described in seven books the events from the time of the apostles, we think it proper in this eighth book to record for the information of posterity a few of the most important occurrences of our own times, which are worthy of permanent record. Our account will begin at this point.

Chapter 1. The Events which preceded the Persecution in our Times.

1. It is beyond our ability to describe in a suitable manner the extent and nature of the glory and freedom with which the word of piety toward the God of the universe, proclaimed to the world through Christ, was honored among all men, both Greeks and barbarians, before the persecution in our day.

2. The favor shown our people by the rulers might be adduced as evidence; as they committed to them the government of provinces, and on account of the great friendship which they entertained toward their doctrine, released them from anxiety in regard to sacrificing.

3. Why need I speak of those in the royal palaces, and of the rulers over all, who allowed the members of their households, wives and children and servants, to speak openly before them for the Divine word and life, and suffered them almost to boast of the freedom of their faith?

4. Indeed they esteemed them highly, and preferred them to their fellow-servants. Such an one was that Dorotheus, the most devoted and faithful to them of all, and on this account especially honored by them among those who held the most honorable offices and governments. With him was the celebrated Gorgonius, and as many as had been esteemed worthy of the same distinction on account of the word of God.

5. And one could see the rulers in every church accorded the greatest favor by all officers and governors. But how can any one describe those vast assemblies, and the multitude that crowded together in every city, and the famous gatherings in the houses of prayer; on whose account not being satisfied with the ancient buildings they erected from the foundation large churches in all the cities?

6. No envy hindered the progress of these affairs which advanced gradually, and grew and increased day by day. Nor could any evil demon slander them or hinder them through human counsels, so long as the divine and heavenly hand watched over and guarded his own people as worthy.

7. But when on account of the abundant freedom, we fell into laxity and sloth, and envied and reviled each other, and were almost, as it were, taking up arms against one another, rulers assailing rulers with words like spears, and people forming parties against people, and monstrous hypocrisy and

dissimulation rising to the greatest height of wickedness, the divine judgment with forbearance, as is its pleasure, while the multitudes yet continued to assemble, gently and moderately harassed the episcopacy.

8. This persecution began with the brethren in the army. But as if without sensibility, we were not eager to make the Deity favorable and propitious; and some, like atheists, thought that our affairs were unheeded and ungoverned; and thus we added one wickedness to another. And those esteemed our shepherds, casting aside the bond of piety, were excited to conflicts with one another, and did nothing else than heap up strifes and threats and jealousy and enmity and hatred toward each other, like tyrants eagerly endeavoring to assert their power. Then, truly, according to the word of Jeremiah, The Lord in his wrath darkened the daughter of Zion, and cast down the glory of Israel from heaven to earth, and remembered not his foot-stool in the day of his anger. The Lord also overwhelmed all the beautiful things of Israel, and threw down all his strongholds. Lamentations 2:1-2

9. And according to what was foretold in the Psalms: He has made void the covenant of his servant, and profaned his sanctuary to the earth — in the destruction of the churches — and has thrown down all his strongholds, and has made his fortresses cowardice. All that pass by have plundered the multitude of the people; and he has become besides a reproach to his neighbors. For he has exalted the right hand of his enemies, and has turned back the help of his sword, and has not taken his part in the war. But he has deprived him of purification, and has cast his throne to the ground. He has shortened the days of his time, and besides all, has poured out shame upon him.

Chapter 2. The Destruction of the Churches.

1. All these things were fulfilled in us, when we saw with our own eyes the houses of prayer thrown down to the very foundations, and the Divine and Sacred Scriptures committed to the flames in the midst of the market-places, and the shepherds of the churches basely hidden here and there, and some of them captured ignominiously, and mocked by their enemies. When also, according to another prophetic word, Contempt was poured out upon rulers, and he caused them to wander in an untrodden and pathless way.

2. But it is not our place to describe the sad misfortunes which finally came upon them, as we do not think it proper, moreover, to record their divisions and unnatural conduct to each other before the persecution. Wherefore we have decided to relate nothing concerning them except the things in which we can vindicate the Divine judgment.

3. Hence we shall not mention those who were shaken by the persecution, nor those who in everything pertaining to salvation were shipwrecked, and by their own will were sunk in the depths of the flood. But we shall introduce into this history in general only those events which may be usefull first to ourselves and afterwards to posterity. Let us therefore proceed to describe briefly the sacred conflicts of the witnesses of the Divine Word.

4. It was in the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, in the month Dystrus, called March by the Romans, when the feast of the Saviour's passion was near at hand, that royal edicts were published everywhere, commanding that the churches be leveled to the ground and the Scriptures be destroyed by fire, and ordering that those who held places of honor be degraded, and that the household servants, if they persisted in the profession of Christianity, be deprived of freedom.

5. Such was the first edict against us. But not long after, other decrees were issued, commanding that all the rulers of the churches in every place be first thrown into prison, and afterwards by every artifice be compelled to sacrifice.

Chapter 3. The Nature of the Conflicts endured in the Persecution.

1. Then truly a great many rulers of the churches eagerly endured terrible sufferings, and furnished examples of noble conflicts. But a multitude of others, benumbed in spirit by fear, were easily weakened at the first onset. Of the rest each one endured different forms of torture. The body of one was scourged with rods. Another was punished with insupportable rackings and scrapings, in which some suffered a miserable death.

2. Others passed through different conflicts. Thus one, while those around pressed him on by force and dragged him to the abominable and impure sacrifices, was dismissed as if he had sacrificed, though he had not. Another, though he had not approached at all, nor touched any polluted thing, when others said that he had sacrificed, went away, bearing the accusation in silence.

3. Another being taken up half dead, was cast aside as if already dead, and again a certain one lying upon the ground was dragged a long distance by his feet and counted among those who had sacrificed. One cried out and with a loud voice testified his rejection of the sacrifice; another shouted that he was a Christian, being resplendent in the confession of the saving Name. Another protested that he had not sacrificed and never would.

4. But they were struck in the mouth and silenced by a large band of soldiers who were drawn up for this purpose; and they were smitten on the face and cheeks and driven away by force; so important did the enemies of piety regard it, by any means, to seem to have accomplished their purpose. But these things did not avail them against the holy martyrs; for an accurate description of whom, what word of ours could suffice?

Chapter 4. The Famous Martyrs of God, who filled Every Place with their Memory and won Various Crowns in behalf of Religion.

1. For we might tell of many who showed admirable zeal for the religion of the God of the universe, not only from the beginning of the general persecution, but long before that time, while yet peace prevailed.

2. For though he who had received power was seemingly aroused now as from a deep sleep, yet from the time after Decius and Valerian, he had been plotting secretly and without notice against the churches. He did not wage war against all of us at once, but made trial at first only of those in the army. For he supposed that the others could be taken easily if he should first attack and subdue these. Thereupon many of the soldiers were seen most cheerfully embracing private life, so that they might not deny their piety toward the Creator of the universe.

3. For when the commander, whoever he was, began to persecute the soldiers, separating into tribes and purging those who were enrolled in the army, giving them the choice either by obeying to receive the honor which belonged to them, or on the other hand to be deprived of it if they disobeyed the command, a great many soldiers of Christ's kingdom, without hesitation, instantly preferred the confession of him to the seeming glory and prosperity which they were enjoying.

4. And one and another of them occasionally received in exchange, for their pious constancy, not only the loss of position, but death. But as yet the instigator of this plot proceeded with moderation, and ventured so far as blood only in some instances; for the multitude of believers, as it is likely, made him afraid, and deterred him from waging war at once against all.

5. But when he made the attack more boldly, it is impossible to relate how many and what sort of martyrs of God could be seen, among the inhabitants of all the cities and countries.

Chapter 5. Those in Nicomedia.

1. Immediately on the publication of the decree against the churches in Nicomedia, a certain man, not obscure but very highly honored with distinguished temporal dignities, moved with zeal toward God, and incited with ardent faith, seized the edict as it was posted openly and publicly, and tore it to pieces as a profane and impious thing; and this was done while two of the sovereigns were in the same city — the oldest of all, and the one who held the fourth place in the government after him.

2. But this man, first in that place, after distinguishing himself in such a manner suffered those things which were likely to follow such daring, and kept his spirit cheerful and undisturbed till death.

Chapter 6. Those in the Palace.

1. This period produced divine and illustrious martyrs, above all whose praises have ever been sung and who have been celebrated for courage, whether among Greeks or barbarians, in the person of Dorotheus and the servants that were with him in the palace. Although they received the highest honors from their masters, and were treated by them as their own children, they esteemed reproaches and trials for religion, and the many forms of death that were invented against them, as, in truth, greater riches than the glory and luxury of this life.

2. We will describe the manner in which one of them ended his life, and leave our readers to infer from his case the sufferings of the others. A certain man was brought forward in the above-mentioned city, before the rulers of whom we have spoken. He was then commanded to sacrifice, but as he refused, he was ordered to be stripped and raised on high and beaten with rods over his entire body, until, being conquered, he should, even against his will, do what was commanded.

3. But as he was unmoved by these sufferings, and his bones were already appearing, they mixed vinegar with salt and poured it upon the mangled parts of his body. As he scorned these agonies, a gridiron and fire were brought forward. And the remnants of his body, like flesh intended for eating, were placed on the fire, not at once, lest he should expire instantly, but a little at a time. And those who placed him on the pyre were not permitted to desist until, after such sufferings, he should assent to the things commanded.

4. But he held his purpose firmly, and victoriously gave up his life while the tortures were still going on. Such was the martyrdom of one of the servants of the palace, who was indeed well worthy of his name, for he was called Peter.

5. The martyrdoms of the rest, though they were not inferior to his, we will pass by for the sake of brevity, recording only that Dorotheus and Gorgonius, with many others of the royal household, after varied sufferings, ended their lives by strangling, and bore away the trophies of God-given victory.

6. At this time Anthimus, who then presided over the church in Nicomedia, was beheaded for his testimony to Christ. A great multitude of martyrs were added to him, a conflagration having broken out in those very days in the

palace at Nicomedia, I know not how, which through a false suspicion was laid to our people. vaguest information in regard to the progress of affairs at Nicomedia, and has no knowledge of the actual order and connection of events. In regard to the effects of the fire upon Diocletian's attitude toward the Christians, see above, note 3, and below, . Constantine (*Orat. ad Sanct. Coet.* XXV. 2) many years afterwards referred to the fire as caused by lightning, which is clearly only a makeshift, for, as Burckhardt remarks, there could have been no doubt in that case how the fire originated. And, moreover, such an explanation at best could account for only one of the fires. The fact that Constantine feels it necessary to invent such an explanation gives the occurrence a still more auspicious look, and one not altogether favorable to the Christians. In fact, it must be acknowledged that the case against them is pretty strong.} —> Entire families of the pious in that place were put to death in masses at the royal command, some by the sword, and others by fire. It is reported that with a certain divine and indescribable eagerness men and women rushed into the fire. And the executioners bound a large number of others and put them on boats and threw them into the depths of the sea.

7. And those who had been esteemed their masters considered it necessary to dig up the bodies of the imperial servants, who had been committed to the earth with suitable burial and cast them into the sea, lest any, as they thought, regarding them as gods, might worship them lying in their sepulchers.

8. Such things occurred in Nicomedia at the beginning of the persecution. But not long after, as persons in the country called Melitene, and others throughout Syria, attempted to usurp the government, a royal edict directed that the rulers of the churches everywhere should be thrown into prison and bonds.

9. What was to be seen after this exceeds all description. A vast multitude were imprisoned in every place; and the prisons everywhere, which had long before been prepared for murderers and robbers of graves, were filled with bishops, presbyters and deacons, readers and exorcists, so that room was no longer left in them for those condemned for crimes.

10. And as other decrees followed the first, directing that those in prison if they would sacrifice should be permitted to depart in freedom, but that those who refused should be harassed with many tortures, how could any one, again, number the multitude of martyrs in every province, and especially of

those in Africa, and Mauritania, and Thebais, and Egypt? From this last country many went into other cities and provinces, and became illustrious through martyrdom.

Chapter 7. The Egyptians in Phœnicia.

1. Those of them that were conspicuous in Palestine we know, as also those that were at Tyre in Phœnicia. Who that saw them was not astonished at the numberless stripes, and at the firmness which these truly wonderful athletes of religion exhibited under them? And at their contest, immediately after the scourging, with bloodthirsty wild beasts, as they were cast before leopards and different kinds of bears and wild boars and bulls goaded with fire and red-hot iron? And at the marvelous endurance of these noble men in the face of all sorts of wild beasts?

2. We were present ourselves when these things occurred, and have put on record the divine power of our martyred Saviour Jesus Christ, which was present and manifested itself mightily in the martyrs. For a long time the man-devouring beasts did not dare to touch or draw near the bodies of those dear to God, but rushed upon the others who from the outside irritated and urged them on. And they would not in the least touch the holy athletes, as they stood alone and naked and shook their hands at them to draw them toward themselves — for they were commanded to do this. But whenever they rushed at them, they were restrained as if by some divine power and retreated again.

3. This continued for a long time, and occasioned no little wonder to the spectators. And as the first wild beast did nothing, a second and a third were let loose against one and the same martyr.

4. One could not but be astonished at the invincible firmness of these holy men, and the enduring and immovable constancy of those whose bodies were young. You could have seen a youth not twenty years of age standing unbound and stretching out his hands in the form of a cross, with unterrified and untrembling mind, engaged earnestly in prayer to God, and not in the least going back or retreating from the place where he stood, while bears and leopards, breathing rage and death, almost touched his flesh. And yet their mouths were restrained, I know not how, by a divine and incomprehensible power, and they ran back again to their place. Such an one was he.

5. Again you might have seen others, for they were five in all, cast before a wild bull, who tossed into the air with his horns those who approached from the outside, and mangled them, leaving them to be token up half dead; but when he rushed with rage and threatening upon the holy martyrs, who were

standing alone, he was unable to come near them; but though he stamped with his feet, and pushed in all directions with his horns, and breathed rage and threatening on account of the irritation of the burning irons, he was, nevertheless, held back by the sacred Providence. And as he in nowise harmed them, they let loose other wild beasts upon them.

6. Finally, after these terrible and various attacks upon them, they were all slain with the sword; and instead of being buried in the earth they were committed to the waves of the sea.

Chapter 8. Those in Egypt.

1. Such was the conflict of those Egyptians who contended nobly for religion in Tyre. But we must admire those also who suffered martyrdom in their native land; where thousands of men, women, and children, despising the present life for the sake of the teaching of our Saviour, endured various deaths.

2. Some of them, after scrapings and rackings and severest scourgings, and numberless other kinds of tortures, terrible even to hear of, were committed to the flames; some were drowned in the sea; some offered their heads bravely to those who cut them off; some died under their tortures, and others perished with hunger. And yet others were crucified; some according to the method commonly employed for malefactors; others yet more cruelly, being nailed to the cross with their heads downward, and being kept alive until they perished on the cross with hunger.

Chapter 9. Those in Thebais.

1. It would be impossible to describe the outrages and tortures which the martyrs in Thebais endured. They were scraped over the entire body with shells instead of hooks until they died. Women were bound by one foot and raised aloft in the air by machines, and with their bodies altogether bare and uncovered, presented to all beholders this most shameful, cruel, and inhuman spectacle.

2. Others being bound to the branches and trunks of trees perished. For they drew the stoutest branches together with machines, and bound the limbs of the martyrs to them; and then, allowing the branches to assume their natural position, they tore asunder instantly the limbs of those for whom they contrived this.

3. All these things were done, not for a few days or a short time, but for a long series of years. Sometimes more than ten, at other times above twenty were put to death. Again not less than thirty, then about sixty, and yet again a hundred men with young children and women, were slain in one day, being condemned to various and diverse torments.

4. We, also being on the spot ourselves, have observed large crowds in one day; some suffering decapitation, others torture by fire; so that the murderous sword was blunted, and becoming weak, was broken, and the very executioners grew weary and relieved each other.

5. And we beheld the most wonderful ardor, and the truly divine energy and zeal of those who believed in the Christ of God. For as soon as sentence was pronounced against the first, one after another rushed to the judgment seat, and confessed themselves Christians. And regarding with indifference the terrible things and the multiform tortures, they declared themselves boldly and undauntedly for the religion of the God of the universe. And they received the final sentence of death with joy and laughter and cheerfulness; so that they sang and offered up hymns and thanksgivings to the God of the universe till their very last breath.

6. These indeed were wonderful; but yet more wonderful were those who, being distinguished for wealth, noble birth, and honor, and for learning and philosophy, held everything secondary to the true religion and to faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ.

7. Such an one was Philoromus, who held a high office under the imperial government at Alexandria, and who administered justice every day, attended by a military guard corresponding to his rank and Roman dignity. Such also was Phileas, bishop of the church of Thmuis, a man eminent on account of his patriotism and the services rendered by him to his country, and also on account of his philosophical learning.

8. These persons, although a multitude of relatives and other friends besought them, and many in high position, and even the judge himself entreated them, that they would have compassion on themselves and show mercy to their children and wives, yet were not in the least induced by these things to choose the love of life, and to despise the ordinances of our Saviour concerning confession and denial. But with manly and philosophic minds, or rather with pious and God-loving souls, they persevered against all the threats and insults of the judge; and both of them were beheaded.

Chapter 10. The Writings of Phileas the Martyr describing the Occurrences at Alexandria.

1. Since we have mentioned Phileas as having a high reputation for secular learning, let him be his own witness in the following extract, in which he shows us who he was, and at the same time describes more accurately than we can the martyrdoms which occurred in his time at Alexandria:

2. Having before them all these examples and models and noble tokens which are given us in the Divine and Sacred Scriptures, the blessed martyrs who were with us did not hesitate, but directing the eye of the soul in sincerity toward the God over all, and having their mind set upon death for religion, they adhered firmly to their calling. For they understood that our Lord Jesus Christ had become man on our account, that he might cut off all sin and furnish us with the means of entrance into eternal life. For ‘he counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself taking the form of a servant; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself unto death, even the death of the cross.’ Philippians 2:6-8

3. Wherefore also being zealous for the greater gifts, the Christ-bearing martyrs endured all trials and all kinds of contrivances for torture; not once only, but some also a second time. And although the guards vied with each other in threatening them in all sorts of ways, not in words only, but in actions, they did not give up their resolution; because ‘perfect love casts out fear.’ 1 John 4:18

4. What words could describe their courage and manliness under every torture? For as liberty to abuse them was given to all that wished, some beat them with clubs, others with rods, others with scourges, yet others with thongs, and others with ropes.

5. And the spectacle of the outrages was varied and exhibited great malignity. For some, with their hands bound behind them, were suspended on the stocks, and every member stretched by certain machines. Then the torturers, as commanded, lacerated with instruments their entire bodies; not only their sides, as in the case of murderers, but also their stomachs and knees and cheeks. Others were raised aloft, suspended from the porch by one hand, and endured the most terrible suffering of all, through the distension of their joints and limbs. Others were bound face to face to pillars, not resting on their

feet, but with the weight of their bodies bearing on their bonds and drawing them tightly.

6. And they endured this, not merely as long as the governor talked with them or was at leisure, but through almost the entire day. For when he passed on to others, he left officers under his authority to watch the first, and observe if any of them, overcome by the tortures, appeared to yield. And he commanded to cast them into chains without mercy, and afterwards when they were at the last gasp to throw them to the ground and drag them away.

7. For he said that they were not to have the least concern for us, but were to think and act as if we no longer existed, our enemies having invented this second mode of torture in addition to the stripes.

8. Some, also, after these outrages, were placed on the stocks, and had both their feet stretched over the four holes, so that they were compelled to lie on their backs on the stocks, being unable to keep themselves up on account of the fresh wounds with which their entire bodies were covered as a result of the scourging. Others were thrown on the ground and lay there under the accumulated infliction of tortures, exhibiting to the spectators a more terrible manifestation of severity, as they bore on their bodies the marks of the various and diverse punishments which had been invented.

9. As this went on, some died under the tortures, shaming the adversary by their constancy. Others half dead were shut up in prison, and suffering with their agonies, they died in a few days; but the rest, recovering under the care which they received, gained confidence by time and their long detention in prison.

10. When therefore they were ordered to choose whether they would be released from molestation by touching the polluted sacrifice, and would receive from them the accursed freedom, or refusing to sacrifice, should be condemned to death, they did not hesitate, but went to death cheerfully. For they knew what had been declared before by the Sacred Scriptures. For it is said, 'He that sacrifices to other gods shall be utterly destroyed,' Exodus 22:20 and, 'You shall have no other gods before me.' Exodus 20:3

11. Such are the words of the truly philosophical and God-loving martyr, which, before the final sentence, while yet in prison, he addressed to the brethren in his parish, showing them his own circumstances, and at the same time exhorting them to hold fast, even after his approaching death, to the

religion of Christ.

12. But why need we dwell upon these things, and continue to add fresh instances of the conflicts of the divine martyrs throughout the world, especially since they were dealt with no longer by common law, but attacked like enemies of war?

Chapter 11. Those in Phrygia.

1. A small town of Phrygia, inhabited solely by Christians, was completely surrounded by soldiers while the men were in it. Throwing fire into it, they consumed them with the women and children while they were calling upon Christ. This they did because all the inhabitants of the city, and the curator himself, and the governor, with all who held office, and the entire populace, confessed themselves Christians, and would not in the least obey those who commanded them to worship idols.

2. There was another man of Roman dignity named Adauctus, of a noble Italian family, who had advanced through every honor under the emperors, so that he had blamelessly filled even the general offices of magistrate, as they call it, and of finance minister. Besides all this he excelled in deeds of piety and in the confession of the Christ of God, and was adorned with the diadem of martyrdom. He endured the conflict for religion while still holding the office of finance minister.

Chapter 12. Many Others, both Men and Women, who suffered in Various Ways.

1. Why need we mention the rest by name, or number the multitude of the men, or picture the various sufferings of the admirable martyrs of Christ? Some of them were slain with the axe, as in Arabia. The limbs of some were broken, as in Cappadocia. Some, raised on high by the feet, with their heads down, while a gentle fire burned beneath them, were suffocated by the smoke which arose from the burning wood, as was done in Mesopotamia. Others were mutilated by cutting off their noses and ears and hands, and cutting to pieces the other members and parts of their bodies, as in Alexandria.

2. Why need we revive the recollection of those in Antioch who were roasted on grates, not so as to kill them, but so as to subject them to a lingering punishment? Or of others who preferred to thrust their right hand into the fire rather than touch the impious sacrifice? Some, shrinking from the trial, rather than be taken and fall into the hands of their enemies, threw themselves from lofty houses, considering death preferable to the cruelty of the impious.

3. A certain holy person, — in soul admirable for virtue, in body a woman — who was illustrious beyond all in Antioch for wealth and family and reputation, had brought up in the principles of religion her two daughters, who were now in the freshness and bloom of life. Since great envy was excited on their account, every means was used to find them in their concealment; and when it was ascertained that they were away, they were summoned deceitfully to Antioch. Thus they were caught in the nets of the soldiers. When the woman saw herself and her daughters thus helpless, and knew the things terrible to speak of that men would do to them — and the most unbearable of all terrible things, the threatened violation of their chastity, — she exhorted herself and the maidens that they ought not to submit even to hear of this. For, she said, that to surrender their souls to the slavery of demons was worse than all deaths and destruction; and she set before them the only deliverance from all these things — escape to Christ.

4. They then listened to her advice. And after arranging their garments suitably, they went aside from the middle of the road, having requested of the guards a little time for retirement, and cast themselves into a river which was

flowing by.

5. Thus they destroyed themselves. But there were two other virgins in the same city of Antioch who served God in all things, and were true sisters, illustrious in family and distinguished in life, young and blooming, serious in mind, pious in deportment, and admirable for zeal. As if the earth could not bear such excellence, the worshipers of demons commanded to cast them into the sea. And this was done to them.

6. In Pontus, others endured sufferings horrible to hear. Their fingers were pierced with sharp reeds under their nails. Melted lead, bubbling and boiling with the heat, was poured down the backs of others, and they were roasted in the most sensitive parts of the body.

7. Others endured on their bowels and privy members shameful and inhuman and unmentionable torments, which the noble and law-observing judges, to show their severity, devised, as more honorable manifestations of wisdom. And new tortures were continually invented, as if they were endeavoring, by surpassing one another, to gain prizes in a contest.

8. But at the close of these calamities, when finally they could contrive no greater cruelties, and were weary of putting to death, and were filled and satiated with the shedding of blood, they turned to what they considered merciful and humane treatment, so that they seemed to be no longer devising terrible things against us.

9. For they said that it was not fitting that the cities should be polluted with the blood of their own people, or that the government of their rulers, which was kind and mild toward all, should be defamed through excessive cruelty; but that rather the beneficence of the humane and royal authority should be extended to all, and we should no longer be put to death. For the infliction of this punishment upon us should be stopped in consequence of the humanity of the rulers.

10. Therefore it was commanded that our eyes should be put out, and that we should be maimed in one of our limbs. For such things were humane in their sight, and the lightest of punishments for us. So that now on account of this kindly treatment accorded us by the impious, it was impossible to tell the incalculable number of those whose right eyes had first been cut out with the sword, and then had been cauterized with fire; or who had been disabled in the left foot by burning the joints, and afterward condemned to the provincial

copper mines, not so much for service as for distress and hardship. Besides all these, others encountered other trials, which it is impossible to recount; for their manly endurance surpasses all description.

11. In these conflicts the noble martyrs of Christ shone illustrious over the entire world, and everywhere astonished those who beheld their manliness; and the evidences of the truly divine and unspeakable power of our Saviour were made manifest through them. To mention each by name would be a long task, if not indeed impossible.

Chapter 13. The Bishops of the Church that evinced by their Blood the Genuineness of the Religion which they preached.

1. As for the rulers of the Church that suffered martyrdom in the principal cities, the first martyr of the kingdom of Christ whom we shall mention among the monuments of the pious is Anthimus, bishop of the city of Nicomedia, who was beheaded.

2. Among the martyrs at Antioch was Lucian, a presbyter of that parish, whose entire life was most excellent. At Nicomedia, in the presence of the emperor, he proclaimed the heavenly kingdom of Christ, first in an oral defense, and afterwards by deeds as well.

3. Of the martyrs in Phœnicia the most distinguished were those devoted pastors of the spiritual flocks of Christ: Tyrannion, bishop of the church of Tyre; Zenobius, a presbyter of the church at Sidon; and Silvanus, bishop of the churches about Emesa.

4. The last of these, with others, was made food for wild beasts at Emesa, and was thus received into the ranks of martyrs. The other two glorified the word of God at Antioch through patience unto death. The bishop was thrown into the depths of the sea. But Zenobius, who was a very skillful physician, died through severe tortures which were applied to his sides.

5. Of the martyrs in Palestine, Silvanus, bishop of the churches about Gaza, was beheaded with thirty-nine others at the copper mines of Phæno. There also the Egyptian bishops, Peleus and Nilus, with others, suffered death by fire.

6. Among these we must mention Pamphilus, a presbyter, who was the great glory of the parish of Cæsarea, and among the men of our time most admirable.

7. The virtue of his manly deeds we have recorded in the proper place. Of those who suffered death illustriously at Alexandria and throughout Egypt and Thebais, Peter, bishop of Alexandria, one of the most excellent teachers of the religion of Christ, should first be mentioned; and of the presbyters with him Faustus, Dios and Ammonius, perfect martyrs of Christ; also Phileas, Hesychius, Pachymius and Theodorus, bishops of Egyptian churches, and besides them many other distinguished persons who are commemorated by

the parishes of their country and region.

It is not for us to describe the conflicts of those who suffered for the divine religion throughout the entire world, and to relate accurately what happened to each of them. This would be the proper work of those who were eye-witnesses of the events. I will describe for posterity in another work those which I myself witnessed.

8. But in the present book I will add to what I have given the revocation issued by our persecutors, and those events that occurred at the beginning of the persecution, which will be most profitable to such as shall read them.

9. What words could sufficiently describe the greatness and abundance of the prosperity of the Roman government before the war against us, while the rulers were friendly and peaceable toward us? Then those who were highest in the government, and had held the position ten or twenty years, passed their time in tranquil peace, in festivals and public games and most joyful pleasures and cheer.

10. While thus their authority was growing uninterruptedly, and increasing day by day, suddenly they changed their peaceful attitude toward us, and began an implacable war. But the second year of this movement was not yet past, when a revolution took place in the entire government and overturned all things.

11. For a severe sickness came upon the chief of those of whom we have spoken, by which his understanding was distracted; and with him who was honored with the second rank, he retired into private life. Scarcely had he done this when the entire empire was divided; a thing which is not recorded as having ever occurred before.

12. Not long after, the Emperor Constantius, who through his entire life was most kindly and favorably disposed toward his subjects, and most friendly to the Divine Word, ended his life in the common course of nature, and left his own son, Constantine, as emperor and Augustus in his stead. He was the first that was ranked by them among the gods, and received after death every honor which one could pay to an emperor.

13. He was the kindest and mildest of emperors, and the only one of those of our day that passed all the time of his government in a manner worthy of his office. Moreover, he conducted himself toward all most favorably and beneficently. He took not the smallest part in the war against us, but preserved

the pious that were under him unharmed and unabused. He neither threw down the church buildings, nor did he devise anything else against us. The end of his life was honorable and thrice blessed. He alone at death left his empire happily and gloriously to his own son as his successor — one who was in all respects most prudent and pious.

14. His son Constantine entered on the government at once, being proclaimed supreme emperor and Augustus by the soldiers, and long before by God himself, the King of all. He showed himself an emulator of his father's piety toward our doctrine. Such an one was he.

But after this, Licinius was declared emperor and Augustus by a common vote of the rulers.

15. These things grieved Maximinus greatly, for until that time he had been entitled by all only Cæsar. He therefore, being exceedingly imperious, seized the dignity for himself, and became Augustus, being made such by himself. In the mean time he whom we have mentioned as having resumed his dignity after his abdication, being detected in conspiring against the life of Constantine, perished by a most shameful death. He was the first whose decrees and statues and public monuments were destroyed because of his wickedness and impiety.

Chapter 14. The Character of the Enemies of Religion.

1. Maxentius his son, who obtained the government at Rome, at first feigned our faith, in complaisance and flattery toward the Roman people. On this account he commanded his subjects to cease persecuting the Christians, pretending to religion that he might appear merciful and mild beyond his predecessors.

2. But he did not prove in his deeds to be such a person as was hoped, but ran into all wickedness and abstained from no impurity or licentiousness, committing adulteries and indulging in all kinds of corruption. For having separated wives from their lawful consorts, he abused them and sent them back most dishonorably to their husbands. And he not only practiced this against the obscure and unknown, but he insulted especially the most prominent and distinguished members of the Roman senate.

3. All his subjects, people and rulers, honored and obscure, were worn out by grievous oppression. Neither, although they kept quiet, and bore the bitter servitude, was there any relief from the murderous cruelty of the tyrant. Once, on a small pretense, he gave the people to be slaughtered by his guards; and a great multitude of the Roman populace were slain in the midst of the city, with the spears and arms, not of Scythians and barbarians, but of their own fellow citizens.

4. It would be impossible to recount the number of senators who were put to death for the sake of their wealth; multitudes being slain on various pretenses.

5. To crown all his wickedness, the tyrant resorted to magic. And in his divinations he cut open pregnant women, and again inspected the bowels of newborn infants. He slaughtered lions, and performed various execrable acts to invoke demons and avert war. For his only hope was that, by these means, victory would be secured to him.

6. It is impossible to tell the ways in which this tyrant at Rome oppressed his subjects, so that they were reduced to such an extreme dearth of the necessities of life as has never been known, according to our contemporaries, either at Rome or elsewhere.

7. But Maximinus, the tyrant in the East, having secretly formed a friendly alliance with the Roman tyrant as with a brother in wickedness, sought to

conceal it for a long time. But being at last detected, he suffered merited punishment.

8. It was wonderful how akin he was in wickedness to the tyrant at Rome, or rather how far he surpassed him in it. For the chief of sorcerers and magicians were honored by him with the highest rank. Becoming exceedingly timid and superstitious, he valued greatly the error of idols and demons. Indeed, without soothsayers and oracles he did not venture to move even a finger, so to speak.

9. Therefore he persecuted us more violently and incessantly than his predecessors. He ordered temples to be erected in every city, and the sacred groves which had been destroyed through lapse of time to be speedily restored. He appointed idol priests in every place and city; and he set over them in every province, as high priest, some political official who had especially distinguished himself in every kind of service, giving him a band of soldiers and a bodyguard. And to all jugglers, as if they were pious and beloved of the gods, he granted governments and the greatest privileges.

10. From this time on he distressed and harassed, not one city or country, but all the provinces under his authority, by extreme exactions of gold and silver and goods, and most grievous prosecutions and various fines. He took away from the wealthy the property which they had inherited from their ancestors, and bestowed vast riches and large sums of money on the flatterers about him.

11. And he went to such an excess of folly and drunkenness that his mind was deranged and crazed in his carousals; and he gave commands when intoxicated of which he repented afterward when sober. He suffered no one to surpass him in debauchery and profligacy, but made himself an instructor in wickedness to those about him, both rulers and subjects. He urged on the army to live wantonly in every kind of revelry and intemperance, and encouraged the governors and generals to abuse their subjects with rapacity and covetousness, almost as if they were rulers with him.

12. Why need we relate the licentious, shameless deeds of the man, or enumerate the multitude with whom he committed adultery? For he could not pass through a city without continually corrupting women and ravishing virgins.

13. And in this he succeeded with all except the Christians. For as they

despised death, they cared nothing for his power. For the men endured fire and sword and crucifixion and wild beasts and the depths of the sea, and cutting off of limbs, and burnings, and pricking and digging out of eyes, and mutilations of the entire body, and besides these, hunger and mines and bonds. In all they showed patience in behalf of religion rather than transfer to idols the reverence due to God.

14. And the women were not less manly than the men in behalf of the teaching of the Divine Word, as they endured conflicts with the men, and bore away equal prizes of virtue. And when they were dragged away for corrupt purposes, they surrendered their lives to death rather than their bodies to impurity.

15. One only of those who were seized for adulterous purposes by the tyrant, a most distinguished and illustrious Christian woman in Alexandria, conquered the passionate and intemperate soul of Maximinus by most heroic firmness. Honorable on account of wealth and family and education, she esteemed all of these inferior to chastity. He urged her many times, but although she was ready to die, he could not put her to death, for his desire was stronger than his anger.

16. He therefore punished her with exile, and took away all her property. Many others, unable even to listen to the threats of violation from the heathen rulers, endured every form of tortures, and rackings, and deadly punishment.

These indeed should be admired. But far the most admirable was that woman at Rome, who was truly the most noble and modest of all, whom the tyrant Maxentius, fully resembling Maximinus in his actions, endeavored to abuse.

17. For when she learned that those who served the tyrant in such matters were at the house (she also was a Christian), and that her husband, although a prefect of Rome, would suffer them to take and lead her away, having requested a little time for adorning her body, she entered her chamber, and being alone, stabbed herself with a sword. Dying immediately, she left her corpse to those who had come for her. And by her deeds, more powerfully than by any words, she has shown to all men now and hereafter that the virtue which prevails among Christians is the only invincible and indestructible possession.

18. Such was the career of wickedness which was carried forward at one

and the same time by the two tyrants who held the East and the West. Who is there that would hesitate, after careful examination, to pronounce the persecution against us the cause of such evils? Especially since this extreme confusion of affairs did not cease until the Christians had obtained liberty.

Chapter 15. The Events which happened to the Heathen.

1. During the entire ten years of the persecution, they were constantly plotting and warring against one another. For the sea could not be navigated, nor could men sail from any port without being exposed to all kinds of outrages; being stretched on the rack and lacerated in their sides, that it might be ascertained through various tortures, whether they came from the enemy; and finally being subjected to punishment by the cross or by fire.

2. And besides these things shields and breastplates were preparing, and darts and spears and other warlike accoutrements were making ready, and galleys and naval armor were collecting in every place. And no one expected anything else than to be attacked by enemies any day. In addition to this, famine and pestilence came upon them, in regard to which we shall relate what is necessary in the proper place.

Chapter 16. The Change of Affairs for the Better.

1. Such was the state of affairs during the entire persecution. But in the tenth year, through the grace of God, it ceased altogether, having begun to decrease after the eighth year. For when the divine and heavenly grace showed us favorable and propitious oversight, then truly our rulers, and the very persons by whom the war against us had been earnestly prosecuted, most remarkably changed their minds, and issued a revocation, and quenched the great fire of persecution which had been kindled, by merciful proclamations and ordinances concerning us.

2. But this was not due to any human agency; nor was it the result, as one might say, of the compassion or philanthropy of our rulers — far from it, for daily from the beginning until that time they were devising more and more severe measures against us, and continually inventing outrages by a greater variety of instruments — but it was manifestly due to the oversight of Divine Providence, on the one hand becoming reconciled to his people, and on the other, attacking him who instigated these evils, and showing anger toward him as the author of the cruelties of the entire persecution.

3. For though it was necessary that these things should take place, according to the divine judgment, yet the Word says, Woe to him through whom the offense comes. Matthew 18:7 Therefore punishment from God came upon him, beginning with his flesh, and proceeding to his soul.

4. For an abscess suddenly appeared in the midst of the secret parts of his body, and from it a deeply perforated sore, which spread irresistibly into his inmost bowels. An indescribable multitude of worms sprang from them, and a deathly odor arose, as the entire bulk of his body had, through his gluttony, been changed, before his sickness, into an excessive mass of soft fat, which became putrid, and thus presented an awful and intolerable sight to those who came near.

5. Some of the physicians, being wholly unable to endure the exceeding offensiveness of the odor, were slain; others, as the entire mass had swollen and passed beyond hope of restoration, and they were unable to render any help, were put to death without mercy.

Chapter 17. The Revocation of the Rulers.

1. Wrestling with so many evils, he thought of the cruelties which he had committed against the pious. Turning, therefore, his thoughts toward himself, he first openly confessed to the God of the universe, and then summoning his attendants, he commanded that without delay they should stop the persecution of the Christians, and should by law and royal decree, urge them forward to build their churches and to perform their customary worship, offering prayers in behalf of the emperor. Immediately the deed followed the word.

2. The imperial decrees were published in the cities, containing the revocation of the acts against us in the following form:

3. The Emperor Cæsar Galerius Valerius Maximinus, Invictus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, conqueror of the Germans, conqueror of the Egyptians, conqueror of the Thebans, five times conqueror of the Sarmatians, conqueror of the Persians, twice conqueror of the Carpathians, six times conqueror of the Armenians, conqueror of the Medes, conqueror of the Adiabeni, Tribune of the people the twentieth time, Emperor the nineteenth time, Consul the eighth time, Father of his country, Proconsul;

4. and the Emperor Cæsar Flavius Valerius Constantinus, Pius, Felix, Invictus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the people, Emperor the fifth time, Consul, Father of his country, Proconsul;

5. and the Emperor Cæsar Valerius Licinius, Pius, Felix, Invictus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the people the fourth time, Emperor the third time, Consul, Father of his country, Proconsul; to the people of their provinces, greeting: simplest explanation is that he did not wish to have his name appear in a document which was utterly distasteful to him and which he never fully sanctioned, as we learn from Bk. IX. chaps. 1 and 2, below. It is possible, as Mason suggests, that in the copies of the edict which were designed for other parts of the empire than his own the names of all four emperors appeared. Eusebius gives a Greek translation of the edict. The original Latin is found in Lactantius' *De mort. pers.* cha. The translation in the present case is in the main accurate though somewhat free. The edict is an acknowledgment of defeat on Galerius' part, and was undoubtedly caused in large part by a superstitious desire, brought on by his sickness, to propitiate the God of the Christians whom he had been unable to conquer. And yet, in

my opinion, it is not as Mason calls it, one of the most bizarre state documents ever penned, couched in language treacherous, contradictory, and sown with the most virulent hatred; neither does it lay the blame upon the Christians because they had *forsaken Christ*, nor aim to dupe and outwit the angry Christ, by pretending to be not a persecutor, but a reformer. As will be seen from note 3, below, I interpret the document in quite another way, and regard it as a not inconsistent statement of the whole matter from Galerius' own point of view.} —>

6. Among the other things which we have ordained for the public advantage and profit, we formerly wished to restore everything to conformity with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans, and to provide that the Christians also, who have forsaken the religion of their ancestors, should return to a good disposition.

7. For in some way such arrogance had seized them and such stupidity had overtaken them, that they did not follow the ancient institutions which possibly their own ancestors had formerly established, but made for themselves laws according to their own purpose, as each one desired, and observed them, and thus assembled as separate congregations in various places.

8. When we had issued this decree that they should return to the institutions established by the ancients, a great many submitted under danger, but a great many being harassed endured all kinds of death.

9. And since many continue in the same folly, and we perceive that they neither offer to the heavenly gods the worship which is due, nor pay regard to the God of the Christians, in consideration of our philanthropy and our invariable custom, by which we are wont to extend pardon to all, we have determined that we ought most cheerfully to extend our indulgence in this matter also; that they may again be Christians, and may rebuild the conventicles in which they were accustomed to assemble, on condition that nothing be done by them contrary to discipline. In another letter we shall indicate to the magistrates what they have to observe.

10. Wherefore, on account of this indulgence of ours, they ought to supplicate their God for our safety, and that of the people, and their own, that the public welfare may be preserved in every place, and that they may live securely in their several homes.

11. Such is the tenor of this edict, translated, as well as possible, from the Roman tongue into the Greek. It is time to consider what took place after these events.

That which follows is found in Some Copies in the Eighth Book.

1. The author of the edict very shortly after this confession was released from his pains and died. He is reported to have been the original author of the misery of the persecution, having endeavored, long before the movement of the other emperors, to turn from the faith the Christians in the army, and first of all those in his own house, degrading some from the military rank, and abusing others most shamefully, and threatening still others with death, and finally inciting his partners in the empire to the general persecution. It is not proper to pass over the death of these emperors in silence.

2. As four of them held the supreme authority, those who were advanced in age and honor, after the persecution had continued not quite two years, abdicated the government, as we have already stated, and passed the remainder of their lives in a common and private station.

3. The end of their lives was as follows. He who was first in honor and age perished through a long and most grievous physical infirmity. He who held the second place ended his life by strangling, suffering thus according to a certain demoniacal prediction, on account of his many daring crimes.

4. Of those after them, the last, of whom we have spoken as the originator of the entire persecution, suffered such things as we have related. But he who preceded him, the most merciful and kindly emperor Constantius, passed all the time of his government in a manner worthy of his office. Moreover, he conducted himself towards all most favorably and beneficently. He took not the smallest part in the war against us, and preserved the pious that were under him unharmed and unabused. Neither did he throw down the church buildings, nor devise anything else against us. The end of his life was happy and thrice blessed. He alone at death left his empire happily and gloriously to his own son as his successor, one who was in all respects most prudent and pious. He entered on the government at once, being proclaimed supreme emperor and Augustus by the soldiers;

5. and he showed himself an emulator of his father's piety toward our doctrine. Such were the deaths of the four of whom we have written, which took place at different times.

6. Of these, moreover, only the one referred to a little above by us, with

those who afterward shared in the government, finally published openly to all the above-mentioned confession, in the written edict which he issued.

Martyrs of Palestine

The Following also we found in a Certain Copy in the Eighth Book.

It was in the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, in the month Xanthicus, which is called April by the Romans, about the time of the feast of our Saviour's passion, while Flavianus was governor of the province of Palestine, that letters were published everywhere, commanding that the churches be leveled to the ground and the Scriptures be destroyed by fire, and ordering that those who held places of honor be degraded, and that the household servants, if they persisted in the profession of Christianity, be deprived of freedom.

Such was the force of the first edict against us. But not long after other letters were issued, commanding that all the bishops of the churches everywhere be first thrown into prison, and afterward, by every artifice, be compelled to sacrifice.

Chapter 1

1. The first of the martyrs of Palestine was Procopius, who, before he had received the trial of imprisonment, immediately on his first appearance before the governor's tribunal, having been ordered to sacrifice to the so-called gods, declared that he knew only one to whom it was proper to sacrifice, as he himself wills. But when he was commanded to offer libations to the four emperors, having quoted a sentence which displeased them, he was immediately beheaded. The quotation was from the poet: The rule of many is not good; let there be one ruler and one king.

2. It was the seventh day of the month Desius, the seventh before the ides of June, as the Romans reckon, and the fourth day of the week, when this first example was given at Cæsarea in Palestine.

3. Afterwards, in the same city, many rulers of the country churches readily endured terrible sufferings, and furnished to the beholders an example of noble conflicts. But others, benumbed in spirit by terror, were easily weakened at the first onset. Of the rest, each one endured different forms of torture, as scourgings without number, and rackings, and tearings of their sides, and insupportable fetters, by which the hands of some were dislocated.

4. Yet they endured what came upon them, as in accordance with the inscrutable purposes of God. For the hands of one were seized, and he was led to the altar, while they thrust into his right hand the polluted and abominable offering, and he was dismissed as if he had sacrificed. Another had not even touched it, yet when others said that he had sacrificed, he went away in silence. Another, being taken up half dead, was cast aside as if already dead, and released from his bonds, and counted among the sacrificers. When another cried out, and testified that he would not obey, he was struck in the mouth, and silenced by a large band of those who were drawn up for this purpose, and driven away by force, even though he had not sacrificed. Of such consequence did they consider it, to seem by any means to have accomplished their purpose.

5. Therefore, of all this number, the only ones who were honored with the crown of the holy martyrs were Alphæus and Zacchæus. After stripes and scrapings and severe bonds and additional tortures and various other trials, and after having their feet stretched for a night and day over four holes in the

stocks, on the seventeenth day of the month Dins, — that is, according to the Romans, the fifteenth before the Kalends of December — having confessed one only God and Christ Jesus as king, as if they had uttered some blasphemy, they were beheaded like the former martyr.

Chapter 2

1. What occurred to Romanus on the same day at Antioch, is also worthy of record. For he was a native of Palestine, a deacon and exorcist in the parish of Cæsarea; and being present at the destruction of the churches, he beheld many men, with women and children, going up in crowds to the idols and sacrificing. But, through his great zeal for religion, he could not endure the sight, and rebuked them with a loud voice.

2. Being arrested for his boldness, he proved a most noble witness of the truth, if there ever was one. For when the judge informed him that he was to die by fire, he received the sentence with cheerful countenance and most ready mind, and was led away. When he was bound to the stake, and the wood piled up around him, as they were awaiting the arrival of the emperor before lighting the fire, he cried, Where is the fire for me?

3. Having said this, he was summoned again before the emperor, and subjected to the unusual torture of having his tongue cut out. But he endured this with fortitude and showed to all by his deeds that the Divine Power is present with those who endure any hardship whatever for the sake of religion, lightening their sufferings and strengthening their zeal. When he learned of this strange mode of punishment, the noble man was not terrified, but put out his tongue readily, and offered it with the greatest alacrity to those who cut it off.

4. After this punishment he was thrown into prison, and suffered there for a very long time. At last the twentieth anniversary of the emperor being near, when, according to an established gracious custom, liberty was proclaimed everywhere to all who were in bonds, he alone had both his feet stretched over five holes in the stocks, and while he lay there was strangled, and was thus honored with martyrdom, as he desired.

5. Although he was outside of his country, yet, as he was a native of Palestine, it is proper to count him among the Palestinian martyrs. These things occurred in this manner during the first year, when the persecution was directed only against the rulers of the Church.

Chapter 3

1. In the course of the second year, the persecution against us increased greatly. And at that time Urbanus being governor of the province, imperial edicts were first issued to him, commanding by a general decree that all the people should sacrifice at once in the different cities, and offer libations to the idols.

In Gaza, a city of Palestine, Timotheus endured countless tortures, and afterwards was subjected to a slow and moderate fire. Having given, by his patience in all his sufferings, most genuine evidence of sincerest piety toward the Deity, he bore away the crown of the victorious athletes of religion. At the same time Agapius and our contemporary, Thecla, having exhibited most noble constancy, were condemned as food for the wild beasts.

2. But who that beheld these things would not have admired, or if they heard of them by report, would not have been astonished? For when the heathen everywhere were holding a festival and the customary shows, it was reported abroad that besides the other entertainments, the public combat of those who had lately been condemned to wild beasts would also take place.

3. As this report increased and spread in all directions, six young men, namely, Timolaus, a native of Pontus, Dionysius from Tripolis in Phœnicia, Romulus, a subdeacon of the parish of Diospolis, northwest of Jerusalem, and identical with the Lydda of Acts 9:32 sq. For many centuries the seat of a bishop, and still prominent in the time of the crusades. The persons referred to in this paragraph are to be distinguished from others of the same names mentioned elsewhere} — > Pæsis and Alexander, both Egyptians, and another Alexander from Gaza, having first bound their own hands, went in haste to Urbanus, who was about to open the exhibition, evidencing great zeal for martyrdom. They confessed that they were Christians, and by their ambition for all terrible things, showed that those who glory in the religion of the God of the universe do not cower before the attacks of wild beasts.

4. Immediately, after creating no ordinary astonishment in the governor and those who were with him, they were cast into prison. After a few days two others were added to them. One of them, named Agapius, had in former confessions endured dreadful torments of various kinds. The other, who had supplied them with the necessities of life, was called Dionysius. All of these

eight were beheaded on one day at Cæsarea, on the twenty-fourth day of the month Dystrus, which is the ninth before the Kalends of April.

5. Meanwhile, a change in the emperors occurred, and the first of them all in dignity, and the second retired into private life, and public affairs began to be troubled.

6. Shortly after the Roman government became divided against itself, and a cruel war arose among them. And this division, with the troubles which grew out of it, was not settled until peace toward us had been established throughout the entire Roman Empire.

7. For when this peace arose for all, as the daylight after the darkest and most gloomy night, the public affairs of the Roman government were re-established, and became happy and peaceful, and the ancestral good-will toward each other was revived. But we will relate these things more fully at the proper time. Now let us return to the regular course of events.

Chapter 4

1. Maximinus Cæsar having come at that time into the government, as if to manifest to all the evidences of his reborn enmity against God, and of his impiety, armed himself for persecution against us more vigorously than his predecessors.

2. In consequence, no little confusion arose among all, and they scattered here and there, endeavoring in some way to escape the danger; and there was great commotion everywhere. But what words would suffice for a suitable description of the Divine love and boldness, in confessing God, of the blessed and truly innocent lamb — I refer to the martyr Apphianus, — who presented in the sight of all, before the gates of Cæsarea, a wonderful example of piety toward the only God?

3. He was at that time not twenty years old. He had first spent a long time at Berytus, for the sake of a secular Grecian education, as he belonged to a very wealthy family. It is wonderful to relate how, in such a city, he was superior to youthful passions, and clung to virtue, uncorrupted neither by his bodily vigor nor his young companions; living discreetly, soberly and piously, in accordance with his profession of the Christian doctrine and the life of his teachers.

4. If it is needful to mention his native country, and give honor to it as producing this noble athlete of piety, we will do so with pleasure.

5. The young man came from Pagæ, — if any one is acquainted with the place — a city in Lycia of no mean importance. After his return from his course of study in Berytus, though his father held the first place in his country, he could not bear to live with him and his relatives, as it did not please them to live according to the rules of religion. Therefore, as if he were led by the Divine Spirit, and in accordance with a natural, or rather an inspired and true philosophy, regarding this preferable to what is considered the glory of life, and despising bodily comforts, he secretly left his family. And because of his faith and hope in God, paying no attention to his daily needs, he was led by the Divine Spirit to the city of Cæsarea, where was prepared for him the crown of martyrdom for piety.

6. Abiding with us there, and conferring with us in the Divine Scriptures diligently for a short time, and fitting himself zealously by suitable exercises,

he exhibited such an end as would astonish any one should it be seen again.

7. Who, that hears of it, would not justly admire his courage, boldness, constancy, and even more than these the daring deed itself, which evidenced a zeal for religion and a spirit truly superhuman?

8. For in the second attack upon us under Maximinus, in the third year of the persecution, edicts of the tyrant were issued for the first time, commanding that the rulers of the cities should diligently and speedily see to it that all the people offered sacrifices. Throughout the city of Cæsarea, by command of the governor, the heralds were summoning men, women, and children to the temples of the idols, and besides this, the chiliarchs were calling out each one by name from a roll, and an immense crowd of the wicked were rushing together from all quarters. Then this youth fearlessly, while no one was aware of his intentions, eluded both us who lived in the house with him and the whole band of soldiers that surrounded the governor, and rushed up to Urbanus as he was offering libations, and fearlessly seizing him by the right hand, straightway put a stop to his sacrificing, and skillfully and persuasively, with a certain divine inspiration, exhorted him to abandon his delusion, because it was not well to forsake the one and only true God, and sacrifice to idols and demons.

9. It is probable that this was done by the youth through a divine power which led him forward, and which all but cried aloud in his act, that Christians, who were truly such, were so far from abandoning the religion of the God of the universe which they had once espoused, that they were not only superior to threats and the punishments which followed, but yet bolder to speak with noble and untrammelled tongue, and, if possible, to summon even their persecutors to turn from their ignorance and acknowledge the only true God.

10. Thereupon, he of whom we are speaking, and that instantly, as might have been expected after so bold a deed, was torn by the governor and those who were with him as if by wild beasts. And having endured manfully innumerable blows over his entire body, he was straightway cast into prison.

11. There he was stretched by the tormentor with both his feet in the stocks for a night and a day; and the next day he was brought before the judge. As they endeavored to force him to surrender, he exhibited all constancy under suffering and terrible tortures. His sides were torn, not once, or twice, but

many times, to the bones and the very bowels; and he received so many blows on his face and neck that those who for a long time had been well acquainted with him could not recognize his swollen face.

12. But as he would not yield under this treatment, the torturers, as commanded, covered his feet with linen cloths soaked in oil and set them on fire. No word can describe the agonies which the blessed one endured from this. For the fire consumed his flesh and penetrated to his bones, so that the humors of his body were melted and oozed out and dropped down like wax.

13. But as he was not subdued by this, his adversaries being defeated and unable to comprehend his superhuman constancy, cast him again into prison. A third time he was brought before the judge; and having witnessed the same profession, being half dead, he was finally thrown into the depths of the sea.

14. But what happened immediately after this will scarcely be believed by those who did not see it. Although we realize this, yet we must record the event, of which to speak plainly, all the inhabitants of Cæsarea were witnesses. For truly there was no age but beheld this marvelous sight.

15. For as soon as they had cast this truly sacred and thrice-blessed youth into the fathomless depths of the sea, an uncommon commotion and disturbance agitated the sea and all the shore about it, so that the land and the entire city were shaken by it. And at the same time with this wonderful and sudden perturbation, the sea threw out before the gates of the city the body of the divine martyr, as if unable to endure it.

Such was the death of the wonderful Apphianus. It occurred on the second day of the month Xanthicus, which is the fourth day before the Nones of April, on the day of preparation.

Chapter 5

1. About the same time, in the city of Tyre, a youth named Ulpianus, after dreadful tortures and most severe scourgings, was enclosed in a raw oxhide, with a dog and with one of those poisonous reptiles, an asp, and cast into the sea. Wherefore I think that we may properly mention him in connection with the martyrdom of Apphianus.

2. Shortly afterwards, Ædesius, a brother of Apphianus, not only in God, but also in the flesh, being a son of the same earthly father, endured sufferings like his, after very many confessions and protracted tortures in bonds, and after he had been sentenced by the governor to the mines in Palestine. He conducted himself through them all in a truly philosophic manner; for he was more highly educated than his brother, and had prosecuted philosophic studies.

3. Finally in the city of Alexandria, when he beheld the judge, who was trying the Christians, offending beyond all bounds, now insulting holy men in various ways, and again consigning women of greatest modesty and even religious virgins to procurers for shameful treatment, he acted like his brother. For as these things seemed insufferable, he went forward with bold resolve, and with his words and deeds overwhelmed the judge with shame and disgrace. After suffering in consequence many forms of torture, he endured a death similar to his brother's, being cast into the sea. But these things, as I have said, happened to him in this way a little later.

Chapter 6

1. In the fourth year of the persecution against us, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of December, which is the twentieth day of the month Dicus, on the day before the Sabbath, while the tyrant Maximinus was present and giving magnificent shows in honor of his birthday, the following event, truly worthy of record, occurred in the city of Cæsarea.

2. As it was an ancient custom to furnish the spectators more splendid shows when the emperors were present than at other times, new and foreign spectacles taking the place of the customary amusements, such as animals brought from India or Ethiopia or other places, or men who could astonish the beholders with skillful bodily exercises — it was necessary at this time, as the emperor was giving the exhibition, to add to the shows something more wonderful. And what should this be?

3. A witness of our doctrine was brought into the midst and endured the contest for the true and only religion. This was Agapius, who, as we have stated a little above, was, with Thecla, the second to be thrown to the wild beasts for food. He had also, three times and more, marched with malefactors from the prison to the arena; and every time, after threats from the judge, whether in compassion or in hope that he might change his mind, had been reserved for other conflicts. But the emperor being present, he was brought out at this time, as if he had been appropriately reserved for this occasion, until the very word of the Saviour should be fulfilled in him, which through divine knowledge he declared to his disciples, that they should be brought before kings on account of their testimony unto him.

4. He was taken into the midst of the arena with a certain malefactor who they said was charged with the murder of his master.

5. But this murderer of his master, when he had been cast to the wild beasts, was deemed worthy of compassion and humanity, almost like Barabbas in the time of our Saviour. And the whole theater resounded with shouts and cries of approval, because the murderer was humanely saved by the emperor, and deemed worthy of honor and freedom.

6. But the athlete of religion was first summoned by the tyrant and promised liberty if he would deny his profession. But he testified with a loud voice that, not for any fault, but for the religion of the Creator of the universe,

he would readily and with pleasure endure whatever might be inflicted upon him.

7. Having said this, he joined the deed to the word, and rushed to meet a bear which had been let loose against him, surrendering himself most cheerfully to be devoured by him. After this, as he still breathed, he was cast into prison. And living yet one day, stones were bound to his feet, and he was drowned in the depths of the sea. Such was the martyrdom of Agapius.

Chapter 7

1. Again, in Cæsarea, when the persecution had continued to the fifth year, on the second day of the month Xanthicus, which is the fourth before the Nones of April, on the very Lord's day of our Saviour's resurrection, Theodosia, a virgin from Tyre, a faithful and sedate maiden, not yet eighteen years of age, went up to certain prisoners who were confessing the kingdom of Christ and sitting before the judgment seat, and saluted them, and, as is probable, besought them to remember her when they came before the Lord.

2. Thereupon, as if she had committed a profane and impious act, the soldiers seized her and led her to the governor. And he immediately, like a madman and a wild beast in his anger, tortured her with dreadful and most terrible torments in her sides and breasts, even to the very bones. And as she still breathed, and withal stood with a joyful and beaming countenance, he ordered her thrown into the waves of the sea. Then passing from her to the other confessors, he condemned all of them to the copper mines in Phæno in Palestine.

3. Afterwards on the fifth of the month Dius, on the Nones of November according to the Romans, in the same city, Silvanus (who at that time was a presbyter and confessor, but who shortly after was honored with the episcopate and died a martyr), and those with him, men who had shown the noblest firmness in behalf of religion, were condemned by him to labor in the same copper mines, command being first given that their ankles be disabled with hot irons.

4. At the same time he delivered to the flames a man who was illustrious through numerous other confessions. This was Domninus, who was well known to all in Palestine for his exceeding fearlessness. After this the same judge, who was a cruel contriver of suffering, and an inventor of devices against the doctrine of Christ, planned against the pious punishments that had never been heard of. He condemned three to single pugilistic combat. He delivered to be devoured by wild beasts Auxentius, a grave and holy old man. Others who were in mature life he made eunuchs, and condemned them to the same mines. Yet others, after severe tortures, he cast into prison.

Among these was my dearest friend Pamphilus, who was by reason of every virtue the most illustrious of the martyrs in our time.

5. Urbanus first tested him in rhetorical philosophy and learning; and afterwards endeavored to compel him to sacrifice. But as he saw that he refused and in nowise regarded his threats, being exceedingly angry, he ordered him to be tormented with severest tortures.

6. And when the brutal man, after he had almost satiated himself with these tortures by continuous and prolonged scrapings in his sides, was yet covered with shame before all, he put him also with the confessors in prison.

7. But what recompense for his cruelty to the saints, he who thus abused the martyrs of Christ, shall receive from the Divine judgment, may be easily determined from the preludes to it, in which immediately, and not long after his daring cruelties against Pamphilus, while he yet held the government, the Divine judgment came upon him. For thus suddenly, he who but yesterday was judging on the lofty tribunal, guarded by a band of soldiers, and ruling over the whole nation of Palestine, the associate and dearest friend and table companion of the tyrant himself, was stripped in one night, and overwhelmed with disgrace and shame before those who had formerly admired him as if he were himself an emperor; and he appeared cowardly and unmanly, uttering womanish cries and supplications to all the people whom he had ruled. And Maximinus himself, in reliance upon whose favor Urbanus was formerly so arrogantly insolent, as if he loved him exceedingly for his deeds against us, was set as a harsh and most severe judge in this same Cæsarea to pronounce sentence of death against him, for the great disgrace of the crimes of which he was convicted. Let us say this in passing.

8. A suitable time may come when we shall have leisure to relate the end and the fate of those impious men who especially fought against us, both of Maximinus himself and those with him.

Chapter 8

1. Up to the sixth year the storm had been incessantly raging against us. Before this time there had been a very large number of confessors of religion in the so-called Porphyry quarry in Thebais, which gets its name from the stone found there. Of these, one hundred men, lacking three, together with women and infants, were sent to the governor of Palestine. When they confessed the God of the universe and Christ, Firmilianus, who had been sent there as governor in the place of Urbanus, directed, in accordance with the imperial command, that they should be maimed by burning the sinews of the ankles of their left feet, and that their right eyes with the eyelids and pupils should first be cut out, and then destroyed by hot irons to the very roots. And he then sent them to the mines in the province to endure hardships with severe toil and suffering.

2. But it was not sufficient that these only who suffered such miseries should be deprived of their eyes, but those natives of Palestine also, who were mentioned just above as condemned to pugilistic combat, since they would neither receive food from the royal storehouse nor undergo the necessary preparatory exercises.

3. Having been brought on this account not only before the overseers, but also before Maximinus himself, and having manifested the noblest persistence in confession by the endurance of hunger and stripes, they received like punishment with those whom we have mentioned, and with them other confessors in the city of Cæsarea.

4. Immediately afterwards others who were gathered to hear the Scriptures read, were seized in Gaza, and some endured the same sufferings in the feet and eyes; but others were afflicted with yet greater torments and with most terrible tortures in the sides.

5. One of these, in body a woman, but in understanding a man, would not endure the threat of fornication, and spoke directly against the tyrant who entrusted the government to such cruel judges. She was first scourged and then raised aloft on the stake, and her sides lacerated.

6. As those appointed for this purpose applied the tortures incessantly and severely at the command of the judge, another, with mind fixed, like the former, on virginity as her aim — a woman who was altogether mean in form

and contemptible in appearance; but, on the other hand, strong in soul, and endowed with an understanding superior to her body — being unable to bear the merciless and cruel and inhuman deeds, with a boldness beyond that of the combatants famed among the Greeks, cried out to the judge from the midst of the crowd: And how long will you thus cruelly torture my sister? But he was greatly enraged, and ordered the woman to be immediately seized.

7. Thereupon she was brought forward and having called herself by the august name of the Saviour, she was first urged by words to sacrifice, and as she refused she was dragged by force to the altar. But her sister continued to maintain her former zeal, and with intrepid and resolute foot kicked the altar, and overturned it with the fire that was on it.

8. Thereupon the judge, enraged like a wild beast, inflicted on her such tortures in her sides as he never had on any one before, striving almost to glut himself with her raw flesh. But when his madness was satiated, he bound them both together, this one and her whom she called sister, and condemned them to death by fire. It is said that the first of these was from the country of Gaza; the other, by name Valentina, was of Cæsarea, and was well known to many.

9. But how can I describe as it deserves the martyrdom which followed, with which the thrice-blessed Paul was honored. He was condemned to death at the same time with them, under one sentence. At the time of his martyrdom, as the executioner was about to cut off his head, he requested a brief respite.

10. This being granted, he first, in a clear and distinct voice, supplicated God in behalf of his fellow Christians, praying for their pardon, and that freedom might soon be restored to them. Then he asked for the conversion of the Jews to God through Christ; and proceeding in order he requested the same things for the Samaritans, and besought that those Gentiles, who were in error and were ignorant of God, might come to a knowledge of him, and adopt the true religion. Nor did he leave neglected the mixed multitude who were standing around.

11. After all these, oh! great and unspeakable forbearance! He entreated the God of the universe for the judge who had condemned him to death, and for the highest rulers, and also for the one who was about to behead him, in his hearing and that of all present, beseeching that their sin toward him should not be reckoned against them.

12. Having prayed for these things with a loud voice, and having, as one who was dying unjustly, moved almost all to compassion and tears, of his own accord he made himself ready, and submitted his bare neck to the stroke of the sword, and was adorned with divine martyrdom. This took place on the twenty-fifth day of the month Panemus, which is the eighth before the Kalends of August.

13. Such was the end of these persons. But not long after, one hundred and thirty admirable athletes of the confession of Christ, from the land of Egypt, endured, in Egypt itself, at the command of Maximinus the same afflictions in their eyes and feet with the former persons, and were sent to the above-mentioned mines in Palestine. But some of them were condemned to the mines in Cilicia.

Chapter 9

1. After such noble acts of the distinguished martyrs of Christ, the flame of persecution lessened, and was quenched, as it were by their sacred blood, and relief and liberty were granted to those who, for Christ's sake, were laboring in the mines of Thebais, and for a little time we were beginning to breath pure air.

2. But by some new impulse, I know not what, he who held the power to persecute was again aroused against the Christians. Immediately letters from Maximinus against us were published everywhere in every province. The governors and the military prefect urged by edicts and letters and public ordinances the magistrates and generals and notaries in all the cities to carry out the imperial decree, which ordered that the altars of the idols should with all speed be rebuilt; and that all men, women, and children, even infants at the breast, should sacrifice and offer oblations; and that with diligence and care they should cause them to taste of the execrable offerings; and that the things for sale in the market should be polluted with libations from the sacrifices; and that guards should be stationed before the baths in order to defile with the abominable sacrifices those who went to wash in them.

3. When these orders were being carried out, our people, as was natural, were at the beginning greatly distressed in mind; and even the unbelieving heathen blamed the severity and the exceeding absurdity of what was done. For these things appeared to them extreme and burdensome.

4. As the heaviest storm impended over all in every quarter, the divine power of our Saviour again infused such boldness into his athletes, that without being drawn on or dragged forward by any one, they spurned the threats. Three of the faithful joining together, rushed on the governor as he was sacrificing to the idols, and cried out to him to cease from his delusion, there being no other God than the Maker and Creator of the universe. When he asked who they were, they confessed boldly that they were Christians.

5. Thereupon Firmilianus, being greatly enraged, sentenced them to capital punishment without inflicting tortures upon them. The name of the eldest of these was Antoninus; of the next, Zebinas, who was a native of Eleutheropolis; and of the third, Germanus. This took place on the thirteenth of the month Dios, the Ides of November.

6. There was associated with them on the same day Ennathas, a woman from Scythopolis, who was adorned with the chaplet of virginity. She did not indeed do as they had done, but was dragged by force and brought before the judge.

7. She endured scourgings and cruel insults, which Maxys, a tribune of a neighboring district, without the knowledge of the superior authority, dared to inflict upon her. He was a man worse than his name, sanguinary in other respects, exceedingly harsh, and altogether cruel, and censured by all who knew him. This man stripped the blessed woman of all her clothing, so that she was covered only from her loins to her feet and the rest of her body was bare. And he led her through the entire city of Cæsarea, and regarded it as a great thing to beat her with thongs while she was dragged through all the market-places.

8. After such treatment she manifested the noblest constancy at the judgment seat of the governor himself; and the judge condemned her to be burned alive. He also carried his rage against the pious to a most inhuman length and transgressed the laws of nature, not being ashamed even to deny burial to the lifeless bodies of the sacred men.

9. Thus he ordered the dead to be exposed in the open air as food for wild beasts and to be watched carefully by night and day. For many days a large number of men attended to this savage and barbarous decree. And they looked out from their post of observation, as if it were a matter worthy of care, to see that the dead bodies should not be stolen. And wild beasts and dogs and birds of prey scattered the human limbs here and there, and the whole city was strewn with the entrails and bones of men,

10. so that nothing had ever appeared more dreadful and horrible, even to those who formerly hated us; though they bewailed not so much the calamity of those against whom these things were done, as the outrage against themselves and the common nature of man.

11. For there was to be seen near the gates a spectacle beyond all description and tragic recital; for not only was human flesh devoured in one place, but it was scattered in every place; so that some said that limbs and masses of flesh and parts of entrails were to be seen even within the gates.

12. After these things had continued for many days, a wonderful event occurred. The air was clear and bright and the appearance of the sky most

serene. When suddenly throughout the city from the pillars which supported the public porches many drops fell like tears; and the market places and streets, though there was no mist in the air, were moistened with sprinkled water, whence I know not. Then immediately it was reported everywhere that the earth, unable to endure the abomination of these things, had shed tears in a mysterious manner; and that as a rebuke to the relentless and unfeeling nature of men, stones and lifeless wood had wept for what had happened. I know well that this account may perhaps appear idle and fabulous to those who come after us, but not to those to whom the truth was confirmed at the time.

Chapter 10

1. On the fourteenth day of the following month Appellæus, the nineteenth before the Kalends of January, certain persons from Egypt were again seized by those who examined people passing the gates. They had been sent to minister to the confessors in Cilicia. They received the same sentence as those whom they had gone to help, being mutilated in their eyes and feet. Three of them exhibited in Ascalon, where they were imprisoned, marvelous bravery in the endurance of various kinds of martyrdom. One of them named Ares was condemned to the flames, and the others, called Probus and Elias, were beheaded.

2. On the eleventh day of the month Audynæus, which is the third before the Ides of January, in the same city of Cæsarea, Peter an ascetic, also called Apselamus, from the village of Anea, on the borders of Eleutheropolis, like purest gold, gave noble proof by fire of his faith in the Christ of God. Though the judge and those around him besought him many times to have compassion on himself, and to spare his own youth and bloom, he disregarded them, preferring hope in the God of the universe to all things, even to life itself. A certain Asclepius, supposed to be a bishop of the sect of Marcion, possessed as he thought with zeal for religion, but not according to knowledge, Romans 10:2 ended his life on one and the same funeral pyre. These things took place in this manner.

Chapter 11

1. It is time to describe the great and celebrated spectacle of Pamphilus, a man thrice dear to me, and of those who finished their course with him. They were twelve in all; being counted worthy of apostolic grace and number.

2. Of these the leader and the only one honored with the position of presbyter at Cæsarea, was Pamphilus; a man who through his entire life was celebrated for every virtue, for renouncing and despising the world, for sharing his possessions with the needy, for contempt of earthly hopes, and for philosophic deportment and exercise. He especially excelled all in our time in most sincere devotion to the Divine Scriptures and indefatigable industry in whatever he undertook, and in his helpfulness to his relatives and associates.

3. In a separate treatise on his life, consisting of three books, we have already described the excellence of his virtue. Referring to this work those who delight in such things and desire to know them, let us now consider the martyrs in order.

4. Second after Pamphilus, Vales, who was honored for his venerable gray hair, entered the contest. He was a deacon from Ælia, an old man of gravest appearance, and versed in the Divine Scriptures, if any one ever was. He had so laid up the memory of them in his heart that he did not need to look at the books if he undertook to repeat any passage of Scripture.

5. The third was Paul from the city of Jamna, who was known among them as most zealous and fervent in spirit. Previous to his martyrdom, he had endured the conflict of confession by cauterization.

After these persons had continued in prison for two entire years, the occasion of their martyrdom was a second arrival of Egyptian brethren who suffered with them.

6. They had accompanied the confessors in Cilicia to the mines there and were returning to their homes. At the entrance of the gates of Cæsarea, the guards, who were men of barbarous character, questioned them as to who they were and whence they came. They kept back nothing of the truth, and were seized as malefactors taken in the very act. They were five in number.

7. When brought before the tyrant, being very bold in his presence, they were immediately thrown into prison. On the next day, which was the nineteenth of the month Peritius, according to the Roman reckoning the

fourteenth before the Kalends of March, they were brought, according to command, before the judge, with Pamphilus and his associates whom we have mentioned. First, by all kinds of torture, through the invention of strange and various machines, he tested the invincible constancy of the Egyptians.

8. Having practised these cruelties upon the leader of all, he asked him first who he was. He heard in reply the name of some prophet instead of his proper name. For it was their custom, in place of the names of idols given them by their fathers, if they had such, to take other names; so that you would hear them calling themselves Elijah or Jeremiah or Isaiah or Samuel or Daniel, thus showing themselves inwardly true Jews, and the genuine Israel of God, not only in deeds, but in the names which they bore. When Firmilianus had heard some such name from the martyr, and did not understand the force of the word, he asked next the name of his country.

9. But he gave a second answer similar to the former, saying that Jerusalem was his country, meaning that of which Paul says, Jerusalem which is above is free, which is our mother, Galatians 4:26 and, You have come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.

10. This was what he meant; but the judge thinking only of the earth, sought diligently to discover what that city was, and in what part of the world it was situated. And therefore he applied tortures that the truth might be acknowledged. But the man, with his hands twisted behind his back, and his feet crushed by strange machines, asserted firmly that he had spoken the truth.

11. And being questioned again repeatedly what and where the city was of which he spoke, he said that it was the country of the pious alone, for no others should have a place in it, and that it lay toward the far East and the rising sun.

12. He philosophized about these things according to his own understanding, and was in nowise turned from them by the tortures with which he was afflicted on every side. And as if he were without flesh or body he seemed insensible of his sufferings. But the judge being perplexed, was impatient, thinking that the Christians were about to establish a city somewhere, inimical and hostile to the Romans. And he inquired much about this, and investigated where that country toward the East was located.

13. But when he had for a long time lacerated the young man with scourgings, and punished him with all sorts of torments, he perceived that his

persistence in what he had said could not be changed, and passed against him sentence of death. Such a scene was exhibited by what was done to this man. And having inflicted similar tortures on the others, he sent them away in the same manner.

14. Then being wearied and perceiving that he punished the men in vain, having satiated his desire, he proceeded against Pamphilus and his companions. And having learned that already under former tortures they had manifested an unchangeable zeal for the faith, he asked them if they would now obey. And receiving from every one of them only this one answer, as their last word of confession in martyrdom, he inflicted on them punishment similar to the others.

15. When this had been done, a young man, one of the household servants of Pamphilus, who had been educated in the noble life and instruction of such a man, learning the sentence passed upon his master, cried out from the midst of the crowd asking that their bodies might be buried.

16. Thereupon the judge, not a man, but a wild beast, or if anything more savage than a wild beast, giving no consideration to the young man's age, asked him only the same question. When he learned that he confessed himself a Christian, as if he had been wounded by a dart, swelling with rage, he ordered the tormentors to use their utmost power against him.

17. And when he saw that he refused to sacrifice as commanded, he ordered them to scrape him continually to his very bones and to the inmost recesses of his bowels, not as if he were human flesh but as if he were stones or wood or any lifeless thing. But after long persistence he saw that this was in vain, as the man was speechless and insensible and almost lifeless, his body being worn out by the tortures.

18. But being inflexibly merciless and inhuman, he ordered him to be committed straightway, as he was, to a slow fire. And before the death of his earthly master, though he had entered later on the conflict, he received release from the body, while those who had been zealous about the others were yet delaying.

19. One could then see Porphyry, like one who had come off victorious in every conflict, his body covered with dust, but his countenance cheerful, after such sufferings, with courageous and exulting mind, advancing to death. And as if truly filled with the Divine Spirit, covered only with his philosophic robe

thrown about him as a cloak, soberly and intelligently he directed his friends as to what he wished, and beckoned to them, preserving still a cheerful countenance even at the stake. But when the fire was kindled at some distance around him in a circle, having inhaled the flame into his mouth, he continued most nobly in silence from that time till his death, after the single word which he uttered when the flame first touched him, and he cried out for the help of Jesus the Son of God. Such was the contest of Porphyry.

20. His death was reported to Pamphilus by a messenger, Seleucus. He was one of the confessors from the army. As the bearer of such a message, he was immediately deemed worthy of a similar lot. For as soon as he related the death of Porphyry, and had saluted one of the martyrs with a kiss, some of the soldiers seized him and led him to the governor. And he, as if he would hasten him on to be a companion of the former on the way to heaven, commanded that he be put to death immediately.

21. This man was from Cappadocia, and belonged to the select band of soldiers, and had obtained no small honor in those things which are esteemed among the Romans. For in stature and bodily strength, and size and vigor, he far excelled his fellow-soldiers, so that his appearance was matter of common talk, and his whole form was admired on account of its size and symmetrical proportions.

22. At the beginning of the persecution he was prominent in the conflicts of confession, through his patience under scourging. After he left the army he set himself to imitate zealously the religious ascetics, and as if he were their father and guardian he showed himself a bishop and patron of destitute orphans and defenceless widows and of those who were distressed with penury or sickness. It is likely that on this account he was deemed worthy of an extraordinary call to martyrdom by God, who rejoices in such things more than in the smoke and blood of sacrifices.

23. He was the tenth athlete among those whom we have mentioned as meeting their end on one and the same day. On this day, as was fitting, the chief gate was opened, and a ready way of entrance into the kingdom of heaven was given to the martyr Pamphilus and to the others with him.

24. In the footsteps of Seleucus came Theodulus, a grave and pious old man, who belonged to the governor's household, and had been honored by Firmilianus himself more than all the others in his house on account of his

age, and because he was a father of the third generation, and also on account of the kindness and most faithful conscientiousness which he had manifested toward him. As he pursued the course of Seleucus when brought before his master, the latter was more angry at him than at those who had preceded him, and condemned him to endure the martyrdom of the Saviour on the cross.

25. As there lacked yet one to fill up the number of the twelve martyrs of whom we have spoken, Julian came to complete it. He had just arrived from abroad, and had not yet entered the gate of the city, when having learned about the martyrs while still on the way, he rushed at once, just as he was, to see them. When he beheld the tabernacles of the saints prone on the ground, being filled with joy, he embraced and kissed them all.

26. The ministers of slaughter straightway seized him as he was doing this and led him to Firmilianus. Acting as was his custom, he condemned him to a slow fire. Thereupon Julian, leaping and exulting, in a loud voice gave thanks to the Lord who had judged him worthy of such things, and was honored with the crown of martyrdom.

27. He was a Cappadocian by birth, and in his manner of life he was most circumspect, faithful and sincere, zealous in all other respects, and animated by the Holy Spirit himself. Such was the company which was thought worthy to enter into martyrdom with Pamphilus.

28. By the command of the impious governor their sacred and truly holy bodies were kept as food for the wild beasts for four days and as many nights. But since, strange to say, through the providential care of God, nothing approached them — neither beast of prey, nor bird, nor dog — they were taken up uninjured, and after suitable preparation were buried in the customary manner.

29. When the report of what had been done to these men was spread in all directions, Adrianus and Eubulus, having come from the so-called country of Manganaea to Cæsarea, to see the remaining confessors, were also asked at the gate the reason for their coming; and having acknowledged the truth, were brought to Firmilianus. But he, as was his custom, without delay inflicted many tortures in their sides, and condemned them to be devoured by wild beasts.

30. After two days, on the fifth of the month Dystrus, the third before the Nones of March, which was regarded as the birthday of the tutelary divinity of

Cæsarea, Adrianus was thrown to a lion, and afterwards slain with the sword. But Eubulus, two days later, on the Nones of March, that is, on the seventh of the month Dystrus, when the judge had earnestly entreated him to enjoy by sacrificing that which was considered freedom among them, preferring a glorious death for religion to transitory life, was made like the other an offering to wild beasts, and as the last of the martyrs in Cæsarea, sealed the list of athletes.

31. It is proper also to relate here, how in a short time the heavenly Providence came upon the impious rulers, together with the tyrants themselves. For that very Firmilianus, who had thus abused the martyrs of Christ, after suffering with the others the severest punishment, was put to death by the sword. Such were the martyrdoms which took place at Cæsarea during the entire period of the persecution.

Chapter 12

1. I think it best to pass by all the other events which occurred in the meantime: such as those which happened to the bishops of the churches, when instead of shepherds of the rational flocks of Christ, over which they presided in an unlawful manner, the divine judgment, considering them worthy of such a charge, made them keepers of camels, an irrational beast and very crooked in the structure of its body, or condemned them to have the care of the imperial horses — and I pass by also the insults and disgraces and tortures they endured from the imperial overseers and rulers on account of the sacred vessels and treasures of the Church; and besides these the lust of power on the part of many, the disorderly and unlawful ordinations, and the schisms among the confessors themselves; also the novelties which were zealously devised against the remnants of the Church by the new and factious members, who added innovation after innovation and forced them in unsparingly among the calamities of the persecution, heaping misfortune upon misfortune. I judge it more suitable to shun and avoid the account of these things, as I said at the beginning. But such things as are sober and praiseworthy, according to the sacred word — and if there be any virtue and praise, Philippians 4:8 — I consider it most proper to tell and to record, and to present to believing hearers in the history of the admirable martyrs. And after this I think it best to crown the entire work with an account of the peace which has appeared unto us from heaven.

Chapter 13

1. The seventh year of our conflict was completed; and the hostile measures which had continued into the eighth year were gradually and quietly becoming less severe. A large number of confessors were collected at the copper mines in Palestine, and were acting with considerable boldness, so far as even to build places of worship. But the ruler of the province, a cruel and wicked man, as his acts against the martyrs showed, having come there and learned the state of affairs, communicated it to the emperor, writing in accusation whatever he thought best.

2. Thereupon, being appointed superintendent of the mines, he divided the band of confessors as if by a royal decree, and sent some to dwell in Cyprus and others in Lebanon, and he scattered others in different parts of Palestine and ordered them to labor in various works.

3. And, selecting the four who seemed to him to be the leaders, he sent them to the commander of the armies in that section. These were Peleus and Nilus, Egyptian bishops, also a presbyter, and Patermuthius, who was well known among them all for his zeal toward all. The commander of the army demanded of them a denial of religion, and not obtaining this, he condemned them to death by fire.

4. There were others there who had been allotted to dwell in a separate place by themselves — such of the confessors as on account of age or mutilations, or for other bodily infirmities, had been released from service. Silvanus, a bishop from Gaza, presided over them, and set a worthy and genuine example of Christianity.

5. This man having from the first day of the persecution, and throughout its entire continuance, been eminent for his confessions in all sorts of conflicts, had been kept all that time that he might, so to speak, set the final seal upon the whole conflict in Palestine.

6. There were with him many from Egypt, among whom was John, who surpassed all in our time in the excellence of his memory. He had formerly been deprived of his sight. Nevertheless, on account of his eminence in confession he had with the others suffered the destruction of his foot by cauterization. And although his sight had been destroyed he was subjected to the same burning with fire, the executioners aiming after everything that was

merciless and pitiless and cruel and inhuman.

7. Since he was such a man, one would not be so much astonished at his habits and his philosophic life, nor would he seem so wonderful for them, as for the strength of his memory. For he had written whole books of the Divine Scriptures, not in tables of stone 2 Corinthians 3:3 as the divine apostle says, neither on skins of animals, nor on paper which moths and time destroy, but truly in fleshy tables of the heart, in a transparent soul and most pure eye of the mind, so that whenever he wished he could repeat, as if from a treasury of words, any portion of the Scripture, whether in the law, or the prophets, or the historical books, or the gospels, or the writings of the apostles.

8. I confess that I was astonished when I first saw the man as he was standing in the midst of a large congregation and repeating portions of the Divine Scripture. While I only heard his voice, I thought that, according to the custom in the meetings, he was reading. But when I came near and perceived what he was doing, and observed all the others standing around him with sound eyes while he was using only the eyes of his mind, and yet was speaking naturally like some prophet, and far excelling those who were sound in body, it was impossible for me not to glorify God and wonder. And I seemed to see in these deeds evident and strong confirmation of the fact that true manhood consists not in excellence of bodily appearance, but in the soul and understanding alone. For he, with his body mutilated, manifested the superior excellence of the power that was within him.

9. But as to those whom we have mentioned as abiding in a separate place, and attending to their customary duties in fasting and prayer and other exercises, God himself saw fit to give them a salutary issue by extending his right hand in answer to them. The bitter foe, as they were armed against him zealously through their prayers to God, could no longer endure them, and determined to slay and destroy them from off the earth because they troubled him.

10. And God permitted him to accomplish this, that he might not be restrained from the wickedness he desired, and that at the same time they might receive the prizes of their manifold conflicts. Therefore at the command of the most accursed Maximinus, forty, lacking one, were beheaded in one day.

11. These martyrdoms were accomplished in Palestine during eight

complete years; and of this description was the persecution in our time. Beginning with the demolition of the churches, it increased greatly as the rulers rose up from time to time against us. In these assaults the multiform and various conflicts of those who wrestled in behalf of religion produced an innumerable multitude of martyrs in every province — in the regions extending from Libya and throughout all Egypt, and Syria, and from the East round about to the district of Illyricum.

12. But the countries beyond these, all Italy and Sicily and Gaul, and the regions toward the setting sun, in Spain, Mauritania, and Africa, suffered the war of persecution during less than two years, and were deemed worthy of a speedier divine visitation and peace; the heavenly Providence sparing the singleness of purpose and faith of those men.

13. For what had never before been recorded in the annals of the Roman government, first took place in our day, contrary to all expectation; for during the persecution in our time the empire was divided into two parts. The brethren dwelling in the part of which we have just spoken enjoyed peace; but those in the other part endured trials without number.

14. But when the divine grace kindly and compassionately manifested its care for us too, then truly our rulers also, those very ones through whom the wars against us had been formerly carried on, changed their minds in a most wonderful manner, and published a recantation; and by favorable edicts and mild decrees concerning us, extinguished the conflagration against us. This recantation also must be recorded.

The End of the Book of Eusebius Pamphili concerning those who suffered Martyrdom in Palestine.

Book IX

Chapter 1. The Pretended Relaxation.

1. The imperial edict of recantation, which has been quoted above, was posted in all parts of Asia and in the adjoining provinces. After this had been done, Maximinus, the tyrant in the East — a most impious man, if there ever was one, and most hostile to the religion of the God of the universe — being by no means satisfied with its contents, instead of sending the above-quoted decree to the governors under him, gave them verbal commands to relax the war against us.

2. For since he could not in any other way oppose the decision of his superiors, keeping the law which had been already issued secret, and taking care that it might not be made known in the district under him, he gave an unwritten order to his governors that they should relax the persecution against us. They communicated the command to each other in writing.

3. Sabinus, at least, who was honored with the highest official rank among them, communicated the will of the emperor to the provincial governors in a Latin epistle, the translation of which is as follows:

4. With continuous and most devoted earnestness their Majesties, our most divine masters, the emperors, formerly directed the minds of all men to follow the holy and correct course of life, that those also who seemed to live in a manner foreign to that of the Romans, should render the worship due to the immortal gods. But the obstinacy and most unconquerable determination of some went so far that they could neither be turned back from their purpose by the just reason of the command, nor be intimidated by the impending punishment.

5. Since therefore it has come to pass that by such conduct many have brought themselves into danger, their Majesties, our most powerful masters, the emperors, in the exalted nobility of piety, esteeming it foreign to their Majesties' purpose to bring men into so great danger for such a cause, have commanded their devoted servant, myself, to write to your wisdom, that if any Christian be found engaging in the worship of his own people, you should abstain from molesting and endangering him, and should not suppose it necessary to punish any one on this pretext. For it has been proved by the experience of so long a time that they can in no way be persuaded to abandon such obstinate conduct.

6. Therefore it should be your care to write to the curators and magistrates and district overseers of every city, that they may know that it is not necessary for them to give further attention to this matter.

7. Thereupon the rulers of the provinces, thinking that the purpose of the things which were written was truly made known to them, declared the imperial will to the curators and magistrates and prefects of the various districts in writing. But they did not limit themselves to writing, but sought more quickly to accomplish the supposed will of the emperor in deeds also. Those whom they had imprisoned on account of their confession of the Deity, they set at liberty, and they released those of them who had been sent to the mines for punishment; for they erroneously supposed that this was the true will of the emperor.

8. And when these things had thus been done, immediately, like a light shining forth in a dark night, one could see in every city congregations gathered and assemblies thronged, and meetings held according to their custom. And every one of the unbelieving heathen was not a little astonished at these things, wondering at so marvelous a transformation, and exclaiming that the God of the Christians was great and alone true.

9. And some of our people, who had faithfully and bravely sustained the conflict of persecution, again became frank and bold toward all; but as many as had been diseased in the faith and had been shaken in their souls by the tempest, strove eagerly for healing, beseeching and imploring the strong to stretch out to them a saving hand, and supplicating God to be merciful unto them.

10. Then also the noble athletes of religion who had been set free from their sufferings in the mines returned to their own homes. Happily and joyfully they passed through every city, full of unspeakable pleasure and of a boldness which cannot be expressed in words.

11. Great crowds of men pursued their journey along the highways and through the market-places, praising God with hymns and psalms. And you might have seen those who a little while before had been driven in bonds from their native countries under a most cruel sentence, returning with bright and joyful faces to their own firesides; so that even they who had formerly thirsted for our blood, when they saw the unexpected wonder, congratulated us on what had taken place.

Chapter 2. The Subsequent Reverse.

1. But the tyrant who, as we have said, ruled over the districts of the Orient, a thorough hater of the good and an enemy of every virtuous person, as he was, could no longer bear this; and indeed he did not permit matters to go on in this way quite six months. Devising all possible means of destroying the peace, he first attempted to restrain us, under a pretext, from meeting in the cemeteries.

2. Then through the agency of some wicked men he sent an embassy to himself against us, inciting the citizens of Antioch to ask from him as a very great favor that he would by no means permit any of the Christians to dwell in their country; and others were secretly induced to do the same thing. The author of all this in Antioch was Theotecnus, a violent and wicked man, who was an impostor, and whose character was foreign to his name. He appears to have been the curator of the city.

Chapter 3. The Newly Erected Statue at Antioch.

After this man had carried on all kinds of war against us and had caused our people to be diligently hunted up in their retreats, as if they were unholy thieves, and had devised every sort of slander and accusation against us, and become the cause of death to vast numbers, he finally erected a statue of Jupiter Philius with certain juggleries and magic rites. And after inventing unholy forms of initiation and ill-omened mysteries in connection with it, and abominable means of purification, he exhibited his jugglery, by oracles which he pretended to utter, even to the emperor; and through a flattery which was pleasing to the ruler he aroused the demon against the Christians and said that the god had given command to expel the Christians as his enemies beyond the confines of the city and the neighboring districts.

Chapter 4. The Memorials against us.

1. The fact that this man, who took the lead in this matter, had succeeded in his purpose was an incitement to all the other officials in the cities under the same government to prepare a similar memorial. And the governors of the provinces perceiving that this was agreeable to the emperor suggested to their subjects that they should do the same.

2. And as the tyrant by a rescript declared himself well pleased with their measures, persecution was kindled anew against us. Priests for the images were then appointed in the cities, and besides them high priests by Maximinus himself. The latter were taken from among those who were most distinguished in public life and had gained celebrity in all the offices which they had filled; and who were imbued, moreover, with great zeal for the service of those whom they worshipped.

3. Indeed, the extraordinary superstition of the emperor, to speak in brief, led all his subjects, both rulers and private citizens, for the sake of gratifying him, to do everything against us, supposing that they could best show their gratitude to him for the benefits which they had received from him, by plotting murder against us and exhibiting toward us any new signs of malignity.

Chapter 5. The Forged Acts.

1. Having therefore forged Acts of Pilate and our Saviour full of every kind of blasphemy against Christ, they sent them with the emperor's approval to the whole of the empire subject to him, with written commands that they should be openly posted to the view of all in every place, both in country and city, and that the schoolmasters should give them to their scholars, instead of their customary lessons, to be studied and learned by heart.

2. While these things were taking place, another military commander, whom the Romans call Dux, seized some infamous women in the market-place at Damascus in Phœnicia, and by threatening to inflict tortures upon them compelled them to make a written declaration that they had once been Christians and that they were acquainted with their impious deeds — that in their very churches they committed licentious acts; and they uttered as many other slanders against our religion as he wished them to. Having taken down their words in writing, he communicated them to the emperor, who commanded that these documents also should be published in every place and city.

Chapter 6. Those who suffered Martyrdom at this Time.

1. Not long afterward, however, this military commander became his own murderer and paid the penalty for his wickedness. But we were obliged again to endure exile and severe persecutions, and the governors in every province were once more terribly stirred up against us; so that even some of those illustrious in the Divine Word were seized and had sentence of death pronounced upon them without mercy. Three of them in the city of Emesa in Phœnicia, having confessed that they were Christians, were thrown as food to the wild beasts. Among them was a bishop Silvanus, a very old man, who had filled his office full forty years.

2. At about the same time Peter also, who presided most illustriously over the parishes in Alexandria, a divine example of a bishop on account of the excellence of his life and his study of the sacred Scriptures, being seized for no cause and quite unexpectedly, was, as if by command of Maximinus, immediately and without explanation, beheaded. With him also many other bishops of Egypt suffered the same fate.

3. And Lucian, a presbyter of the parish at Antioch, and a most excellent man in every respect, temperate in life and famed for his learning in sacred things, was brought to the city of Nicomedia, where at that time the emperor happened to be staying, and after delivering before the ruler an apology for the doctrine which he professed, was committed to prison and put to death.

4. Such trials were brought upon us in a brief time by Maximinus, the enemy of virtue, so that this persecution which was stirred up against us seemed far more cruel than the former.

Chapter 7. The Decree against us which was engraved on Pillars.

1. The memorials against us and copies of the imperial edicts issued in reply to them were engraved and set up on brazen pillars in the midst of the cities, — a course which had never been followed elsewhere. The children in the schools had daily in their mouths the names of Jesus and Pilate, and the Acts which had been forged in wanton insolence.

2. It appears to me necessary to insert here this document of Maximinus which was posted on pillars, in order that there may be made manifest at the same time the boastful and haughty arrogance of the God-hating man, and the sleepless evil-hating divine vengeance upon the impious, which followed close upon him, and under whose pressure he not long afterward took the opposite course in respect to us and confirmed it by written laws.

The rescript is in the following words:

Copy of a translation of the rescript of Maximinus in answer to the memorials against us, taken from the pillar in Tyre.

3. Now at length the feeble power of the human mind has become able to shake off and to scatter every dark mist of error, which before this besieged the senses of men, who were more miserable than impious, and enveloped them in dark and destructive ignorance; and to perceive that it is governed and established by the beneficent providence of the immortal gods.

4. It passes belief how grateful, how pleasing and how agreeable it is to us, that you have given a most decided proof of your pious resolution; for even before this it was known to every one how much regard and reverence you were paying to the immortal gods, exhibiting not a faith of bare and empty words, but continued and wonderful examples of illustrious deeds.

5. Wherefore your city may justly be called a seat and dwelling of the immortal gods. At least, it appears by many signs that it flourishes because of the presence of the celestial gods.

6. Behold, therefore, your city, regardless of all private advantages, and omitting its former petitions in its own behalf, when it perceived that the adherents of that execrable vanity were again beginning to spread, and to start the greatest conflagration — like a neglected and extinguished funeral pile when its brands are rekindled — immediately resorted to our piety as to a

metropolis of all religiousness, asking some remedy and aid.

7. It is evident that the gods have given you this saving mind on account of your faith and piety.

Accordingly that supreme and mightiest Jove, who presides over your illustrious city, who preserves your ancestral gods, your wives and children, your hearths and homes from every destructive pest, has infused into your souls this wholesome resolve; showing and proving how excellent and glorious and salutary it is to observe with the becoming reverence the worship and sacred rites of the immortal gods.

8. For who can be found so ignorant or so devoid of all understanding as not to perceive that it is due to the kindly care of the gods that the earth does not refuse the seed sown in it, nor disappoint the hope of the husbandmen with vain expectation; that impious war is not inevitably fixed upon earth, and wasted bodies dragged down to death under the influence of a corrupted atmosphere; that the sea is not swollen and raised on high by blasts of intemperate winds; that unexpected hurricanes do not burst forth and stir up the destructive tempest; moreover, that the earth, the nourisher and mother of all, is not shaken from its lowest depths with a terrible tremor, and that the mountains upon it do not sink into the opening chasms. No one is ignorant that all these, and evils still worse than these, have oftentimes happened hitherto.

9. And all these misfortunes have taken place on account of the destructive error of the empty vanity of those impious men, when it prevailed in their souls, and, we may almost say, weighed down the whole world with shame.

10. After other words he adds: Let them look at the standing crops already flourishing with waving heads in the broad fields, and at the meadows glittering with plants and flowers, in response to abundant rains and the restored mildness and softness of the atmosphere.

11. Finally, let all rejoice that the might of the most powerful and terrible Mars has been propitiated by our piety, our sacrifices, and our veneration; and let them on this account enjoy firm and tranquil peace and quiet; and let as many as have wholly abandoned that blind error and delusion and have returned to a right and sound mind rejoice the more, as those who have been rescued from an unexpected storm or severe disease and are to reap the fruits of pleasure for the rest of their life.

12. But if they still persist in their execrable vanity, let them, as you have desired, be driven far away from your city and territory, that thus, in accordance with your praiseworthy zeal in this matter, your city, being freed from every pollution and impiety, may, according to its native disposition, attend to the sacred rites of the immortal gods with becoming reverence.

13. But that you may know how acceptable to us your request respecting this matter has been, and how ready our mind is to confer benefits voluntarily, without memorials and petitions, we permit your devotion to ask whatever great gift ye may desire in return for this your pious disposition.

14. And now ask that this may be done and that you may receive it; for you shall obtain it without delay. This, being granted to your city, shall furnish for all time an evidence of reverent piety toward the immortal gods, and of the fact that you have obtained from our benevolence merited prizes for this choice of yours; and it shall be shown to your children and children's children.

15. This was published against us in all the provinces, depriving us of every hope of good, at least from men; so that, according to that divine utterance, If it were possible, even the elect would have stumbled Matthew 24:24 at these things.

16. And now indeed, when the hope of most of us was almost extinct, suddenly while those who were to execute against us the above decree had in some places scarcely finished their journey, God, the defender of his own Church, exhibited his heavenly interposition in our behalf, nearly stopping the tyrant's boasting against us.

Chapter 8. The Misfortunes which happened in Connection with these Things, in Famine, Pestilence, and War.

1. The customary rains and showers of the winter season ceased to fall in their wonted abundance upon the earth and an unexpected famine made its appearance, and in addition to this a pestilence, and another severe disease consisting of an ulcer, which on account of its fiery appearance was appropriately called a carbuncle. This, spreading over the whole body, greatly endangered the lives of those who suffered from it; but as it chiefly attacked the eyes, it deprived multitudes of men, women, and children of their sight.

2. In addition to this the tyrant was compelled to go to war with the Armenians, who had been from ancient times friends and allies of the Romans. As they were also Christians and zealous in their piety toward the Deity, the enemy of God had attempted to compel them to sacrifice to idols and demons, and had thus made friends foes, and allies enemies.

3. All these things suddenly took place at one and the same time, and refuted the tyrant's empty boast against the Deity. For he had boasted that, because of his zeal for idols and his hostility against us, neither famine nor pestilence nor war had happened in his time. These things, therefore, coming upon him at once and together, furnished a prelude also of his own destruction.

4. He himself with his forces was defeated in the war with the Armenians, and the rest of the inhabitants of the cities under him were terribly afflicted with famine and pestilence, so that one measure of wheat was sold for twenty-five hundred Attic drachms.

5. Those who died in the cities were innumerable, and those who died in the country and villages were still more. So that the tax lists which formerly included a great rural population were almost entirely wiped out; nearly all being speedily destroyed by famine and pestilence.

6. Some, therefore, desired to dispose of their most precious things to those who were better supplied, in return for the smallest morsel of food, and others, selling their possessions little by little, fell into the last extremity of want. Some, chewing wisps of hay and recklessly eating noxious herbs, undermined and ruined their constitutions.

7. And some of the high-born women in the cities, driven by want to shameful extremities, went forth into the market-places to beg, giving evidence of their former liberal culture by the modesty of their appearance and the decency of their apparel.

8. Some, wasted away like ghosts and at the very point of death, stumbled and tottered here and there, and too weak to stand fell down in the middle of the streets; lying stretched out at full length they begged that a small morsel of food might be given them, and with their last gasp they cried out Hunger! Having strength only for this most painful cry.

9. But others, who seemed to be better supplied, astonished at the multitude of the beggars, after giving away large quantities, finally became hard and relentless, expecting that they themselves also would soon suffer the same calamities as those who begged. So that in the midst of the market-places and lanes, dead and naked bodies lay unburied for many days, presenting the most lamentable spectacle to those that beheld them.

10. Some also became food for dogs, on which account the survivors began to kill the dogs, lest they should become mad and should go to devouring men.

11. But still worse was the pestilence which consumed entire houses and families, and especially those whom the famine was not able to destroy because of their abundance of food. Thus men of wealth, rulers and governors and multitudes in office, as if left by the famine on purpose for the pestilence, suffered swift and speedy death. Every place therefore was full of lamentation; in every lane and market-place and street there was nothing else to be seen or heard than tears, with the customary instruments and the voices of the mourners.

12. In this way death, waging war with these two weapons, pestilence and famine, destroyed whole families in a short time, so that one could see two or three dead bodies carried out at once.

13. Such were the rewards of the boasting of Maximinus and of the measures of the cities against us.

Then did the evidences of the universal zeal and piety of the Christians become manifest to all the heathen.

14. For they alone in the midst of such ills showed their sympathy and humanity by their deeds. Every day some continued caring for and burying

the dead, for there were multitudes who had no one to care for them; others collected in one place those who were afflicted by the famine, throughout the entire city, and gave bread to them all; so that the thing became reported abroad among all men, and they glorified the God of the Christians; and, convinced by the facts themselves, confessed that they alone were truly pious and religious.

15. After these things were thus done, God, the great and celestial defender of the Christians, having revealed in the events which have been described his anger and indignation at all men for the great evils which they had brought upon us, restored to us the bright and gracious sunlight of his providence in our behalf; so that in the deepest darkness a light of peace shone most wonderfully upon us from him, and made it manifest to all that God himself has always been the ruler of our affairs. From time to time indeed he chastens his people and corrects them by his visitations, but again after sufficient chastisement he shows mercy and favor to those who hope in him.

Chapter 9. The Victory of the God-Beloved Emperors.

1. Thus when Constantine, whom we have already mentioned as an emperor, born of an emperor, a pious son of a most pious and prudent father, and Licinius, second to him, — two God-beloved emperors, honored alike for their intelligence and their piety — being stirred up against the two most impious tyrants by God, the absolute Ruler and Saviour of all, engaged in formal war against them, with God as their ally, Maxentius was defeated at Rome by Constantine in a remarkable manner, and the tyrant of the East did not long survive him, but met a most shameful death at the hand of Licinius, who had not yet become insane.

2. Constantine, who was the superior both in dignity and imperial rank, first took compassion upon those who were oppressed at Rome, and having invoked in prayer the God of heaven, and his Word, and Jesus Christ himself, the Saviour of all, as his aid, advanced with his whole army, proposing to restore to the Romans their ancestral liberty.

3. But Maxentius, putting confidence rather in the arts of sorcery than in the devotion of his subjects, did not dare to go forth beyond the gates of the city, but fortified every place and district and town which was enslaved by him, in the neighborhood of Rome and in all Italy, with an immense multitude of troops and with innumerable bands of soldiers. But the emperor, relying upon the assistance of God, attacked the first, second, and third army of the tyrant, and conquered them all; and having advanced through the greater part of Italy, was already very near Rome.

4. Then, that he might not be compelled to wage war with the Romans for the sake of the tyrant, God himself drew the latter, as if bound in chains, some distance without the gates, and confirmed those threats against the impious which had been anciently inscribed in sacred books — disbelieved, indeed, by most as a myth, but believed by the faithful, — confirmed them, in a word, by the deed itself to all, both believers and unbelievers, that saw the wonder with their eyes.

5. Thus, as in the time of Moses himself and of the ancient God-beloved race of Hebrews, he cast Pharaoh's chariots and host into the sea, and overwhelmed his chosen charioteers in the Red Sea, and covered them with the flood, in the same way Maxentius also with his soldiers and body-guards

went down into the depths like a stone, Exodus 15:5 when he fled before the power of God which was with Constantine, and passed through the river which lay in his way, over which he had formed a bridge with boats, and thus prepared the means of his own destruction.

6. In regard to him one might say, he dug a pit and opened it and fell into the hole which he had made; his labor shall turn upon his own head, and his unrighteousness shall fall upon his own crown.

7. Thus, then, the bridge over the river being broken, the passageway settled down, and immediately the boats with the men disappeared in the depths, and that most impious one himself first of all, then the shield-bearers who were with him, as the divine oracles foretold, sank like lead in the mighty waters; Exodus 15:10 so that those who obtained the victory from God, if not in words, at least in deeds, like Moses, the great servant of God, and those who were with him, fittingly sang as they had sung against the impious tyrant of old, saying, Let us sing unto the Lord, for he has gloriously glorified himself; horse and rider has he thrown into the sea; a helper and a protector has he become for my salvation; and Who is like you, O Lord; among the gods, who is like you glorious in holiness, marvelous in glory, doing wonders. Exodus 15:11

8. These and the like praises Constantine, by his very deeds, sang to God, the universal Ruler, and Author of his victory, as he entered Rome in triumph.

9. Immediately all the members of the senate and the other most celebrated men, with the whole Roman people, together with children and women, received him as their deliverer, their saviour, and their benefactor, with shining eyes and with their whole souls, with shouts of gladness and unbounded joy.

10. But he, as one possessed of inborn piety toward God, did not exult in the shouts, nor was he elated by the praises; but perceiving that his aid was from God, he immediately commanded that a trophy of the Saviour's passion be put in the hand of his own statue.

11. And when he had placed it, with the saving sign of the cross in its right hand, in the most public place in Rome, he commanded that the following inscription should be engraved upon it in the Roman tongue: By this salutary sign, the true proof of bravery, I have saved and freed your city from the yoke of the tyrant and moreover, having set at liberty both the senate and the people

of Rome, I have restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor.

12. And after this both Constantine himself and with him the Emperor Licinius, who had not yet been seized by that madness into which he later fell, praising God as the author of all their blessings, with one will and mind drew up a full and most complete decree in behalf of the Christians, and sent an account of the wonderful things done for them by God, and of the victory over the tyrant, together with a copy of the decree itself, to Maximinus, who still ruled over the nations of the East and pretended friendship toward them.

13. But he, like a tyrant, was greatly pained by what he learned; but not wishing to seem to yield to others, nor, on the other hand, to suppress that which was commanded, for fear of those who enjoined it, as if on his own authority, he addressed, under compulsion, to the governors under him this first communication in behalf of the Christians, falsely inventing things against himself which had never been done by him.

Copy of a translation of the epistle of the tyrant Maximinus.

14. Jovius Maximinus Augustus to Sabinus. I am confident that it is manifest both to your firmness and to all men that our masters Diocletian and Maximianus, our fathers, when they saw almost all men abandoning the worship of the gods and attaching themselves to the party of the Christians, rightly decreed that all who gave up the worship of those same immortal gods should be recalled by open chastisement and punishment to the worship of the gods.

15. But when I first came to the East under favorable auspices and learned that in some places a great many men who were able to render public service had been banished by the judges for the above-mentioned cause, I gave command to each of the judges that henceforth none of them should treat the provincials with severity, but that they should rather recall them to the worship of the gods by flattery and exhortations.

16. Then when, in accordance with my command, these orders were obeyed by the judges, it came to pass that none of those who lived in the districts of the East were banished or insulted, but that they were rather brought back to the worship of the gods by the fact that no severity was employed toward them.

17. But afterwards, when I went up last year under good auspices to Nicomedia and sojourned there, citizens of the same city came to me with the

images of the gods, earnestly entreating that such a people should by no means be permitted to dwell in their country.

18. But when I learned that many men of the same religion dwelt in those regions, I replied that I gladly thanked them for their request, but that I perceived that it was not proffered by all, and that if, therefore, there were any that persevered in the same superstition, each one had the privilege of doing as he pleased, even if he wished to recognize the worship of the gods.

19. Nevertheless, I considered it necessary to give a friendly answer to the inhabitants of Nicomedia and to the other cities which had so earnestly presented to me the same petition, namely, that no Christians should dwell in their cities — both because this same course had been pursued by all the ancient emperors, and also because it was pleasing to the gods, through whom all men and the government of the state itself endure — and to confirm the request which they presented in behalf of the worship of their deity.

20. Therefore, although before this time, special letters have been sent to your devotedness, and commands have likewise been given that no harsh measures should be taken against those provincials who desire to follow such a course, but that they should be treated mildly and moderately — nevertheless, in order that they may not suffer insults or extortions from the beneficiaries, or from any others, I have thought meet to remind your firmness in this epistle also that you should lead our provincials rather by flatteries and exhortations to recognize the care of the gods.

21. Hence, if any one of his own choice should decide to adopt the worship of the gods, it is fitting that he should be welcomed, but if any should wish to follow their own religion, do thou leave it in their power.

22. Wherefore it behooves your devotedness to observe that which is committed to you, and to see that power is given to no one to oppress our provincials with insults and extortions, since, as already written, it is fitting to recall our provincials to the worship of the gods rather by exhortations and flatteries. But, in order that this command of ours may come to the knowledge of all our provincials, it is incumbent upon you to proclaim that which has been enjoined, in an edict issued by yourself.

23. Since he was forced to do this by necessity and did not give the command by his own will, he was not regarded by any one as sincere or trustworthy, because he had already shown his unstable and deceitful

disposition after his former similar concession.

24. None of our people, therefore, ventured to hold meetings or even to appear in public, because his communication did not cover this, but only commanded to guard against doing us any injury, and did not give orders that we should hold meetings or build churches or perform any of our customary acts.

25. And yet Constantine and Licinius, the advocates of peace and piety, had written him to permit this, and had granted it to all their subjects by edicts and ordinances. But this most impious man did not choose to yield in this matter until, being driven by the divine judgment, he was at last compelled to do it against his will.

Chapter 10. The Overthrow of the Tyrants and the Words which they uttered before their Death.

1. The circumstances which drove him to this course were the following. Being no longer able to sustain the magnitude of the government which had been undeservedly committed to him, in consequence of his want of prudence and imperial understanding, he managed affairs in a base manner, and with his mind unreasonably exalted in all things with boastful pride, even toward his colleagues in the empire who were in every respect his superiors, in birth, in training, in education, in worth and intelligence, and, greatest of all, in temperance and piety toward the true God, he began to venture to act audaciously and to arrogate to himself the first rank.

2. Becoming mad in his folly, he broke the treaties which he had made with Licinius and undertook an implacable war. Then in a brief time he threw all things into confusion, and stirred up every city, and having collected his entire force, comprising an immense number of soldiers, he went forth to battle with him, elated by his hopes in demons, whom he supposed to be gods, and by the number of his soldiers.

3. And when he joined battle he was deprived of the oversight of God, and the victory was given to Licinius, who was then ruling, by the one and only God of all.

4. First, the army in which he trusted was destroyed, and as all his guards abandoned him and left him alone, and fled to the victor, he secretly divested himself as quickly as possible of the imperial garments, which did not fitly belong to him, and in a cowardly and ignoble and unmanly way mingled with the crowd, and then fled, concealing himself in fields and villages. But though he was so careful for his safety, he scarcely escaped the hands of his enemies, revealing by his deeds that the divine oracles are faithful and true, in which it is said, A king is not saved by a great force, and a giant shall not be saved by the greatness of his strength; a horse is a vain thing for safety, nor shall he be delivered by the greatness of his power.

5. Behold, the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy, to deliver their souls from death.

6. Thus the tyrant, covered with shame, went to his own country. And first, in frantic rage, he slew many priests and prophets of the gods whom he had

formerly admired, and whose oracles had incited him to undertake the war, as sorcerers and impostors, and besides all as betrayers of his safety. Then having given glory to the God of the Christians and enacted a most full and complete ordinance in behalf of their liberty, he was immediately seized with a mortal disease, and no respite being granted him, departed this life. The law enacted by him was as follows:

Copy of the edict of the tyrant in behalf of the Christians, translated from the Roman tongue.

7. The Emperor Cæsar Caius Valerius Maximinus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, Pius, Felix, Invictus, Augustus. We believe it manifest that no one is ignorant, but that every man who looks back over the past knows and is conscious that in every way we care continually for the good of our provincials, and wish to furnish them with those things which are of special advantage to all, and for the common benefit and profit, and whatever contributes to the public welfare and is agreeable to the views of each.

8. When, therefore, before this, it became clear to our mind that under pretext of the command of our parents, the most divine Diocletian and Maximianus, which enjoined that the meetings of the Christians should be abolished, many extortions and spoliations had been practiced by officials; and that those evils were continually increasing, to the detriment of our provincials toward whom we are especially anxious to exercise proper care, and that their possessions were in consequence perishing, letters were sent last year to the governors of each province, in which we decreed that, if any one wished to follow such a practice or to observe this same religion, he should be permitted without hindrance to pursue his purpose and should be impeded and prevented by no one, and that all should have liberty to do without any fear or suspicion that which each preferred.

9. But even now we cannot help perceiving that some of the judges have mistaken our commands, and have given our people reason to doubt the meaning of our ordinances, and have caused them to proceed too reluctantly to the observance of those religious rites which are pleasing to them.

10. In order, therefore, that in the future every suspicion of fearful doubt may be taken away, we have commanded that this decree be published, so that it may be clear to all that whoever wishes to embrace this sect and religion is permitted to do so by virtue of this grant of ours; and that each one, as he

wishes or as is pleasing to him, is permitted to practice this religion which he has chosen to observe according to his custom. It is also granted them to build Lord's houses.

11. But that this grant of ours may be the greater, we have thought good to decree also that if any houses and lands before this time rightfully belonged to the Christians, and by the command of our parents fell into the treasury, or were confiscated by any city — whether they have been sold or presented to any one as a gift, — that all these should be restored to their original possessors, the Christians, in order that in this also every one may have knowledge of our piety and care.

12. These are the words of the tyrant which were published not quite a year after the decrees against the Christians engraved by him on pillars. And by him to whom a little before we seemed impious wretches and atheists and destroyers of all life, so that we were not permitted to dwell in any city nor even in country or desert — by him decrees and ordinances were issued in behalf of the Christians, and they who recently had been destroyed by fire and sword, by wild beasts and birds of prey, in the presence of the tyrant himself, and had suffered every species of torture and punishment, and most miserable deaths as atheists and impious wretches, were now acknowledged by him as possessors of religion and were permitted to build churches; and the tyrant himself bore witness and confessed that they had some rights.

13. And having made such confessions, as if he had received some benefit on account of them, he suffered perhaps less than he ought to have suffered, and being smitten by a sudden scourge of God, he perished in the second campaign of the war.

14. But his end was not like that of military chieftains who, while fighting bravely in battle for virtue and friends, often boldly encounter a glorious death; for like an impious enemy of God, while his army was still drawn up in the field, remaining at home and concealing himself, he suffered the punishment which he deserved. For he was smitten with a sudden scourge of God in his whole body, and harassed by terrible pains and torments, he fell prostrate on the ground, wasted by hunger, while all his flesh was dissolved by an invisible and God-sent fire, so that the whole appearance of his frame was changed, and there was left only a kind of image wasted away by length of time to a skeleton of dry bones; so that those who were present could think

of his body as nothing else than the tomb of his soul, which was buried in a body already dead and completely melted away.

15. And as the heat still more violently consumed him in the depths of his marrow, his eyes burst forth, and falling from their sockets left him blind. Thereupon still breathing and making free confession to the Lord, he invoked death, and at last, after acknowledging that he justly suffered these things on account of his violence against Christ, he gave up the ghost.

Chapter 11. The Final Destruction of the Enemies of Religion.

1. Thus when Maximinus, who alone had remained of the enemies of religion and had appeared the worst of them all, was put out of the way, the renovation of the churches from their foundations was begun by the grace of God the Ruler of all, and the word of Christ, shining unto the glory of the God of the universe, obtained greater freedom than before, while the impious enemies of religion were covered with extremest shame and dishonor.

2. For Maximinus himself, being first pronounced by the emperors a common enemy, was declared by public proclamations to be a most impious, execrable, and God-hating tyrant. And of the portraits which had been set up in every city in honor of him or of his children, some were thrown down from their places to the ground, and torn in pieces; while the faces of others were obliterated by daubing them with black paint. And the statues which had been erected to his honor were likewise overthrown and broken, and lay exposed to the laughter and sport of those who wished to insult and abuse them.

3. Then also all the honors of the other enemies of religion were taken away, and all those who sided with Maximinus were slain, especially those who had been honored by him with high offices in reward for their flattery, and had behaved insolently toward our doctrine.

4. Such an one was Peucetius, the dearest of his companions, who had been honored and rewarded by him above all, who had been consul a second and third time, and had been appointed by him chief minister; and Culcianus, who had likewise advanced through every grade of office, and was also celebrated for his numberless executions of Christians in Egypt; and besides these not a few others, by whose agency especially the tyranny of Maximinus had been confirmed and extended.

5. And Theotecnus also was summoned by justice which by no means overlooked his deeds against the Christians. For when the statue had been set up by him at Antioch, he appeared to be in the happiest state, and was already made a governor by Maximinus.

6. But Licinius, coming down to the city of Antioch, made a search for impostors, and tortured the prophets and priests of the newly erected statue, asking them for what reason they practiced their deception. They, under the

stress of torture, were unable longer to conceal the matter, and declared that the whole deceptive mystery had been devised by the art of Theotecnus. Therefore, after meting out to all of them just judgment, he first put Theotecnus himself to death, and then his confederates in the imposture, with the severest possible tortures.

7. To all these were added also the children of Maximinus, whom he had already made sharers in the imperial dignity, by placing their names on tablets and statues. And the relatives of the tyrant, who before had been boastful and had in their pride oppressed all men, suffered the same punishments with those who have been already mentioned, as well as the extremest disgrace. For they had not received instruction, neither did they know and understand the exhortation given in the Holy Word:

8. Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no salvation; his spirit shall go forth and return to his earth; in that day all their thoughts perish.

9. The impious ones having been thus removed, the government was preserved firm and undisputed for Constantine and Licinius, to whom it fittingly belonged. They, having first of all cleansed the world of hostility to the Divine Being, conscious of the benefits which he had conferred upon them, showed their love of virtue and of God, and their piety and gratitude to the Deity, by their ordinance in behalf of the Christians.

Book X

Chapter 1. The Peace granted us by God.

1. Thanks for all things be given unto God the Omnipotent Ruler and King of the universe, and the greatest thanks to Jesus Christ the Saviour and Redeemer of our souls, through whom we pray that peace may be always preserved for us firm and undisturbed by external troubles and by troubles of the mind.

2. Since in accordance with your wishes, my most holy Paulinus, we have added the tenth book of the Church History to those which have preceded, we will inscribe it to you, proclaiming you as the seal of the whole work; and we will fitly add in a perfect number the perfect panegyric upon the restoration of the churches, obeying the Divine Spirit which exhorts us in the following words:

3. Sing unto the Lord a new song, for he has done marvelous things. His right hand and his holy arm has saved him. The Lord has made known his salvation, his righteousness has he revealed in the presence of the nations.

4. And in accordance with the utterance which commands us to sing the new song, let us proceed to show that, after those terrible and gloomy spectacles which we have described, we are now permitted to see and celebrate such things as many truly righteous men and martyrs of God before us desired to see upon earth and did not see, and to hear and did not hear. Matthew 13:17

5. But they, hastening on, obtained far better things, being carried to heaven and the paradise of divine pleasure. But, acknowledging that even these things are greater than we deserve, we have been astonished at the grace manifested by the author of the great gifts, and rightly do we admire him, worshiping him with the whole power of our souls, and testifying to the truth of those recorded utterances, in which it is said, Come and see the works of the Lord, the wonders which he has done upon the earth; he removes wars to the ends of the world, he shall break the bow and snap the spear in sunder, and shall burn the shields with fire.

6. Rejoicing in these things which have been clearly fulfilled in our day, let us proceed with our account.

7. The whole race of God's enemies was destroyed in the manner indicated, and was thus suddenly swept from the sight of men. So that again a divine utterance had its fulfillment: I have seen the impious highly exalted and

raising himself like the cedars of Lebanon and I have passed by, and behold, he was not and I have sought his place, and it could not be found.

8. And finally a bright and splendid day, overshadowed by no cloud, illuminated with beams of heavenly light the churches of Christ throughout the entire world. And not even those without our communion were prevented from sharing in the same blessings, or at least from coming under their influence and enjoying a part of the benefits bestowed upon us by God.

Chapter 2. The Restoration of the Churches.

1. All men, then, were freed from the oppression of the tyrants, and being released from the former ills, one in one way and another in another acknowledged the defender of the pious to be the only true God. And we especially who placed our hopes in the Christ of God had unspeakable gladness, and a certain inspired joy bloomed for all of us, when we saw every place which shortly before had been desolated by the impieties of the tyrants reviving as if from a long and death-fraught pestilence, and temples again rising from their foundations to an immense height, and receiving a splendor far greater than that of the old ones which had been destroyed.

2. But the supreme rulers also confirmed to us still more extensively the munificence of God by repeated ordinances in behalf of the Christians; and personal letters of the emperor were sent to the bishops, with honors and gifts of money. It may not be unfitting to insert these documents, translated from the Roman into the Greek tongue, at the proper place in this book, as in a sacred tablet, that they may remain as a memorial to all who shall come after us.

Chapter 3. The Dedications in Every Place.

1. After this was seen the sight which had been desired and prayed for by us all; feasts of dedication in the cities and consecrations of the newly built houses of prayer took place, bishops assembled, foreigners came together from abroad, mutual love was exhibited between people and people, the members of Christ's body were united in complete harmony.

2. Then was fulfilled the prophetic utterance which mystically foretold what was to take place: Bone to bone and joint to joint, Ezekiel 37:7 and whatever was truly announced in enigmatic expressions in the inspired passage.

3. And there was one energy of the Divine Spirit pervading all the members, and one soul in all, and the same eagerness of faith, and one hymn from all in praise of the Deity. Yea, and perfect services were conducted by the prelates, the sacred rites being solemnized, and the majestic institutions of the Church observed, here with the singing of psalms and with the reading of the words committed to us by God, and there with the performance of divine and mystic services; and the mysterious symbols of the Saviour's passion were dispensed.

4. At the same time people of every age, both male and female, with all the power of the mind gave honor unto God, the author of their benefits, in prayers and thanksgiving, with a joyful mind and soul. And every one of the bishops present, each to the best of his ability, delivered panegyric orations, adding luster to the assembly.

Chapter 4. Panegyric on the Splendor of Affairs.

1. A certain one of those of moderate talent, who had composed a discourse, stepped forward in the presence of many pastors who were assembled as if for a church gathering, and while they attended quietly and decently, he addressed himself as follows to one who was in all things a most excellent bishop and beloved of God, through whose zeal the temple in Tyre, which was the most splendid in Phœnicia, had been erected.

Panegyric upon the building of the churches, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre.

2. Friends and priests of God who are clothed in the sacred gown and adorned with the heavenly crown of glory, the inspired unction and the sacerdotal garment of the Holy Spirit; and thou, oh pride of God's new holy temple, endowed by him with the wisdom of age, and yet exhibiting costly works and deeds of youthful and flourishing virtue, to whom God himself, who embraces the entire world, has granted the distinguished honor of building and renewing this earthly house to Christ, his only begotten and first-born Word, and to his holy and divine bride; —

3. one might call you a new Beseleel, the architect of a divine tabernacle, or Solomon, king of a new and much better Jerusalem, or also a new Zerubabel, who added a much greater glory than the former to the temple of God; —

4. and you also, oh nurslings of the sacred flock of Christ, habitation of good words, school of wisdom, and august and pious auditory of religion:

5. It was long ago permitted us to raise hymns and songs to God, when we learned from hearing the Divine Scriptures read the marvelous signs of God and the benefits conferred upon men by the Lord's wondrous deeds, being taught to say 'Oh God! We have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us the work which you did in their days, in days of old.'

6. But now as we no longer perceive the lofty arm and the celestial right hand of our all-gracious God and universal King by hearsay merely or report, but observe so to speak in very deed and with our own eyes that the declarations recorded long ago are faithful and true, it is permitted us to raise a second hymn of triumph and to sing with loud voice, and say, 'As we have heard, so have we seen; in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our

God.'

7. And in what city but in this newly built and God-constructed one, which is a 'church of the living God, a pillar and foundation of the truth,' 1 Timothy 3:15 concerning which also another divine oracle thus proclaims, 'Glorious things have been spoken of you, oh city of God.' Since the all-gracious God has brought us together to it, through the grace of his Only-Begotten, let every one of those who have been summoned sing with loud voice and say, 'I was glad when they said to me, we shall go unto the house of the Lord,' and 'Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house and the place where your glory dwells.'

8. And let us not only one by one, but all together, with one spirit and one soul, honor him and cry aloud, saying, 'Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in his holy mountain.' For he is truly great, and great is his house, lofty and spacious and 'comely in beauty above the sons of men.' 'Great is the Lord who alone does wonderful things'; 'great is he who does great things and things past finding out, glorious and marvelous things which cannot be numbered'; Job 9:10 great is he 'who changes times and seasons, who exalts and debases kings'; Daniel 2:21 'who raises up the poor from the earth and lifts up the needy from the dunghill.' 'He has put down princes from their thrones and has exalted them of low degree from the earth. The hungry he has filled with good things and the arms of the proud he has broken.' Luke 1:52-53

9. Not only to the faithful, but also to unbelievers, has he confirmed the record of ancient events; he that works miracles, he that does great things, the Master of all, the Creator of the whole world, the omnipotent, the all-merciful, the one and only God. To him let us sing the new song, supplying in thought, 'To him who alone does great wonders: for his mercy endures forever'; 'To him which smote great kings, and slew famous kings: for his mercy endures forever'; 'For the Lord remembered us in our low estate and delivered us from our adversaries.'

10. And let us never cease to cry aloud in these words to the Father of the universe. And let us always honor him with our mouth who is the second cause of our benefits, the instructor in divine knowledge, the teacher of the true religion, the destroyer of the impious, the slayer of tyrants, the reformer of life, Jesus, the Saviour of us who were in despair.

11. For he alone, as the only all-gracious Son of an all-gracious Father, in

accordance with the purpose of his Father's benevolence, has willingly put on the nature of us who lay prostrate in corruption, and like some excellent physician, who for the sake of saving them that are ill, examines their sufferings, handles their foul sores, and reaps pain for himself from the miseries of another, so us who were not only diseased and afflicted with terrible ulcers and wounds already mortified, but were even lying among the dead, he has saved for himself from the very jaws of death. For none other of those in heaven had such power as without harm to minister to the salvation of so many.

12. But he alone having reached our deep corruption, he alone having taken upon himself our labors, he alone having suffered the punishments due for our impieties, having recovered us who were not half dead merely, but were already in tombs and sepulchers, and altogether foul and offensive, saves us, both anciently and now, by his beneficent zeal, beyond the expectation of any one, even of ourselves, and imparts liberally of the Father's benefits — he who is the giver of life and light, our great Physician and King and Lord, the Christ of God.

13. For then when the whole human race lay buried in gloomy night and in depths of darkness through the deceitful arts of guilty demons and the power of God-hating spirits, by his simple appearing he loosed once for all the fast-bound cords of our impieties by the rays of his light, even as wax is melted.

14. But when malignant envy and the evil-loving demon nearly burst with anger at such grace and kindness, and turned against us all his death-dealing forces, and when, at first, like a dog gone mad which gnashes his teeth at the stones thrown at him, and pours out his rage against his assailants upon the inanimate missiles, he leveled his ferocious madness at the stones of the sanctuaries and at the lifeless material of the houses, and desolated the churches, — at least as he supposed — and then emitted terrible hissings and snake-like sounds, now by the threats of impious tyrants, and again by the blasphemous edicts of profane rulers, vomiting forth death, moreover, and infecting with his deleterious and soul-destroying poisons the souls captured by him, and almost slaying them by his death-fraught sacrifices of dead idols, and causing every beast in the form of man and every kind of savage to assault us — then, indeed, the 'Angel of the great Council,' the great Captain of God after the mightiest soldiers of his kingdom had displayed sufficient

exercise through patience and endurance in everything, suddenly appeared anew, and blotted out and annihilated his enemies and foes, so that they seemed never to have had even a name.

15. But his friends and relatives he raised to the highest glory, in the presence not only of all men, but also of celestial powers, of sun and moon and stars, and of the whole heaven and earth, so that now, as has never happened before, the supreme rulers, conscious of the honor which they have received from him, spit upon the faces of dead idols, trample upon the unhallowed rites of demons, make sport of the ancient delusion handed down from their fathers, and acknowledge only one God, the common benefactor of all, themselves included.

16. And they confess Christ, the Son of God, universal King of all, and proclaim him Saviour on monuments, imperishably recording in imperial letters, in the midst of the city which rules over the earth, his righteous deeds and his victories over the impious. Thus Jesus Christ our Saviour is the only one from all eternity who has been acknowledged, even by those highest in the earth, not as a common king among men, but as a trite son of the universal God, and who has been worshipped as very God, and that rightly.

17. For what king that ever lived attained such virtue as to fill the ears and tongues of all men upon earth with his own name? What king, after ordaining such pious and wise laws, has extended them from one end of the earth to the other, so that they are perpetually read in the hearing of all men?

18. Who has abrogated barbarous and savage customs of uncivilized nations by his gentle and most philanthropic laws? Who, being attacked for entire ages by all, has shown such superhuman virtue as to flourish daily, and remain young throughout his life?

19. Who has founded a nation which of old was not even heard of, but which now is not concealed in some corner of the earth, but is spread abroad everywhere under the sun? Who has so fortified his soldiers with the arms of piety that their souls, being firmer than adamant, shine brilliantly in the contests with their opponents?

20. What king prevails to such an extent, and even after death leads on his soldiers, and sets up trophies over his enemies, and fills every place, country and city, Greek and barbarian, with his royal dwellings, even divine temples with their consecrated oblations, like this very temple with its superb

adornments and votive offerings, which are themselves so truly great and majestic, worthy of wonder and admiration, and clear signs of the sovereignty of our Saviour? For now, too, 'he spoke, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created.' For what was there to resist the nod of the universal King and Governor and Word of God himself?

21. A special discourse would be needed accurately to survey and explain all this; and also to describe how great the zeal of the laborers is regarded by him who is celebrated as divine, who looks upon the living temple which we all constitute, and surveys the house, composed of living and moving stones, which is well and surely built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, the chief cornerstone being Jesus Christ himself, who has been rejected not only by the builders of that ancient building which no longer stands, but also by the builders — evil architects of evil works — of the structure, which is composed of the mass of men and still endures. But the Father has approved him both then and now, and has made him the head of the corner of this our common church.

22. Who that beholds this living temple of the living God formed of ourselves — this greatest and truly divine sanctuary, I say, whose inmost shrines are invisible to the multitude and are truly holy and a holy of holies — would venture to declare it? Who is able even to look within the sacred enclosure, except the great High Priest of all, to whom alone it is permitted to fathom the mysteries of every rational soul?

23. But perhaps it is granted to another, to one only, to be second after him in the same work, namely, to the commander of this army whom the first and great High Priest himself has honored with the second place in this sanctuary, the shepherd of your divine flock who has obtained your people by the allotment and the judgment of the Father, as if he had appointed him his own servant and interpreter, a new Aaron or Melchizedek, made like the Son of God, remaining and continually preserved by him in accordance with the united prayers of all of you.

24. To him therefore alone let it be granted, if not in the first place, at least in the second after the first and greatest High Priest, to observe and supervise the inmost state of your souls — to him who by experience and length of time has accurately proved each one, and who by his zeal and care has disposed you all in pious conduct and doctrine, and is better able than any one else to

give an account, adequate to the facts, of those things which he himself has accomplished with the Divine assistance.

25. As to our first and great High Priest, it is said, 'Whatsoever he sees the Father doing those things likewise the Son also does.' John 5:19 So also this one, looking up to him as to the first teacher, with pure eyes of the mind, using as archetypes whatsoever things he sees him doing, produces images of them, making them so far as is possible in the same likeness, in nothing inferior to that Beseleel, whom God himself 'filled with the spirit of wisdom and understanding' Exodus 35:31 and with other technical and scientific knowledge, and called to be the maker of the temple constructed after heavenly types given in symbols.

26. Thus this one also bearing in his own soul the image of the whole Christ, the Word, the Wisdom, the Light, has formed this magnificent temple of the highest God, corresponding to the pattern of the greater as a visible to an invisible, it is impossible to say with what greatness of soul, with what wealth and liberality of mind, and with what emulation on the part of all of you, shown in the magnanimity of the contributors who have ambitiously striven in no way to be left behind by him in the execution of the same purpose. And this place — for this deserves to be mentioned first of all — which had been covered with all sorts of rubbish by the artifices of our enemies he did not overlook, nor did he yield to the wickedness of those who had brought about that condition of things, although he might have chosen some other place, for many other sites were available in the city, where he would have had less labor, and been free from trouble.

27. But having first aroused himself to the work, and then strengthened the whole people with zeal, and formed them all into one great body, he fought the first contest. For he thought that this church, which had been especially besieged by the enemy, which had first suffered and endured the same persecutions with us and for us, like a mother bereft of her children, should rejoice with us in the signal favor of the all-merciful God.

28. For when the Great Shepherd had driven away the wild animals and wolves and every cruel and savage beast, and, as the divine oracles say, 'had broken the jaws of the lions,' he thought good to collect again her children in the same place, and in the most righteous manner he set up the fold of her flock, 'to put to shame the enemy and avenger,' and to refute the impious

daring of the enemies of God.

29. And now they are not — the haters of God — for they never were. After they had troubled and been troubled for a little time, they suffered the fitting punishment, and brought themselves and their friends and their relatives to total destruction, so that the declarations inscribed of old in sacred records have been proved true by facts. In these declarations the divine word truly says among other things the following concerning them:

30. ‘The wicked have drawn out the sword, they have bent their bow, to slay the righteous in heart; let their sword enter into their own heart and their bows be broken.’ And again: ‘Their memorial is perished with a sound’ and ‘their name have you blotted out forever and ever’; for when they also were in trouble they ‘cried out and there was none to save: unto the Lord, and he heard them not.’ But ‘their feet were bound together, and they fell, but we have arisen and stand upright.’ And that which was announced beforehand in these words— ‘O Lord, in your city you shall set at naught their image,’ — has been shown to be true to the eyes of all.

31. But having waged war like the giants against God, they died in this way. But she that was desolate and rejected by men received the consummation which we behold in consequence of her patience toward God, so that the prophecy of Isaiah was spoken of her:

32. ‘Rejoice, thirsty desert, let the desert rejoice and blossom as the lily, and the desert places shall blossom and be glad.’ Isaiah 35:1 ‘Be strengthened, you weak hands and feeble knees. Be of good courage, you feeble-hearted, in your minds; be strong, fear not. Behold our God recompenses judgment and will recompense, he will come and save us.’ ‘For,’ he says, ‘in the wilderness water has broken out, and a pool in thirsty ground, and the dry land shall be watered meadows, and in the thirsty ground there shall be springs of water.’

33. These things which were prophesied long ago have been recorded in sacred books; but no longer are they transmitted to us by hearsay merely, but in facts. This desert, this dry land, this widowed and deserted one, ‘whose gates they cut down with axes like wood in a forest, whom they broke down with hatchet and hammer,’ whose books also they destroyed, ‘burning with fire the sanctuary of God, and profaning unto the ground the habitation of his name,’ ‘whom all that passed by upon the way plucked, and whose fences they broke down, whom the boar out of the wood ravaged, and on which the

savage wild beast fed,' now by the wonderful power of Christ, when he wills it, has become like a lily. For at that time also she was chastened at his nod as by a careful father; 'for whom the Lord loves he chastens, and scourges every son whom he receives.'

34. Then after being chastened in a measure, according to the necessities of the case, she is commanded to rejoice anew; and she blossoms as a lily and exhales her divine odor among all men. 'For,' it is said, 'water has broken out in the wilderness,' Isaiah 35:6 the fountain of the saving bath of divine regeneration. And now she, who a little before was a desert, 'has become watered meadows, and springs of water have gushed forth in a thirsty land.' Isaiah 35:7 The hands which before were 'weak' have become 'truly strong'; and these works are great and convincing proofs of strong hands. The knees, also, which before were 'feeble and infirm,' recovering their wonted strength, are moving straight forward in the path of divine knowledge, and hastening to the kindred flock of the all-gracious Shepherd.

35. And if there are any whose souls have been stupefied by the threats of the tyrants, not even they are passed by as incurable by the saving Word; but he heals them also and urges them on to receive divine comfort, saying, 'Be comforted, you who are faint-hearted; be ye strengthened, fear not.' Isaiah 35:4

36. This our new and excellent Zerubabel, having heard the word which announced beforehand, that she who had been made a desert on account of God should enjoy these things, after the bitter captivity and the abomination of desolation, did not overlook the dead body; but first of all with prayers and supplications propitiated the Father with the common consent of all of you, and invoking the only one that gives life to the dead as his ally and fellow-worker, raised her that was fallen, after purifying and freeing her from her ills. And he clothed her not with the ancient garment, but with such an one as he had again learned from the sacred oracles, which say clearly, 'And the latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former.' Haggai 2:9

37. Thus, enclosing a much larger space, he fortified the outer court with a wall surrounding the whole, which should serve as a most secure bulwark for the entire edifice.

38. And he raised and spread out a great and lofty vestibule toward the rays of the rising sun, and furnished those standing far without the sacred

enclosure a full view of those within, almost turning the eyes of those who were strangers to the faith, to the entrances, so that no one could pass by without being impressed by the memory of the former desolation and of the present incredible transformation. His hope was that such an one being impressed by this might be attracted and be induced to enter by the very sight.

39. But when one comes within the gates he does not permit him to enter the sanctuary immediately, with impure and unwashed feet; but leaving as large a space as possible between the temple and the outer entrance, he has surrounded and adorned it with four transverse cloisters, making a quadrangular space with pillars rising on every side, which he has joined with lattice-work screens of wood, rising to a suitable height; and he has left an open space in the middle, so that the sky can be seen, and the free air bright in the rays of the sun.

40. Here he has placed symbols of sacred purifications, setting up fountains opposite the temple which furnish an abundance of water wherewith those who come within the sanctuary may purify themselves. This is the first halting-place of those who enter; and it furnishes at the same time a beautiful and splendid scene to every one, and to those who still need elementary instruction a fitting station.

41. But passing by this spectacle, he has made open entrances to the temple with many other vestibules within, placing three doors on one side, likewise facing the rays of the sun. The one in the middle, adorned with plates of bronze, iron bound, and beautifully embossed, he has made much higher and broader than the others, as if he were making them guards for it as for a queen.

42. In the same way, arranging the number of vestibules for the corridors on each side of the whole temple, he has made above them various openings into the building, for the purpose of admitting more light, adorning them with very fine wood-carving. But the royal house he has furnished with more beautiful and splendid materials, using unstinted liberality in his disbursements.

43. It seems to me superfluous to describe here in detail the length and breadth of the building, its splendor and its majesty surpassing description, and the brilliant appearance of the work, its lofty pinnacles reaching to the heavens, and the costly cedars of Lebanon above them, which the divine

oracle has not omitted to mention, saying, 'The trees of the Lord shall rejoice and the cedars of Lebanon which he has planted.'

44. Why need I now describe the skillful architectural arrangement and the surpassing beauty of each part, when the testimony of the eye renders instruction through the ear superfluous? For when he had thus completed the temple, he provided it with lofty thrones in honor of those who preside, and in addition with seats arranged in proper order throughout the whole building, and finally placed in the middle the holy of holies, the altar, and, that it might be inaccessible to the multitude, enclosed it with wooden lattice-work, accurately wrought with artistic carving, presenting a wonderful sight to the beholders.

45. And not even the pavement was neglected by him; for this too he adorned with beautiful marble of every variety. Then finally he passed on to the parts without the temple, providing spacious exedrae and buildings on each side, which were joined to the basilica, and communicated with the entrances to the interior of the structure. These were erected by our most peaceful Solomon, the maker of the temple of God, for those who still needed purification and sprinkling by water and the Holy Spirit, so that the prophecy quoted above is no longer a word merely, but a fact; for now it has also come to pass that in truth 'the latter glory of this house is greater than the former.' Haggai 2:9

46. For it was necessary and fitting that as her shepherd and Lord had once tasted death for her, and after his suffering had changed that vile body which he assumed in her behalf into a splendid and glorious body, leading the very flesh which had been delivered from corruption to incorruption, she too should enjoy the dispensations of the Saviour. For having received from him the promise of much greater things than these, she desires to share uninterruptedly throughout eternity with the choir of the angels of light, in the far greater glory of regeneration, Matthew 19:28 in the resurrection of an incorruptible body, in the palace of God beyond the heavens, with Christ Jesus himself, the universal Benefactor and Saviour.

47. But for the present, she that was formerly widowed and desolate is clothed by the grace of God with these flowers, and has become truly like a lily, as the prophecy says, and having received the bridal garment and the crown of beauty, she is taught by Isaiah to dance, and to present her thank-

offerings unto God the King in reverent words.

48. Let us hear her saying, 'My soul shall rejoice in the Lord; for he has clothed me with a garment of salvation and with a robe of gladness; he has bedecked me like a bridegroom with a garland, and he has adorned me like a bride with jewels; and like the earth which brings forth her bud, and like a garden which causes the things that are sown in it to spring forth, thus the Lord God has caused righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations.' Isaiah 61:10-11

49. In these words she exults. And in similar words the heavenly bridegroom, the Word Jesus Christ himself, answers her. Hear the Lord saying, 'Fear not because you have been put to shame, neither be confounded because you have been rebuked; for you shall forget the former shame, and the reproach of your widowhood shall you remember no more.' 'Not as a woman deserted and faint-hearted has the Lord called you, nor as a woman hated from her youth, says your God. For a small moment have I forsaken you, but with great mercy will I have mercy upon you; in a little wrath I hid my face from you, but with everlasting mercy will I have mercy upon you, says the Lord that has redeemed you.' Isaiah 54:6-8

50. 'Awake, awake, you who have drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his fury; for you have drunk the cup of ruin, the vessel of my wrath, and have drained it. And there was none to console you of all your sons whom you brought forth, and there was none to take you by the hand.' 'Behold, I have taken out of your hand the cup of ruin, the vessel of my fury, and you shall no longer drink it. And I will put it into the hands of them that have treated you unjustly and have humbled you.'

51. 'Awake, awake, put on your strength, put on your glory. Shake off the dust and arise. Sit down, loose the bands of your neck.' 'Lift up your eyes round about and behold your children gathered together; behold they are gathered together and have come to you. As I live, says the Lord, you shall clothe yourself with them all as with an ornament, and gird yourself with them as with the ornaments of a bride. For your waste and corrupted and ruined places shall now be too narrow by reason of those that inhabit you, and they that swallow you up shall be far from you.'

52. For your sons whom you have lost shall say in your ears, The place is too narrow for me, give me a place that I may dwell. Then shall you say in

your heart, Who has begotten me these? I am childless and a widow, and who has brought up these for me? I was left alone, and these, where were they for me?’

53. These are the things which Isaiah foretold; and which were anciently recorded concerning us in sacred books and it was necessary that we should sometime learn their truthfulness by their fulfillment.

54. For when the bridegroom, the Word, addressed such language to his own bride, the sacred and holy Church, this bridesman, — when she was desolate and lying like a corpse, bereft of hope in the eyes of men — in accordance with the united prayers of all of you, as was proper, stretched out your hands and aroused and raised her up at the command of God, the universal King, and at the manifestation of the power of Jesus Christ; and having raised her he established her as he had learned from the description given in the sacred oracles.

55. This is indeed a very great wonder, passing all admiration, especially to those who attend only to the outward appearance; but more wonderful than wonders are the archetypes and their mental prototypes and divine models; I mean the reproductions of the inspired and rational building in our souls.

56. This the Divine Son himself created after his own image, imparting to it everywhere and in all respects the likeness of God, an incorruptible nature, incorporeal, rational, free from all earthly matter, a being endowed with its own intelligence; and when he had once called her forth from non-existence into existence, he made her a holy spouse, an all-sacred temple for himself and for the Father. This also he clearly declares and confesses in the following words: ‘I will dwell in them and will walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.’ 2 Corinthians 6:16 Such is the perfect and purified soul, so made from the beginning as to bear the image of the celestial Word.

57. But when by the envy and zeal of the malignant demon she became, of her own voluntary choice, sensual and a lover of evil, the Deity left her; and as if bereft of a protector, she became an easy prey and readily accessible to those who had long envied her; and being assailed by the batteries and machines of her invisible enemies and spiritual foes, she suffered a terrible fall, so that not one stone of virtue remained upon another in her, but she lay completely dead upon the ground, entirely divested of her natural ideas of

God.

58. But as she, who had been made in the image of God, thus lay prostrate, it was not that wild boar from the forest which we see that despoiled her, but a certain destroying demon and spiritual wild beasts who deceived her with their passions as with the fiery darts of their own wickedness, and burned the truly divine sanctuary of God with fire, and profaned to the ground the tabernacle of his name. Then burying the miserable one with heaps of earth, they destroyed every hope of deliverance.

59. But that divinely bright and saving Word, her protector, after she had suffered the merited punishment for her sins, again restored her, securing the favor of the all-merciful Father.

60. Having won over first the souls of the highest rulers, he purified, through the agency of those most divinely favored princes, the whole earth from all the impious destroyers, and from the terrible and God-hating tyrants themselves. Then bringing out into the light those who were his friends, who had long before been consecrated to him for life, but in the midst, as it were, of a storm of evils, had been concealed under his shelter, he honored them worthily with the great gifts of the Spirit. And again, by means of them, he cleared out and cleaned with spades and mattocks — the admonitory words of doctrine — the souls which a little while before had been covered with filth and burdened with every kind of matter and rubbish of impious ordinances.

61. And when he had made the ground of all your minds clean and clear, he finally committed it to this all-wise and God-beloved Ruler, who, being endowed with judgment and prudence, as well as with other gifts, and being able to examine and discriminate accurately the minds of those committed to his charge, from the first day, so to speak, down to the present, has not ceased to build.

62. Now he has supplied the brilliant gold, again the refined and unalloyed silver, and the precious and costly stones in all of you, so that again is fulfilled for you in facts a sacred and mystic prophecy, which says, ‘Behold I make your stone a carbuncle, and your foundations of sapphire, and your battlements of jasper, and your gates of crystals, and your wall of chosen stones; and all your sons shall be taught of God, and your children shall enjoy complete peace; and in righteousness shall you be built.’

63. Building therefore in righteousness, he divided the whole people

according to their strength. With some he fortified only the outer enclosure, walling it up with unfeigned faith; such were the great mass of the people who were incapable of bearing a greater structure. Others he permitted to enter the building, commanding them to stand at the door and act as guides for those who should come in; these may be not unfitly compared to the vestibules of the temple. Others he supported by the first pillars which are placed without about the quadrangular hall, initiating them into the first elements of the letter of the four Gospels. Still others he joined together about the basilica on both sides; these are the catechumens who are still advancing and progressing, and are not far separated from the inmost view of divine things granted to the faithful.

64. Taking from among these the pure souls that have been cleansed like gold by divine washing, he then supports them by pillars, much better than those without, made from the inner and mystic teachings of the Scripture, and illumines them by windows.

65. Adorning the whole temple with a great vestibule of the glory of the one universal King and only God, and placing on either side of the authority of the Father Christ, and the Holy Spirit as second lights, he exhibits abundantly and gloriously throughout the entire building the clearness and splendor of the truth of the rest in all its details. And having selected from every quarter the living and moving and well-prepared stones of the souls, he constructs out of them all the great and royal house, splendid and full of light both within and without; for not only soul and understanding, but their body also is made glorious by the blooming ornament of purity and modesty.

66. And in this temple there are also thrones, and a great number of seats and benches, in all those souls in which sit the Holy Spirit's gifts, such as were anciently seen by the sacred apostles, and those who were with them, when there 'appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire, and sat upon each one of them.' Acts 2:3

67. But in the leader of all it is reasonable to suppose that Christ himself dwells in his fullness, and in those that occupy the second rank after him, in proportion as each is able to contain the power of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. And the souls of some of those, namely, who are committed to each of them for instruction and care — may be seats for angels.

68. But the great and august and unique altar, what else could this be than

the pure holy of holies of the soul of the common priest of all? Standing at the right of it, Jesus himself, the great High Priest of the universe, the Only Begotten of God, receives with bright eye and extended hand the sweet incense from all, and the bloodless and immaterial sacrifices offered in their prayers, and bears them to the heavenly Father and God of the universe. And he himself first worships him, and alone gives to the Father the reverence which is his due, beseeching him also to continue always kind and propitious to us all.

69. Such is the great temple which the great Creator of the universe, the Word, has built throughout the entire world, making it an intellectual image upon earth of those things which lie above the vault of heaven, so that throughout the whole creation, including rational beings on earth, his Father might be honored and adored.

70. But the region above the heavens, with the models of earthly things which are there, and the so-called Jerusalem above, and the heavenly Mount of Zion, and the supramundane city of the living God, in which innumerable choirs of angels and the Church of the first born, whose names are written in heaven, Hebrews 12:22-23 praise their Maker and the Supreme Ruler of the universe with hymns of praise unutterable and incomprehensible to us — who that is mortal is able worthily to celebrate this? ‘For eye has not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of men those things which God has prepared for them that love him.’ 1 Corinthians 2:9

71. Since we, men, children, and women, small and great, are already in part partakers of these things, let us not cease all together, with one spirit and one soul, to confess and praise the author of such great benefits to us, ‘Who forgives all our iniquities, who heals all our diseases, who redeems our life from destruction, who crowns us with mercy and compassion, who satisfies our desires with good things.’ ‘For he has not dealt with us according to our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities;’ ‘for as far as the east is from the west, so far has he removed our iniquities from us. Like as a father pities his own children, so the Lord pities them that fear him.’

72. Rekindling these thoughts in our memories, both now and during all time to come, and contemplating in our mind night and day, in every hour and with every breath, so to speak, the Author and Ruler of the present festival, and of this bright and most splendid day, let us love and adore him with every

power of the soul. And now rising, let us beseech him with loud voice to shelter and preserve us to the end in his fold, granting his unbroken and unshaken peace forever, in Christ Jesus our Saviour; through whom be the glory unto him forever and ever. Amen.

Chapter 5. Copies of Imperial Laws.

1. Let us finally subjoin the translations from the Roman tongue of the imperial decrees of Constantine and Licinius.

Copy of imperial decrees translated from the Roman tongue.

2. Perceiving long ago that religious liberty ought not to be denied, but that it ought to be granted to the judgment and desire of each individual to perform his religious duties according to his own choice, we had given orders that every man, Christians as well as others, should preserve the faith of his own sect and religion.

3. But since in that rescript, in which such liberty was granted them, many and various conditions seemed clearly added, some of them, it may be, after a little retired from such observance.

4. When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the common good and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects for the benefit of every one; namely, such as should preserve reverence and piety toward the deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that whatever heavenly divinity exists may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government.

5. We have, therefore, determined, with sound and upright purpose, that liberty is to be denied to no one, to choose and to follow the religious observances of the Christians, but that to each one freedom is to be given to devote his mind to that religion which he may think adapted to himself, in order that the Deity may exhibit to us in all things his accustomed care and favor.

6. It was fitting that we should write that this is our pleasure, that those conditions being entirely left out which were contained in our former letter concerning the Christians which was sent to your devotedness, everything that seemed very severe and foreign to our mildness may be annulled, and that now every one who has the same desire to observe the religion of the Christians may do so without molestation.

7. We have resolved to communicate this most fully to your care, in order that you may know that we have granted to these same Christians freedom and full liberty to observe their own religion.

8. Since this has been granted freely by us to them, your devotedness perceives that liberty is granted to others also who may wish to follow their own religious observances; it being clearly in accordance with the tranquillity of our times, that each one should have the liberty of choosing and worshipping whatever deity he pleases. This has been done by us in order that we might not seem in any way to discriminate against any rank or religion.

9. And we decree still further in regard to the Christians, that their places, in which they were formerly accustomed to assemble, and concerning which in the former letter sent to your devotedness a different command was given, if it appear that any have bought them either from our treasury or from any other person, shall be restored to the said Christians, without demanding money or any other equivalent, with no delay or hesitation.

10. If any happen to have received the said places as a gift, they shall restore them as quickly as possible to these same Christians: with the understanding that if those who have bought these places, or those who have received them as a gift, demand anything from our bounty, they may go to the judge of the district, that provision may be made for them by our clemency. All these things are to be granted to the society of Christians by your care immediately and without any delay.

11. And since the said Christians are known to have possessed not only those places in which they were accustomed to assemble, but also other places, belonging not to individuals among them, but to the society as a whole, that is, to the society of Christians, you will command that all these, in virtue of the law which we have above stated, be restored, without any hesitation, to these same Christians; that is, to their society and congregation: the above-mentioned provision being of course observed, that those who restore them without price, as we have before said, may expect indemnification from our bounty.

12. In all these things, for the benefit of the aforesaid society of Christians, you are to use the utmost diligence, to the end that our command may be speedily fulfilled, and that in this also, by our clemency, provision may be made for the common and public tranquillity.

13. For by this means, as we have said before, the divine favor toward us which we have already experienced in many matters will continue sure through all time.

14. And that the terms of this our gracious ordinance may be known to all, it is expected that this which we have written will be published everywhere by you and brought to the knowledge of all, in order that this gracious ordinance of ours may remain unknown to no one.

**Copy of another imperial decree which they issued,
indicating that the grant was made to the Catholic
Church alone.**

15. Greeting to you, our most esteemed Anulinus. It is the custom of our benevolence, most esteemed Anulinus, to will that those things which belong of right to another should not only be left unmolested, but should also be restored.

16. Wherefore it is our will that when you receive this letter, if any such things belonged to the Catholic Church of the Christians, in any city or other place, but are now held by citizens or by any others, you shall cause them to be restored immediately to the said churches. For we have already determined that those things which these same churches formerly possessed shall be restored to them.

17. Since therefore your devotedness perceives that this command of ours is most explicit, do thou make haste to restore to them, as quickly as possible, everything which formerly belonged to the said churches, — whether gardens or buildings or whatever they may be — that we may learn that you have obeyed this decree of ours most carefully. Farewell, our most esteemed and beloved Anulinus.

Copy of an epistle in which the Emperor commands that a synod of bishops be held at Rome in behalf of the unity and concord of the churches.

18. Constantine Augustus to Miltiades, bishop of Rome, and to Marcus. Since many such communications have been sent to me by Anulinus, the most illustrious proconsul of Africa, in which it is said that Cæcilianus, bishop of the city of Carthage, has been accused by some of his colleagues in Africa, in many matters; and since it seems to me a very serious thing that in those provinces which Divine Providence has freely entrusted to my devotedness, and in which there is a great population, the multitude are found following the baser course, and dividing, as it were, into two parties, and the bishops are at variance —

19. it has seemed good to me that Cæcilianus himself, with ten of the bishops that appear to accuse him, and with ten others whom he may consider necessary for his defense, should sail to Rome, that there, in the presence of yourselves and of Retecius and Maternus and Marinus, your colleagues, whom I have commanded to hasten to Rome for this purpose, he may be heard, as you may understand to be in accordance with the most holy law.

20. But in order that you may be enabled to have most perfect knowledge of all these things, I have subjoined to my letter copies of the documents sent to me by Anulinus, and have sent them to your above-mentioned colleagues. When your firmness has read these, you will consider in what way the above-mentioned case may be most accurately investigated and justly decided. For it does not escape your diligence that I have such reverence for the legitimate Catholic Church that I do not wish you to leave schism or division in any place. May the divinity of the great God preserve you, most honored sirs, for many years.

Copy of an epistle in which the emperor commands another synod to be held for the purpose of removing all dissensions among the bishops.

21. Constantine Augustus to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse. When some began wickedly and perversely to disagree among themselves in regard to the holy worship and celestial power and Catholic doctrine, wishing to put an end to such disputes among them, I formerly gave command that certain bishops should be sent from Gaul, and that the opposing parties who were contending

persistently and incessantly with each other, should be summoned from Africa; that in their presence, and in the presence of the bishop of Rome, the matter which appeared to be causing the disturbance might be examined and decided with all care.

22. But since, as it happens, some, forgetful both of their own salvation and of the reverence due to the most holy religion, do not even yet bring hostilities to an end, and are unwilling to conform to the judgment already passed, and assert that those who expressed their opinions and decisions were few, or that they had been too hasty and precipitate in giving judgment, before all the things which ought to have been accurately investigated had been examined — on account of all this it has happened that those very ones who ought to hold brotherly and harmonious relations toward each other, are shamefully, or rather abominably, divided among themselves, and give occasion for ridicule to those men whose souls are aliens to this most holy religion. Wherefore it has seemed necessary to me to provide that this dissension, which ought to have ceased after the judgment had been already given by their own voluntary agreement, should now, if possible, be brought to an end by the presence of many.

23. Since, therefore, we have commanded a number of bishops from a great many different places to assemble in the city of Arles, before the kalends of August, we have thought proper to write to you also that you should secure from the most illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily, a public vehicle, and that you should take with you two others of the second rank, whom you yourself shall choose, together with three servants who may serve you on the way, and betake yourself to the above-mentioned place before the appointed day; that by your firmness, and by the wise unanimity and harmony of the others present, this dispute, which has disgracefully continued until the present time, in consequence of certain shameful strifes, after all has been heard which those have to say who are now at variance with one another, and whom we have likewise commanded to be present, may be settled in accordance with the proper faith, and that brotherly harmony, though it be but gradually, may be restored.

24. May the Almighty God preserve you in health for many years.

Chapter 6. Copy of an Imperial Epistle in which Money is granted to the Churches.

1. Constantine Augustus to Cæcilianus, bishop of Carthage. Since it is our pleasure that something should be granted in all the provinces of Africa and Numidia and Mauritania to certain ministers of the legitimate and most holy catholic religion, to defray their expenses, I have written to Ursus, the illustrious finance minister of Africa, and have directed him to make provision to pay to your firmness three thousand folles.

2. Do thou therefore, when you have received the above sum of money, command that it be distributed among all those mentioned above, according to the brief sent to you by Hosius.

3. But if you should find that anything is wanting for the fulfillment of this purpose of mine in regard to all of them, you shall demand without hesitation from Heracleides, our treasurer, whatever you find to be necessary. For I commanded him when he was present that if your firmness should ask him for any money, he should see to it that it be paid without delay.

4. And since I have learned that some men of unsettled mind wish to turn the people from the most holy and catholic Church by a certain method of shameful corruption, do you know that I gave command to Anulinus, the proconsul, and also to Patricius, vicar of the prefects, when they were present, that they should give proper attention not only to other matters but also above all to this, and that they should not overlook such a thing when it happened. Wherefore if you should see any such men continuing in this madness, do thou without delay go to the above-mentioned judges and report the matter to them; that they may correct them as I commanded them when they were present. The divinity of the great God preserve you for many years.

Chapter 7. The Exemption of the Clergy.

Copy of an Epistle in which the emperor commands that the rulers of the churches be exempted from all political duties.

1. Greeting to you, our most esteemed Anulinus. Since it appears from many circumstances that when that religion is despised, in which is preserved the chief reverence for the most holy celestial Power, great dangers are brought upon public affairs; but that when legally adopted and observed it affords the most signal prosperity to the Roman name and remarkable felicity to all the affairs of men, through the divine beneficence — it has seemed good to me, most esteemed Anulinus, that those men who give their services with due sanctity and with constant observance of this law, to the worship of the divine religion, should receive recompense for their labors.

2. Wherefore it is my will that those within the province entrusted to you, in the catholic Church, over which Cæcilianus presides, who give their services to this holy religion, and who are commonly called clergymen, be entirely exempted from all public duties, that they may not by any error or sacrilegious negligence be drawn away from the service due to the Deity, but may devote themselves without any hindrance to their own law. For it seems that when they show greatest reverence to the Deity, the greatest benefits accrue to the state. Farewell, our most esteemed and beloved Anulinus.

Chapter 8. The Subsequent Wickedness of Licinius, and his Death.

1. Such blessings did divine and heavenly grace confer upon us through the appearance of our Saviour, and such was the abundance of benefits which prevailed among all men in consequence of the peace which we enjoyed. And thus were our affairs crowned with rejoicings and festivities.

2. But malignant envy, and the demon who loves that which is evil, were not able to bear the sight of these things; and moreover the events that befell the tyrants whom we have already mentioned were not sufficient to bring Licinius to sound reason.

3. For the latter, although his government was prosperous and he was honored with the second rank after the great Emperor Constantine, and was connected with him by the closest ties of marriage, abandoned the imitation of good deeds, and emulated the wickedness of the impious tyrants whose end he had seen with his own eyes, and chose rather to follow their principles than to continue in friendly relations with him who was better than they. Being envious of the common benefactor he waged an impious and most terrible war against him, paying regard neither to laws of nature, nor treaties, nor blood, and giving no thought to covenants.

4. For Constantine, like an all-gracious emperor, giving him evidences of true favor, did not refuse alliance with him, and did not refuse him the illustrious marriage with his sister, but honored him by making him a partaker of the ancestral nobility and the ancient imperial blood, and granted him the right of sharing in the dominion over all as a brother-in-law and co-regent, conferring upon him the government and administration of no less a portion of the Roman provinces than he himself possessed.

5. But Licinius, on the contrary, pursued a course directly opposite to this; forming daily all kinds of plots against his superior, and devising all sorts of mischief, that he might repay his benefactor with evils. At first he attempted to conceal his preparations, and pretended to be a friend, and practiced frequently fraud and deceit, in the hope that he might easily accomplish the desired end.

6. But God was the friend, protector, and guardian of Constantine, and bringing the plots which had been formed in secrecy and darkness to the light,

he foiled them. So much virtue does the great armor of piety possess for the warding off of enemies and for the preservation of our own safety. Protected by this, our most divinely favored emperor escaped the multitudinous plots of the abominable man.

7. But when Licinius perceived that his secret preparations by no means progressed according to his mind — for God revealed every plot and wickedness to the God-favored emperor — being no longer able to conceal himself, he undertook an open war.

8. And at the same time that he determined to wage war with Constantine, he also proceeded to join battle with the God of the universe, whom he knew that Constantine worshipped, and began, gently for a time and quietly, to attack his pious subjects, who had never done his government any harm. This he did under the compulsion of his innate wickedness which drove him into terrible blindness.

9. He did not therefore keep before his eyes the memory of those who had persecuted the Christians before him, nor of those whose destroyer and executioner he had been appointed, on account of the impieties which they had committed. But departing from sound reason, being seized, in a word, with insanity, he determined to war against God himself as the ally of Constantine, instead of against the one who was assisted by him.

10. And in the first place, he drove from his house every Christian, thus depriving himself, wretched man, of the prayers which they offered to God in his behalf, which they are accustomed, according to the teaching of their fathers, to offer for all men. Then he commanded that the soldiers in the cities should be cashiered and stripped of their rank unless they chose to sacrifice to the demons. And yet these were small matters when compared with the greater things that followed.

11. Why is it necessary to relate minutely and in detail all that was done by the hater of God, and to recount how this most lawless man invented unlawful laws? He passed an ordinance that no one should exercise humanity toward the sufferers in prison by giving them food, and that none should show mercy to those that were perishing of hunger in bonds; that no one should in any way be kind, or do any good act, even though moved by Nature herself to sympathize with one's neighbors. And this was indeed an openly shameful and most cruel law, calculated to expel all natural kindliness. And in addition

to this it was also decreed, as a punishment, that those who showed compassion should suffer the same things with those whom they compassionated; and that those who kindly ministered to the suffering should be thrown into bonds and into prison, and should endure the same punishment with the sufferers. Such were the decrees of Licinius.

12. Why should we recount his innovations in regard to marriage or in regard to the dying — innovations by which he ventured to annul the ancient laws of the Romans which had been well and wisely formed, and to introduce certain barbarous and cruel laws, which were truly unlawful and lawless? He invented, to the detriment of the provinces which were subject to him, innumerable prosecutions, and all sorts of methods of extorting gold and silver, new measurements of land and injurious exactions from men in the country, who were no longer living, but long since dead.

13. Why is it necessary to speak at length of the banishments which, in addition to these things, this enemy of mankind inflicted upon those who had done no wrong, the expatriations of men of noble birth and high reputation whose young wives he snatched from them and consigned to certain baser fellows of his own, to be shamefully abused by them, and the many married women and virgins upon whom he gratified his passions, although he was in advanced age — why, I say, is it necessary to speak at length of these things, when the excessive wickedness of his last deeds makes the first appear small and of no account?

14. For, finally, he reached such a pitch of madness that he attacked the bishops, supposing that they — as servants of the God over all — would be hostile to his measures. He did not yet proceed against them openly, on account of his fear of his superior, but as before, secretly and craftily, employing the treachery of the governors for the destruction of the most distinguished of them. And the manner of their murder was strange, and such as had never before been heard of.

15. The deeds which he performed at Amaseia and in the other cities of Pontus surpassed every excess of cruelty. Some of the churches of God were again razed to the ground, others were closed, so that none of those accustomed to frequent them could enter them and render the worship due to God.

16. For his evil conscience led him to suppose that prayers were not offered

in his behalf; but he was persuaded that we did everything in the interest of the God-beloved emperor, and that we supplicated God for him. Therefore he hastened to turn his fury against us.

17. And then those among the governors who wished to flatter him, perceiving that in doing such things they pleased the impious tyrant, made some of the bishops suffer the penalties customarily inflicted upon criminals, and led away and without any pretext punished like murderers those who had done no wrong. Some now endured a new form of death: having their bodies cut into many pieces with the sword, and after this savage and most horrible spectacle, being thrown into the depths of the sea as food for fishes.

18. Thereupon the worshipers of God again fled, and fields and deserts, forests and mountains, again received the servants of Christ. And when the impious tyrant had thus met with success in these measures, he finally planned to renew the persecution against all.

19. And he would have succeeded in his design, and there would have been nothing to hinder him in the work, had not God, the defender of the lives of his own people, most quickly anticipated that which was about to happen, and caused a great light to shine forth as in the midst of a dark and gloomy night, and raised up a deliverer for all, leading into those regions with a lofty arm, his servant, Constantine.

Chapter 9. The Victory of Constantine, and the Blessings which under him accrued to the Subjects of the Roman Empire.

1. To him, therefore, God granted, from heaven above, the deserved fruit of piety, the trophies of victory over the impious, and he cast the guilty one with all his counselors and friends prostrate at the feet of Constantine.

2. For when Licinius carried his madness to the last extreme, the emperor, the friend of God, thinking that he ought no longer to be tolerated, acting upon the basis of sound judgment, and mingling the firm principles of justice with humanity, gladly determined to come to the protection of those who were oppressed by the tyrant, and undertook, by putting a few destroyers out of the way, to save the greater part of the human race.

3. For when he had formerly exercised humanity alone and had shown mercy to him who was not worthy of sympathy, nothing was accomplished; for Licinius did not renounce his wickedness, but rather increased his fury against the peoples that were subject to him, and there was left to the afflicted no hope of salvation, oppressed as they were by a savage beast.

4. Wherefore, the protector of the virtuous, mingling hatred for evil with love for good, went forth with his son Crispus, a most beneficent prince, and extended a saving right hand to all that were perishing. Both of them, father and son, under the protection, as it were, of God, the universal King, with the Son of God, the Saviour of all, as their leader and ally, drew up their forces on all sides against the enemies of the Deity and won an easy victory; God having prospered them in the battle in all respects according to their wish.

5. Thus, suddenly, and sooner than can be told, those who yesterday and the day before breathed death and threatening were no more, and not even their names were remembered, but their inscriptions and their honors suffered the merited disgrace. And the things which Licinius with his own eyes had seen come upon the former impious tyrants he himself likewise suffered, because he did not receive instruction nor learn wisdom from the chastisements of his neighbors, but followed the same path of impiety which they had trod, and was justly hurled over the same precipice. Thus he lay prostrate.

6. But Constantine, the mightiest victor, adorned with every virtue of piety,

together with his son Crispus, a most God-beloved prince, and in all respects like his father, recovered the East which belonged to them; and they formed one united Roman empire as of old, bringing under their peaceful sway the whole world from the rising of the sun to the opposite quarter, both north and south, even to the extremities of the declining day.

7. All fear therefore of those who had formerly afflicted them was taken away from men, and they celebrated splendid and festive days. Everything was filled with light, and those who before were downcast beheld each other with smiling faces and beaming eyes. With dances and hymns, in city and country, they glorified first of all God the universal King, because they had been thus taught, and then the pious emperor with his God-beloved children.

8. There was oblivion of past evils and forgetfulness of every deed of impiety; there was enjoyment of present benefits and expectation of those yet to come. Edicts full of clemency and laws containing tokens of benevolence and true piety were issued in every place by the victorious emperor.

9. Thus after all tyranny had been purged away, the empire which belonged to them was preserved firm and without a rival for Constantine and his sons alone. And having obliterated the godlessness of their predecessors, recognizing the benefits conferred upon them by God, they exhibited their love of virtue and their love of God, and their piety and gratitude to the Deity, by the deeds which they performed in the sight of all men.

The end, with God's help, of the Tenth Book of the Church History of Eusebius Pamphili.

Life of Constantine



Translated by Ernest Cushing Richardson, 1890

This panegyric was written in honor of Constantine the Great and provides scholars with one of the most comprehensive sources for the religious policies on the emperor's reign. In addition to detailing the religious policies of the Roman Empire under Constantine, the text explores several of the author's own religious concerns, such as apologetics, as well as a semi-bibliographic account of Constantine. Divided into four books, the extant text opens with the declaration that the emperor is immortal, setting the tone for the rest of the work, framed as a general deification of the emperor and his 'works on Earth'. The text describes Constantine's time under the Emperor Diocletian, whose persecution of Christians and oppressive rule acts as a foil to Constantine's portrayal as a strong Christian and a just man. This section also establishes the recurring metaphor in the work, representing Constantine as a symbol of Moses. Eusebius suggests that it was God's will to raise Constantine to emperor, as a reliever of the Christian torment in the Empire.

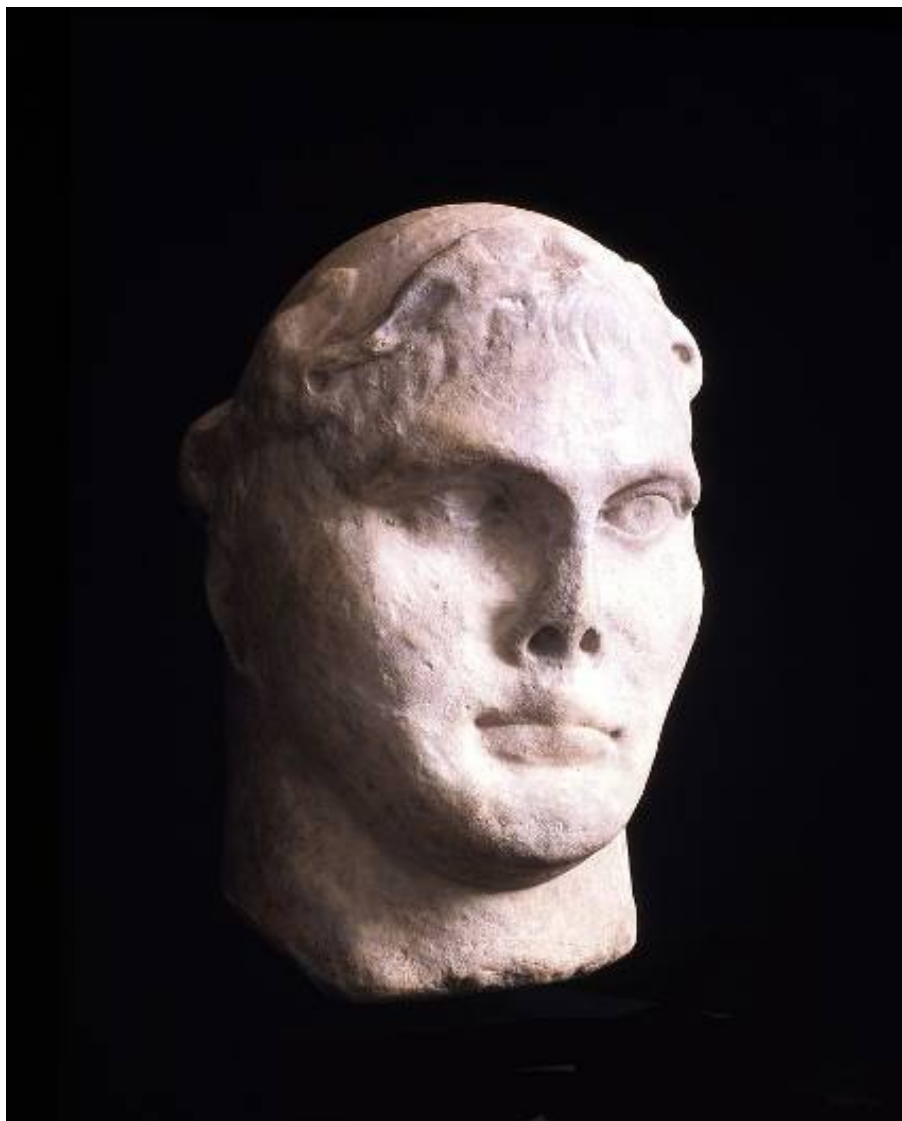
In the first book, Eusebius details Constantine's military exploits, including the campaign against Maxentius and the famous account of Constantine's vision. This section has generated much controversy, with many doubting the validity of the story. Eusebius claims that he heard the story from the mouth of Constantine himself, however much of modern scholarship agrees that it is likely a distortion of facts or completely fabricated. The same account is often compared to Lactantius', which provides a radically different depiction of the story. Eusebius progresses to describe Constantine's next military campaign, the war against Licinius.

The text then transitions from military campaigns to the religious rule of Constantine, as the second Book ends with the outlining of the religious problems faced by the ruler. Book III is largely concerned with Constantine's constructive settlement of the various religious problems, including the only continuous contemporary account of the Council of Nicaea, as well as the pilgrimage to Bordeaux. The rest of the book deals with the ecclesiastical laws of Constantine, as Eusebius presents Constantine in an extremely

Christian light, building holy sites and allegedly destroying pagan temples. Book III also includes the majority of Constantine's imperial letters.

The final book is mainly concerned with Constantine's personal life and final accomplishments, concluding with the emperor's death. The objective appears to be the illustration of Constantine's personal piety. His trip to Persia is portrayed as an apologetic universal Christian theme. As the panegyric concludes, Eusebius describes the emperor as a remarkable public speaker and preacher, as well as a good listener. Eusebius focuses on Constantine's mental and spiritual strength, as well as his physical strength, completing his portrait of a 'godlike man'. The text ends with the emperor's funeral and the succession of the throne.

Life of Constantine remains an important work for examining the reign of the emperor, as only a select amount of pagan accounts of the reign exist, with only one pagan panegyric known to have survived. While Eusebius reveals a clear pro-Christian bias, the text still provides insightful secular matters that have not been discovered outside of the work.



Marble bust of Constantine the Great from Stonegate, York

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Book I

Chapter 1. Preface. — Of the Death of Constantine.

Already have all mankind united in celebrating with joyous festivities the completion of the second and third decennial period of this great emperor's reign; already have we ourselves received him as a triumphant conqueror in the assembly of God's ministers, and greeted him with the due meed of praise on the twentieth anniversary of his reign: and still more recently we have woven, as it were, garlands of words, wherewith we encircled his sacred head in his own palace on his thirtieth anniversary.

But now, while I desire to give utterance to some of the customary sentiments, I stand perplexed and doubtful which way to turn, being wholly lost in wonder at the extraordinary spectacle before me. For to whatever quarter I direct my view, whether to the east, or to the west, or over the whole world, or toward heaven itself, everywhere and always I see the blessed one yet administering the self-same empire. On earth I behold his sons, like some new reflectors of his brightness, diffusing everywhere the luster of their father's character, and himself still living and powerful, and governing all the affairs of men more completely than ever before, being multiplied in the succession of his children. They had indeed had previously the dignity of Cæsars; but now, being invested with his very self, and graced by his accomplishments, for the excellence of their piety they are proclaimed by the titles of Sovereign, Augustus, Worshipful, and Emperor.

Chapter 2. The Preface Continued.

And I am indeed amazed, when I consider that he who was but lately visible and present with us in his mortal body, is still, even after death, when the natural thought disclaims everything superfluous as unsuitable, most marvelously endowed with the same imperial dwellings, and honors, and praises as heretofore. But farther, when I raise my thoughts even to the arch of heaven, and there contemplate his thrice-blessed soul in communion with God himself, freed from every mortal and earthly vesture, and shining in a refulgent robe of light, and when I perceive that it is no more connected with the fleeting periods and occupations of mortal life, but honored with an ever-blooming crown, and an immortality of endless and blessed existence, I stand as it were without power of speech or thought and unable to utter a single phrase, but condemning my own weakness, and imposing silence on myself, I resign the task of speaking his praises worthily to one who is better able, even to him who, being the immortal God and veritable Word, alone has power to confirm his own sayings.

Chapter 3. How God honors Pious Princes, but destroys Tyrants.

Having given assurance that those who glorify and honor him will meet with an abundant recompense at his hands, while those who set themselves against him as enemies and adversaries will compass the ruin of their own souls, he has already established the truth of these his own declarations, having shown on the one hand the fearful end of those tyrants who denied and opposed him, and at the same time having made it manifest that even the death of his servant, as well as his life, is worthy of admiration and praise, and justly claims the memorial, not merely of perishable, but of immortal monuments.

Mankind, devising some consolation for the frail and precarious duration of human life, have thought by the erection of monuments to glorify the memories of their ancestors with immortal honors. Some have employed the vivid delineations and colors of painting ; some have carved statues from lifeless blocks of wood; while others, by engraving their inscriptions deep on tablets and monuments, have thought to transmit the virtues of those whom they honored to perpetual remembrance. All these indeed are perishable, and consumed by the lapse of time, being representations of the corruptible body, and not expressing the image of the immortal soul. And yet these seemed sufficient to those who had no well-grounded hope of happiness after the termination of this mortal life. But God, that God, I say, who is the common Saviour of all, having treasured up with himself, for those who love godliness, greater blessings than human thought has conceived, gives the earnest and first-fruits of future rewards even here, assuring in some sort immortal hopes to mortal eyes. The ancient oracles of the prophets, delivered to us in the Scripture, declare this; the lives of pious men, who shone in old time with every virtue, bear witness to posterity of the same; and our own days prove it to be true, wherein Constantine, who alone of all that ever wielded the Roman power was the friend of God the Sovereign of all, has appeared to all mankind so clear an example of a godly life.

Chapter 4. That God honored Constantine.

And God himself, whom Constantine worshipped, has confirmed this truth by the clearest manifestations of his will, being present to aid him at the commencement, during the course, and at the end of his reign, and holding him up to the human race as an instructive example of godliness. Accordingly, by the manifold blessings he has conferred on him, he has distinguished him alone of all the sovereigns of whom we have ever heard as at once a mighty luminary and most clear-voiced herald of genuine piety.

Chapter 5. That he reigned above Thirty Years, and lived above Sixty.

With respect to the duration of his reign, God honored him with three complete periods of ten years, and something more, extending the whole term of his mortal life to twice this number of years. And being pleased to make him a representative of his own sovereign power, he displayed him as the conqueror of the whole race of tyrants, and the destroyer of those God-defying giants of the earth who madly raised their impious arms against him, the supreme King of all. They appeared, so to speak, for an instant, and then disappeared: while the one and only true God, when he had enabled his servant, clad in heavenly panoply, to stand singly against many foes, and by his means had relieved mankind from the multitude of the ungodly, constituted him a teacher of his worship to all nations, to testify with a loud voice in the hearing of all that he acknowledged the true God, and turned with abhorrence from the error of them that are no gods.

Chapter 6. That he was the Servant of God, and the Conqueror of Nations.

Thus, like a faithful and good servant, did he act and testify, openly declaring and confessing himself the obedient minister of the supreme King. And God immediately rewarded him, by making him ruler and sovereign, and victorious to such a degree that he alone of all rulers pursued a continual course of conquest, unsubdued and invincible, and through his trophies a greater ruler than tradition records ever to have been before. So dear was he to God, and so blessed; so pious and so fortunate in all that he undertook, that with the greatest facility he obtained the authority over more nations than any who had preceded him, and yet retained his power, undisturbed, to the very close of his life.

Chapter 7. Comparison with Cyrus, King of the Persians, and with Alexander of Macedon.

Ancient history describes Cyrus, king of the Persians, as by far the most illustrious of all kings up to his time. And yet if we regard the end of his days, we find it but little corresponded with his past prosperity, since he met with an inglorious and dishonorable death at the hands of a woman.

Again, the sons of Greece celebrate Alexander the Macedonian as the conqueror of many and diverse nations; yet we find that he was removed by an early death, before he had reached maturity, being carried off by the effects of revelry and drunkenness. His whole life embraced but the space of thirty-two years, and his reign extended to no more than a third part of that period. Unsparing as the thunderbolt, he advanced through streams of blood and reduced entire nations and cities, young and old, to utter slavery. But when he had scarcely arrived at the maturity of life, and was lamenting the loss of youthful pleasures, death fell upon him with terrible stroke, and, that he might not longer outrage the human race, cut him off in a foreign and hostile land, childless, without successor, and homeless. His kingdom too was instantly dismembered, each of his officers taking away and appropriating a portion for himself. And yet this man is extolled for such deeds as these.

Chapter 8. That he conquered nearly the Whole World.

But our emperor began his reign at the time of life at which the Macedonian died, yet doubled the length of his life, and trebled the length of his reign. And instructing his army in the mild and sober precepts of godliness, he carried his arms as far as the Britons, and the nations that dwell in the very bosom of the Western ocean. He subdued likewise all Scythia, though situated in the remotest North, and divided into numberless diverse and barbarous tribes. He even pushed his conquests to the Blemmyans and Ethiopians, on the very confines of the South; nor did he think the acquisition of the Eastern nations unworthy his care. In short, diffusing the effulgence of his holy light to the ends of the whole world, even to the most distant Indians, the nations dwelling on the extreme circumference of the inhabited earth, he received the submission of all the rulers, governors, and satraps of barbarous nations, who cheerfully welcomed and saluted him, sending embassies and presents, and setting the highest value on his acquaintance and friendship; insomuch that they honored him with pictures and statues in their respective countries, and Constantine alone of all emperors was acknowledged and celebrated by all. Notwithstanding, even among these distant nations, he proclaimed the name of his God in his royal edicts with all boldness.

Chapter 9. That he was the Son of a Pious Emperor, and bequeathed the Power to Royal Sons.

Nor did he give this testimony in words merely, while exhibiting failure in his own practice, but pursued every path of virtue, and was rich in the varied fruits of godliness. He ensured the affection of his friends by magnificent proofs of liberality; and inasmuch as he governed on principles of humanity, he caused his rule to be but lightly felt and acceptable to all classes of his subjects; until at last, after a long course of years, and when he was wearied by his divine labors, the God whom he honored crowned him with an immortal reward, and translated him from a transitory kingdom to that endless life which he has laid up in store for the souls of his saints, after he had raised him up three sons to succeed him in his power. As then the imperial throne had descended to him from his father, so, by the law of nature, was it reserved for his children and their descendants, and perpetuated, like some paternal inheritance, to endless generations. And indeed God himself, who distinguished this blessed prince with divine honors while yet present with us, and who has adorned his death with choice blessings from his own hand, should be the writer of his actions; since he has recorded his labors and successes on heavenly monuments.

Chapter 10. Of the Need for this History, and its Value for Edification.

However, hard as it is to speak worthily of this blessed character, and though silence were the safer and less perilous course, nevertheless it is incumbent on me, if I would escape the charge of negligence and sloth, to trace as it were a verbal portraiture, by way of memorial of the pious prince, in imitation of the delineations of human art. For I should be ashamed of myself were I not to employ my best efforts, feeble though they be and of little value, in praise of one who honored God with such surpassing devotion. I think too that my work will be on other grounds both instructive and necessary, since it will contain a description of those royal and noble actions which are pleasing to God, the Sovereign of all. For would it not be disgraceful that the memory of Nero, and other impious and godless tyrants far worse than he, should meet with diligent writers to embellish the relation of their worthless deeds with elegant language, and record them in voluminous histories, and that I should be silent, to whom God himself has vouchsafed such an emperor as all history records not, and has permitted me to come into his presence, and enjoy his acquaintance and society?

Wherefore, if it is the duty of any one, it certainly is mine, to make an ample proclamation of his virtues to all in whom the example of noble actions is capable of inspiring the love of God. For some who have written the lives of worthless characters, and the history of actions but little tending to the improvement of morals, from private motives, either love or enmity, and possibly in some cases with no better object than the display of their own learning, have exaggerated unduly their description of actions intrinsically base, by a refinement and elegance of diction. And thus they have become to those who by the Divine favor had been kept apart from evil, teachers not of good, but of what should be silenced in oblivion and darkness. But my narrative, however unequal to the greatness of the deeds it has to describe, will yet derive luster even from the bare relation of noble actions. And surely the record of conduct that has been pleasing to God will afford a far from unprofitable, indeed a most instructive study, to persons of well-disposed minds.

Chapter 11. That his Present Object is to record only the Pious Actions of Constantine.

It is my intention, therefore, to pass over the greater part of the royal deeds of this thrice-blessed prince; as, for example, his conflicts and engagements in the field, his personal valor, his victories and successes against the enemy, and the many triumphs he obtained: likewise his provisions for the interests of individuals, his legislative enactments for the social advantage of his subjects, and a multitude of other imperial labors which are fresh in the memory of all; the design of my present undertaking being to speak and write of those circumstances only which have reference to his religious character.

And since these are themselves of almost infinite variety, I shall select from the facts which have come to my knowledge such as are most suitable, and worthy of lasting record, and endeavor to narrate them as briefly as possible. Henceforward, indeed, there is a full and free opportunity for celebrating in every way the praises of this truly blessed prince, which hitherto we have been unable to do, on the ground that we are forbidden to judge any one blessed before his death, because of the uncertain vicissitudes of life. Let me implore then the help of God, and may the inspiring aid of the heavenly Word be with me, while I commence my history from the very earliest period of his life.

Chapter 12. That like Moses, he was reared in the Palaces of Kings.

Ancient history relates that a cruel race of tyrants oppressed the Hebrew nation; and that God, who graciously regarded them in their affliction, provided that the prophet Moses, who was then an infant, should be brought up in the very palaces and bosoms of the oppressors, and instructed in all the wisdom they possessed. And when in the course of time he had arrived at manhood, and the time had come for Divine justice to avenge the wrongs of the afflicted people, then the prophet of God, in obedience to the will of a more powerful Lord, forsook the royal household, and, estranging himself in word and deed from the tyrants by whom he had been brought up, openly acknowledging his true brethren and kinsfolk. Then God, exalting him to be the leader of the whole nation, delivered the Hebrews from the bondage of their enemies, and inflicted Divine vengeance through his means on the tyrant race. This ancient story, though rejected by most as fabulous, has reached the ears of all. But now the same God has given to us to be eye-witnesses of miracles more wonderful than fables, and, from their recent appearance, more authentic than any report. For the tyrants of our day have ventured to war against the Supreme God, and have sorely afflicted His Church. And in the midst of these, Constantine, who was shortly to become their destroyer, but at that time of tender age, and blooming with the dawn of early youth, dwelt, as that other servant of God had done, in the very home of the tyrants, but young as he was did not share the manner of life of the ungodly: for from that early period his noble nature, under the leading of the Divine Spirit, inclined him to piety and a life acceptable to God. A desire, moreover, to emulate the example of his father had its influence in stimulating the son to a virtuous course of conduct. His father was Constantius (and we ought to revive his memory at this time), the most illustrious emperor of our age; of whose life it is necessary briefly to relate a few particulars, which tell to the honor of his son.

Chapter 13. Of Constantius his Father, who refused to imitate Diocletian, Maximian, and Maxentius, in their Persecution of the Christians.

At a time when four emperors shared the administration of the Roman empire, Constantius alone, following a course of conduct different from that pursued by his colleagues, entered into the friendship of the Supreme God.

For while they besieged and wasted the churches of God, leveling them to the ground, and obliterating the very foundations of the houses of prayer, he kept his hands pure from their abominable impiety, and never in any respect resembled them. They polluted their provinces by the indiscriminate slaughter of godly men and women; but he kept his soul free from the stain of this crime. They, involved in the mazes of impious idolatry, enthralled first themselves, and then all under their authority, in bondage to the errors of evil demons, while he at the same time originated the profoundest peace throughout his dominions, and secured to his subjects the privilege of celebrating without hindrance the worship of God. In short, while his colleagues oppressed all men by the most grievous exactions, and rendered their lives intolerable, and even worse than death, Constantius alone governed his people with a mild and tranquil sway, and exhibited towards them a truly parental and fostering care. Numberless, indeed, are the other virtues of this man, which are the theme of praise to all; of these I will record one or two instances, as specimens of the quality of those which I must pass by in silence, and then I will proceed to the appointed order of my narrative.

Chapter 14. How Constantius his Father, being reproached with Poverty by Diocletian, filled his Treasury, and afterwards restored the Money to those by whom it had been contributed.

In consequence of the many reports in circulation respecting this prince, describing his kindness and gentleness of character, and the extraordinary elevation of his piety, alleging too, that by reason of his extreme indulgence to his subjects, he had not even a supply of money laid up in his treasury; the emperor who at that time occupied the place of supreme power sent to reprehend his neglect of the public good, at the same time reproaching him with poverty, and alleging in proof of the charge the empty state of his treasury. On this he desired the messengers of the emperor to remain with him awhile, and, calling together the wealthiest of his subjects of all nations under his dominion, he informed them that he was in want of money, and that this was the time for them all to give a voluntary proof of their affection for their prince.

As soon as they heard this (as though they had long been desirous of an opportunity for showing the sincerity of their good will), with zealous alacrity they filled the treasury with gold and silver and other wealth; each eager to surpass the rest in the amount of his contribution: and this they did with cheerful and joyous countenances. And now Constantius desired the messengers of the great emperor personally to inspect his treasures, and directed them to give a faithful report of what they had seen; adding, that on the present occasion he had taken this money into his own hands, but that it had long been kept for his use in the custody of the owners, as securely as if under the charge of faithful treasurers. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with astonishment at what they had witnessed: and on their departure it is said that the truly generous prince sent for the owners of the property, and, after commending them severally for their obedience and true loyalty, restored it all, and bade them return to their homes.

This one circumstance, then, conveys a proof of the generosity of him whose character we are attempting to illustrate: another will contain the clearest testimony to his piety.

Chapter 15. Of the Persecution raised by his Colleagues.

By command of the supreme authorities of the empire, the governors of the several provinces had set on foot a general persecution of the godly. Indeed, it was from the imperial courts themselves that the very first of the pious martyrs proceeded, who passed through those conflicts for the faith, and most readily endured both fire and sword, and the depths of the sea; every form of death, in short, so that in a brief time all the royal palaces were bereft of pious men. The result was, that the authors of this wickedness were entirely deprived of the protecting care of God, since by their persecution of his worshipers they at the same time silenced the prayers that were wont to be made on their own behalf.

Chapter 16. How Constantius, feigning Idolatry, expelled those who consented to offer Sacrifice, but retained in his Palace all who were willing to confess Christ.

On the other hand, Constantius conceived an expedient full of sagacity, and did a thing which sounds paradoxical, but in fact was most admirable.

He made a proposal to all the officers of his court, including even those in the highest stations of authority, offering them the following alternative: either that they should offer sacrifice to demons, and thus be permitted to remain with him, and enjoy their usual honors; or, in case of refusal, that they should be shut out from all access to his person, and entirely disqualified from acquaintance and association with him. Accordingly, when they had individually made their choice, some one way and some the other; and the choice of each had been ascertained, then this admirable prince disclosed the secret meaning of his expedient, and condemned the cowardice and selfishness of the one party, while he highly commended the other for their conscientious devotion to God. He declared, too, that those who had been false to their God must be unworthy of the confidence of their prince; for how was it possible that they should preserve their fidelity to him, who had proved themselves faithless to a higher power? He determined, therefore, that such persons should be removed altogether from the imperial court, while, on the other hand, declaring that those men who, in bearing witness for the truth, had proved themselves to be worthy servants of God, would manifest the same fidelity to their king, he entrusted them with the guardianship of his person and empire, saying that he was bound to treat such persons with special regard as his nearest and most valued friends, and to esteem them far more highly than the richest treasures.

Chapter 17. Of his ChristianManner of Life.

The father of Constantine, then, is said to have possessed such a character as we have briefly described. And what kind of death was vouchsafed to him in consequence of such devotion to God, and how far he whom he honored made his lot to differ from that of his colleagues in the empire, may be known to any one who will give his attention to the circumstances of the case. For after he had for a long time given many proofs of royal virtue, in acknowledging the Supreme God alone, and condemning the polytheism of the ungodly, and had fortified his household by the prayers of holy men, he passed the remainder of his life in remarkable repose and tranquillity, in the enjoyment of what is counted blessedness, — neither molesting others nor being molested ourselves.

Accordingly, during the whole course of his quiet and peaceful reign, he dedicated his entire household, his children, his wife, and domestic attendants, to the One Supreme God: so that the company assembled within the walls of his palace differed in no respect from a church of God; wherein were also to be found his ministers, who offered continual supplications on behalf of their prince, and this at a time when, with most, it was not allowable to have any dealings with the worshipers of God, even so far as to exchange a word with them.

Chapter 18. That after the Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius became Chief Augustus, and was blessed with a Numerous Offspring.

The immediate consequence of this conduct was a recompense from the hand of God, insomuch that he came into the supreme authority of the empire. For the older emperors, for some unknown reason, resigned their power; and this sudden change took place in the first year after their persecution of the churches.

From that time Constantius alone received the honors of chief Augustus, having been previously, indeed, distinguished by the diadem of the imperial Cæsars, among whom he held the first rank; but after his worth had been proved in this capacity, he was invested with the highest dignity of the Roman empire, being named chief Augustus of the four who were afterwards elected to that honor. Moreover, he surpassed most of the emperors in regard to the number of his family, having gathered around him a very large circle of children both male and female. And, lastly, when he had attained to a happy old age, and was about to pay the common debt of nature, and exchange this life for another, God once more manifested His power in a special manner on his behalf, by providing that his eldest son Constantine should be present during his last moments, and ready to receive the imperial power from his hands.

Chapter 19. Of his Son Constantine, who in his Youth accompanied Diocletian into Palestine.

The latter had been with his father's imperial colleagues, and had passed his life among them, as we have said, like God's ancient prophet. And even in the very earliest period of his youth he was judged by them to be worthy of the highest honor. An instance of this we have ourselves seen, when he passed through Palestine with the senior emperor, at whose right hand he stood, and commanded the admiration of all who beheld him by the indications he gave even then of royal greatness. For no one was comparable to him for grace and beauty of person, or height of stature; and he so far surpassed his compeers in personal strength as to be a terror to them. He was, however, even more conspicuous for the excellence of his mental qualities than for his superior physical endowments; being gifted in the first place with a sound judgment, and having also reaped the advantages of a liberal education. He was also distinguished in no ordinary degree both by natural intelligence and divinely imparted wisdom.

Chapter 20. Flight of Constantine to his Father because of the Plots of Diocletian.

The emperors then in power, observing his manly and vigorous figure and superior mind, were moved with feelings of jealousy and fear, and thenceforward carefully watched for an opportunity of inflicting some brand of disgrace on his character. But the young man, being aware of their designs, the details of which, through the providence of God, more than once came to him, sought safety in flight; in this respect again keeping up his resemblance to the great prophet Moses. Indeed, in every sense God was his helper; and he had before ordained that he should be present in readiness to succeed his father.

Chapter 21. Death of Constantius, who leaves his Son Constantine Emperor.

Immediately, therefore, on his escape from the plots which had been thus insidiously laid for him, he made his way with all haste to his father, and arrived at length at the very time that he was lying at the point of death. As soon as Constantius saw his son thus unexpectedly in his presence, he leaped from his couch, embraced him tenderly, and, declaring that the only anxiety which had troubled him in the prospect of death, namely, that caused by the absence of his son, was now removed, he rendered thanks to God, saying that he now thought death better than the longest life, and at once completed the arrangement of his private affairs. Then, taking a final leave of the circle of sons and daughters by whom he was surrounded, in his own palace, and on the imperial couch, he bequeathed the empire, according to the law of nature, to his eldest son, and breathed his last.

Chapter 22. How, after the Burial of Constantius, Constantine was Proclaimed Augustus by the Army.

Nor did the imperial throne remain long unoccupied: for Constantine invested himself with his father's purple, and proceeded from his father's palace, presenting to all a renewal, as it were, in his own person, of his father's life and reign. He then conducted the funeral procession in company with his father's friends, some preceding, others following the train, and performed the last offices for the pious deceased with an extraordinary degree of magnificence, and all united in honoring this thrice blessed prince with acclamations and praises, and while with one mind and voice, they glorified the rule of the son as a living again of him who was dead, they hastened at once to hail their new sovereign by the titles of Imperial and Worshipful Augustus, with joyful shouts. Thus the memory of the deceased emperor received honor from the praises bestowed upon his son, while the latter was pronounced blessed in being the successor of such a father. All the nations also under his dominion were filled with joy and inexpressible gladness at not being even for a moment deprived of the benefits of a well ordered government.

In the instance of the Emperor Constantius, God has made manifest to our generation what the end of those is who in their lives have honored and loved him.

Chapter 23. A Brief Notice of the Destruction of the Tyrants.

With respect to the other princes, who made war against the churches of God, I have not thought it fit in the present work to give any account of their downfall, nor to stain the memory of the good by mentioning them in connection with those of an opposite character. The knowledge of the facts themselves will of itself suffice for the wholesome admonition of those who have witnessed or heard of the evils which severally befell them.

Chapter 24. It was by the Will of God that Constantine became possessed of the Empire.

Thus then the God of all, the Supreme Governor of the whole universe, by his own will appointed Constantine, the descendant of so renowned a parent, to be prince and sovereign: so that, while others have been raised to this distinction by the election of their fellow-men, he is the only one to whose elevation no mortal may boast of having contributed.

Chapter 25. Victories of Constantine over the Barbarians and the Britons.

As soon then as he was established on the throne, he began to care for the interests of his paternal inheritance, and visited with much considerate kindness all those provinces which had previously been under his father's government. Some tribes of the barbarians who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, and the shores of the Western ocean, having ventured to revolt, he reduced them all to obedience, and brought them from their savage state to one of gentleness. He contented himself with checking the inroads of others, and drove from his dominions, like untamed and savage beasts, those whom he perceived to be altogether incapable of the settled order of civilized life. Having disposed of these affairs to his satisfaction, he directed his attention to other quarters of the world, and first passed over to the British nations, which lie in the very bosom of the ocean. These he reduced to submission, and then proceeded to consider the state of the remaining portions of the empire, that he might be ready to tender his aid wherever circumstances might require it.

Chapter 26. How he resolved to deliver Rome from Maxentius.

While, therefore, he regarded the entire world as one immense body, and perceived that the head of it all, the royal city of the Roman empire, was bowed down by the weight of a tyrannous oppression; at first he had left the task of liberation to those who governed the other divisions of the empire, as being his superiors in point of age. But when none of these proved able to afford relief, and those who had attempted it had experienced a disastrous termination of their enterprise, he said that life was without enjoyment to him as long as he saw the imperial city thus afflicted, and prepared himself for the overthrowal of the tyranny.

Chapter 27. That after reflecting on the Downfall of those who had worshiped Idols, he made Choice of Christianity.

Being convinced, however, that he needed some more powerful aid than his military forces could afford him, on account of the wicked and magical enchantments which were so diligently practiced by the tyrant, he sought Divine assistance, deeming the possession of arms and a numerous soldiery of secondary importance, but believing the co-operating power of Deity invincible and not to be shaken. He considered, therefore, on what God he might rely for protection and assistance. While engaged in this enquiry, the thought occurred to him, that, of the many emperors who had preceded him, those who had rested their hopes in a multitude of gods, and served them with sacrifices and offerings, had in the first place been deceived by flattering predictions, and oracles which promised them all prosperity, and at last had met with an unhappy end, while not one of their gods had stood by to warn them of the impending wrath of heaven; while one alone who had pursued an entirely opposite course, who had condemned their error, and honored the one Supreme God during his whole life, had found him to be the Saviour and Protector of his empire, and the Giver of every good thing. Reflecting on this, and well weighing the fact that they who had trusted in many gods had also fallen by manifold forms of death, without leaving behind them either family or offspring, stock, name, or memorial among men: while the God of his father had given to him, on the other hand, manifestations of his power and very many tokens: and considering farther that those who had already taken arms against the tyrant, and had marched to the battlefield under the protection of a multitude of gods, had met with a dishonorable end (for one of them had shamefully retreated from the contest without a blow, and the other, being slain in the midst of his own troops, became, as it were, the mere sport of death); reviewing, I say, all these considerations, he judged it to be folly indeed to join in the idle worship of those who were no gods, and, after such convincing evidence, to err from the truth; and therefore felt it incumbent on him to honor his father's God alone.

Chapter 28. How, while he was praying, God sent him a Vision of a Cross of Light in the Heavens at Mid-day, with an Inscription admonishing him to conquer by that.

Accordingly he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties. And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvelous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honored with his acquaintance and society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this . At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle. intensest reality the vision of the words, so that for the moment he was living in the intensest reality of such a vision. His mind had just that intense activity to which such a thing is possible or actual. It is like Goethe's famous meeting of his own self. It is that genius power for the realistic representation of ideal things. This is not the same exactly as "hallucination," or even "imagination." The hallucination probably came later when Constantine gradually represented to himself and finally to Eusebius the vivid idea with its slight ground, as an objective reality, — a common phenomenon. When the emperor went to sleep, his brain molecules vibrating to the forms of his late intense thought, he inevitably dreamed, and dreaming naturally confirmed his thought. This does not say that the suggestive form seen, or the idea itself, and the direction of the dream itself, were not providential and the work of the Holy Spirit, for they were, and were special in character, and so miraculous (or why do ideas come?); but it is to be feared that Constantine's own spirit or something else furnished some of the later details. There is a slight difference of authority as to when and where the vision took place. The panegyrist seems to make it before leaving Gaul, and Malalas is inaccurate as usual in having it happen in a war

against the barbarians. For farther discussion of the subject see monographs under *Literature* in the Prolegomena, especially under the names: Baring, Du Voisin, Fabricius, Girault, Heumann, Jacutius Mamachi, Molinet, St. Victor, Suhr, Toderini, Weidener, Wernsdorf, Woltereck. The most concise, clear, and admirable supporter of the account of Eusebius, or rather Constantine, as it stands, is Newman, *Miracles* (Lond. 1875), 271-286.} — >

Chapter 29. How the Christ of God appeared to him in his Sleep, and commanded him to use in his Wars a Standard made in the Form of the Cross.

He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.

Chapter 30. The Making of the Standard of the Cross.

At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing.

Chapter 31. A Description of the Standard of the Cross, which the Romans now call the Labarum.

Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner.

The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies.

Chapter 32. How Constantine received Instruction, and read the Sacred Scriptures.

These things were done shortly afterwards. But at the time above specified, being struck with amazement at the extraordinary vision, and resolving to worship no other God save Him who had appeared to him, he sent for those who were acquainted with the mysteries of His doctrines, and enquired who that God was, and what was intended by the sign of the vision he had seen. They affirmed that He was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: that the sign which had appeared was the symbol of immortality, and the trophy of that victory over death which He had gained in time past when sojourning on earth. They taught him also the causes of His advent, and explained to him the true account of His incarnation. Thus he was instructed in these matters, and was impressed with wonder at the divine manifestation which had been presented to his sight. Comparing, therefore, the heavenly vision with the interpretation given, he found his judgment confirmed; and, in the persuasion that the knowledge of these things had been imparted to him by Divine teaching, he determined thenceforth to devote himself to the reading of the Inspired writings.

Moreover, he made the priests of God his counselors, and deemed it incumbent on him to honor the God who had appeared to him with all devotion. And after this, being fortified by well-grounded hopes in Him, he hastened to quench the threatening fire of tyranny.

Chapter 33. Of the Adulterous Conduct of Maxentius at Rome.

For he who had tyrannically possessed himself of the imperial city, had proceeded to great lengths in impiety and wickedness, so as to venture without hesitation on every vile and impure action.

For example: he would separate women from their husbands, and after a time send them back to them again, and these insults he offered not to men of mean or obscure condition, but to those who held the first places in the Roman senate. Moreover, though he shamefully dishonored almost numberless free women, he was unable to satisfy his ungoverned and intemperate desires. But when he assayed to corrupt Christian women also, he could no longer secure success to his designs, since they chose rather to submit their lives to death than yield their persons to be defiled by him.

Chapter 34. How the Wife of a Prefect slew herself for Chastity's Sake.

Now a certain woman, wife of one of the senators who held the authority of prefect, when she understood that those who ministered to the tyrant in such matters were standing before her house (she was a Christian), and knew that her husband through fear had bidden them take her and lead her away, begged a short space of time for arraying herself in her usual dress, and entered her chamber. There, being left alone, she sheathed a sword in her own breast, and immediately expired, leaving indeed her dead body to the procurers, but declaring to all mankind, both to present and future generations, by an act which spoke louder than any words, that the chastity for which Christians are famed is the only thing which is invincible and indestructible. Such was the conduct displayed by this woman.

Chapter 35. Massacre of the Roman People by Maxentius.

All men, therefore, both people and magistrates, whether of high or low degree, trembled through fear of him whose daring wickedness was such as I have described, and were oppressed by his grievous tyranny. Nay, though they submitted quietly, and endured this bitter servitude, still there was no escape from the tyrant's sanguinary cruelty. For at one time, on some trifling pretense, he exposed the populace to be slaughtered by his own bodyguard; and countless multitudes of the Roman people were slain in the very midst of the city by the lances and weapons, not of Scythians or barbarians, but of their own fellow citizens. And besides this, it is impossible to calculate the number of senators whose blood was shed with a view to the seizure of their respective estates, for at different times and on various fictitious charges, multitudes of them suffered death.

Chapter 36. Magic Arts of Maxentius against Constantine; and Famine at Rome.

But the crowning point of the tyrant's wickedness was his having recourse to sorcery: sometimes for magic purposes ripping up women with child, at other times searching into the bowels of new-born infants. He slew lions also, and practiced certain horrid arts for evoking demons, and averting the approaching war, hoping by these means to get the victory. In short, it is impossible to describe the manifold acts of oppression by which this tyrant of Rome enslaved his subjects: so that by this time they were reduced to the most extreme penury and want of necessary food, a scarcity such as our contemporaries do not remember ever before to have existed at Rome.

Chapter 37. Defeat of Maxentius's Armies in Italy.

Constantine, however, filled with compassion on account of all these miseries, began to arm himself with all warlike preparation against the tyranny. Assuming therefore the Supreme God as his patron, and invoking His Christ to be his preserver and aid, and setting the victorious trophy, the salutary symbol, in front of his soldiers and bodyguard, he marched with his whole forces, trying to obtain again for the Romans the freedom they had inherited from their ancestors.

And whereas, Maxentius, trusting more in his magic arts than in the affection of his subjects, dared not even advance outside the city gates, but had guarded every place and district and city subject to his tyranny, with large bodies of soldiers, the emperor, confiding in the help of God, advanced against the first and second and third divisions of the tyrant's forces, defeated them all with ease at the first assault, and made his way into the very interior of Italy.

Chapter 38. Death of Maxentius on the Bridge of the Tiber.

And already he was approaching very near Rome itself, when, to save him from the necessity of fighting with all the Romans for the tyrant's sake, God himself drew the tyrant, as it were by secret cords, a long way outside the gates. And now those miracles recorded in Holy Writ, which God of old wrought against the ungodly (discredited by most as fables, yet believed by the faithful), did he in every deed confirm to all alike, believers and unbelievers, who were eye-witnesses of the wonders. For as once in the days of Moses and the Hebrew nation, who were worshipers of God, Pharaoh's chariots and his host has he cast into the sea and his chosen chariot-captains are drowned in the Red Sea, — so at this time Maxentius, and the soldiers and guards with him, went down into the depths like stone, Exodus 15:5 when, in his flight before the divinely-aided forces of Constantine, he essayed to cross the river which lay in his way, over which, making a strong bridge of boats, he had framed an engine of destruction, really against himself, but in the hope of ensnaring thereby him who was beloved by God. For his God stood by the one to protect him, while the other, godless, proved to be the miserable contriver of these secret devices to his own ruin. So that one might well say, He has made a pit, and dug it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violence shall come down upon his own pate. Thus, in the present instance, under divine direction, the machine erected on the bridge, with the ambuscade concealed therein, giving way unexpectedly before the appointed time, the bridge began to sink, and the boats with the men in them went bodily to the bottom. And first the wretch himself, then his armed attendants and guards, even as the sacred oracles had before described, sank as lead in the mighty waters. Exodus 15:10 So that they who thus obtained victory from God might well, if not in the same words, yet in fact in the same spirit as the people of his great servant Moses, sing and speak as they did concerning the impious tyrant of old: Let us sing unto the Lord, for he has been glorified exceedingly: the horse and his rider has he thrown into the sea. He has become my helper and my shield unto salvation. And again, Who is like you, O Lord, among the gods? Who is like you, glorious in holiness, marvelous in praises, doing wonders?

Chapter 39. Constantine's Entry into Rome.

Having then at this time sung these and suchlike praises to God, the Ruler of all and the Author of victory, after the example of his great servant Moses, Constantine entered the imperial city in triumph. And here the whole body of the senate, and others of rank and distinction in the city, freed as it were from the restraint of a prison, along with the whole Roman populace, their countenances expressive of the gladness of their hearts, received him with acclamations and abounding joy; men, women, and children, with countless multitudes of servants, greeting him as deliverer, preserver, and benefactor, with incessant shouts. But he, being possessed of inward piety toward God, was neither rendered arrogant by these plaudits, nor uplifted by the praises he heard: but, being sensible that he had received help from God, he immediately rendered a thanksgiving to him as the Author of his victory.

Chapter 40. Of the Statue of Constantine holding a Cross, and its Inscription.

Moreover, by loud proclamation and monumental inscriptions he made known to all men the salutary symbol, setting up this great trophy of victory over his enemies in the midst of the imperial city, and expressly causing it to be engraven in indelible characters, that the salutary symbol was the safeguard of the Roman government and of the entire empire. Accordingly, he immediately ordered a lofty spear in the figure of a cross to be placed beneath the hand of a statue representing himself, in the most frequented part of Rome, and the following inscription to be engraved on it in the Latin language: by virtue of this salutary sign, which is the true test of valor, I have preserved and liberated your city from the yoke of tyranny. I have also set at liberty the roman senate and people, and restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor .

Chapter 41. Rejoicings throughout the Provinces; and Constantine's Acts of Grace.

Thus the pious emperor, glorying in the confession of the victorious cross, proclaimed the Son of God to the Romans with great boldness of testimony. And the inhabitants of the city, one and all, senate and people, reviving, as it were, from the pressure of a bitter and tyrannical domination, seemed to enjoy purer rays of light, and to be born again into a fresh and new life. All the nations, too, as far as the limit of the western ocean, being set free from the calamities which had heretofore beset them, and gladdened by joyous festivals, ceased not to praise him as the victorious, the pious, the common benefactor: all, indeed, with one voice and one mouth, declared that Constantine had appeared by the grace of God as a general blessing to mankind. The imperial edict also was everywhere published, whereby those who had been wrongfully deprived of their estates were permitted again to enjoy their own, while those who had unjustly suffered exile were recalled to their homes. Moreover, he freed from imprisonment, and from every kind of danger and fear, those who, by reason of the tyrant's cruelty, had been subject to these sufferings.

Chapter 42. The Honors Conferred upon Bishops, and the Building of Churches.

The emperor also personally inviting the society of God's ministers, distinguished them with the highest possible respect and honor, showing them favor in deed and word as persons consecrated to the service of his God. Accordingly, they were admitted to his table, though mean in their attire and outward appearance; yet not so in his estimation, since he thought he saw not the man as seen by the vulgar eye, but the God in him. He made them also his companions in travel, believing that He whose servants they were would thus help him. Besides this, he gave from his own private resources costly benefactions to the churches of God, both enlarging and heightening the sacred edifices, and embellishing the august sanctuaries of the church with abundant offerings.

Chapter 43. Constantine's Liberality to the Poor.

He likewise distributed money largely to those who were in need, and besides these showing himself philanthropist and benefactor even to the heathen, who had no claim on him; and even for the beggars in the forum, miserable and shiftless, he provided, not with money only, or necessary food, but also decent clothing. But in the case of those who had once been prosperous, and had experienced a reverse of circumstances, his aid was still more lavishly bestowed. On such persons, in a truly royal spirit, he conferred magnificent benefactions; giving grants of land to some, and honoring others with various dignities. Orphans of the unfortunate he cared for as a father, while he relieved the destitution of widows, and cared for them with special solicitude. Nay, he even gave virgins, left unprotected by their parents' death, in marriage to wealthy men with whom he was personally acquainted. But this he did after first bestowing on the brides such portions as it was fitting they should bring to the communion of marriage. In short, as the sun, when he rises upon the earth, liberally imparts his rays of light to all, so did Constantine, proceeding at early dawn from the imperial palace, and rising as it were with the heavenly luminary, impart the rays of his own beneficence to all who came into his presence. It was scarcely possible to be near him without receiving some benefit, nor did it ever happen that any who had expected to obtain his assistance were disappointed in their hope.

Chapter 44. How he was present at the Synods of Bishops.

Such, then, was his general character towards all. But he exercised a peculiar care over the church of God: and whereas, in the several provinces there were some who differed from each other in judgment, he, like some general bishop constituted by God, convened synods of his ministers. Nor did he disdain to be present and sit with them in their assembly, but bore a share in their deliberations, ministering to all that pertained to the peace of God. He took his seat, too, in the midst of them, as an individual among many, dismissing his guards and soldiers, and all whose duty it was to defend his person; but protected by the fear of God, and surrounded by the guardianship of his faithful friends. Those whom he saw inclined to a sound judgment, and exhibiting a calm and conciliatory temper, received his high approbation, for he evidently delighted in a general harmony of sentiment; while he regarded the unyielding wills with aversion.

Chapter 45. His Forbearance with Unreasonable Men.

Moreover he endured with patience some who were exasperated against himself, directing them in mild and gentle terms to control themselves, and not be turbulent. And some of these respected his admonitions, and desisted; but as to those who proved incapable of sound judgment, he left them entirely at the disposal of God, and never himself desired harsh measures against any one. Hence it naturally happened that the disaffected in Africa reached such a pitch of violence as even to venture on overt acts of audacity; some evil spirit, as it seems probable, being jealous of the present great prosperity, and impelling these men to atrocious deeds, that he might excite the emperor's anger against them. He gained nothing, however, by this malicious conduct; for the emperor laughed at these proceedings, and declared their origin to be from the evil one; inasmuch as these were not the actions of sober persons, but of lunatics or demoniacs; who should be pitied rather than punished; since to punish madmen is as great folly as to sympathize with their condition is supreme philanthropy.

Chapter 46. Victories over the Barbarians.

Thus the emperor in all his actions honored God, the Controller of all things, and exercised an unwearied oversight over His churches. And God requited him, by subduing all barbarous nations under his feet, so that he was able everywhere to raise trophies over his enemies: and He proclaimed him as conqueror to all mankind, and made him a terror to his adversaries: not indeed that this was his natural character, since he was rather the meekest, and gentlest, and most benevolent of men.

Chapter 47. Death of Maximin, who had attempted a Conspiracy, and of Others whom Constantine detected by Divine Revelation.

While he was thus engaged, the second of those who had resigned the throne, being detected in a treasonable conspiracy, suffered a most ignominious death. He was the first whose pictures, statues, and all similar marks of honor and distinction were everywhere destroyed, on the ground of his crimes and impiety. After him others also of the same family were discovered in the act of forming secret plots against the emperor; all their intentions being miraculously revealed by God through visions to His servant.

For he frequently vouchsafed to him manifestations of himself, the Divine presence appearing to him in a most marvelous manner, and according to him manifold intimations of future events. Indeed, it is impossible to express in words the indescribable wonders of Divine grace which God was pleased to vouchsafe to His servant. Surrounded by these, he passed the rest of his life in security, rejoicing in the affection of his subjects, rejoicing too because he saw all beneath his government leading contented lives; but above all delighted at the flourishing condition of the churches of God.

Chapter 48. Celebration of Constantine's Decennalia.

While he was thus circumstanced, he completed the tenth year of his reign. On this occasion he ordered the celebration of general festivals, and offered prayers of thanksgiving to God, the King of all, as sacrifices without flame or smoke. And from this employment he derived much pleasure: not so from the tidings he received of the ravages committed in the Eastern provinces.

Chapter 49. How Licinius oppressed the East.

For he was informed that in that quarter a certain savage beast was besetting both the church of God and the other inhabitants of the provinces, owing, as it were, to the efforts of the evil spirit to produce effects quite contrary to the deeds of the pious emperor: so that the Roman empire, divided into two parts, seemed to all men to resemble night and day; since darkness overspread the provinces of the East, while the brightest day illumined the inhabitants of the other portion. And whereas the latter were receiving manifold blessings at the hand of God, the sight of these blessings proved intolerable to that envy which hates all good, as well as to the tyrant who afflicted the other division of the empire; and who, notwithstanding that his government was prospering, and he had been honored by a marriage connection with so great an emperor as Constantine, yet cared not to follow the steps of that pious prince, but strove rather to imitate the evil purposes and practice of the impious; and chose to adopt the course of those whose ignominious end he had seen with his own eyes, rather than to maintain amicable relations with him who was his superior.

Chapter 50. How Licinius attempted a Conspiracy against Constantine.

Accordingly he engaged in an implacable war against his benefactor, altogether regardless of the laws of friendship, the obligation of oaths, the ties of kindred, and already existing treaties. For the most benignant emperor had given him a proof of sincere affection in bestowing on him the hand of his sister, thus granting him the privilege of a place in family relationship and his own ancient imperial descent, and investing him also with the rank and dignity of his colleague in the empire. But the other took the very opposite course, employing himself in machinations against his superior, and devising various means to repay his benefactor with injuries. At first, pretending friendship, he did all things by guile and treachery, expecting thus to succeed in concealing his designs; but God enabled his servant to detect the schemes thus devised in darkness. Being discovered, however, in his first attempts, he had recourse to fresh frauds; at one time pretending friendship, at another claiming the protection of solemn treaties. Then suddenly violating every engagement, and again beseeching pardon by embassies, yet after all shamefully violating his word, he at last declared open war, and with desperate infatuation resolved thenceforward to carry arms against God himself, whose worshiper he knew the emperor to be.

Chapter 51. Intrigues of Licinius against the Bishops, and his Prohibition of Synods.

And at first he made secret enquiry respecting the ministers of God subject to his dominion, who had never, indeed, in any respect offended against his government, in order to bring false accusations against them. And when he found no ground of accusation, and had no real ground of objection against them, he next enacted a law, to the effect that the bishops should never on any account hold communication with each other, nor should any one of them absent himself on a visit to a neighboring church; nor, lastly, should the holding of synods, or councils for the consideration of affairs of common interest, be permitted. Now this was clearly a pretext for displaying his malice against us. For we were compelled either to violate the law, and thus be amenable to punishment, or else, by compliance with its injunctions, to nullify the statutes of the Church; inasmuch as it is impossible to bring important questions to a satisfactory adjustment, except by means of synods. In other cases also this God-hater, being determined to act contrary to the God-loving prince, enacted such things. For whereas the one assembled the priests of God in order to honor them, and to promote peace and unity of judgment; the other, whose object it was to destroy everything that was good, used all his endeavors to destroy the general harmony.

Chapter 52. Banishment of the Christians, and Confiscation of their Property.

And whereas Constantine, the friend of God, had granted to His worshipers freedom of access to the imperial palaces; this enemy of God, in a spirit the very reverse of this, expelled thence all Christians subject to his authority. He banished those who had proved themselves his most faithful and devoted servants, and compelled others, on whom he had himself conferred honor and distinction as a reward for their former eminent services, to the performance of menial offices as slaves to others; and at length, being bent on seizing the property of all as a windfall for himself, he even threatened with death those who professed the Saviour's name. Moreover, being himself of a nature hopelessly debased by sensuality, and degraded by the continual practice of adultery and other shameless vices, he assumed his own worthless character as a specimen of human nature generally, and denied that the virtue of chastity and continence existed among men.

Chapter 53. Edict that Women should not meet with the Men in the Churches.

Accordingly he passed a second law, which enjoined that men should not appear in company with women in the houses of prayer, and forbade women to attend the sacred schools of virtue, or to receive instruction from the bishops, directing the appointment of women to be teachers of their own sex. These regulations being received with general ridicule, he devised other means for effecting the ruin of the churches. He ordered that the usual congregations of the people should be held in the open country outside the gates, alleging that the open air without the city was far more suitable for a multitude than the houses of prayer within the walls.

Chapter 54. That those who refuse to sacrifice are to be dismissed from Military Service, and those in Prison not to be fed.

Failing, however, to obtain obedience in this respect also, at length he threw off the mask, and gave orders that those who held military commissions in the several cities of the empire should be deprived of their respective commands, in case of their refusal to offer sacrifices to the demons. Accordingly the forces of the authorities in every province suffered the loss of those who worshipped God; and he too who had decreed this order suffered loss, in that he thus deprived himself of the prayers of pious men. And why should I still further mention how he directed that no one should obey the dictates of common humanity by distributing food to those who were pining in prisons, or should even pity the captives who perished with hunger; in short, that no one should perform a virtuous action, and that those whose natural feelings impelled them to sympathize with their fellow-creatures should be prohibited from doing them a single kindness? Truly this was the most utterly shameless and scandalous of all laws, and one which surpassed the worst depravity of human nature: a law which inflicted on those who showed mercy the same penalties as on those who were the objects of their compassion, and visited the exercise of mere humanity with the severest punishments.

Chapter 55. The Lawless Conduct and Covetousness of Licinius.

Such were the ordinances of Licinius. But why should I enumerate his innovations respecting marriage, or those concerning the dying, whereby he presumed to abrogate the ancient and wisely established laws of the Romans, and to introduce certain barbarous and cruel institutions in their stead, inventing a thousand pretenses for oppressing his subjects? Hence it was that he devised a new method of measuring land, by which he reckoned the smallest portion at more than its actual dimensions, from an insatiable desire of acquisition. Hence too he registered the names of country residents who were now no more, and had long been numbered with the dead, procuring to himself by this expedient a shameful gain. His meanness was unlimited and his rapacity insatiable. So that when he had filled all his treasuries with gold, and silver, and boundless wealth, he bitterly bewailed his poverty, and suffered as it were the torments of Tantalus. But why should I mention how many innocent persons he punished with exile; how much property he confiscated; how many men of noble birth and estimable character he imprisoned, whose wives he handed over to be basely insulted by his profligate slaves, and to how many married women and virgins he himself offered violence, though already feeling the infirmities of age? I need not enlarge on these subjects, since the enormity of his last actions causes the former to appear trifling and of little moment.

Chapter 56. At length he undertakes to raise a Persecution.

For the final efforts of his fury appeared in his open hostility to the churches, and he directed his attacks against the bishops themselves, whom he regarded as his worst adversaries, bearing special enmity to those men whom the great and pious emperor treated as his friends. Accordingly he spent on us the utmost of his fury, and, being transported beyond the bounds of reason, he paused not to reflect on the example of those who had persecuted the Christians before him, nor of those whom he himself had been raised up to punish and destroy for their impious deeds: nor did he heed the facts of which he had been himself a witness, though he had seen with his own eyes the chief originator of these our calamities (whoever he was), smitten by the stroke of the Divine scourge.

Chapter 57. That Maximian, brought Low by a Fistulous Ulcer with Worms, issued an Edict in Favor of the Christians.

For whereas this man had commenced the attack on the churches, and had been the first to pollute his soul with the blood of just and godly men, a judgment from God overtook him, which at first affected his body, but eventually extended itself to his soul. For suddenly an abscess appeared in the secret parts of his person, followed by a deeply seated fistulous ulcer; and these diseases fastened with incurable virulence on the intestines, which swarmed with a vast multitude of worms, and emitted a pestilential odor. Besides, his entire person had become loaded, through gluttonous excess, with an enormous quantity of fat, and this, being now in a putrescent state, is said to have presented to all who approached him an intolerable and dreadful spectacle. Having, therefore, to struggle against such sufferings, at length, though late, he came to a realization of his past crimes against the Church; and, confessing his sins before God, he put a stop to the persecution of the Christians, and hastened to issue imperial edicts and rescripts for the rebuilding of their churches, at the same time enjoining them to perform their customary worship, and to offer up prayers on his behalf.

Chapter 58. That Maximin, who had persecuted the Christians, was compelled to fly, and conceal himself in the Disguise of a Slave.

Such was the punishment which he underwent who had commenced the persecution. He, however, of whom we are now speaking, who had been a witness of these things, and known them by his own actual experience, all at once banished the remembrance of them from his mind, and reflected neither on the punishment of the first, nor the divine judgment which had been executed on the second persecutor. The latter had indeed endeavored to outstrip his predecessor in the career of crime, and prided himself on the invention of new tortures for us. Fire nor sword, nor piercing with nails, nor yet wild beasts or the depths of the sea sufficed him. In addition to all these, he discovered a new mode of punishment, and issued an edict directing that their eyesight should be destroyed. So that numbers, not of men only, but of women and children, after being deprived of the sight of their eyes, and the use of the joints of their feet, by mutilation or cauterization, were consigned in this condition to the painful labor of the mines. Hence it was that this tyrant also was overtaken not long after by the righteous judgment of God, at a time when, confiding in the aid of the demons whom he worshipped as gods, and relying on the countless multitudes of his troops, he had ventured to engage in battle. For, feeling himself on that occasion destitute of all hope in God, he threw from him the imperial dress which so ill became him, hid himself with unmanly timidity in the crowd around him, and sought safety in flight.

He afterwards lurked about the fields and villages in the habit of a slave, hoping he should thus be effectually concealed. He had not, however, eluded the mighty and all-searching eye of God: for even while he was expecting to pass the residue of his days in security, he fell prostrate, smitten by God's fiery dart, and his whole body consumed by the stroke of Divine vengeance; so that all trace of the original lineaments of his person was lost, and nothing remained to him but dry bones and a skeleton-like appearance.

Chapter 59. That Maximin, blinded by Disease, issued an Edict in Favor of the Christians.

And still the stroke of God continued heavy upon him, so that his eyes protruded and fell from their sockets, leaving him quite blind: and thus he suffered, by a most righteous retribution, the very same punishment which he had been the first to devise for the martyrs of God. At length, however, surviving even these sufferings, he too implored pardon of the God of the Christians, and confessed his impious fighting against God: he too recanted, as the former persecutor had done; and by laws and ordinances explicitly acknowledged his error in worshiping those whom he had accounted gods, declaring that he now knew, by positive experience, that the God of the Christians was the only true God. These were facts which Licinius had not merely received on the testimony of others, but of which he had himself had personal knowledge: and yet, as though his understanding had been obscured by some dark cloud of error, persisted in the same evil course.

Book II

Chapter 1. Secret Persecution by Licinius, who causes Some Bishops to be put to Death at Amasia of Pontus.

In this manner, he of whom we have spoken continued to rush headlong towards that destruction which awaits the enemies of God; and once more, with a fatal emulation of their example whose ruin he had himself witnessed as the consequence of their impious conduct, he re-kindled the persecution of the Christians, like a long-extinguished fire, and fanned the unhallowed flame to a fiercer height than any who had gone before him.

At first, indeed, though breathing fury and threatenings against God, like some savage beast of prey, or some crooked and wriggling serpent, he dared not, from fear of Constantine, openly level his attacks against the churches of God subject to his dominion; but dissembled the virulence of his malice, and endeavored by secret and limited measures to compass the death of the bishops, the most eminent of whom he found means to remove, through charges laid against them by the governors of the several provinces. And the manner in which they suffered had in it something strange, and hitherto unheard of. At all events, the barbarities perpetrated at Amasia of Pontus surpassed every known excess of cruelty.

Chapter 2. Demolition of Churches, and Butchery of the Bishops.

For in that city some of the churches, for the second time since the commencement of the persecutions, were leveled with the ground, and others were closed by the governors of the several districts, in order to prevent any who frequented them from assembling together, or rendering due worship to God. For he by whose orders these outrages were committed was too conscious of his own crimes to expect that these services were performed with any view to his benefit, and was convinced that all we did, and all our endeavors to obtain the favor of God, were on Constantine's behalf.

These servile governors then, feeling assured that such a course would be pleasing to the impious tyrant, subjected the most distinguished prelates of the churches to capital punishment. Accordingly, men who had been guilty of no crime were led away, without cause punished like murderers: and some suffered a new kind of death, having their bodies cut piecemeal; and, after this cruel punishment, more horrible than any named in tragedy, being cast, as a food to fishes, into the depths of the sea. The result of these horrors was again, as before, the flight of pious men, and once more the fields and deserts received the worshipers of God. The tyrant, having thus far succeeded in his object, he farther determined to raise a general persecution of the Christians: and he would have accomplished his purpose, nor could anything have hindered him from carrying his resolution into effect, had not he who defends his own anticipated the coming evil, and by his special guidance conducted his servant Constantine to this part of the empire, causing him to shine forth as a brilliant light in the midst of the darkness and gloomy night.

Chapter 3. How Constantine was stirred in Behalf of the Christiansthus in Danger of Persecution.

He, perceiving the evils of which he had heard to be no longer tolerable, took wise counsel, and tempering the natural clemency of his character with a certain measure of severity, hastened to succor those who were thus grievously oppressed. For he judged that it would rightly be deemed a pious and holy task to secure, by the removal of an individual, the safety of the greater part of the human race. He judged too, that if he listened to the dictates of clemency only, and bestowed his pity on one utterly unworthy of it, this would, on the one hand, confer no real benefit on a man whom nothing would induce to abandon his evil practices, and whose fury against his subjects would only be likely to increase; while, on the other hand, those who suffered from his oppression would thus be forever deprived of all hope of deliverance.

Influenced by these reflections, the emperor resolved without farther delay to extend a protecting hand to those who had fallen into such an extremity of distress. He accordingly made the usual warlike preparations, and assembled his whole forces, both of horse and foot. But before them all was carried the standard which I have before described, as the symbol of his full confidence in God.

Chapter 4. That Constantine prepared himself for the War by Prayer: Licinius by the Practice of Divination.

He took with him also the priests of God, feeling well assured that now, if ever, he stood in need of the efficacy of prayer, and thinking it right that they should constantly be near and about his person, as most trusty guardians of the soul.

Now, as soon as the tyrant understood that Constantine's victories over his enemies were secured to him by no other means than the cooperation of God, and that the persons above alluded to were continually with him and about his person; and besides this, that the symbol of the salutary passion preceded both the emperor himself and his whole army; he regarded these precautions with ridicule (as might be expected), at the same time mocking and reviling the emperor with blasphemous words.

On the other hand, he gathered round himself Egyptian diviners and soothsayers, with sorcerers and enchanterers, and the priests and prophets of those whom he imagined to be gods. He then, after offering the sacrifices which he thought the occasion demanded, enquired how far he might reckon on a successful termination of the war. They replied with one voice, that he would unquestionably be victorious over his enemies, and triumphant in the war: and the oracles everywhere held out to him the same prospect in copious and elegant verses. The soothsayers certified him of favorable omens from the flight of birds; the priests declared the same to be indicated by the motion of the entrails of their victims. Elevated, therefore, by these fallacious assurances, he boldly advanced at the head of his army, and prepared for battle.

Chapter 5. What Licinius, while sacrificing in a Grove, said concerning Idols, and concerning Christ.

And when he was now ready to engage, he desired the most approved of his bodyguard and his most valued friends to meet him in one of the places which they consider sacred. It was a well-watered and shady grove, and in it were several marble statues of those whom he accounted to be gods. After lighting tapers and performing the usual sacrifices in honor of these, he is said to have delivered the following speech:

Friends and fellow-soldiers! These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remotest ancestors. But he who leads the army now opposed to us has proved false to the religion of his forefathers, and adopted atheistic sentiments, honoring in his infatuation some strange and unheard-of Deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces his army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms, and is now advancing, not so much against *us* as against those very gods whom he has forsaken. However, the present occasion shall prove which of us is mistaken in his judgment, and shall decide between our gods and those whom our adversaries profess to honor. For either it will declare the victory to be ours, and so most justly evince that our gods are the true saviours and helpers; or else, if this God of Constantine's, who comes we know not whence, shall prove superior to our deities (who are many, and in point of numbers, at least, have the advantage), let no one henceforth doubt which god he ought to worship, but attach himself at once to the superior power, and ascribe to him the honors of the victory. Suppose, then, this strange God, whom we now regard with ridicule, should really prove victorious; then indeed we must acknowledge and give him honor, and so bid a long farewell to those for whom we light our tapers in vain. But if our own gods triumph (as they undoubtedly will), then, as soon as we have secured the present victory, let us prosecute the war without delay against these despisers of the gods.

Such were the words he addressed to those then present, as reported not long after to the writer of this history by some who heard them spoken. And as soon as he had concluded his speech, he gave orders to his forces to commence the attack.

Chapter 6. An Apparition seen in the Cities subject to Licinius, as of Constantine's Troops passing through them.

While these things were taking place a supernatural appearance is said to have been observed in the cities subject to the tyrant's rule. Different detachments of Constantine's army seemed to present themselves to the view, marching at noonday through these cities, as though they had obtained the victory. In reality, not a single soldier was anywhere present at the time, and yet this appearance was seen through the agency of a divine and superior power, and foreshadowed what was shortly coming to pass. For as soon as the armies were ready to engage, he who had broken through the ties of friendly alliance was the first to commence the battle; on which Constantine, calling on the name of God the Supreme Saviour, and giving this as the watchword to his soldiers, overcame him in this first conflict: and not long after in a second battle he gained a still more important and decisive victory, the salutary trophy preceding the ranks of his army.

Chapter 7. That Victory everywhere followed the Presence of the Standard of the Cross in Battle.

Indeed, wherever this appeared, the enemy soon fled before his victorious troops. And the emperor perceiving this, whenever he saw any part of his forces hard pressed, gave orders that the salutary trophy should be moved in that direction, like some triumphant charm against disasters: at which the combatants were divinely inspired, as it were, with fresh strength and courage, and immediate victory was the result.

Chapter 8. That Fifty Men were selected to carry the Cross.

Accordingly, he selected those of his bodyguard who were most distinguished for personal strength, valor, and piety, and entrusted them with the sole care and defense of the standard. There were thus no less than fifty men whose only duty was to surround and vigilantly defend the standard, which they carried each in turn on their shoulders. These circumstances were related to the writer of this narrative by the emperor himself in his leisure moments, long after the occurrence of the events: and he added another incident well worthy of being recorded.

Chapter 9. That One of the Cross-Bearers, who fled from his Post, was slain: while Another, who faithfully stood his Ground, was preserved.

For he said that once, during the very heat of an engagement, a sudden tumult and panic attacked his army, which threw the soldier who then bore the standard into an agony of fear, so that he handed it over to another, in order to secure his own escape from the battle. As soon, however, as his comrade had received it, and he had withdrawn, and resigned all charge of the standard, he was struck in the belly by a dart, which took his life. Thus he paid the penalty of his cowardice and unfaithfulness, and lay dead on the spot: but the other, who had taken his place as the bearer of the salutary standard, found it to be the safeguard of his life. For though he was assailed by a continual shower of darts, the bearer remained unhurt, the staff of the standard receiving every weapon. It was indeed a truly marvelous circumstance, that the enemies' darts all fell within and remained in the slender circumference of this spear, and thus saved the standard-bearer from death; so that none of those engaged in this service ever received a wound.

This story is none of mine, but for this, too, I am indebted to the emperor's own authority, who related it in my hearing along with other matters. And now, having thus through the power of God secured these first victories, he put his forces in motion and continued his onward march.

Chapter 10. Various Battles, and Constantine's Victories.

The van, however, of the enemy, unable to resist the emperor's first assault, threw down their arms, and prostrated themselves at his feet. All these he spared, rejoicing to save human life. But there were others who still continued in arms, and engaged in battle. These the emperor endeavored to conciliate by friendly overtures, but when these were not accepted he ordered his army to commence the attack. On this they immediately turned and betook themselves to flight; and some were overtaken and slain according to the laws of war, while others fell on each other in the confusion of their flight, and perished by the swords of their comrades.

Chapter 11. Flight, and Magic Arts of Licinius.

In these circumstances their commander, finding himself bereft of the aid of his followers, having lost his lately numerous array, both of regular and allied forces, having proved, too, by experience, how vain his confidence had been in those whom he thought to be gods, ignominiously took to flight, by which indeed he effected his escape, and secured his personal safety, for the pious emperor had forbidden his soldiers to follow him too closely, and thus allowed him an opportunity for escape. And this he did in the hope that he might hereafter, on conviction of the desperate state of his affairs, be induced to abandon his insane and presumptuous ambition, and return to sounder reason. So Constantine, in his excessive humanity, thought and was willing patiently to bear past injuries, and extend his forgiveness to one who so ill deserved it; but Licinius, far from renouncing his evil practices, still added crime to crime, and ventured on more daring atrocities than ever. Nay, once more tampering with the detestable arts of magic, he again was presumptuous: so that it might well be said of him, as it was of the Egyptian tyrant of old, that God had hardened his heart. Exodus 9:12

Chapter 12. How Constantine, after praying in his Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.

But while Licinius, giving himself up to these impieties, rushed blindly towards the gulf of destruction, the emperor on the other hand, when he saw that he must meet his enemies in a second battle, devoted the intervening time to his Saviour. He pitched the tabernacle of the cross outside and at a distance from his camp, and there passed his time in a pure and holy manner, offering up prayers to God; following thus the example of his ancient prophet, of whom the sacred oracles testify, that he pitched the tabernacle without the camp. He was attended only by a few, whose faith and pious devotion he highly esteemed. And this custom he continued to observe whenever he meditated an engagement with the enemy. For he was deliberate in his measures, the better to insure safety, and desired in everything to be directed by divine counsel. And making earnest supplications to God, he was always honored after a little with a manifestation of his presence. And then, as if moved by a divine impulse, he would rush from the tabernacle, and suddenly give orders to his army to move at once without delay, and on the instant to draw their swords. On this they would immediately commence the attack, fight vigorously, so as with incredible celerity to secure the victory, and raise trophies of victory over their enemies.

Chapter 13. His Humane Treatment of Prisoners.

Thus the emperor and his army had long been accustomed to act, whenever there was a prospect of an engagement; for his God was ever present to his thoughts, and he desired to do everything according to his will, and conscientiously to avoid any wanton sacrifice of human life. He was anxious thus for the preservation not only of his own subjects, but even of his enemies. Accordingly he directed his victorious troops to spare the lives of their prisoners, admonishing them, as human beings, not to forget the claims of their common nature. And whenever he saw the passions of his soldiery excited beyond control, he repressed their fury by a largess of money, rewarding every man who saved the life of an enemy with a certain weight of gold. And the emperor's own sagacity led him to discover this inducement to spare human life, so that great numbers even of the barbarians were thus saved, and owed their lives to the emperor's gold.

Chapter 14. A Farther Mention of his Prayers in the Tabernacle.

Now these, and a thousand such acts as these, were familiarly and habitually done by the emperor. And on the present occasion he retired, as his custom was before battle, to the privacy of his tabernacle, and there employed his time in prayer to God. Meanwhile he strictly abstained from anything like ease, or luxurious living, and disciplined himself by fasting and bodily mortification, imploring the favor of God by supplication and prayer, that he might obtain his concurrence and aid, and be ready to execute whatever he might be pleased to suggest to his thoughts. In short, he exercised a vigilant care over all alike, and interceded with God as much for the safety of his enemies as for that of his own subjects.

Chapter 15. Treacherous Friendship, and Idolatrous Practices of Licinius.

And inasmuch as he who had lately fled before him now dissembled his real sentiments, and again petitioned for a renewal of friendship and alliance, the emperor thought fit, on certain conditions, to grant his request, in the hope that such a measure might be expedient, and generally advantageous to the community. Licinius, however, while he pretended a ready submission to the terms prescribed, and attested his sincerity by oaths, at this very time was secretly engaged in collecting a military force, and again meditated war and strife, inviting even the barbarians to join his standard, and he began also to look about him for other gods, having been deceived by those in whom he had hitherto trusted. And, without bestowing a thought on what he had himself publicly spoken on the subject of false deities, or choosing to acknowledge that God who had fought on the side of Constantine, he made himself ridiculous by seeking for a multitude of new gods.

Chapter 16. How Licinius counseled his Soldiers not to attack the Standard of the Cross.

Having now learned by experience the Divine and mysterious power which resided in the salutary trophy, by means of which Constantine's army had become habituated to victory, he admonished his soldiers never to direct their attack against this standard, nor even incautiously to allow their eyes to rest upon it; assuring them that it possessed a terrible power, and was especially hostile to him; so that they would do well carefully to avoid any collision with it. And now, having given these directions, he prepared for a decisive conflict with him whose humanity prompted him still to hesitate, and to postpone the fate which he foresaw awaited his adversary. The enemy, however, confident in the aid of a multitude of gods, advanced to the attack with a powerful array of military force, preceded by certain images of the dead, and lifeless statues, as their defense. On the other side, the emperor, secure in the armor of godliness, opposed to the numbers of the enemy the salutary and life-giving sign, as at once a terror to the foe, and a protection from every harm. And for a while he paused, and preserved at first the attitude of forbearance, from respect to the treaty of peace to which he had given his sanction, that he might not be the first to commence the contest.

Chapter 17. Constantine's Victory.

But as soon as he perceived that his adversaries persisted in their resolution, and were already drawing their swords, he gave free scope to his indignation, and by a single charge overthrew in a moment the entire body of the enemy, thus triumphing at once over them and their gods.

Chapter 18. Death of Licinius, and Celebration of the Event.

He then proceeded to deal with this adversary of God and his followers according to the laws of war, and consign them to fitting punishment. Accordingly the tyrant himself, and they whose counsels had supported him in his impiety, were together subjected to the just punishment of death. After this, those who had so lately been deceived by their vain confidence in false deities, acknowledged with unfeigned sincerity the God of Constantine, and openly professed their belief in him as the true and only God.

Chapter 19. Rejoicings and Festivities.

And now, the impious being thus removed, the sun once more shone brightly after the gloomy cloud of tyrannic power. Each separate portion of the Roman dominion became blended with the rest; the Eastern nations united with those of the West, and the whole body of the Roman empire was graced as it were by its head in the person of a single and supreme ruler, whose sole authority pervaded the whole. Now too the bright rays of the light of godliness gladdened the days of those who had heretofore been sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Past sorrows were no more remembered, for all united in celebrating the praises of the victorious prince, and avowed their recognition of his preserver as the only true God. Thus he whose character shone with all the virtues of piety, the emperor Victor, for he had himself adopted this name as a most fitting appellation to express the victory which God had granted him over all who hated or opposed him, assumed the dominion of the East, and thus singly governed the Roman empire, re-united, as in former times, under one head. Thus, as he was the first to proclaim to all the sole sovereignty of God, so he himself, as sole sovereign of the Roman world, extended his authority over the whole human race. Every apprehension of those evils under the pressure of which all had suffered was now removed; men whose heads had drooped in sorrow now regarded each other with smiling countenances, and looks expressive of their inward joy. With processions and hymns of praise they first of all, as they were told, ascribed the supreme sovereignty to God, as in truth the King of kings; and then with continued acclamations rendered honor to the victorious emperor, and the Cæsars, his most discreet and pious sons. The former afflictions were forgotten, and all past impieties forgiven: while with the enjoyment of present happiness was mingled the expectation of continued blessings in the future.

Chapter 20. Constantine's Enactments in Favor of the Confessors.

Moreover, the emperor's edicts, permeated with his humane spirit, were published among us also, as they had been among the inhabitants of the other division of the empire; and his laws, which breathed a spirit of piety toward God, gave promise of manifold blessings, since they secured many advantages to his provincial subjects in every nation, and at the same time prescribed measures suited to the exigencies of the churches of God. For first of all they recalled those who, in consequence of their refusal to join in idol worship, had been driven to exile, or ejected from their homes by the governors of their respective provinces. In the next place, they relieved from their burdens those who for the same reason had been adjudged to serve in the civil courts, and ordained restitution to be made to any who had been deprived of property. They too, who in the time of trial had signalized themselves by fortitude of soul in the cause of God, and had therefore been condemned to the painful labor of the mines, or consigned to the solitude of islands, or compelled to toil in the public works, all received an immediate release from these burdens; while others, whose religious constancy had cost them the forfeiture of their military rank, were vindicated by the emperor's generosity from this dishonor: for he granted them the alternative either of resuming their rank, and enjoying their former privileges, or, in the event of their preferring a more settled life, of perpetual exemption from all service. Lastly, all who had been compelled by way of disgrace and insult to serve in the employments of women, he likewise freed with the rest.

Chapter 21. His Laws concerning Martyrs, and concerning Ecclesiastical Property.

Such were the benefits secured by the emperor's written mandates to the persons of those who had thus suffered for the faith, and his laws made ample provision for their property also.

With regard to those holy martyrs of God who had laid down their lives in the confession of His name, he directed that their estates should be enjoyed by their nearest kindred; and, in default of any of these, that the right of inheritance should be vested in the churches. Farther, whatever property had been consigned to other parties from the treasury, whether in the way of sale or gift, together with that retained in the treasury itself, the generous mandate of the emperor directed should be restored to the original owners. Such benefits did his bounty, thus widely diffused, confer on the Church of God.

Chapter 22. How he won the Favor of the People.

But his munificence bestowed still further and more numerous favors on the heathen peoples and the other nations of his empire. So that the inhabitants of our [Eastern] regions, who had heard of the privileges experienced in the opposite portion of the empire, and had blessed the fortunate recipients of them, and longed for the enjoyment of a similar lot for themselves, now with one consent proclaimed their own happiness, when they saw themselves in possession of all these blessings; and confessed that the appearance of such a monarch to the human race was indeed a marvelous event, and such as the world's history had never yet recorded. Such were their sentiments.

Chapter 23. That he declared God to be the Author of his Prosperity: and concerning his Rescripts.

And now that, through the powerful aid of God his Saviour, all nations owned their subjection to the emperor's authority, he openly proclaimed to all the name of Him to whose bounty he owed all his blessings, and declared that He, and not himself, was the author of his past victories. This declaration, written both in the Latin and Greek languages, he caused to be transmitted through every province of the empire. Now the excellence of his style of expression may be known from a perusal of his letters themselves which were two in number; one addressed to the churches of God; the other to the heathen population in the several cities of the empire. The latter of these I think it well to insert here as connected with my present subject, in order on the one hand that a copy of this document may be recorded as matter of history, and thus preserved to posterity, and on the other that it may serve to confirm the truth of my present narrative. It is taken from an authentic copy of the imperial statute in my own possession and the signature in the emperor's own handwriting attaches as it were the impress of truth to the statement I have made.

Chapter 24. Law of Constantine respecting Piety towards God, and the Christian Religion.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the inhabitants of the province of Palestine.

To all who entertain just and sound sentiments respecting the character of the Supreme Being, it has long been most clearly evident, and beyond the possibility of doubt, how vast a difference there has ever been between those who maintain a careful observance of the hallowed duties of the Christian religion, and those who treat this religion with hostility or contempt. But at this present time, we may see by still more manifest proofs, and still more decisive instances, both how unreasonable it were to question this truth, and how mighty is the power of the Supreme God: since it appears that they who faithfully observe His holy laws, and shrink from the transgression of His commandments, are rewarded with abundant blessings, and are endued with well-grounded hope as well as ample power for the accomplishment of their undertakings. On the other hand, they who have cherished impious sentiments have experienced results corresponding to their evil choice. For how is it to be expected that any blessing would be obtained by one who neither desired to acknowledge nor duly to worship that God who is the source of all blessing? Indeed, facts themselves are a confirmation of what I say.

Chapter 25. An Illustration from Ancient Times.

For certainly any one who will mentally retrace the course of events from the earliest period down to the present time, and will reflect on what has occurred in past ages, will find that all who have made justice and probity the basis of their conduct, have not only carried their undertakings to a successful issue, but have gathered, as it were, a store of sweet fruit as the produce of this pleasant root. Again, whoever observes the career of those who have been bold in the practice of oppression or injustice; who have either directed their senseless fury against God himself, or have conceived no kindly feelings towards their fellow-men, but have dared to afflict them with exile, disgrace, confiscation, massacre, or other miseries of the like kind, and all this without any sense of compunction, or wish to direct thoughts to a better course, will find that such men have received a recompense proportioned to their crimes. And these are results which might naturally and reasonably be expected to ensue.

Chapter 26. Of Persecuted and Persecutors.

For whoever have addressed themselves with integrity of purpose to any course of action, keeping the fear of God continually before their thoughts, and preserving an unwavering faith in him, without allowing present fears or dangers to outweigh their hope of future blessings — such persons, though for a season they may have experienced painful trials, have borne their afflictions lightly, being supported by the belief of greater rewards in store for them; and their character has acquired a brighter luster in proportion to the severity of their past sufferings. With regard, on the other hand, to those who have either dishonorably slighted the principles of justice, or refused to acknowledge the Supreme God themselves, and yet have dared to subject others who have faithfully maintained his worship to the most cruel insults and punishments; who have failed equally to recognize their own wretchedness in oppressing others on such grounds, and the happiness and blessing of those who preserved their devotion to God even in the midst of such sufferings: with regard, I say, to such men, many a time have their armies been slaughtered, many a time have they been put to flight; and their warlike preparations have ended in total ruin and defeat.

Chapter 27. How the Persecution became the Occasion of Calamities to the Aggressors.

From the causes I have described, grievous wars arose, and destructive devastations. Hence followed a scarcity of the common necessities of life, and a crowd of consequent miseries: hence, too, the authors of these impieties have either met a disastrous death of extreme suffering, or have dragged out an ignominious existence, and confessed it to be worse than death itself, thus receiving as it were a measure of punishment proportioned to the heinousness of their crimes. For each experienced a degree of calamity according to the blind fury with which he had been led to combat, and as he thought, defeat the Divine will: so that they not only felt the pressure of the ills of this present life, but were tormented also by a most lively apprehension of punishment in the future world.

Chapter 28. That God chose Constantine to be the Minister of Blessing.

And now, with such a mass of impiety oppressing the human race, and the commonwealth in danger of being utterly destroyed, as if by the agency of some pestilential disease, and therefore needing powerful and effectual aid; what was the relief, and what the remedy which the Divinity devised for these evils? (And by Divinity is meant the one who is alone and truly God, the possessor of almighty and eternal power: and surely it cannot be deemed arrogance in one who has received benefits from God, to acknowledge them in the loftiest terms of praise.) I myself, then, was the instrument whose services He chose, and esteemed suited for the accomplishment of his will. Accordingly, beginning at the remote Britannic ocean, and the regions where, according to the law of nature, the sun sinks beneath the horizon, through the aid of divine power I banished and utterly removed every form of evil which prevailed, in the hope that the human race, enlightened through my instrumentality, might be recalled to a due observance of the holy laws of God, and at the same time our most blessed faith might prosper under the guidance of his almighty hand.

Chapter 29. Constantine's Expressions of Piety towards God; and Praise of the Confessors.

I said, under the guidance of his hand; for I would desire never to be forgetful of the gratitude due to his grace. Believing, therefore, that this most excellent service had been confided to me as a special gift, I proceeded as far as the regions of the East, which, being under the pressure of severer calamities, seemed to demand still more effectual remedies at my hands. At the same time I am most certainly persuaded that I myself owe my life, my every breath, in short, my very inmost and secret thoughts, entirely to the favor of the Supreme God. Now I am well aware that they who are sincere in the pursuit of the heavenly hope, and have fixed this hope in heaven itself as the peculiar and predominant principle of their lives, have no need to depend on human favor, but rather have enjoyed higher honors in proportion as they have separated themselves from the inferior and evil things of this earthly existence. Nevertheless I deem it incumbent on me to remove at once and most completely from all such persons the hard necessities laid upon them for a season, and the unjust inflictions under which they have suffered, though free from any guilt or just liability. For it would be strange indeed, that the fortitude and constancy of soul displayed by such men should be fully apparent during the reign of those whose first object it was to persecute them on account of their devotion to God, and yet that the glory of their character should not be more bright and blessed, under the administration of a prince who is His servant.

Chapter 30. A Law granting Release from Exile, from Service in the Courts, and from the Confiscation of Property.

Let all therefore who have exchanged their country for a foreign land, because they would not abandon that reverence and faith toward God to which they had devoted themselves with their whole hearts, and have in consequence at different times been subject to the cruel sentence of the courts; together with any who have been enrolled in the registers of the public courts though in time past exempt from such office; let these, I say, now render thanks to God the Liberator of all, in that they are restored to their hereditary property, and their wonted tranquility. Let those also who have been despoiled of their goods, and have hitherto passed a wretched existence, mourning under the loss of all that they possessed, once more be restored to their former homes, their families, and estates, and receive with joy the bountiful kindness of God.

Chapter 31. Release likewise granted to Exiles in the Islands.

Furthermore, it is our command that all those who have been detained in the islands against their will should receive the benefit of this present provision; in order that they who till now have been surrounded by rugged mountains and the encircling barrier of the ocean, being now set free from that gloomy and desolate solitude, may fulfill their fondest wish by revisiting their dearest friends. Those, too, who have prolonged a miserable life in the midst of abject and wretched squalor, welcoming their restoration as an unlooked-for gain, and discarding henceforth all anxious thoughts, may pass their lives with us in freedom from all fear. For that any one could live in a state of fear under our government, when we boast and believe ourselves to be the servants of God, would surely be a thing most extraordinary even to hear of, and quite incredible; and our mission is to rectify the errors of the others.

Chapter 32. And to those ignominiously employed in the Mines and Public Works.

Again, with regard to those who have been condemned either to the grievous labor of the mines, or to service in the public works, let them enjoy the sweets of leisure in place of these long-continued toils, and henceforth lead a far easier life, and more accordant with the wishes of their hearts, exchanging the incessant hardships of their tasks for quiet relaxation. And if any have forfeited the common privilege of liberty, or have unhappily suffered dishonor, let them hasten back every one to the country of his nativity, and resume with becoming joy their former positions in society, from which they have been as it were separated by long residence abroad.

Chapter 33. Concerning those Confessors engaged in Military Service.

Once more, with respect to those who had previously been preferred to any military distinction, of which they were afterwards deprived, for the cruel and unjust reason that they chose rather to acknowledge their allegiance to God than to retain the rank they held; we leave them perfect liberty of choice, either to occupy their former stations, should they be content again to engage in military service, or after an honorable discharge, to live in undisturbed tranquillity. For it is fair and consistent that men who have displayed such magnanimity and fortitude in meeting the perils to which they have been exposed, should be allowed the choice either of enjoying peaceful leisure, or resuming their former rank.

Chapter 34. The Liberation of Free Persons condemned to labor in the Women's Apartments, or to Servitude.

Lastly, if any have wrongfully been deprived of the privileges of noble lineage, and subjected to a judicial sentence which has consigned them to the women's apartments and to the linen making, there to undergo a cruel and miserable labor, or reduced them to servitude for the benefit of the public treasury, without any exemption on the ground of superior birth; let such persons, resuming the honors they had previously enjoyed, and their proper dignities, henceforward exult in the blessings of liberty, and lead a glad life. Let the free man, too, by some injustice and inhumanity, or even madness, made a slave, who has felt the sudden transition from liberty to bondage, and oftentimes bewailed his unwonted labors, return to his family once more a free man in virtue of this our ordinance, and seek those employments which befit a state of freedom; and let him dismiss from his remembrance those services which he found so oppressive, and which so ill became his condition.

Chapter 35. Of the Inheritance of the Property of Martyrs and Confessors, also of those who had suffered Banishment or Confiscation of Property.

Nor must we omit to notice those estates of which individuals have been deprived on various pretenses. For if any of those who have engaged with dauntless and resolute determination in the noble and divine conflict of martyrdom have also been stripped of their fortunes; or if the same has been the lot of the confessors, who have won for themselves the hope of eternal treasures; or if the loss of property has befallen those who were driven from their native land because they would not yield to the persecutors, and betray their faith; lastly, if any who have escaped the sentence of death have yet been despoiled of their worldly goods; we ordain that the inheritances of all such persons be transferred to their nearest kindred. And whereas the laws expressly assign this right to those most nearly related, it will be easy to ascertain to whom these inheritances severally belong. And it is evidently reasonable that the succession in these cases should belong to those who would have stood in the place of nearest affinity, had the deceased experienced a natural death.

Chapter 36. The Church is declared Heir of those who leave no Kindred; and the Free Gifts of such Persons Confirmed.

But should there be no surviving relation to succeed in due course to the property of those above-mentioned, I mean the martyrs, or confessors, or those who for some such cause have been banished from their native land; in such cases we ordain that the church locally nearest in each instance shall succeed to the inheritance. And surely it will be no wrong to the departed that that church should be their heir, for whose sake they have endured every extremity of suffering. We think it necessary to add this also, that in case any of the above-mentioned persons have donated any part of their property in the way of free gift, possession of such property shall be assured, as is reasonable, to those who have thus received it.

Chapter 37 . Lands, Gardens, or Houses, but not Actual Produce from them, are to be given back.

And that there may be no obscurity in this our ordinance, but every one may readily apprehend its requirements, let all men hereby know that if they are now maintaining themselves in possession of a piece of land, or a house, or garden, or anything else which had appertained to the before-mentioned persons, it will be good and advantageous for them to acknowledge the fact, and make restitution with the least possible delay. On the other hand, although it should appear that some individuals have reaped abundant profits from this unjust possession, we do not consider that justice demands the restitution of such profits. They must, however, declare explicitly what amount of benefit they have thus derived, and from what sources, and entreat our pardon for this offense; in order that their past covetousness may in some measure be atoned for, and that the Supreme God may accept this compensation as a token of contrition, and be pleased graciously to pardon the sin.

Chapter 38. In what Manner Requests should be made for these.

But it is possible that those who have become masters of such property (if it be right or possible to allow them such a title) will assure us by way of apology for their conduct, that it was not in their power to abstain from this appropriation at a time when a spectacle of misery in all its forms everywhere met the view; when men were cruelly driven from their homes, slaughtered without mercy, thrust forth without remorse: when the confiscation of the property of innocent persons was a common thing, and when persecutions and property seizures were unceasing. If any defend their conduct by such reasons as these, and still persist in their avaricious temper, they shall be made sensible that such a course will bring punishment on themselves, and all the more because this correction of evil is the very characteristic of our service to the Supreme God. So that it will henceforth be dangerous to retain what dire necessity may in time past have compelled men to take; especially because it is in any case incumbent on us to discourage covetous desires, both by persuasion, and by warning examples.

Chapter 39. The Treasury must restore Lands, Gardens, and Houses to the Churches.

Nor shall the treasury itself, should it have any of the things we have spoken of, be permitted to keep them; but, without venturing as it were to raise its voice against the holy churches, it shall justly relinquish in their favor what it has for a time unjustly retained. We ordain, therefore, that all things whatsoever which shall appear righteously to belong to the churches, whether the property consist of houses or fields and gardens, or whatever the nature of it may be, shall be restored in their full value and integrity, and with undiminished right of possession.

Chapter 40. The Tombs of Martyrs and the Cemeteries to be transferred to the Possession of the Churches.

Again, with respect to those places which are honored in being the depositories of the remains of martyrs, and continue to be memorials of their glorious departure; how can we doubt that they rightly belong to the churches, or refrain from issuing our injunction to that effect? For surely there can be no better liberality, no labor more pleasing or profitable, than to be thus employed under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, in order that those things which have been appropriated on false pretenses by unjust and wicked men, may be restored, as justice demands, and once more secured to the holy churches.

Chapter 41. Those who have purchased Property belonging to the Church, or received it as a Gift, are to restore it.

And since it would be wrong in a provision intended to include all cases, to pass over those who have either procured any such property by right of purchase from the treasury, or have retained it when conveyed to them in the form of a gift; let all who have thus rashly indulged their insatiable thirst of gain be assured that, although by daring to make such purchases they have done all in their power to alienate our clemency from themselves, they shall nevertheless not fail of obtaining it, so far as is possible and consistent with propriety in each case. So much then is determined.

Chapter 42. An Earnest Exhortation to worship God.

And now, since it appears by the clearest and most convincing evidence, that the miseries which erewhile oppressed the entire human race are now banished from every part of the world, through the power of Almighty God, and at the same time the counsel and aid which he is pleased on many occasions to administer through our agency; it remains for all, both individually and unitedly, to observe and seriously consider how great this power and how efficacious this grace are, which have annihilated and utterly destroyed this generation, as I may call them, of most wicked and evil men; have restored joy to the good, and diffused it over all countries; and now guarantee the fullest authority both to honor the Divine law as it should be honored, with all reverence, and pay due observance to those who have dedicated themselves to the service of that law. These rising as from some dark abyss and, with an enlightened knowledge of the present course of events, will henceforward render to its precepts that becoming reverence and honor which are consistent with their pious character.

Let this ordinance be published in our Eastern provinces.

Chapter 43. How the Enactments of Constantine were carried into Effect.

Such were the injunctions contained in the first letter which the emperor addressed to us. And the provisions of this enactment were speedily carried into effect, everything being conducted in a manner quite different from the atrocities which had but lately been daringly perpetrated during the cruel ascendancy of the tyrants. Those persons also who were legally entitled to it, received the benefit of the emperor's liberality.

Chapter 44. That he promoted Christiansto Offices of Government, and forbade Gentilesin Such Stations to offer Sacrifice.

After this the emperor continued to address himself to matters of high importance, and first he sent governors to the several provinces, mostly such as were devoted to the saving faith; and if any appeared inclined to adhere to Gentile worship, he forbade them to offer sacrifice. This law applied also to those who surpassed the provincial governors in rank and dignity, and even to those who occupied the highest station, and held the authority of the Prætorian Præfecture. If they were Christians, they were free to act consistently with their profession; if otherwise, the law required them to abstain from idolatrous sacrifices.

Chapter 45. Statutes which forbade Sacrifice, and enjoined the Building of Churches.

Soon after this, two laws were promulgated about the same time; one of which was intended to restrain the idolatrous abominations which in time past had been practiced in every city and country; and it provided that no one should erect images, or practice divination and other false and foolish arts, or offer sacrifice in any way. The other statute commanded the heightening of the oratories, and the enlargement in length and breadth of the churches of God; as though it were expected that, now the madness of polytheism was wholly removed, pretty nearly all mankind would henceforth attach themselves to the service of God. His own personal piety induced the emperor to devise and write these instructions to the governors of the several provinces: and the law farther admonished them not to spare the expenditure of money, but to draw supplies from the imperial treasury itself. Similar instructions were written also to the bishops of the several churches; and the emperor was pleased to transmit the same to myself, being the first letter which he personally addressed to me.

Chapter 46. Constantine's Letter to Eusebius and Other Bishops, respecting the Building of Churches, with Instructions to repair the Old, and erect New Ones on a Larger Scale, with the Aid of the Provincial Governors.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius.

Forasmuch as the unholy and willful rule of tyranny has persecuted the servants of our Saviour until this present time, I believe and have fully satisfied myself, best beloved brother, that the buildings belonging to all the churches have either become ruinous through actual neglect, or have received inadequate attention from the dread of the violent spirit of the times.

But now, that liberty is restored, and that serpent driven from the administration of public affairs by the providence of the Supreme God, and our instrumentality, we trust that all can see the efficacy of the Divine power, and that they who through fear of persecution or through unbelief have fallen into any errors, will now acknowledge the true God, and adopt in future that course of life which is according to truth and rectitude. With respect, therefore, to the churches over which you yourself preside, as well as the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of other churches with whom you are acquainted, do you admonish all to be zealous in their attention to the buildings of the churches, and either to repair or enlarge those which at present exist, or, in cases of necessity, to erect new ones.

We also empower you, and the others through you, to demand what is needful for the work, both from the provincial governors and from the Prætorian Præfect. For they have received instructions to be most diligent in obedience to your Holiness's orders. God preserve you, beloved brother. A copy of this charge was transmitted throughout all the provinces to the bishops of the several churches: the provincial governors received directions accordingly, and the imperial statute was speedily carried into effect.

Chapter 47. That he wrote a Letter in Condemnation of Idolatry.

Moreover, the emperor, who continually made progress in piety towards God, dispatched an admonitory letter to the inhabitants of every province, respecting the error of idolatry into which his predecessors in power had fallen, in which he eloquently exhorts his subjects to acknowledge the Supreme God, and openly to profess their allegiance to his Christ as their Saviour. This letter also, which is in his own handwriting, I have judged it necessary to translate from the Latin for the present work, in order that we may hear, as it were, the voice the emperor himself uttering these sentiments in the audience of all mankind.

Chapter 48. Constantine's Edict to the People of the Provinces concerning the Error of Polytheism, commencing with Some General Remarks on Virtue and Vice.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the people of the Eastern provinces.

Whatever is comprehended under the sovereign laws of nature, seems to convey to all men an adequate idea of the forethought and intelligence of the divine order. Nor can any, whose minds are directed in the true path of knowledge to the attainment of that end, entertain a doubt that the just perceptions of sound reason, as well as those of the natural vision itself, through the sole influence of genuine virtue, lead to the knowledge of God. Accordingly no wise man will ever be surprised when he sees the mass of mankind influenced by opposite sentiments. For the beauty of virtue would be useless and unperceived, did not vice display in contrast with it the course of perversity and folly. Hence it is that the one is crowned with reward, while the most high God is himself the administrator of judgment to the other.

And now I will endeavor to lay before you all as explicitly as possible, the nature of my own hopes of future happiness.

Chapter 49. Concerning Constantine's Pious Father, and the Persecutors Diocletian and Maximian.

The former emperors I have been accustomed to regard as those with whom I could have no sympathy, on account of the savage cruelty of their character. Indeed, my father was the only one who uniformly practiced the duties of humanity, and with admirable piety called for the blessing of God the Father on all his actions, but the rest, unsound in mind, were more zealous of cruel than gentle measures; and this disposition they indulged without restraint, and thus persecuted the true doctrine during the whole period of their reign. Nay, so violent did their malicious fury become, that in the midst of a profound peace, as regards both the religious and ordinary interests of men, they kindled, as it were, the flames of a civil war.

Chapter 50. That the Persecution originated on Account of the Oracle of Apollo, who, it was said, could not give Oracles because of the Righteous Men.

About that time it is said that Apollo spoke from a deep and gloomy cavern, and through the medium of no human voice, and declared that *the righteous men* on earth were a bar to his speaking the truth, and accordingly that the oracles from the tripod were fallacious. Hence it was that he suffered his tresses to droop in token of grief, and mourned the evils which the loss of the oracular spirit would entail on mankind. But let us mark the consequences of this.

Chapter 51. That Constantine, when a Youth, heard from him who wrote the Persecution Edict that the Righteous Men were the Christians.

I call now on you, most high God, to witness that, when young, I heard him who at that time was chief among the Roman emperors, unhappy, truly unhappy as he was, and laboring under mental delusion, make earnest enquiry of his attendants as to who these righteous ones on earth were, and that one of the Pagan priests then present replied that they were doubtless the Christians. This answer he eagerly received, like some honeyed draught, and unsheathed the sword which was ordained for the punishment of crime, against those whose holiness was beyond reproach. Immediately, therefore, he issued those sanguinary edicts, traced, if I may so express myself, with a sword's point dipped in blood; at the same time commanding his judges to tax their ingenuity for the invention of new and more terrible punishments.

Chapter 52. The Manifold Forms of Torture and Punishment practiced against the Christians.

Then, indeed, one might see with what arrogance those venerable worshipers of God were daily exposed, with continued and relentless cruelty, to outrages of the most grievous kind, and how that modesty of character which no enemy had ever treated with disrespect, became the mere sport of their infuriated fellow citizens. Is there any punishment by fire, are there any tortures or forms of torment, which were not applied to all, without distinction of age or sex? Then, it may be truly said, the earth shed tears, the all-encircling compass of heaven mourned because of the pollution of blood; and the very light of day itself was darkened in grief at the spectacle.

Chapter 53. That the Barbarians kindly received the Christians.

But what is the consequence of this? Why, the barbarians themselves may boast now of the contrast their conduct presents to these cruel deeds; for they received and kept in gentlest captivity those who then fled from among us, and secured to them not merely safety from danger, but also the free exercise of their holy religion. And now the Roman people bear that lasting stain which the Christians, at that time driven from the Roman world, and taking refuge with the barbarians, have branded on them.

Chapter 54. What Vengeance overtook those who on Account of the Oracle raised the Persecution.

But why need I longer dwell on these lamentable events, and the general sorrow which in consequence pervaded the world? The perpetrators of this dreadful guilt are now no more: they have experienced a miserable end, and are consigned to unceasing punishment in the depths of the lower world. They encountered each other in civil strife, and have left neither name nor race behind. And surely this calamity would never have befallen them, had not that impious deliverance of the Pythian oracle exercised a delusive power over them.

Chapter 55. Constantine gives Glory to God, makes Grateful Acknowledgment of the Sign of the Cross, and prays for the Churches and People.

And now I beseech you, most mighty God, to be merciful and gracious to your Eastern nations, to your people in these provinces, worn as they are by protracted miseries; and grant them healing through your servant. Not without cause, O holy God, do I prefer this prayer to you, the Lord of all. Under your guidance have I devised and accomplished measures fraught with blessings: preceded by your sacred sign I have led your armies to victory: and still, on each occasion of public danger, I follow the same symbol of your perfections while advancing to meet the foe. Therefore have I dedicated to your service a soul duly attuned by love and fear. For your name I truly love, while I regard with reverence that power of which you have given abundant proofs, to the confirmation and increase of my faith. I hasten, then, to devote all my powers to the restoration of your most holy dwelling-place, which those profane and impious men have defiled by the contamination of violence.

Chapter 56. He prays that All may be Christians, but compels None.

My own desire is, for the common good of the world and the advantage of all mankind, that your people should enjoy a life of peace and undisturbed concord. Let those, therefore, who still delight in error, be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquillity which they have who believe. For it may be that this restoration of equal privileges to all will prevail to lead them into the straight path. Let no one molest another, but let every one do as his soul desires. Only let men of sound judgment be assured of this, that those only can live a life of holiness and purity, whom you call to a reliance on your holy laws. With regard to those who will hold themselves aloof from us, let them have, if they please, their temples of lies: *we* have the glorious edifice of your truth, which you have given us as our native home. We pray, however, that they too may receive the same blessing, and thus experience that heartfelt joy which unity of sentiment inspires.

Chapter 57. He gives Glory to God, who has given Light by his Son to those who were in Error.

And truly our worship is no new or recent thing, but one which you have ordained for your own due honor, from the time when, as we believe, this system of the universe was first established. And, although mankind have deeply fallen, and have been seduced by manifold errors, yet have you revealed a pure light in the person of your Son, that the power of evil should not utterly prevail, and hast thus given testimony to all men concerning yourself.

Chapter 58. He glorifies him again for his Government of the Universe.

The truth of this is assured to us by your works. It is your power which removes our guilt, and makes us faithful. The sun and the moon have their settled course. The stars move in no uncertain orbits round this terrestrial globe. The revolution of the seasons recurs according to unerring laws. The solid fabric of the earth was established by your word: the winds receive their impulse at appointed times; and the course of the waters continues with ceaseless flow, the ocean is circumscribed by an immovable barrier, and whatever is comprehended within the compass of earth and sea, is all contrived for wondrous and important ends.

Were it not so, were not all regulated by the determination of your will, so great a diversity, so manifold a division of power, would unquestionably have brought ruin on the whole race and its affairs. For those agencies which have maintained a mutual strife would thus have carried to a more deadly length that hostility against the human race which they even now exercise, though unseen by mortal eyes.

Chapter 59. He gives Glory to God, as the Constant Teacher of Good.

Abundant thanks, most mighty God, and Lord of all, be rendered to you, that, by so much as our nature becomes known from the diversified pursuits of man, by so much the more are the precepts of your divine doctrine confirmed to those whose thoughts are directed aright, and who are sincerely devoted to true virtue. As for those who will not allow themselves to be cured of their error, let them not attribute this to any but themselves. For that remedy which is of sovereign and healing virtue is openly placed within the reach of all. Only let not any one inflict an injury on that religion which experience itself testifies to be pure and undefiled. Henceforward, therefore, let us all enjoy in common the privilege placed within our reach, I mean the blessing of peace, endeavoring to keep our conscience pure from all that is contrary.

Chapter 60. An Admonition at the Close of the Edict, that No One should trouble his Neighbor.

Once more, let none use that to the detriment of another which he may himself have received on conviction of its truth; but let every one, if it be possible, apply what he has understood and known to the benefit of his neighbor; if otherwise, let him relinquish the attempt. For it is one thing voluntarily to undertake the conflict for immortality, another to compel others to do so from the fear of punishment.

These are our words; and we have enlarged on these topics more than our ordinary clemency would have dictated, because we were unwilling to dissemble or be false to the true faith; and the more so, since we understand there are some who say that the rites of the heathen temples, and the power of darkness, have been entirely removed. We should indeed have earnestly recommended such removal to all men, were it not that the rebellious spirit of those wicked errors still continues obstinately fixed in the minds of some, so as to discourage the hope of any general restoration of mankind to the ways of truth.

Chapter 61. How Controversies originated at Alexandria through Matters relating to Arius.

In this manner the emperor, like a powerful herald of God, addressed himself by his own letter to all the provinces, at the same time warning his subjects against superstitious error, and encouraging them in the pursuit of true godliness. But in the midst of his joyful anticipations of the success of this measure, he received tidings of a most serious disturbance which had invaded the peace of the Church. This intelligence he heard with deep concern, and at once endeavored to devise a remedy for the evil. The origin of this disturbance may be thus described. The people of God were in a truly flourishing state, and abounding in the practice of good works. No terror from without assailed them, but a bright and most profound peace, through the favor of God, encompassed his Church on every side. Meantime, however, the spirit of envy was watching to destroy our blessings, which at first crept in unperceived, but soon revelled in the midst of the assemblies of the saints. At length it reached the bishops themselves, and arrayed them in angry hostility against each other, on pretense of a jealous regard for the doctrines of Divine truth. Hence it was that a mighty fire was kindled as it were from a little spark, and which, originating in the first instance in the Alexandrian church, overspread the whole of Egypt and Libya, and the further Thebaid. Eventually it extended its ravages to the other provinces and cities of the empire; so that not only the prelates of the churches might be seen encountering each other in the strife of words, but the people themselves were completely divided, some adhering to one faction and others to another. Nay, so notorious did the scandal of these proceedings become, that the sacred matters of inspired teaching were exposed to the most shameful ridicule in the very theaters of the unbelievers.

Chapter 62. Concerning the Same Arius, and the Melitians.

Some thus at Alexandria maintained an obstinate conflict on the highest questions. Others throughout Egypt and the Upper Thebaid, were at variance on account of an earlier controversy: so that the churches were everywhere distracted by divisions. The body therefore being thus diseased, the whole of Libya caught the contagion; and the rest of the remoter provinces became affected with the same disorder. For the disputants at Alexandria sent emissaries to the bishops of the several provinces, who accordingly ranged themselves as partisans on either side, and shared in the same spirit of discord.

Chapter 63. How Constantine sent a Messenger and a Letter concerning Peace.

As soon as the emperor was informed of these facts, which he heard with much sorrow of heart, considering them in the light of a calamity personally affecting himself, he immediately selected from the Christians in his train one whom he well knew to be approved for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, and who had before this time distinguished himself by the boldness of his religious profession, and sent him to negotiate peace between the dissentient parties at Alexandria. He also made him the bearer of a most needful and appropriate letter to the original movers of the strife: and this letter, as exhibiting a specimen of his watchful care over God's people, it may be well to introduce into this our narrative of his life. Its purport was as follows.

Chapter 64. Constantine's Letter to Alexander the Bishop, and Arius the Presbyter.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Alexander and Arius.

I call that God to witness, as well I may, who is the helper of my endeavors, and the Preserver of all men, that I had a twofold reason for undertaking that duty which I have now performed.

Chapter 65. His Continual Anxiety for Peace.

My design then was, first, to bring the diverse judgments formed by all nations respecting the Deity to a condition, as it were, of settled uniformity; and, secondly, to restore to health the system of the world, then suffering under the malignant power of a grievous distemper. Keeping these objects in view, I sought to accomplish the one by the secret eye of thought, while the other I tried to rectify by the power of military authority. For I was aware that, if I should succeed in establishing, according to my hopes, a common harmony of sentiment among all the servants of God, the general course of affairs would also experience a change correspondent to the pious desires of them all.

Chapter 66. That he also adjusted the Controversies which had arisen in Africa.

Finding, then, that the whole of Africa was pervaded by an intolerable spirit of mad folly, through the influence of those who with heedless frivolity had presumed to rend the religion of the people into diverse sects; I was anxious to check this disorder, and could discover no other remedy equal to the occasion, except in sending some of yourselves to aid in restoring mutual harmony among the disputants, after I had removed that common enemy of mankind who had interposed his lawless sentence for the prohibition of your holy synods.

Chapter 67. That Religion began in the East.

For since the power of Divine light, and the law of sacred worship, which, proceeding in the first instance, through the favor of God, from the bosom, as it were, of the East, have illumined the world, by their sacred radiance, I naturally believed that you would be the first to promote the salvation of other nations, and resolved with all energy of thought and diligence of enquiry to seek your aid. As soon, therefore, as I had secured my decisive victory and unquestionable triumph over my enemies, my first enquiry was concerning that object which I felt to be of paramount interest and importance.

Chapter 68. Being grieved by the Dissension, he counsels Peace.

But, O glorious Providence of God! How deep a wound did not my ears only, but my very heart receive in the report that divisions existed among yourselves more grievous still than those which continued in that country! so that you, through whose aid I had hoped to procure a remedy for the errors of others, are in a state which needs healing even more than theirs. And yet, having made a careful enquiry into the origin and foundation of these differences, I find the cause to be of a truly insignificant character, and quite unworthy of such fierce contention. Feeling myself, therefore, compelled to address you in this letter, and to appeal at the same time to your unanimity and sagacity, I call on Divine Providence to assist me in the task, while I interrupt your dissension in the character of a minister of peace. And with reason: for if I might expect, with the help of a higher Power, to be able without difficulty, by a judicious appeal to the pious feelings of those who heard me, to recall them to a better spirit, even though the occasion of the disagreement were a greater one, how can I refrain from promising myself a far easier and more speedy adjustment of this difference, when the cause which hinders general harmony of sentiment is intrinsically trifling and of little moment?

Chapter 69. Origin of the Controversy between Alexander and Arius, and that these Questions ought not to have been discussed.

I understand, then, that the origin of the present controversy is this. When you, Alexander, demanded of the presbyters what opinion they severally maintained respecting a certain passage in the Divine law, or rather, I should say, that you asked them something connected with an unprofitable question, then you, Arius, inconsiderately insisted on festhietest). *Bag.* had gave utterance to, and with this *Vales.*, 1709, and *Str.* correspond.} — > what ought never to have been conceived at all, or if conceived, should have been buried in profound silence. Hence it was that a dissension arose between you, fellowship was withdrawn, and the holy people, rent into diverse parties, no longer preserved the unity of the one body. Now, therefore, do ye both exhibit an equal degree of forbearance, and receive the advice which your fellow-servant righteously gives. What then is this advice? It was wrong in the first instance to propose such questions as these, or to reply to them when propounded. For those points of discussion which are enjoined by the authority of no law, but rather suggested by the contentious spirit which is fostered by misused leisure, even though they may be intended merely as an intellectual exercise, ought certainly to be confined to the region of our own thoughts, and not hastily produced in the popular assemblies, nor unadvisedly entrusted to the general ear. For how very few are there able either accurately to comprehend, or adequately to explain subjects so sublime and abstruse in their nature? Or, granting that one were fully competent for this, how many people will he convince? Or, who, again, in dealing with questions of such subtle nicety as these, can secure himself against a dangerous declension from the truth? It is incumbent therefore on us in these cases to be sparing of our words, lest, in case we ourselves are unable, through the feebleness of our natural faculties, to give a clear explanation of the subject before us, or, on the other hand, in case the slowness of our hearers' understandings disables them from arriving at an accurate apprehension of what we say, from one or other of these causes the people be reduced to the alternative either of blasphemy or schism.

Chapter 70. An Exhortation to Unanimity.

Let therefore both the unguarded question and the inconsiderate answer receive your mutual forgiveness. For the cause of your difference has not been any of the leading doctrines or precepts of the Divine law, nor has any new heresy respecting the worship of God arisen among you. You are in truth of one and the same judgment: you may therefore well join in communion and fellowship.

Chapter 71. There should be no Contention in Matters which are in themselves of Little Moment.

For as long as you continue to contend about these small and very insignificant questions, it is not fitting that so large a portion of God's people should be under the direction of your judgment, since you are thus divided between yourselves. I believe it indeed to be not merely unbecoming, but positively evil, that such should be the case. But I will refresh your minds by a little illustration, as follows. You know that philosophers, though they all adhere to one system, are yet frequently at issue on certain points, and differ, perhaps, in their degree of knowledge: yet they are recalled to harmony of sentiment by the uniting power of their common doctrines. If this be true, is it not far more reasonable that you, who are the ministers of the Supreme God, should be of one mind respecting the profession of the same religion? But let us still more thoughtfully and with closer attention examine what I have said, and see whether it be right that, on the ground of some trifling and foolish verbal difference between ourselves, brethren should assume towards each other the attitude of enemies, and the august meeting of the Synod be rent by profane disunion, because of you who wrangle together on points so trivial and altogether unessential? This is vulgar, and rather characteristic of childish ignorance, than consistent with the wisdom of priests and men of sense. Let us withdraw ourselves with a good will from these temptations of the devil. Our great God and common Saviour of all has granted the same light to us all. Permit me, who am his servant, to bring my task to a successful issue, under the direction of his Providence, that I may be enabled, through my exhortations, and diligence, and earnest admonition, to recall his people to communion and fellowship. For since you have, as I said, but one faith, and one sentiment respecting our religion, and since the Divine commandment in all its parts enjoins on us all the duty of maintaining a spirit of concord, let not the circumstance which has led to a slight difference between you, since it does not affect the validity of the whole, cause any division or schism among you. And this I say without in any way desiring to force you to entire unity of judgment in regard to this truly idle question, whatever its real nature may be. For the dignity of your synod may be preserved, and the communion of your whole body maintained unbroken, however wide a difference may exist

among you as to unimportant matters. For we are not all of us like-minded on every subject, nor is there such a thing as one disposition and judgment common to all alike. As far, then, as regards the Divine Providence, let there be one faith, and one understanding among you, one united judgment in reference to God. But as to your subtle disputations on questions of little or no significance, though you may be unable to harmonize in sentiment, such differences should be consigned to the secret custody of your own minds and thoughts. And now, let the preciousness of common affection, let faith in the truth, let the honor due to God and to the observance of his law continue immovably among you. Resume, then, your mutual feelings of friendship, love, and regard: restore to the people their wonted embracings; and do ye yourselves, having purified your souls, as it were, once more acknowledge one another. For it often happens that when a reconciliation is effected by the removal of the causes of enmity, friendship becomes even sweeter than it was before.

Chapter 72. The Excess of his Pious Concern caused him to shed Tears; and his Intended Journey to the East was postponed because of These Things.

Restore me then my quiet days, and untroubled nights, that the joy of undimmed light, the delight of a tranquil life, may henceforth be my portion. Else must I needs mourn, with constant tears, nor shall I be able to pass the residue of my days in peace. For while the people of God, whose fellow-servant I am, are thus divided among themselves by an unreasonable and pernicious spirit of contention, how is it possible that I shall be able to maintain tranquillity of mind? And I will give you a proof how great my sorrow has been on this behalf. Not long since I had visited Nicomedia, and intended immediately to proceed from that city to the East. It was while I was hastening towards you, and had already accomplished the greater part of the distance, that the news of this matter reversed my plan, that I might not be compelled to see with my own eyes that which I felt myself scarcely able even to hear. Open then for me henceforward by your unity of judgment that road to the regions of the East which your dissensions have closed against me, and permit me speedily to see yourselves and all other peoples rejoicing together, and render due acknowledgment to God in the language of praise and thanksgiving for the restoration of general concord and liberty to all.

Chapter 73. The Controversy continues without Abatement, even after the Receipt of This Letter.

In this manner the pious emperor endeavored by means of the foregoing letter to promote the peace of the Church of God. And the excellent man to whom it was entrusted performed his part not merely by communicating the letter itself, but also by seconding the views of him who sent it; for he was, as I have said, in all respects a person of pious character. The evil, however, was greater than could be remedied by a single letter, insomuch that the acrimony of the contending parties continually increased, and the effects of the mischief extended to all the Eastern provinces. These things jealousy and some evil spirit who looked with an envious eye on the prosperity of the Church, wrought.

Book III

Chapter 1. A Comparison of Constantine's Piety with the Wickedness of the Persecutors.

In this manner that spirit who is the hater of good, actuated by envy at the blessing enjoyed by the Church, continued to raise against her the stormy troubles of intestine discord, in the midst of a period of peace and joy. Meanwhile, however, the divinely-favored emperor did not slight the duties befitting him, but exhibited in his whole conduct a direct contrast to those atrocities of which the cruel tyrants had been lately guilty, and thus triumphed over every enemy that opposed him. For in the first place, the tyrants, being themselves alienated from the true God, had enforced by every compulsion the worship of false deities: Constantine convinced mankind by actions as well as words, that these had but an imaginary existence, and exhorted them to acknowledge the only true God. They had derided his Christ with words of blasphemy: he assumed that as his safeguard against which they directed their blasphemies, and gloried in the symbol of the Saviour's passion. They had persecuted and driven from house and home the servants of Christ: he recalled them every one, and restored them to their native homes. They had covered them with dishonor: he made their condition honorable and enviable in the eyes of all. They had shamefully plundered and sold the goods of godly men: Constantine not only replaced this loss, but still further enriched them with abundant presents. They had circulated injurious calumnies, through their written ordinances, against the prelates of the Church: he on the contrary, conferred dignity on these individuals by personal marks of honor, and by his edicts and statutes raised them to higher distinction than before. They had utterly demolished and razed to the ground the houses of prayer: he commanded that those which still existed should be enlarged, and that new ones should be raised on a magnificent scale at the expense of the imperial treasury. They had ordered the inspired records to be burnt and utterly destroyed: he decreed that copies of them should be multiplied, and magnificently adorned at the charge of the imperial treasury. They had strictly forbidden the prelates, anywhere or on any occasion, to convene synods; whereas he gathered them to his court from every province, received them into his palace, and even to his own private apartments and thought them worthy to share his home and table. They had honored the demons with

offerings: Constantine exposed their error, and continually distributed the now useless materials for sacrifice, to those who would apply them to a better use. They had ordered the pagan temples to be sumptuously adorned: he razed to their foundations those of them which had been the chief objects of superstitious reverence. They had subjected God's servants to the most ignominious punishments: he took vengeance on the persecutors, and inflicted on them just chastisement in the name of God, while he held the memory of his holy martyrs in constant veneration. They had driven God's worshipers from the imperial palaces: he placed full confidence in them at all times, and knowing them to be the better disposed and more faithful than any beside. They, the victims of avarice, voluntarily subjected themselves as it were to the pangs of Tantalus: he with royal magnificence unlocked all his treasures, and distributed his gifts with rich and high-souled liberality. They committed countless murders, that they might plunder or confiscate the wealth of their victims; while throughout the reign of Constantine the sword of justice hung idle everywhere, and both people and municipal magistrates in every province were governed rather by paternal authority than by any constraining. Surely it must seem to all who duly regard these facts, that a new and fresh era of existence had begun to appear, and a light heretofore unknown suddenly to dawn from the midst of darkness on the human race: and all must confess that these things were entirely the work of God, who raised up this pious emperor to withstand the multitude of the ungodly.

Chapter 2. Farther Remarks on Constantine's Piety, and his Open Testimony to the Sign of the Cross.

And when we consider that their iniquities were without example, and the atrocities which they dared to perpetrate against the Church such as had never been heard of in any age of the world, well might God himself bring before us something entirely new, and work thereby effects such as had hitherto been never either recorded or observed. And what miracle was ever more marvelous than the virtues of this our emperor, whom the wisdom of God has vouchsafed as a gift to the human race? For truly he maintained a continual testimony to the Christ of God with all boldness, and before all men; and so far was he from shrinking from an open profession of the Christian name, that he rather desired to make it manifest to all that he regarded this as his highest honor, now impressing on his face the salutary sign, and now glorying in it as the trophy which led him on to victory.

Chapter 3. Of his Picture surmounted by a Cross and having beneath it a Dragon.

And besides this, he caused to be painted on a lofty tablet, and set up in the front of the portico of his palace, so as to be visible to all, a representation of the salutary sign placed above his head, and below it that hateful and savage adversary of mankind, who by means of the tyranny of the ungodly had wasted the Church of God, falling headlong, under the form of a dragon, to the abyss of destruction. For the sacred oracles in the books of God's prophets have described him as a dragon and a crooked serpent; and for this reason the emperor thus publicly displayed a painted resemblance of the dragon beneath his own and his children's feet, stricken through with a dart, and cast headlong into the depths of the sea.

In this manner he intended to represent the secret adversary of the human race, and to indicate that he was consigned to the gulf of perdition by virtue of the salutary trophy placed above his head. This allegory, then, was thus conveyed by means of the colors of a picture: and I am filled with wonder at the intellectual greatness of the emperor, who as if by divine inspiration thus expressed what the prophets had foretold concerning this monster, saying that God would bring his great and strong and terrible sword against the dragon, the flying serpent; and would destroy the dragon that was in the sea. This it was of which the emperor gave a true and faithful representation in the picture above described.

Chapter 4. A Farther Notice of the Controversies raised in Egypt by Arius.

In such occupations as these he employed himself with pleasure: but the effects of that envious spirit which so troubled the peace of the churches of God in Alexandria, together with the Theban and Egyptian schism, continued to cause him no little disturbance of mind. For in fact, in every city bishops were engaged in obstinate conflict with bishops, and people rising against people; and almost like the fabled Symplegades, coming into violent collision with each other. Nay, some were so far transported beyond the bounds of reason as to be guilty of reckless and outrageous conduct, and even to insult the statues of the emperor. This state of things had little power to excite his anger, but rather caused in him sorrow of spirit; for he deeply deplored the folly thus exhibited by deranged men.

Chapter 5. Of the Disagreement respecting the Celebration of Easter.

But before this time another most virulent disorder had existed, and long afflicted the Church; I mean the difference respecting the salutary feast of Easter. For while one party asserted that the Jewish custom should be adhered to, the other affirmed that the exact recurrence of the period should be observed, without following the authority of those who were in error, and strangers to gospel grace.

Accordingly, the people being thus in every place divided in respect of this, and the sacred observances of religion confounded for a long period (insomuch that the diversity of judgment in regard to the time for celebrating one and the same feast caused the greatest disagreement between those who kept it, some afflicting themselves with fastings and austerities, while others devoted their time to festive relaxation), no one appeared who was capable of devising a remedy for the evil, because the controversy continued equally balanced between both parties. To God alone, the Almighty, was the healing of these differences an easy task; and Constantine appeared to be the only one on earth capable of being his minister for this good end. For as soon as he was made acquainted with the facts which I have described, and perceived that his letter to the Alexandrian Christians had failed to produce its due effect, he at once aroused the energies of his mind, and declared that he must prosecute to the utmost this war also against the secret adversary who was disturbing the peace of the Church.

Chapter 6. How he ordered a Council to be held at Nicæa.

Then as if to bring a divine array against this enemy, he convoked a general council, and invited the speedy attendance of bishops from all quarters, in letters expressive of the honorable estimation in which he held them. Nor was this merely the issuing of a bare command but the emperor's good will contributed much to its being carried into effect: for he allowed some the use of the public means of conveyance, while he afforded to others an ample supply of horses for their transport. The place, too, selected for the synod, the city Nicæa in Bithynia (named from *Victory*), was appropriate to the occasion. As soon then as the imperial injunction was generally made known, all with the utmost willingness hastened there, as though they would outstrip one another in a race; for they were impelled by the anticipation of a happy result to the conference, by the hope of enjoying present peace, and the desire of beholding something new and strange in the person of so admirable an emperor. Now when they were all assembled, it appeared evident that the proceeding was the work of God, inasmuch as men who had been most widely separated, not merely in sentiment but also personally, and by difference of country, place, and nation, were here brought together, and comprised within the walls of a single city, forming as it were a vast garland of priests, composed of a variety of the choicest flowers.

Chapter 7. Of the General Council, at which Bishops from all Nations were Present.

In effect, the most distinguished of God's ministers from all the churches which abounded in Europe, Lybia, and Asia were here assembled. And a single house of prayer, as though divinely enlarged, sufficed to contain at once Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, delegates from Palestine, and others from Egypt; Thebans and Libyans, with those who came from the region of Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop too was present at this conference, nor was even a Scythian found wanting to the number. Pontus, Galatia, and Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phrygia, furnished their most distinguished prelates; while those who dwelt in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus, were notwithstanding in attendance. Even from Spain itself, one whose fame was widely spread took his seat as an individual in the great assembly. The prelate of the imperial city was prevented from attending by extreme old age; but his presbyters were present, and supplied his place. Constantine is the first prince of any age who bound together such a garland as this with the bond of peace, and presented it to his Saviour as a thank-offering for the victories he had obtained over every foe, thus exhibiting in our own times a similitude of the apostolic company.

Chapter 8. That the Assembly was composed, as in the Acts of the Apostles, of Individuals from Various Nations.

For it is said Acts 2:5 sqq. that in the Apostles' age, there were gathered devout men from every nation under heaven; among whom were Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene; and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians. But that assembly was less, in that not all who composed it were ministers of God; but in the present company, the number of bishops exceeded two hundred and fifty, while that of the presbyters and deacons in their train, and the crowd of acolytes and other attendants was altogether beyond computation.

Chapter 9. Of the Virtue and Age of the Two Hundred and Fifty Bishops.

Of these ministers of God, some were distinguished by wisdom and eloquence, others by the gravity of their lives, and by patient fortitude of character, while others again united in themselves all these graces. There were among them men whose years demanded veneration: others were younger, and in the prime of mental vigor; and some had but recently entered on the course of their ministry. For the maintenance of all ample provision was daily furnished by the emperor's command.

Chapter 10. Council in the Palace. Constantine, entering, took his Seat in the Assembly.

Now when the appointed day arrived on which the council met for the final solution of the questions in dispute, each member was present for this in the central building of the palace, which appeared to exceed the rest in magnitude. On each side of the interior of this were many seats disposed in order, which were occupied by those who had been invited to attend, according to their rank. As soon, then, as the whole assembly had seated themselves with becoming orderliness, a general silence prevailed, in expectation of the emperor's arrival. And first of all, three of his immediate family entered in succession, then others also preceded his approach, not of the soldiers or guards who usually accompanied him, but only friends in the faith. And now, all rising at the signal which indicated the emperor's entrance, at last he himself proceeded through the midst of the assembly, like some heavenly messenger of God, clothed in raiment which glittered as it were with rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold and precious stones. Such was the external appearance of his person; and with regard to his mind, it was evident that he was distinguished by piety and godly fear. This was indicated by his downcast eyes, the blush on his countenance, and his gait. For the rest of his personal excellencies, he surpassed all present in height of stature and beauty of form, as well as in majestic dignity of mien, and invincible strength and vigor. All these graces, united to a suavity of manner, and a serenity becoming his imperial station, declared the excellence of his mental qualities to be above all praise. As soon as he had advanced to the upper end of the seats, at first he remained standing, and when a low chair of wrought gold had been set for him, he waited until the bishops had beckoned to him, and then sat down, and after him the whole assembly did the same.

Chapter 11. Silence of the Council, after Some Words by the Bishop Eusebius.

The bishop who occupied the chief place in the right division of the assembly then rose, and, addressing the emperor, delivered a concise speech, in a strain of thanksgiving to Almighty God on his behalf. When he had resumed his seat, silence ensued, and all regarded the emperor with fixed attention; on which he looked serenely round on the assembly with a cheerful aspect, and, having collected his thoughts, in a calm and gentle tone gave utterance to the following words.

Chapter 12. Constantine's Address to the Council concerning Peace.

It was once my chief desire, dearest friends, to enjoy the spectacle of your united presence; and now that this desire is fulfilled, I feel myself bound to render thanks to God the universal King, because, in addition to all his other benefits, he has granted me a blessing higher than all the rest, in permitting me to see you not only all assembled together, but all united in a common harmony of sentiment. I pray therefore that no malignant adversary may henceforth interfere to mar our happy state; I pray that, now the impious hostility of the tyrants has been forever removed by the power of God our Saviour, that spirit who delights in evil may devise no other means for exposing the divine law to blasphemous calumny; for, in my judgment, intestine strife within the Church of God, is far more evil and dangerous than any kind of war or conflict; and these our differences appear to me more grievous than any outward trouble. Accordingly, when, by the will and with the co-operation of God, I had been victorious over my enemies, I thought that nothing more remained but to render thanks to him, and sympathize in the joy of those whom he had restored to freedom through my instrumentality; as soon as I heard that intelligence which I had least expected to receive, I mean the news of your dissension, I judged it to be of no secondary importance, but with the earnest desire that a remedy for this evil also might be found through my means, I immediately sent to require your presence. And now I rejoice in beholding your assembly; but I feel that my desires will be most completely fulfilled when I can see you all united in one judgment, and that common spirit of peace and concord prevailing among you all, which it becomes you, as consecrated to the service of God, to commend to others. Delay not, then, dear friends: delay not, you ministers of God, and faithful servants of him who is our common Lord and Saviour: begin from this moment to discard the causes of that disunion which has existed among you, and remove the perplexities of controversy by embracing the principles of peace. For by such conduct you will at the same time be acting in a manner most pleasing to the supreme God, and you will confer an exceeding favor on me who am your fellow-servant.

Chapter 13. How he led the Dissentient Bishops to Harmony of Sentiment.

As soon as the emperor had spoken these words in the Latin tongue, which another interpreted, he gave permission to those who presided in the council to deliver their opinions. On this some began to accuse their neighbors, who defended themselves, and recriminated in their turn. In this manner numberless assertions were put forth by each party, and a violent controversy arose at the very commencement. Notwithstanding this, the emperor gave patient audience to all alike, and received every proposition with steadfast attention, and by occasionally assisting the argument of each party in turn, he gradually disposed even the most vehement disputants to a reconciliation. At the same time, by the affability of his address to all, and his use of the Greek language, with which he was not altogether unacquainted, he appeared in a truly attractive and amiable light, persuading some, convincing others by his reasonings, praising those who spoke well, and urging all to unity of sentiment, until at last he succeeded in bringing them to one mind and judgment respecting every disputed question.

Chapter 14. Unanimous Declaration of the Council concerning Faith, and the Celebration of Easter.

The result was that they were not only united as concerning the faith, but that the time for the celebration of the salutary feast of Easter was agreed on by all. Those points also which were sanctioned by the resolution of the whole body were committed to writing, and received the signature of each several member. Then the emperor, believing that he had thus obtained a second victory over the adversary of the Church, proceeded to solemnize a triumphal festival in honor of God.

Chapter 15. How Constantine entertained the Bishops on the Occasion of His Vicennalia.

About this time he completed the twentieth year of his reign. On this occasion public festivals were celebrated by the people of the provinces generally, but the emperor himself invited and feasted with those ministers of God whom he had reconciled, and thus offered as it were through them a suitable sacrifice to God. Not one of the bishops was wanting at the imperial banquet, the circumstances of which were splendid beyond description. Detachments of the bodyguard and other troops surrounded the entrance of the palace with drawn swords, and through the midst of these the men of God proceeded without fear into the innermost of the imperial apartments, in which some were the emperor's own companions at table, while others reclined on couches arranged on either side. One might have thought that a picture of Christ's kingdom was thus shadowed forth, and a dream rather than reality.

Chapter 16. Presents to the Bishops, and Letters to the People generally.

After the celebration of this brilliant festival, the emperor courteously received all his guests, and generously added to the favors he had already bestowed by personally presenting gifts to each individual according to his rank. He also gave information of the proceedings of the synod to those who had not been present, by a letter in his own hand-writing. And this letter also I will inscribe as it were on some monument by inserting it in this my narrative of his life. It was as follows:

Chapter 17. Constantine's Letter to the Churches respecting the Council at Nicæa.

Constantinus Augustus, to the Churches.

Having had full proof, in the general prosperity of the empire, how great the favor of God has been towards us, I have judged that it ought to be the first object of my endeavors, that unity of faith, sincerity of love, and community of feeling in regard to the worship of Almighty God, might be preserved among the highly favored multitude who compose the Catholic Church. And, inasmuch as this object could not be effectually and certainly secured, unless all, or at least the greater number of the bishops were to meet together, and a discussion of all particulars relating to our most holy religion to take place; for this reason as numerous an assembly as possible has been convened, at which I myself was present, as one among yourselves (and far be it from me to deny that which is my greatest joy, that I am your fellow-servant), and every question received due and full examination, until that judgment which God, who sees all things, could approve, and which tended to unity and concord, was brought to light, so that no room was left for further discussion or controversy in relation to the faith.

Chapter 18. He speaks of their Unanimity respecting the Feast of Easter, and against the Practice of the Jews.

At this meeting the question concerning the most holy day of Easter was discussed, and it was resolved by the united judgment of all present, that this feast ought to be kept by all and in every place on one and the same day. For what can be more becoming or honorable to us than that this feast from which we date our hopes of immortality, should be observed unfailingly by all alike, according to one ascertained order and arrangement? And first of all, it appeared an unworthy thing that in the celebration of this most holy feast we should follow the practice of the Jews, who have impiously defiled their hands with enormous sin, and are, therefore, deservedly afflicted with blindness of soul. For we have it in our power, if we abandon their custom, to prolong the due observance of this ordinance to future ages, by a truer order, which we have preserved from the very day of the passion until the present time. Let us then have nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd; for we have received from our Saviour a different way. A course at once legitimate and honorable lies open to our most holy religion. Beloved brethren, let us with one consent adopt this course, and withdraw ourselves from all participation in their baseness. For their boast is absurd indeed, that it is not in our power without instruction from them to observe these things. For how should they be capable of forming a sound judgment, who, since their parricidal guilt in slaying their Lord, have been subject to the direction, not of reason, but of ungoverned passion, and are swayed by every impulse of the mad spirit that is in them? Hence it is that on this point as well as others they have no perception of the truth, so that, being altogether ignorant of the true adjustment of this question, they sometimes celebrate Easter twice in the same year. Why then should we follow those who are confessedly in grievous error? Surely we shall never consent to keep this feast a second time in the same year. But supposing these reasons were not of sufficient weight, still it would be incumbent on your Sagacities to strive and pray continually that the purity of your souls may not seem in anything to be sullied by fellowship with the customs of these most wicked men. We must consider, too, that a discordant judgment in a case of such importance, and respecting such religious festival, is wrong. For our Saviour has left us one feast in commemoration of the day

of our deliverance, I mean the day of his most holy passion; and he has willed that his Catholic Church should be one, the members of which, however scattered in many and diverse places, are yet cherished by one pervading spirit, that is, by the will of God. And let your Holinesses' sagacity reflect how grievous and scandalous it is that on the self-same days some should be engaged in fasting, others in festive enjoyment; and again, that after the days of Easter some should be present at banquets and amusements, while others are fulfilling the appointed fasts. It is, then, plainly the will of Divine Providence (as I suppose you all clearly see), that this usage should receive fitting correction, and be reduced to one uniform rule.

Chapter 19. Exhortation to follow the Example of the Greater Part of the World.

Since, therefore, it was needful that this matter should be rectified, so that we might have nothing in common with that nation of parricides who slew their Lord: and since that arrangement is consistent with propriety which is observed by all the churches of the western, southern, and northern parts of the world, and by some of the eastern also: for these reasons all are unanimous on this present occasion in thinking it worthy of adoption. And I myself have undertaken that this decision should meet with the approval of your Sagacities, in the hope that your Wisdoms will gladly admit that practice which is observed at once in the city of Rome, and in Africa; throughout Italy, and in Egypt, in Spain, the Gauls, Britain, Libya, and the whole of Greece; in the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, and in Cilicia, with entire unity of judgment. And you will consider not only that the number of churches is far greater in the regions I have enumerated than in any other, but also that it is most fitting that all should unite in desiring that which sound reason appears to demand, and in avoiding all participation in the perjured conduct of the Jews. In fine, that I may express my meaning in as few words as possible, it has been determined by the common judgment of all, that the most holy feast of Easter should be kept on one and the same day. For on the one hand a discrepancy of opinion on so sacred a question is unbecoming, and on the other it is surely best to act on a decision which is free from strange folly and error.

Chapter 20. Exhortation to obey the Decrees of the Council.

Receive, then, with all willingness this truly Divine injunction, and regard it as in truth the gift of God. For whatever is determined in the holy assemblies of the bishops is to be regarded as indicative of the Divine will. As soon, therefore, as you have communicated these proceedings to all our beloved brethren, you are bound from that time forward to adopt for yourselves, and to enjoin on others the arrangement above mentioned, and the due observance of this most sacred day; that whenever I come into the presence of your love, which I have long desired, I may have it in my power to celebrate the holy feast with you on the same day, and may rejoice with you on all accounts, when I behold the cruel power of Satan removed by Divine aid through the agency of our endeavors, while your faith, and peace, and concord everywhere flourish. God preserve you, beloved brethren!

The emperor transmitted a faithful copy of this letter to every province, wherein they who read it might discern as in a mirror the pure sincerity of his thoughts, and of his piety toward God.

Chapter 21. Recommendation to the Bishops, on their Departure, to Preserve Harmony.

And now, when the council was on the point of being finally dissolved, he summoned all the bishops to meet him on an appointed day, and on their arrival addressed them in a farewell speech, in which he recommended them to be diligent in the maintenance of peace, to avoid contentious disputations, among themselves and not to be jealous, if any one of their number should appear pre-eminent for wisdom and eloquence, but to esteem the excellence of one a blessing common to all. On the other hand he reminded them that the more gifted should forbear to exalt themselves to the prejudice of their humbler brethren, since it is God's prerogative to judge of real superiority. Rather should they considerately condescend to the weaker, remembering that absolute perfection in any case is a rare quality indeed. Each then, should be willing to accord indulgence to the other for slight offenses, to regard charitably and pass over mere human weaknesses; holding mutual harmony in the highest honor, that no occasion of mockery might be given by their dissensions to those who are ever ready to blaspheme the word of God: whom indeed we should do all in our power to save, and this cannot be unless our conduct seems to them attractive. But you are well aware of the fact that testimony is by no means productive of blessing to all, since some who hear are glad to secure the supply of their mere bodily necessities, while others court the patronage of their superiors; some fix their affection on those who treat them with hospitable kindness, others again, being honored with presents, love their benefactors in return; but few are they who really desire the word of testimony, and rare indeed is it to find a friend of truth. Hence the necessity of endeavoring to meet the case of all, and, physician-like, to administer to each that which may tend to the health of the soul, to the end that the saving doctrine may be fully honored by all. Of this kind was the former part of his exhortation; and in conclusion he enjoined them to offer diligent supplications to God on his behalf. Having thus taken leave of them, he gave them all permission to return to their respective countries; and this they did with joy, and thenceforward that unity of judgment at which they had arrived in the emperor's presence continued to prevail, and those who had long been divided were bound together as members of the same body.

Chapter 22. How he dismissed Some, and wrote Letters to Others; also his Presents.

Full of joy therefore at this success, the emperor presented as it were pleasant fruits in the way of letters to those who had not been present at the council. He commanded also that ample gifts of money should be bestowed on all the people, both in the country and the cities, being pleased thus to honor the festive occasion of the twentieth anniversary of his reign.

Chapter 23. How he wrote to the Egyptians, exhorting them to Peace.

And now, when all else were at peace, among the Egyptians alone an implacable contention still raged, so as once more to disturb the emperor's tranquillity, though not to excite his anger. For indeed he treated the contending parties with all respect, as fathers, nay rather, as prophets of God; and again he summoned them to his presence, and again patiently acted as mediator between them, and honored them with gifts, and communicated also the result of his arbitration by letter. He confirmed and sanctioned the decrees of the council, and called on them to strive earnestly for concord, and not to distract and rend the Church, but to keep before them the thought of God's judgment. And these injunctions the emperor sent by a letter written with his own hand.

Chapter 24. How he wrote Frequent Letters of a Religious Character to the Bishops and People.

But besides these, his writings are very numerous on kindred subjects, and he was the author of a multitude of letters, some to the bishops, in which he laid injunctions on them tending to the advantage of the churches of God; and sometimes the thrice blessed one addressed the people of the churches generally, calling them his own brethren and fellow-servants. But perhaps we may hereafter find leisure to collect these dispatches in a separate form, in order that the integrity of our present history may not be impaired by their insertion.

Chapter 25. How he ordered the Erection of a Church at Jerusalem, in the Holy Place of our Saviour's Resurrection.

After these things, the pious emperor addressed himself to another work truly worthy of record, in the province of Palestine. What then was this work? He judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour himself.

Chapter 26. That the Holy Sepulchre had been covered with Rubbish and with Idols by the Ungodly.

For it had been in time past the endeavor of impious men (or rather let me say of the whole race of evil spirits through their means), to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone for those who still had stony hearts, and who supposed that the living One still lay among the dead; and had declared glad tidings to the women also, and removed their stony-hearted unbelief by the conviction that he whom they sought was alive. This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars. For they supposed that their object could not otherwise be fully attained, than by thus burying the sacred cave beneath these foul pollutions. Unhappy men! They were unable to comprehend how impossible it was that their attempt should remain unknown to him who had been crowned with victory over death, any more than the blazing sun, when he rises above the earth, and holds his wonted course through the midst of heaven, is unseen by the whole race of mankind. Indeed, his saving power, shining with still greater brightness, and illumining, not the bodies, but the souls of men, was already filling the world with the effulgence of its own light. Nevertheless, these devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves ever yet appeared, with ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only that one who enjoyed the favor of the King of kings. And now, acting as he did under the guidance of the divine Spirit, he could not consent to see the sacred spot of which we have spoken, thus buried, through the devices of the adversaries,

under every kind of impurity, and abandoned to forgetfulness and neglect; nor would he yield to the malice of those who had contracted this guilt, but calling on the divine aid, gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified, thinking that the parts which had been most polluted by the enemy ought to receive special tokens, through his means, of the greatness of the divine favor. As soon, then, as his commands were issued, these engines of deceit were cast down from their proud eminence to the very ground, and the dwelling-places of error, with the statues and the evil spirits which they represented, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.

Chapter 27. How Constantine commanded the Materials of the Idol Temple, and the Soil itself, to be removed at a Distance.

Nor did the emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command also was speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having proceeded thus far: once more, fired with holy ardor, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship transported to a far distant place.

Chapter 28. Discovery of the Most Holy Sepulchre.

This also was accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hollowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a faithful similitude of his return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene, a testimony to the resurrection of the Saviour clearer than any voice could give.

Chapter 29. How he wrote concerning the Erection of a Church, both to the Governors of the Provinces, and to the Bishop Macarius.

Immediately after the transactions I have recorded, the emperor sent forth injunctions which breathed a truly pious spirit, at the same time granting ample supplies of money, and commanding that a house of prayer worthy of the worship of God should be erected near the Saviour's tomb on a scale of rich and royal greatness. This object he had indeed for some time kept in view, and had foreseen, as if by the aid of a superior intelligence, that which should afterwards come to pass. He laid his commands, therefore, on the governors of the Eastern provinces, that by an abundant and unsparing expenditure they should secure the completion of the work on a scale of noble and ample magnificence. He also dispatched the following letter to the bishop who at that time presided over the church at Jerusalem, in which he clearly asserted the saving doctrine of the faith, writing in these terms.

Chapter 30. Constantine's Letter to Macarius respecting the Building of the Church of our Saviour.

Victor Constantius, Maximus Augustus, to Macarius.

Such is our Saviour's grace, that no power of language seems adequate to describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that the monument of his most holy Passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to his servants now set free through the removal of him who was the common enemy of all, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. For if all who are accounted wise throughout the world were to unite in their endeavors to say somewhat worthy of this event, they would be unable to attain their object in the smallest degree. Indeed, the nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to human affairs. For this cause it is ever my first, and indeed my only object, that, as the authority of the truth is evincing itself daily by fresh wonders, so our souls may all become more zealous, with all sobriety and earnest unanimity, for the honor of the Divine law. I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were of the heavy weight of foul idol worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgment, but which now appears holier still, since it has brought to light a clear assurance of our Saviour's passion.

Chapter 31. That the Building should surpass all the Churches in the World in the Beauty of its Walls, its Columns, and Marbles.

It will be well, therefore, for your sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the church itself as a whole may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the building may be of such a kind that the fairest structures in any city of the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Prætorian Præfects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect that artificers and laborers, and whatever they shall understand from your sagacity to be needful for the advancement of the work, shall immediately be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever quantity or sort of materials we shall esteem from your letter to be needful, may be procured from every quarter, as required, for it is fitting that the most marvelous place in the world should be worthily decorated.

Chapter 32. That he instructed the Governors concerning the Beautifying of the Roof; also concerning Workmen, and Materials.

With respect to the ceiling of the church, I wish to know from you whether in your judgment it should be panel-ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If the panel ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. For the rest, your Holiness will give information as early as possible to the before-mentioned magistrates how many laborers and artificers, and what expenditure of money is required. You will also be careful to send us a report without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the paneled ceiling also, should this appear to you to be the most beautiful form. God preserve you, beloved brother!

Chapter 33. How the Church of our Saviour, the New Jerusalem prophesied of in Scripture, was built.

This was the emperor's letter; and his directions were at once carried into effect. Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence. And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets, concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records.

First of all, then, he adorned the sacred cave itself, as the chief part of the whole work, and the hallowed monument at which the angel radiant with light had once declared to all that regeneration which was first manifested in the Saviour's person.

Chapter 34. Description of the Structure of the Holy Sepulchre.

This monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, and profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind.

Chapter 35. Description of the Atrium and Porticos.

The next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent, and open to the pure air of heaven. This he adorned with a pavement of finely polished stone, and enclosed it on three sides with porticos of great length.

Chapter 36. Description of the Walls, Roof, Decoration, and Gilding of the Body of the Church.

For at the side opposite to the cave, which was the eastern side, the church itself was erected; a noble work rising to a vast height, and of great extent both in length and breadth. The interior of this structure was floored with marble slabs of various colors; while the external surface of the walls, which shone with polished stones exactly fitted together, exhibited a degree of splendor in no respect inferior to that of marble. With regard to the roof, it was covered on the outside with lead, as a protection against the rains of winter. But the inner part of the roof, which was finished with sculptured panel work, extended in a series of connected compartments, like a vast sea, over the whole church; and, being overlaid throughout with the purest gold, caused the entire building to glitter as it were with rays of light.

Chapter 37. Description of the Double Porticos on Either Side, and of the Three Eastern Gates.

Besides this were two porticos on each side, with upper and lower ranges of pillars, corresponding in length with the church itself; and these also had their roofs ornamented with gold. Of these porticos, those which were exterior to the church were supported by columns of great size, while those within these rested on piles of stone beautifully adorned on the surface. Three gates, placed exactly east, were intended to receive the multitudes who entered the church.

Chapter 38. Description of the Hemisphere, the Twelve Columns, and their Bowls.

Opposite these gates the crowning part of the whole was the hemisphere, which rose to the very summit of the church. This was encircled by twelve columns (according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour), having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God.

Chapter 39. Description of the Inner Court, the Arcades and Porches.

In the next place he enclosed the atrium which occupied the space leading to the entrances in front of the church. This comprehended, first the court, then the porticos on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these, in the midst of the open market-place, the general entrance-gates, which were of exquisite workmanship, afforded to passers-by on the outside a view of the interior which could not fail to inspire astonishment.

Chapter 40. Of the Number of his Offerings.

This temple, then, the emperor erected as a conspicuous monument of the Saviour's resurrection, and embellished it throughout on an imperial scale of magnificence. He further enriched it with numberless offerings of inexpressible beauty and various materials — gold, silver, and precious stones, the skillful and elaborate arrangement of which, in regard to their magnitude, number, and variety, we have not leisure at present to describe particularly.

Chapter 41. Of the Erection of Churches in Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives.

In the same country he discovered other places, venerable as being the localities of two sacred caves: and these also he adorned with lavish magnificence. In the one case, he rendered due honor to that which had been the scene of the first manifestation of our Saviour's divine presence, when he submitted to be born in mortal flesh; while in the case of the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of his ascension to heaven from the mountain top. And while he thus nobly testified his reverence for these places, he at the same time eternized the memory of his mother, who had been the instrument of conferring so valuable a benefit on mankind.

Chapter 42. That the Empress Helena, Constantine's Mother, having visited this Locality for Devotional Purposes, built these Churches.

For she, having resolved to discharge the duties of pious devotion to the God, the King of kings, and feeling it incumbent on her to render thanksgivings with prayers on behalf both of her own son, now so mighty an emperor, and of his sons, her own grandchildren, the divinely favored Cæsars, though now advanced in years, yet gifted with no common degree of wisdom, had hastened with youthful alacrity to survey this venerable land; and at the same time to visit the eastern provinces, cities, and people, with a truly imperial solicitude. As soon, then, as she had rendered due reverence to the ground which the Saviour's feet had trodden, according to the prophetic word which says Let us worship at the place whereon his feet have stood, she immediately bequeathed the fruit of her piety to future generations.

Chapter 43. A Farther Notice of the Churches at Bethlehem.

For without delay she dedicated two churches to the God whom she adored, one at the grotto which had been the scene of the Saviour's birth; the other on the mount of his ascension. For he who was God with us had submitted to be born even in a cave of the earth, and the place of his nativity was called Bethlehem by the Hebrews. Accordingly the pious empress honored with rare memorials the scene of her travail who bore this heavenly child, and beautified the sacred cave with all possible splendor. The emperor himself soon after testified his reverence for the spot by princely offerings, and added to his mother's magnificence by costly presents of silver and gold, and embroidered hangings. And farther, the mother of the emperor raised a stately structure on the Mount of Olives also, in memory of his ascent to heaven who is the Saviour of mankind, erecting a sacred church and temple on the very summit of the mount. And indeed authentic history informs us that in this very cave the Saviour imparted his secret revelations to his disciples. And here also the emperor testified his reverence for the King of kings, by diverse and costly offerings. Thus did Helena Augusta, the pious mother of a pious emperor, erect over the two mystic caverns these two noble and beautiful monuments of devotion, worthy of everlasting remembrance, to the honor of God her Saviour, and as proofs of her holy zeal, receiving from her son the aid of his imperial power. Nor was it long ere this aged woman reaped the due reward of her labors. After passing the whole period of her life, even to declining age, in the greatest prosperity, and exhibiting both in word and deed abundant fruits of obedience to the divine precepts, and having enjoyed in consequence an easy and tranquil existence, with unimpaired powers of body and mind, at length she obtained from God an end befitting her pious course, and a recompense of her good deeds even in this present life.

Chapter 44. Of Helena's Generosity and Beneficent Acts.

For on the occasion of a circuit which she made of the eastern provinces, in the splendor of imperial authority, she bestowed abundant proofs of her liberality as well on the inhabitants of the several cities collectively, as on individuals who approached her, at the same time that she scattered largesses among the soldiery with a liberal hand. But especially abundant were the gifts she bestowed on the naked and unprotected poor. To some she gave money, to others an ample supply of clothing: she liberated some from imprisonment, or from the bitter servitude of the mines; others she delivered from unjust oppression, and others again, she restored from exile.

Chapter 45. Helena's Pious Conduct in the Churches.

While, however, her character derived luster from such deeds as I have described, she was far from neglecting personal piety toward God. She might be seen continually frequenting his Church, while at the same time she adorned the houses of prayer with splendid offerings, not overlooking the churches of the smallest cities. In short, this admirable woman was to be seen, in simple and modest attire, mingling with the crowd of worshipers, and testifying her devotion to God by a uniform course of pious conduct.

Chapter 46. How she made her Will, and died at the Age of Eighty Years.

And when at length at the close of a long life, she was called to inherit a happier lot, having arrived at the eightieth year of her age, and being very near the time of her departure, she prepared and executed her last will in favor of her only son, the emperor and sole monarch of the world, and her grandchildren, the Cæsars his sons, to whom severally she bequeathed whatever property she possessed in any part of the world. Having thus made her will, this thrice blessed woman died in the presence of her illustrious son, who was in attendance at her side, caring for her and held her hands: so that, to those who rightly discerned the truth, the thrice blessed one seemed not to die, but to experience a real change and transition from an earthly to a heavenly existence, since her soul, remoulded as it were into an incorruptible and angelic essence, was received up into her Saviour's presence.

Chapter 47. How Constantine buried his Mother, and how he honored her during her Life.

Her body, too, was honored with special tokens of respect, being escorted on its way to the imperial city by a vast train of guards, and there deposited in a royal tomb. Such were the last days of our emperor's mother, a person worthy of being had in perpetual remembrance, both for her own practical piety, and because she had given birth to so extraordinary and admirable an offspring. And well may his character be styled blessed, for his filial piety as well as on other grounds. He rendered her through his influence so devout a worshiper of God, (though she had not previously been such,) that she seemed to have been instructed from the first by the Saviour of mankind: and besides this, he had honored her so fully with imperial dignities, that in every province, and in the very ranks of the soldiery, she was spoken of under the titles of Augusta and empress, and her likeness was impressed on golden coins. He had even granted her authority over the imperial treasures, to use and dispense them according to her own will and discretion in every case: for this enviable distinction also she received at the hands of her son. Hence it is that among the qualities which shed a luster on his memory, we may rightly include that surpassing degree of filial affection whereby he rendered full obedience to the Divine precepts which enjoin due honor from children to their parents. In this manner, then, the emperor executed in Palestine the noble works I have above described: and indeed in every province he raised new churches on a far more imposing scale than those which had existed before his time.

Chapter 48. How he built Churches in Honor of Martyrs, and abolished Idolatry at Constantinople.

And being fully resolved to distinguish the city which bore his name with special honor, he embellished it with numerous sacred edifices, both memorials of martyrs on the largest scale, and other buildings of the most splendid kind, not only within the city itself, but in its vicinity: and thus at the same time he rendered honor to the memory of the martyrs, and consecrated his city to the martyrs' God. Being filled, too, with Divine wisdom, he determined to purge the city which was to be distinguished by his own name from idolatry of every kind, that henceforth no statues might be worshipped there in the temples of those falsely reputed to be gods, nor any altars defiled by the pollution of blood: that there might be no sacrifices consumed by fire, no demon festivals, nor any of the other ceremonies usually observed by the superstitious.

Chapter 49. Representation of the Cross in the Palace, and of Daniel at the Public Fountains.

On the other hand one might see the fountains in the midst of the market place graced with figures representing the good Shepherd, well known to those who study the sacred oracles, and that of Daniel also with the lions, forged in brass, and resplendent with plates of gold. Indeed, so large a measure of Divine love possessed the emperor's soul, that in the principal apartment of the imperial palace itself, on a vast tablet displayed in the center of its gold-covered paneled ceiling, he caused the symbol of our Saviour's Passion to be fixed, composed of a variety of precious stones richly inwrought with gold. This symbol he seemed to have intended to be as it were the safeguard of the empire itself.

Chapter 50. That he erected Churches in Nicomedia, and in Other Cities.

Having thus embellished the city which bore his name, he next distinguished the capital of Bithynia by the erection of a stately and magnificent church, being desirous of raising in this city also, in honor of his Saviour and at his own charges, a memorial of his victory over his own enemies and the adversaries of God. He also decorated the principal cities of the other provinces with sacred edifices of great beauty; as, for example, in the case of that metropolis of the East which derived its name from Antiochus, in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building was encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rose to a vast elevation, being of an octagonal form, and surrounded on all sides by many chambers, courts, and upper and lower apartments; the whole richly adorned with a profusion of gold, brass, and other materials of the most costly kind.

Chapter 51. That he ordered a Church to be built at Mambre.

Such was the principal sacred edifices erected by the emperor's command. But having heard that the self-same Saviour who erewhile had appeared on earth had in ages long since past afforded a manifestation of his Divine presence to holy men of Palestine near the oak of Mambre, he ordered that a house of prayer should be built there also in honor of the God who had thus appeared. Accordingly the imperial commission was transmitted to the provincial governors by letters addressed to them individually, enjoining a speedy completion of the appointed work. He sent moreover to the writer of this history an eloquent admonition, a copy of which I think it well to insert in the present work, in order to convey a just idea of his pious diligence and zeal. To express, then, his displeasure at the evil practices which he had heard were usual in the place just referred to, he addressed me in the following terms.

Chapter 52. Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mambre.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Macarius, and the rest of the bishops in Palestine.

One benefit, and that of no ordinary importance, has been conferred on us by my truly pious mother-in-law, in that she has made known to us by letter that abandoned folly of impious men which has hitherto escaped detection by you: so that the criminal conduct thus overlooked may now through our means obtain fitting correction and remedy, necessary though tardy. For surely it is a grave impiety indeed, that holy places should be defiled by the stain of unhallowed impurities. What then is this, dearest brethren, which, though it has eluded your sagacity, she of whom I speak was impelled by a pious sense of duty to disclose?

Chapter 53. That the Saviour appeared in this Place to Abraham.

She assures me, then, that the place which takes its name from the oak of Mambre, where we find that Abraham dwelt, is defiled by certain of the slaves of superstition in every possible way. She declares that idols which should be utterly destroyed have been erected on the site of that tree; that an altar is near the spot; and that impure sacrifices are continually performed. Now since it is evident that these practices are equally inconsistent with the character of our times, and unworthy the sanctity of the place itself, I wish your Gravities to be informed that the illustrious Count Acacius, our friend, has received instructions by letter from me, to the effect that every idol which shall be found in the place above-mentioned shall immediately be consigned to the flames; that the altar be utterly demolished; and that if any one, after this our mandate, shall be guilty of impiety of any kind in this place, he shall be visited with condign punishment. The place itself we have directed to be adorned with an unpolluted structure, I mean a church; in order that it may become a fitting place of assembly for holy men. Meantime, should any breach of these our commands occur, it should be made known to our clemency without the least delay by letters from you, that we may direct the person detected to be dealt with, as a transgressor of the law, in the severest manner. For you are not ignorant that the Supreme God first appeared to Abraham, and conversed with him, in that place. There it was that the observance of the Divine law first began; there first the Saviour himself, with the two angels, vouchsafed to Abraham a manifestation of his presence; there God first appeared to men; there he gave promise to Abraham concerning his future seed, and straightway fulfilled that promise; there he foretold that he should be the father of a multitude of nations. For these reasons, it seems to me right that this place should not only be kept pure through your diligence from all defilement, but restored also to its pristine sanctity; that nothing hereafter may be done there except the performance of fitting service to him who is the Almighty God, and our Saviour, and Lord of all. And this service it is incumbent on you to care for with due attention, if your Gravities be willing (and of this I feel confident) to gratify my wishes, which are especially interested in the worship of God. May he preserve you, beloved brethren!

Chapter 54. Destruction of Idol Temples and Images everywhere.

All these things the emperor diligently performed to the praise of the saving power of Christ, and thus made it his constant aim to glorify his Saviour God. On the other hand he used every means to rebuke the superstitious errors of the heathen. Hence the entrances of their temples in the several cities were left exposed to the weather, being stripped of their doors at his command; the tiling of others was removed, and their roofs destroyed. From others again the venerable statues of brass, of which the superstition of antiquity had boasted for a long series of years, were exposed to view in all the public places of the imperial city: so that here a Pythian, there a Sminthian Apollo, excited the contempt of the beholder: while the Delphic tripods were deposited in the hippodrome and the Muses of Helicon in the palace itself. In short, the city which bore his name was everywhere filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship, which had been dedicated in every province, and which the deluded victims of superstition had long vainly honored as gods with numberless victims and burnt sacrifices, though now at length they learned to renounce their error, when the emperor held up the very objects of their worship to be the ridicule and sport of all beholders. With regard to those images which were of gold, he dealt with them in a different manner. For as soon as he understood that the ignorant multitudes were inspired with a vain and childish dread of these bugbears of error, wrought in gold and silver, he judged it right to remove these also, like stumbling-stones thrown in the way of men walking in the dark, and henceforward to open a royal road, plain and unobstructed to all. Having formed this resolution, he considered no soldiers or military force of any sort needful for the suppression of the evil: a few of his own friends sufficed for this service, and these he sent by a simple expression of his will to visit each several province. Accordingly, sustained by confidence in the emperor's pious intentions and their own personal devotion to God, they passed through the midst of numberless tribes and nations, abolishing this ancient error in every city and country. They ordered the priests themselves, amidst general laughter and scorn, to bring their gods from their dark recesses to the light of day: they then stripped them of their ornaments, and exhibited to the gaze of all the unsightly reality which had

been hidden beneath a painted exterior. Lastly, whatever part of the material appeared valuable they scraped off and melted in the fire to prove its worth, after which they secured and set apart whatever they judged needful for their purpose, leaving to the superstitious worshipers that which was altogether useless, as a memorial of their shame. Meanwhile our admirable prince was himself engaged in a work similar to what we have described. For at the same time that these costly images of the dead were stripped, as we have said, of their precious materials, he also attacked those composed of brass; causing those to be dragged from their places with ropes and as it were carried away captive, whom the dotage of mythology had esteemed as gods.

Chapter 55. Overthrow of an Idol Temple, and Abolition of Licentious Practices, at Aphaca in Phœnicia.

The emperor's next care was to kindle, as it were, a brilliant torch, by the light of which he directed his imperial gaze around, to see if any hidden vestiges of error might still exist. And as the keen-sighted eagle in its heavenward flight is able to descry from its lofty height the most distant objects on the earth, so did he, while residing in the imperial palace of his own fair city, discover as from a watchtower a hidden and fatal snare of souls in the province of Phœnicia. This was a grove and temple, not situated in the midst of any city, nor in any public place, as for splendor of effect is generally the case, but apart from the beaten and frequented road, at Aphaca, on part of the summit of Mount Lebanon, and dedicated to the foul demon known by the name of Venus. It was a school of wickedness for all the votaries of impurity, and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving of the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon by their effeminate conduct; here too unlawful commerce of women and adulterous intercourse, with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a place beyond the scope and restraint of law. Meantime these evils remained unchecked by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit such scenes. These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the building with its offerings should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to the imperial command, these engines of an impure superstition were immediately abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental in purging the place. And now those who had heretofore lived without restraint learned self-control through the emperor's threat of punishment, as likewise those superstitious Gentiles wise in their own conceit, who now obtained experimental proof of their own folly.

Chapter 56. Destruction of the Temple of Æsculapius at Ægæ.

For since a wide-spread error of these pretenders to wisdom concerned the demon worshipped in Cilicia, whom thousands regarded with reverence as the possessor of saving and healing power, who sometimes appeared to those who passed the night in his temple, sometimes restored the diseased to health, though on the contrary he was a destroyer of souls, who drew his easily deluded worshipers from the true Saviour to involve them in impious error, the emperor, consistently with his practice, and desire to advance the worship of him who is at once a jealous God and the true Saviour, gave directions that this temple also should be razed to the ground. In prompt obedience to this command, a band of soldiers laid this building, the admiration of noble philosophers, prostrate in the dust, together with its unseen inmate, neither demon nor god, but rather a deceiver of souls, who had seduced mankind for so long a time through various ages. And thus he who had promised to others deliverance from misfortune and distress, could find no means for his own security, any more than when, as is told in myth, he was scorched by the lightning's stroke. Our emperor's pious deeds, however, had in them nothing fabulous or feigned; but by virtue of the manifested power of his Saviour, this temple as well as others was so utterly overthrown, that not a vestige of the former follies was left behind.

Chapter 57. How the Gentiles abandoned Idol Worship, and turned to the Knowledge of God.

Hence it was that, of those who had been the slaves of superstition, when they saw with their own eyes the exposure of their delusion, and beheld the actual ruin of the temples and images in every place, some applied themselves to the saving doctrine of Christ; while others, though they declined to take this step, yet reprobated the folly which they had received from their fathers, and laughed to scorn what they had so long been accustomed to regard as gods. Indeed, what other feelings could possess their minds, when they witnessed the thorough uncleanness concealed beneath the fair exterior of the objects of their worship? Beneath this were found either the bones of dead men or dry skulls, fraudulently adorned by the arts of magicians, or filthy rags full of abominable impurity, or a bundle of hay or stubble. On seeing all these things heaped together within their lifeless images, they denounced their fathers' extreme folly and their own, especially when neither in the secret recesses of the temples nor in the statues themselves could any inmate be found; neither demon, nor utterer of oracles, neither god nor prophet, as they had heretofore supposed: nay, not even a dim and shadowy phantom could be seen. Accordingly, every gloomy cavern, every hidden recess, afforded easy access to the emperor's emissaries: the inaccessible and secret chambers, the innermost shrines of the temples, were trampled by the soldiers' feet; and thus the mental blindness which had prevailed for so many ages over the gentile world became clearly apparent to the eyes of all.

Chapter 58. How he destroyed the Temple of Venus at Heliopolis, and built the First Church in that City.

Such actions as I have described may well be reckoned among the emperor's noblest achievements, as also the wise arrangements which he made respecting each particular province. We may instance the Phœnician city Heliopolis, in which those who dignify licentious pleasure with a distinguishing title of honor, had permitted their wives and daughters to commit shameless fornication. But now a new statute, breathing the very spirit of modesty, proceeded from the emperor, which peremptorily forbade the continuance of former practices. And besides this he sent them also written exhortations, as though he had been especially ordained by God for this end, that he might instruct all men in the principles of chastity. Hence, he disdained not to communicate by letter even with these persons, urging them to seek diligently the knowledge of God. At the same time he followed up his words by corresponding deeds, and erected even in this city a church of great size and magnificence: so that an event unheard of before in any age, now for the first time came to pass, namely, that a city which had hitherto been wholly given up to superstition now obtained the privilege of a church of God, with presbyters and deacons, and its people were placed under the presiding care of a bishop consecrated to the service of the supreme God. And further, the emperor, being anxious that here also as many as possible might be won to the truth, bestowed abundant provision for the necessities of the poor, desiring even thus to invite them to seek the doctrines of salvation, as though he were almost adopting the words of him who said, Whether in pretense, or in truth, let Christ be preached.

Chapter 59. Of the Disturbance at Antioch by Eustathius.

In the midst, however, of the general happiness occasioned by these events, and while the Church of God was every where and every way flourishing throughout the empire, once more that spirit of envy, who ever watches for the ruin of the good, prepared himself to combat the greatness of our prosperity, in the expectation, perhaps, that the emperor himself, provoked by our tumults and disorders, might eventually become estranged from us. Accordingly, he kindled a furious controversy at Antioch, and thereby involved the church in that place in a series of tragic calamities, which had nearly occasioned the total overthrow of the city. The members of the Church were divided into two opposite parties; while the people, including even the magistrates and soldiery, were roused to such a pitch, that the contest would have been decided by the sword, had not the watchful providence of God, as well as dread of the emperor's displeasure, controlled the fury of the multitude. On this occasion, too, the emperor, acting the part of a preserver and physician of souls, applied with much forbearance the remedy of persuasion to those who needed it. He gently pleaded, as it were by an embassy, with his people, sending among them one of the best approved and most faithful of those who were honored with the dignity of Count; at the same time that he exhorted them to a peaceable spirit by repeated letters, and instructed them in the practice of true godliness. Having prevailed by these remonstrances, he excused their conduct in his subsequent letters, alleging that he had himself heard the merits of the case from him on whose account the disturbance had arisen. And these letters of his, which are replete with learning and instruction of no ordinary kind, I should have inserted in this present work, were it not that they might affix a mark of dishonor to the character of the persons accused. I will therefore omit these, being unwilling to revive the memory of past grievances, and will only annex those to my present narrative which he wrote to testify his satisfaction at the re-establishment of peace and concord among the rest. In these letters, he cautioned them against any desire to claim the ruler of another district, through whose intervention peace had been restored, as their own, and exhorted them, consistently with the usage of the Church, to choose him as their bishop, whom the common Saviour of all

should point out as suited for the office. His letter, then, is addressed to the people and to the bishops, severally, in the following terms.

Chapter 60. Constantine's Letter to the Antiochians, directing them not to withdraw Eusebius from Cæsarea, but to seek some one else.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the people of Antioch.

How pleasing to the wise and intelligent portion of mankind is the concord which exists among you! And I myself, brethren, am disposed to love you with an enduring affection, inspired both by religion, and by your own manner of life and zeal on my behalf. It is by the exercise of right understanding and sound discretion, that we are enabled really to enjoy our blessings. And what can become you so well as this discretion? No wonder, then, if I affirm that your maintenance of the truth has tended rather to promote your security than to draw on you the hatred of others. Indeed, among brethren, whom the selfsame disposition to walk in the ways of truth and righteousness promises, through the favor of God, to register among his pure and holy family, what can be more honorable than gladly to acquiesce in the prosperity of all men? Especially since the precepts of the divine law prescribe a better direction to your proposed intention, and we ourselves desire that your judgment should be confirmed by proper sanction. It may be that you are surprised, and at a loss to understand the meaning of this introduction to my present address. The cause of it I will not hesitate to explain without reserve. I confess, then, that on reading your records I perceived, by the highly eulogistic testimony which they bear to Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, whom I have myself long well known and esteemed for his learning and moderation, that you are strongly attached to him, and desire to appropriate him as your own. What thoughts, then, do you suppose that I entertain on this subject, desirous as I am to seek for and act on the strict principles of right? What anxiety do you imagine this desire of yours has caused me? O holy faith, who givest us in our Saviour's words and precepts a model, as it were, of what our life should be, how hardly would you yourself resist the sins of men, were it not that you refuse to subserve the purposes of gain! In my own judgment, he whose first object is the maintenance of peace, seems to be superior to Victory herself; and where a right and honorable course lies open to one's choice, surely no one would hesitate to adopt it. I ask then, brethren, why do we so decide as to inflict an injury on others by our choice? Why do we covet those objects which will

destroy the credit of our own reputation? I myself highly esteem the individual whom you judge worthy of your respect and affection: notwithstanding, it cannot be right that those principles should be entirely disregarded which should be authoritative and binding on all alike, so that each should not be content with his own circumstances, and all enjoy their proper privileges: nor can it be right, in considering the claims of rival candidates, to suppose but that not one only, but many, may appear worthy of comparison with this person. For as long as no violence or harshness are suffered to disturb the dignities of the church, they continue to be on an equal footing, and worthy of the same consideration everywhere. Nor is it reasonable that an inquiry into the qualifications of this one should be made to the detriment of others; since the judgment of all churches, whether reckoned of greater or less importance in themselves, is equally capable of receiving and maintaining the divine ordinances, so that one is in no way inferior to another, if we will but boldly declare the truth, in regard to that standard of practice which is common to all. If this be so, we must say that you will be chargeable, not with retaining this prelate, but with wrongfully removing him; your conduct will be characterized rather by violence than justice; and whatever may be generally thought by others, I dare clearly and boldly affirm that this measure will furnish ground of accusation against you, and will provoke factious disturbances of the most mischievous kind: for even timid flocks can show the use and power of their teeth, when the watchful care of their shepherd declines, and they find themselves bereft of his accustomed guidance. If this then be really so, if I am not deceived in my judgment, let this, brethren, be your first consideration, for many and important considerations will immediately present themselves, whether, should you persist in your intention, that mutual kindly feeling and affection which should subsist among you will suffer no diminution? In the next place, remember that he, who came among you for the purpose of offering disinterested counsel, now enjoys the reward which is due to him in the judgment of heaven; for he has received no ordinary recompense in the high testimony you have borne to his equitable conduct. Lastly, in accordance with your usual sound judgment, do ye exhibit a becoming diligence in selecting the person of whom you stand in need, carefully avoiding all factious and tumultuous clamor; for such clamor is always wrong, and from the collision

of discordant elements both sparks and flame will arise. I protest, as I desire to please God and you, and to enjoy a happiness commensurate with your kind wishes, that I love you, and the quiet haven of your gentleness, now that you have cast from you that which defiled, and received in its place at once sound morality and concord, firmly planting in the vessel the sacred standard, and guided, as one may say, by a helm of iron in your course onward to the light of heaven. Receive then on board that merchandise which is incorruptible, since, as it were, all bilge water has been drained from the vessel; and be careful henceforth so to secure the enjoyment of all your present blessing, that you may not seem at any future time either to have determined any measure on the impulse of inconsiderate or ill-directed zeal, or in the first instance rashly to have entered on an inexpedient course. May God preserve you, beloved brethren!

Chapter 61. The Emperor's Letter to Eusebius praising him for refusing the Bishopric of Antioch.

The Emperor's Letter to me on my refusing the Bishopric of Antioch.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius.

I have most carefully perused your letter, and perceive that you have strictly conformed to the rule enjoined by the discipline of the Church. Now to abide by that which appears at the same time pleasing to God, and accordant with apostolic tradition, is a proof of true piety. You have reason to deem yourself happy on this behalf, that you are counted worthy, in the judgment, I may say, of all the world, to have the oversight of any church. For the desire which all feel to claim you for their own, undoubtedly enhances your enviable fortune in this respect. Notwithstanding, your Prudence whose resolve it is to observe the ordinances of God and the apostolic canon of the Church, has done excellently well in declining the bishopric of the church at Antioch, and desiring to continue in that church of which you first received the oversight by the will of God. I have written on this subject to the people of Antioch, and also to your colleagues in the ministry who had themselves consulted me in regard to this question; on reading which letters, your Holiness will easily discern, that, inasmuch as justice itself opposed their claims, I have written to them under divine direction. It will be necessary that your Prudence should be present at their conference, in order that this decision may be ratified in the church at Antioch. God preserve you, beloved brother!

Chapter 62. Constantine's Letter to the Council, depreciating the Removal of Eusebius from Cæsarea.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, Aëtius, Alpheus, and the rest of the bishops who are at Antioch.

I have perused the letters written by your Prudences, and highly approve of the wise resolution of your colleague in the ministry, Eusebius. Having, moreover, been informed of the circumstances of the case, partly by your letters, partly by those of our illustrious counts, Acacius and Strategius, after sufficient investigation I have written to the people of Antioch, suggesting the course which will be at once pleasing to God and advantageous for the Church. A copy of this I have ordered to be subjoined to this present letter, in order that you yourselves may know what I thought fit, as an advocate of the cause of justice, to write to that people: since I find in your letter this proposal, that, in consonance with the choice of the people, sanctioned by your own desire, Eusebius the holy bishop of Cæsarea should preside over and take the charge of the church at Antioch. Now the letters of Eusebius himself on this subject appeared to be strictly accordant with the order prescribed by the Church. Nevertheless it is expedient that your Prudences should be made acquainted with my opinion also. For I am informed that Euphronius the presbyter, who is a citizen of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and George of Arethusa, likewise a presbyter, and appointed to that office by Alexander at Alexandria, are men of tried faith. It was right, therefore, to intimate to your Prudences, that in proposing these men and any others whom you may deem worthy the episcopal dignity, you should decide this question in a manner conformable to the tradition of the apostles. For in that case, your Prudences will be able, according to the rule of the Church and apostolic tradition, to direct this election in the manner which true ecclesiastical discipline shall prescribe. God preserve you, beloved brethren!

Chapter 63. How he displayed his Zeal for the Extirpation of Heresies.

Such were the exhortations to do all things to the honor of the divine religion which the emperor addressed to the rulers of the churches. Having by these means banished dissension, and reduced the Church of God to a state of uniform harmony, he next proceeded to a different duty, feeling it incumbent on him to extirpate another sort of impious persons, as pernicious enemies of the human race. These were pests of society, who ruined whole cities under the specious garb of religious decorum; men whom our Saviour's warning voice somewhere terms false prophets and ravenous wolves: Beware of false prophets, which will come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. Accordingly, by an order transmitted to the governors of the several provinces, he effectually banished all such offenders. In addition to this ordinance he addressed to them personally a severely awakening admonition, exhorting them to an earnest repentance, that they might still find a haven of safety in the true Church of God. Hear, then, in what manner he addressed them in this letter.

Chapter 64. Constantine's Edict against the Heretics.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the heretics.

Understand now, by this present statute, you Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, you who are called Cataphrygians, and all you who devise and support heresies by means of your private assemblies, with what a tissue of falsehood and vanity, with what destructive and venomous errors, your doctrines are inseparably interwoven; so that through you the healthy soul is stricken with disease, and the living becomes the prey of everlasting death. You haters and enemies of truth and life, in league with destruction! All your counsels are opposed to the truth, but familiar with deeds of baseness; full of absurdities and fictions: and by these ye frame falsehoods, oppress the innocent, and withhold the light from them that believe. Ever trespassing under the mask of godliness, you fill all things with defilement: ye pierce the pure and guileless conscience with deadly wounds, while you withdraw, one may almost say, the very light of day from the eyes of men. But why should I particularize, when to speak of your criminality as it deserves demands more time and leisure than I can give? For so long and unmeasured is the catalogue of your offenses, so hateful and altogether atrocious are they, that a single day would not suffice to recount them all. And, indeed, it is well to turn one's ears and eyes from such a subject, lest by a description of each particular evil, the pure sincerity and freshness of one's own faith be impaired. Why then do I still bear with such abounding evil; especially since this protracted clemency is the cause that some who were sound have become tainted with this pestilent disease? Why not at once strike, as it were, at the root of so great a mischief by a public manifestation of displeasure?

Chapter 65. The Heretics are deprived of their Meeting Places.

Forasmuch, then, as it is no longer possible to bear with your pernicious errors, we give warning by this present statute that none of you henceforth presume to assemble yourselves together. We have directed, accordingly, that you be deprived of all the houses in which you are accustomed to hold your assemblies: and our care in this respect extends so far as to forbid the holding of your superstitious and senseless meetings, not in public merely, but in any private house or place whatsoever. Let those of you, therefore, who are desirous of embracing the true and pure religion, take the far better course of entering the catholic Church, and uniting with it in holy fellowship, whereby you will be enabled to arrive at the knowledge of the truth. In any case, the delusions of your perverted understandings must entirely cease to mingle with and mar the felicity of our present times: I mean the impious and wretched double-mindedness of heretics and schismatics. For it is an object worthy of that prosperity which we enjoy through the favor of God, to endeavor to bring back those who in time past were living in the hope of future blessing, from all irregularity and error to the right path, from darkness to light, from vanity to truth, from death to salvation. And in order that this remedy may be applied with effectual power, we have commanded, as before said, that you be positively deprived of every gathering point for your superstitious meetings, I mean all the houses of prayer, if such be worthy of the name, which belong to heretics, and that these be made over without delay to the catholic Church; that any other places be confiscated to the public service, and no facility whatever be left for any future gathering; in order that from this day forward none of your unlawful assemblies may presume to appear in any public or private place. Let this edict be made public.

Chapter 66. How on the Discovery of Prohibited Books among the Heretics, Many of them return to the Catholic Church.

Thus were the lurking-places of the heretics broken up by the emperor's command, and the savage beasts they harbored (I mean the chief authors of their impious doctrines) driven to flight. Of those whom they had deceived, some, intimidated by the emperor's threats, disguising their real sentiments, crept secretly into the Church. For since the law directed that search should be made for their books, those of them who practiced evil and forbidden arts were detected, and these were ready to secure their own safety by dissimulation of every kind. Others, however, there were, who voluntarily and with real sincerity embraced a better hope. Meantime the prelates of the several churches continued to make strict inquiry, utterly rejecting those who attempted an entrance under the specious disguise of false pretenses, while those who came with sincerity of purpose were proved for a time, and after sufficient trial numbered with the congregation. Such was the treatment of those who stood charged with rank heresy: those, however, who maintained no impious doctrine, but had been separated from the one body through the influence of schismatic advisers, were received without difficulty or delay. Accordingly, numbers thus revisited, as it were, their own country after an absence in a foreign land, and acknowledged the Church as a mother from whom they had wandered long, and to whom they now returned with joy and gladness. Thus the members of the entire body became united, and compacted in one harmonious whole; and the one catholic Church, at unity with itself, shone with full luster, while no heretical or schismatic body anywhere continued to exist. And the credit of having achieved this mighty work our Heaven-protected emperor alone, of all who had gone before him, was able to attribute to himself.

Book IV

Chapter 1. How he honored Many by Presents and Promotions.

While thus variously engaged in promoting the extension and glory of the church of God, and striving by every measure to commend the Saviour's doctrine, the emperor was far from neglecting secular affairs; but in this respect also he was unwearied in bestowing benefits of every kind and in quick succession on the people of every province. On the one hand he manifested a paternal anxiety for the general welfare of his subjects; on the other he would distinguish individuals of his own acquaintance with various marks of honor; conferring his benefits in every instance in a truly noble spirit. No one could request a favor from the emperor, and fail of obtaining what he sought: no one expected a boon from him, and found that expectation vain. Some received presents in money, others in land; some obtained the Prætorian præfecture, others senatorial, others again consular rank: many were appointed provincial governors: others were made counts of the first, second, or third order: in numberless instances the title of Most Illustrious and many other distinctions were conferred; for the emperor devised new dignities, that he might invest a larger number with the tokens of his favor.

Chapter 2. Remission of a Fourth Part of the Taxes.

The extent to which he studied the general happiness and prosperity may be understood from a single instance most beneficial and universal in its application, and still gratefully remembered. He remitted a fourth part of the yearly tribute paid for land, and bestowed it on the owners of the soil; so that if we compute this yearly reduction, we shall find that the cultivators enjoyed their produce free of tribute every fourth year. This privilege being established by law, and secured for the time to come, has given occasion for the emperor's beneficence to be held, not merely by the then present generation, but by their children and descendants, in perpetual remembrance.

Chapter 3. Equalization of the More Oppressive Taxes.

And whereas some persons found fault with the surveys of land which had been made under former emperors, and complained that their property was unduly burdened; acting in this case also on the principles of justice, he sent commissioners to equalize the tribute, and to secure immunity to those who had made this appeal.

Chapter 4. His Liberality, from His Private Resources, to the Losers in Suits of a Pecuniary Nature.

In cases of judicial arbitration, in order that the loser by his decision might not quit his presence less contented than the victorious litigant, he himself bestowed, and from his own private means, in some cases lands, in other money, on the defeated party. In this manner he took care that the loser, as having appeared in his presence, should be as well satisfied as the gainer of the cause; for he considered that no one ought in any case to retire dejected and sorrowful from an interview with such a prince. Thus it happened that both parties returned from the scene of trial with glad and cheerful countenances, while the emperor's noble-minded liberality excited universal admiration.

Chapter 5. Conquest of the Scythians defeated through the Sign of Our Saviour.

And why should I relate even briefly and incidentally, how he subjected barbarous nations to the Roman power; how he was the first who subjugated the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, which had never learned submission, and compelled them, how unwilling soever, to own the sovereignty of Rome? For the emperors who preceded him had actually rendered tribute to the Scythians: and Romans, by an annual payment, had confessed themselves servants to barbarians; an indignity which our emperor could no longer bear, nor think it consistent with his victorious career to continue the payment his predecessors had made. Accordingly, with full confidence in his Saviour's aid, he raised his conquering standard against these enemies also, and soon reduced them all to obedience; coercing by military force those who fiercely resisted his authority, while, on the other hand, he conciliated the rest by wisely conducted embassies, and reclaimed them to a state of order and civilization from their lawless and savage life. Thus the Scythians at length learned to acknowledge subjection to the power of Rome.

Chapter 6. Conquest of the Sarmatians, consequent on the Rebellion of their Slaves.

With respect to the Sarmatians, God himself brought them beneath the rule of Constantine, and subdued a nation swelling with barbaric pride in the following manner. Being attacked by the Scythians, they had entrusted their slaves with arms, in order to repel the enemy. These slaves first overcame the invaders and then, turning their weapons against their masters, drove them all from their native land. The expelled Sarmatians found that their only hope of safety was in Constantine's protection: and he, whose familiar habit it was to save men's lives, received them all within the confines of the Roman empire. Those who were capable of serving he incorporated with his own troops: to the rest he allotted lands to cultivate for their own support: so that they themselves acknowledged that their past misfortune had produced a happy result, in that they now enjoyed Roman liberty in place of savage barbarism. In this manner God added to his dominions many and various barbaric tribes.

Chapter 7. Ambassadors from Different Barbarous Nations receive Presents from the Emperor.

Indeed, ambassadors were continually arriving from all nations, bringing for his acceptance their most precious gifts. So that I myself have sometimes stood near the entrance of the imperial palace, and observed a noticeable array of barbarians in attendance, differing from each other in costume and decorations, and equally unlike in the fashion of their hair and beard. Their aspect truculent and terrible, their bodily stature prodigious: some of a red complexion, others white as snow, others again of an intermediate color. For in the number of those I have referred to might be seen specimens of the Blemmyan tribes, of the Indians, and the Ethiopians, that widely-divided race, remotest of mankind. All these in due succession, like some painted pageant, presented to the emperor those gifts which their own nation held in most esteem; some offering crowns of gold, others diadems set with precious stones; some bringing fair-haired boys, others barbaric vestments embroidered with gold and flowers: some appeared with horses, others with shields and long spears, with arrows and bows, thereby offering their services and alliance for the emperor's acceptance. These presents he separately received and carefully laid aside, acknowledging them in so munificent a manner as at once to enrich those who bore them. He also honored the noblest among them with Roman offices of dignity; so that many of them thenceforward preferred to continue their residence among us, and felt no desire to revisit their native land.

Chapter 8. That he wrote also to the King of Persia, who had sent him an Embassy, on Behalf of the Christians in his Realm.

The king of the Persians also having testified a desire to form an alliance with Constantine, by sending an embassy and presents as assurances of peace and friendship, the emperor, in negotiating this treaty, far surpassed the monarch who had first done him honor, in the magnificence with which he acknowledged his gifts. Having heard, too, that there were many churches of God in Persia, and that large numbers there were gathered into the fold of Christ, full of joy at this intelligence, he resolved to extend his anxiety for the general welfare to that country also, as one whose aim it was to care for all alike in every nation.

Chapter 9. Letter of Constantine Augustus to Sapor, King of the Persians, containing a truly Pious Confession of God and Christ.

Copy of his Letter to the King of Persia.

By keeping the Divine faith, I am made a partaker of the light of truth: guided by the light of truth, I advance in the knowledge of the Divine faith. Hence it is that, as my actions themselves evince, I profess the most holy religion; and this worship I declare to be that which teaches me deeper acquaintance with the most holy God; aided by whose Divine power, beginning from the very borders of the ocean, I have aroused each nation of the world in succession to a well-grounded hope of security; so that those which, groaning in servitude to the most cruel tyrants and yielding to the pressure of their daily sufferings, had well near been utterly destroyed, have been restored through my agency to a far happier state. This God I confess that I hold in unceasing honor and remembrance; this God I delight to contemplate with pure and guileless thoughts in the height of his glory.

Chapter 10. The Writer denounces Idols, and glorifies God.

This God I invoke with bended knees, and recoil with horror from the blood of sacrifices, from their foul and detestable odors, and from every earth-born magic fire: for the profane and impious superstitions which are defiled by these rites have cast down and consigned to perdition many, nay, whole nations of the Gentile world. For he who is Lord of all cannot endure that those blessings which, in his own loving-kindness and consideration of the wants of men, he has revealed for the use of all, should be perverted to serve the lusts of any. His only demand from man is purity of mind and an undefiled spirit; and by this standard he weighs the actions of virtue and godliness. For his pleasure is in works of moderation and gentleness: he loves the meek, and hates the turbulent spirit: delighting in faith, he chastises unbelief: by him all presumptuous power is broken down, and he avenges the insolence of the proud. While the arrogant and haughty are utterly overthrown, he requires the humble and forgiving with deserved rewards: even so does he highly honor and strengthen with his special help a kingdom justly governed, and maintains a prudent king in the tranquillity of peace.

Chapter 11. Against the Tyrants and Persecutors; and on the Captivity of Valerian.

I cannot, then, my brother believe that I err in acknowledging this one God, the author and parent of all things: whom many of my predecessors in power, led astray by the madness of error, have ventured to deny, but who were all visited with a retribution so terrible and so destructive, that all succeeding generations have held up their calamities as the most effectual warning to any who desire to follow in their steps. Of the number of these I believe him to have been, whom the lightning-stroke of Divine vengeance drove forth from hence, and banished to your dominions and whose disgrace contributed to the fame of your celebrated triumph.

Chapter 12. He declares that, having witnessed the Fall of the Persecutors, he now rejoices at the Peace enjoyed by the Christians.

And it is surely a happy circumstance that the punishment of such persons as I have described should have been publicly manifested in our own times. For I myself have witnessed the end of those who lately harassed the worshipers of God by their impious edict. And for this abundant thanksgivings are due to God that through his excellent Providence all men who observe his holy laws are gladdened by the renewed enjoyment of peace. Hence I am fully persuaded that everything is in the best and safest posture, since God is vouchsafing, through the influence of their pure and faithful religious service, and their unity of judgment respecting his Divine character, to gather all men to himself.

Chapter 13. He bespeaks his Affectionate Interest for the Christians in his Country.

Imagine, then, with what joy I heard tidings so accordant with my desire, that the fairest districts of Persia are filled with those men on whose behalf alone I am at present speaking, I mean the Christians. I pray, therefore, that both you and they may enjoy abundant prosperity, and that your blessings and theirs may be in equal measure; for thus you will experience the mercy and favor of that God who is the Lord and Father of all. And now, because your power is great, I commend these persons to your protection; because your piety is eminent, I commit them to your care. Cherish them with your wonted humanity and kindness; for by this proof of faith you will secure an immeasurable benefit both to yourself and us.

Chapter 14. How the Zealous Prayers of Constantine procured Peace to the Christians.

Thus, the nations of the world being everywhere guided in their course as it were by the skill of a single pilot, and acquiescing in the administration of him who governed as the servant of God, the peace of the Roman empire continued undisturbed, and all classes of his subjects enjoyed a life of tranquillity and repose. At the same time the emperor, who was convinced that the prayers of godly men contributed powerfully to the maintenance of the public welfare, felt himself constrained zealously to seek such prayers and not only himself implored the help and favor of God, but charged the prelates of the churches to offer supplications on his behalf.

Chapter 15. He causes himself to be represented on his Coins, and in his Portraits, in the Attitude of Prayer.

How deeply his soul was impressed by the power of divine faith may be understood from the circumstance that he directed his likeness to be stamped on the golden coin of the empire with the eyes uplifted as in the posture of prayer to God: and this money became current throughout the Roman world. His portrait also at full length was placed over the entrance gates of the palaces in some cities, the eyes upraised to heaven, and the hands outspread as if in prayer.

Chapter 16. He forbids by Law the Placing his Likeness in Idol Temples.

In this manner he represented himself, even through the medium of painting, as habitually engaged in prayer to God. At the same time he forbade, by an express enactment, the setting up of any resemblance of himself in any idol temple, that not even the mere lineaments of his person might receive contamination from the error of forbidden superstition.

Chapter 17. Of his Prayers in the Palace, and his Reading the Holy Scriptures.

Still nobler proofs of his piety might be discerned by those who marked how he modeled as it were his very palace into a church of God, and himself afforded a pattern of zeal to those assembled therein: how he took the sacred scriptures into his hands, and devoted himself to the study of those divinely inspired oracles; after which he would offer up regular prayers with all the members of his imperial court.

Chapter 18. He enjoins the General Observance of the Lord's Day, and the Day of Preparation.

He ordained, too, that one day should be regarded as a special occasion for prayer: I mean that which is truly the first and chief of all, the day of our Lord and Saviour. The entire care of his household was entrusted to deacons and other ministers consecrated to the service of God, and distinguished by gravity of life and every other virtue: while his trusty body guard, strong in affection and fidelity to his person, found in their emperor an instructor in the practice of piety, and like him held the Lord's salutary day in honor and performed on that day the devotions which he loved. The same observance was recommended by this blessed prince to all classes of his subjects: his earnest desire being gradually to lead all mankind to the worship of God. Accordingly he enjoined on all the subjects of the Roman empire to observe the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and also to honor the day which precedes the Sabbath; in memory, I suppose, of what the Saviour of mankind is recorded to have achieved on that day. And since his desire was to teach his whole army zealously to honor the Saviour's day (which derives its name from light, and from the sun), he freely granted to those among them who were partakers of the divine faith, leisure for attendance on the services of the Church of God, in order that they might be able, without impediment, to perform their religious worship.

Chapter 19. That he directed even his Pagan Soldiers to pray on the Lord's Day.

With regard to those who were as yet ignorant of divine truth, he provided by a second statute that they should appear on each Lord's day on an open plain near the city, and there, at a given signal, offer to God with one accord a prayer which they had previously learned. He admonished them that their confidence should not rest in their spears, or armor, or bodily strength, but that they should acknowledge the supreme God as the giver of every good, and of victory itself; to whom they were bound to offer their prayers with due regularity, uplifting their hands toward heaven, and raising their mental vision higher still to the king of heaven, on whom they should call as the Author of victory, their Preserver, Guardian, and Helper. The emperor himself prescribed the prayer to be used by all his troops, commanding them, to pronounce the following words in the Latin tongue:

Chapter 20. The Form of Prayer given by Constantine to his Soldiers.

We acknowledge you the only God: we own you, as our King and implore your succor. By your favor have we gotten the victory: through you are we mightier than our enemies. We render thanks for your past benefits, and trust you for future blessings. Together we pray to you, and beseech you long to preserve to us, safe and triumphant, our emperor Constantine and his pious sons. Such was the duty to be performed on Sunday by his troops, and such the prayer they were instructed to offer up to God.

Chapter 21. He orders the Sign of the Saviour's Cross to be engraven on his Soldiers' Shields.

And not only so, but he also caused the sign of the salutary trophy to be impressed on the very shields of his soldiers; and commanded that his embattled forces should be preceded in their march, not by golden images, as heretofore, but only by the standard of the cross.

Chapter 22. Of his Zeal in Prayer, and the Honor he paid to the Feast of Easter.

The emperor himself, as a sharer in the holy mysteries of our religion, would seclude himself daily at a stated hour in the innermost chambers of his palace; and there in solitary converse with his God, would kneel in humble supplication, and entreat the blessings of which he stood in need. But especially at the salutary feast of Easter, his religious diligence was redoubled; he fulfilled as it were the duties of a hierophant with every energy of his mind and body, and outvied all others in the zealous celebration of this feast. He changed, too, the holy night vigil into a brightness like that of day, by causing waxen tapers of great length to be lighted throughout the city: besides which, torches everywhere diffused their light, so as to impart to this mystic vigil a brilliant splendor beyond that of day. As soon as day itself returned, in imitation of our Saviour's gracious acts, he opened a liberal hand to his subjects of every nation, province, and people, and lavished abundant bounties on all.

Chapter 23. How he forbade Idolatrous Worship, but honored Martyrs and the Church Festivals.

Such were his sacred ministrations in the service of his God. At the same time, his subjects, both civil and military, throughout the empire, found a barrier everywhere opposed against idol worship, and every kind of sacrifice forbidden. A statute was also passed, enjoining the due observance of the Lord's day, and transmitted to the governors of every province, who undertook, at the emperor's command, to respect the days commemorative of martyrs, and duly to honor the festal seasons in the churches: and all these intentions were fulfilled to the emperor's entire satisfaction.

Chapter 24. That he described himself to be a Bishop, in Charge of Affairs External to the Church.

Hence it was not without reason that once, on the occasion of his entertaining a company of bishops, he let fall the expression, that he himself too was a bishop, addressing them in my hearing in the following words: You are bishops whose jurisdiction is within the Church: I also am a bishop, ordained by God to overlook whatever is external to the Church. And truly his measures corresponded with his words: for he watched over his subjects with an episcopal care, and exhorted them as far as in him lay to follow a godly life.

Chapter 25. Prohibition of Sacrifices, of Mystic Rites, Combats of Gladiators, also the Licentious Worship of the Nile.

Consistently with this zeal he issued successive laws and ordinances, forbidding any to offer sacrifice to idols, to consult diviners, to erect images, or to pollute the cities with the sanguinary combats of gladiators. And inasmuch as the Egyptians, especially those of Alexandria, had been accustomed to honor their river through a priesthood composed of effeminate men, a further law was passed commanding the extermination of the whole class as vicious, that no one might thenceforward be found tainted with the like impurity. And whereas the superstitious inhabitants apprehended that the river would in consequence withhold its customary flood, God himself showed his approval of the emperor's law by ordering all things in a manner quite contrary to their expectation. For those who had defiled the cities by their vicious conduct were indeed seen no more; but the river, as if the country through which it flowed had been purified to receive it, rose higher than ever before, and completely overflowed the country with its fertilizing streams: thus effectually admonishing the deluded people to turn from impure men, and ascribe their prosperity to him alone who is the Giver of all good.

Chapter 26. Amendment of the Law in Force respecting Childless Persons, and of the Law of Wills.

So numerous, indeed, were the benefits of this kind conferred by the emperor on every province, as to afford ample materials to any who might desire to record them. Among these may be instanced those laws which he entirely remodelled, and established on a more equitable basis: the nature of which reform may be briefly and easily explained. The childless were punished under the old law with the forfeiture of their hereditary property, a merciless statute, which dealt with them as positive criminals. The emperor annulled this, and decreed that those so circumstanced should inherit. He regulated the question on the principles of equity and justice, arguing willful transgressors should be chastised with the penalties their crimes deserve. But nature herself denies children to many, who long, perhaps, for a numerous offspring, but are disappointed of their hope by bodily infirmity. Others continue childless, not from any dislike of posterity, but because their ardent love of philosophy renders them averse to the conjugal union. Women, too, consecrated to the service of God, have maintained a pure and spotless virginity, and have devoted themselves, soul and body to a life of entire chastity and holiness. What then? Should this conduct be deemed worthy of punishment, or rather of admiration and praise; since to desire this state is in itself honorable, and to maintain it surpasses the power of unassisted nature? Surely those whose bodily infirmity destroys their hope of offspring are worthy of pity, not of punishment: and he who devotes himself to a higher object calls not for chastisement, but special admiration. On such principles of sound reason did the emperor rectify the defects of this law. Again, with regard to the wills of dying persons, the old laws had ordained that they should be expressed, even at the latest breath, as it were, in certain definite words, and had prescribed the exact form and terms to be employed. This practice had occasioned many fraudulent attempts to hinder the intentions of the deceased from being carried into full effect. As soon as our emperor was aware of these abuses, he reformed this law likewise, declaring that a dying man ought to be permitted to indicate his last wishes in as few words as possible, and in whatever terms he pleased; and to set forth his will in any written form; or even by word of mouth, provided it were done in the presence of proper witnesses, who might

be competent faithfully to discharge their trust.

Chapter 27. Among Other Enactments, he decrees that no Christianshall slave to a Jew, and affirms the Validity of the Decisions of Councils.

He also passed a law to the effect that no Christian should remain in servitude to a Jewish master, on the ground that it could not be right that those whom the Saviour had ransomed should be subjected to the yoke of slavery by a people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself. If any were found hereafter in these circumstances, the slave was to be set at liberty, and the master punished by a fine.

He likewise added the sanction of his authority to the decisions of bishops passed at their synods, and forbade the provincial governors to annul any of their decrees: for he rated the priests of God at a higher value than any judge whatever. These and a thousand similar provisions did he enact for the benefit of his subjects; but there is not time now to give a special description of them, such as might convey an accurate idea of his imperial wisdom in these respects: nor need I now relate at length, how, as a devoted servant of the Supreme God, he employed himself from morning until night in seeking objects for his beneficence, and how equally and universally kind he was to all.

Chapter 28. His Gifts to the Churches, and Bounties to Virgins and to the Poor.

His liberality, however, was most especially exercised on behalf of the churches of God. In some cases he granted lands, in others he issued supplies of food for the support of the poor, of orphan children, and widows; besides which, he evinced much care and forethought in fully providing the naked and destitute with clothing. He distinguished, however, with most special honor those who had devoted their lives to the practice of Divine philosophy. Hence his respect, little short of veneration, for God's most holy and ever virgin choir: for he felt assured that the God to whom such persons devoted themselves was himself an inmate of their souls.

Chapter 29. Of Constantine's Discourses and Declamations.

For himself, he sometimes passed sleepless nights in furnishing his mind with Divine knowledge: and much of his time was spent in composing discourses, many of which he delivered in public; for he conceived it to be incumbent on him to govern his subjects by appealing to their reason, and to secure in all respects a rational obedience to his authority. Hence he would sometimes himself evoke an assembly, on which occasions vast multitudes attended, in the hope of hearing an emperor sustain the part of a philosopher. And if in the course of his speech any occasion offered of touching on sacred topics, he immediately stood erect, and with a grave aspect and subdued tone of voice seemed reverently to be initiating his auditors in the mysteries of the Divine doctrine: and when they greeted him with shouts of acclamation, he would direct them by his gestures to raise their eyes to heaven, and reserve their admiration for the Supreme King alone, and honor him with adoration and praise. He usually divided the subjects of his address, first thoroughly exposing the error of polytheism, and proving the superstition of the Gentiles to be mere fraud, and a cloak for impiety. He then would assert the sole sovereignty of God: passing thence to his Providence, both general and particular. Proceeding next to the dispensation of salvation, he would demonstrate its necessity, and adaptation to the nature of the case; entering next in order on the doctrine of the Divine judgment. And here especially he appealed most powerfully to the consciences of his hearers, while he denounced the rapacious and violent, and those who were slaves to an inordinate thirst of gain. Nay, he caused some of his own acquaintance who were present to feel the severe lash of his words, and to stand with downcast eyes in the consciousness of guilt, while he testified against them in the clearest and most impressive terms that they would have an account to render of their deeds to God. He reminded them that God himself had given him the empire of the world, portions of which he himself, acting on the same Divine principle, had entrusted to their government; but that all would in due time be alike summoned to give account of their actions to the Supreme Sovereign of all. Such was his constant testimony; such his admonition and instruction. And he himself both felt and uttered these sentiments in the genuine

confidence of faith: but his hearers were little disposed to learn, and deaf to sound advice; receiving his words indeed with loud applause, but induced by insatiable cupidity practically to disregard them.

Chapter 30. That he marked out before a Covetous Man the Measure of a Grave, and so put him to Shame.

On one occasion he thus personally addressed one of his courtiers: How far, my friend, are we to carry our inordinate desires? Then drawing the dimensions of a human figure with a lance which he happened to have in his hand, he continued: Though you could obtain the whole wealth of this world, yea, the whole world itself, you will carry with you at last no more than this little spot which I have marked out, if indeed even that be yours. Such were the words and actions of this blessed prince; and though at the time he failed to reclaim any from their evil ways, yet notwithstanding the course of events afforded evident proof that his admonitions were more like Divine prophecies than mere words.

Chapter 31. That he was derided because of his Excessive Clemency.

Meantime, since there was no fear of capital punishment to deter from the commission of crime, for the emperor himself was uniformly inclined to clemency, and none of the provincial governors visited offenses with their proper penalties, this state of things drew with it no small degree of blame on the general administration of the empire; whether justly or not, let every one form his own judgment: for myself, I only ask permission to record the fact.

Chapter 32. Of Constantine's Oration which he wrote to the Assembly of the Saints.

The emperor was in the habit of composing his orations in the Latin tongue, from which they were translated into Greek by interpreters appointed for this special service. One of the discourses thus translated I intend to annex, by way of specimen, to this present work, that one, I mean, which he inscribed To the assembly of the saints, and dedicated to the Church of God, that no one may have ground for deeming my testimony on this head mere empty praise.

Chapter 33. How he listened standing to Eusebius' Declamation in Honor of our Saviour's Sepulchre.

One act, however, I must by no means omit to record, which this admirable prince performed in my own presence. On one occasion, emboldened by the confident assurance I entertained of his piety, I had begged permission to pronounce a discourse on the subject of our Saviour's sepulchre in his hearing. With this request he most readily complied, and in the midst of a large number of auditors, in the interior of the palace itself, he stood and listened with the rest. I entreated him, but in vain, to seat himself on the imperial throne which stood near: he continued with fixed attention to weigh the topics of my discourse, and gave his own testimony to the truth of the theological doctrines it contained. After some time had passed, the oration being of considerable length, I was myself desirous of concluding; but this he would not permit, and exhorted me to proceed to the very end. On my again entreating him to sit, he in his turn was displeased and said that it was not right to listen in a careless manner to the discussion of doctrines relating to God; and again, that this posture was good and profitable to himself, since it was reverent to stand while listening to sacred truths. Having, therefore, concluded my discourse, I returned home, and resumed my usual occupations.

Chapter 34. That he wrote to Eusebius respecting Easter, and respecting Copies of the Holy Scriptures.

Ever careful for the welfare of the churches of God, the emperor addressed me personally in a letter on the means of providing copies of the inspired oracles, and also on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter. For I had myself dedicated to him an exposition of the mystical import of that feast; and the manner in which he honored me with a reply may be understood by any one who reads the following letter.

Chapter 35. Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, in praise of his Discourse concerning Easter.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius.

It is indeed an arduous task, and beyond the power of language itself, worthily to treat of the mysteries of Christ, and to explain in a fitting manner the controversy respecting the feast of Easter, its origin as well as its precious and toilsome accomplishment. For it is not in the power even of those who are able to apprehend them, adequately to describe the things of God. I am, notwithstanding, filled with admiration of your learning and zeal, and have not only myself read your work with pleasure, but have given directions, according to your own desire, that it be communicated to many sincere followers of our holy religion. Seeing, then, with what pleasure we receive favors of this kind from your Sagacity, be pleased to gladden us more frequently with those compositions, to the practice of which, indeed, you confess yourself to have been trained from an early period, so that I am urging a willing man, as they say, in exhorting you to your customary pursuits. And certainly the high and confident judgment we entertain is a proof that the person who has translated your writings into the Latin tongue is in no respect incompetent to the task, impossible though it be that such version should fully equal the excellence of the works themselves. God preserve you, beloved brother. Such was his letter on this subject: and that which related to the providing of copies of the Scriptures for reading in the churches was to the following purport.

Chapter 36. Constantine's Letter to Eusebius on the Preparation of Copies of the Holy Scriptures.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius.

It happens, through the favoring providence of God our Saviour, that great numbers have united themselves to the most holy church in the city which is called by my name. It seems, therefore, highly requisite, since that city is rapidly advancing in prosperity in all other respects, that the number of churches should also be increased. Do you, therefore, receive with all readiness my determination on this behalf. I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art. The catholicus of the diocese has also received instructions by letter from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be completed with as little delay as possible. You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies when fairly written will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your church may be entrusted with this service, who, on his arrival here, shall experience my liberality. God preserve you, beloved brother!

Chapter 37. How the Copies were provided.

Such were the emperor's commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form. This fact is attested by another letter, which the emperor wrote in acknowledgment, in which, having heard that the city Constantia in our country, the inhabitants of which had been more than commonly devoted to superstition, had been impelled by a sense of religion to abandon their past idolatry, he testified his joy, and approval of their conduct.

Chapter 38. How the Market-Town of Gaza was made a City for its Profession of Christianity, and received the Name of Constantia.

For in fact the place now called Constantia, in the province of Palestine, having embraced the saving religion, was distinguished both by the favor of God, and by special honor from the emperor, being now for the first time raised to the rank of a city, and receiving the more honored name of his pious sister in exchange for its former appellation.

Chapter 39. That a Place in Phœnicia also was made a City, and in Other Cities Idolatry was abolished, and Churches built.

A similar change was effected in several other cities; for instance, in that town of Phœnicia which received its name from that of the emperor, and the inhabitants of which committed their innumerable idols to the flames, and adopted in their stead the principles of the saving faith. Numbers, too, in the other provinces, both in the cities and the country, became willing inquirers after the saving knowledge of God; destroyed as worthless things the images of every kind which they had heretofore held most sacred; voluntarily demolished the lofty temples and shrines which contained them; and, renouncing their former sentiments, or rather errors, commenced and completed entirely new churches. But since it is not so much my province to give a circumstantial detail of the actions of this pious prince, as it is theirs who have been privileged to enjoy his society at all times, I shall content myself with briefly recording such facts as have come to my own personal knowledge, before I proceed to notice the last days of his life.

Chapter 40. That having conferred the Dignity of Cæsars on his Three Sons at the Three Decennial Periods of his Reign, he dedicated the Church at Jerusalem.

By this time the thirtieth year of his reign was completed. In the course of this period, his three sons had been admitted at different times as his colleagues in the empire. The first, Constantinus, who bore his father's name, obtained this distinction about the tenth year of his reign. Constantius, the second son, so called from his grandfather, was proclaimed Cæsar about the twentieth, while Constans, the third, whose name expresses the firmness and stability of his character, was advanced to the same dignity at the thirtieth anniversary of his father's reign. Having thus reared a threefold offspring, a Trinity, as it were, of pious sons, and having received them severally at each decennial period to a participation in his imperial authority, he judged the festival of his Tricennalia to be a fit occasion for thanksgiving to the Sovereign Lord of all, at the same time believing that the dedication of the church which his zealous magnificence had erected at Jerusalem might advantageously be performed.

Chapter 41. That in the meantime he ordered a Council to be convened at Tyre, because of Controversies raised in Egypt.

Meanwhile that spirit of envy which is the enemy of all good, like a dark cloud intercepting the sun's brightest rays, endeavored to mar the joy of this festivity, by again raising contentions to disturb the tranquillity of the Egyptian churches. Our divinely favored emperor, however, once more convened a synod composed of many bishops, and set them as it were in armed array, like the host of God, against this malignant spirit, having commanded their presence from the whole of Egypt and Libya, from Asia, and from Europe, in order, first, to decide the questions in dispute, and afterwards to perform the dedication of the sacred edifice above mentioned. He enjoined them, by the way, to adjust their differences at the capital city of Phœnicia, reminding them that they had no right, while harboring feelings of mutual animosity, to engage in the service of God, since his law expressly forbids those who are at variance to offer their gift until they have first become reconciled and mutually disposed to peace. Such were the salutary precepts which the emperor continually kept vividly before his own mind, and in accordance with which he admonished them to undertake their present duties in a spirit of perfect unanimity and concord, in a letter to the following purport.

Chapter 42. Constantine's Letter to the Council at Tyre.

Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the holy Council at Tyre.

Surely it would best consist with and best become the prosperity of these our times, that the Catholic Church should be undivided, and the servants of Christ be at this present moment clear from all reproach. Since, however, there are those who, carried away by a baleful and furious spirit of contention (for I will not charge them with intentionally leading a life unworthy of their profession), are endeavoring to create that general confusion which, in my judgment, is the most pernicious of all evils; I exhort you, forward as you already are, to meet together and form a synod without delay: to defend those who need protection; to administer remedies to your brethren who are in peril; to recall the divided members to unity of judgment; to rectify errors while opportunity is yet allowed: that thus you may restore to so many provinces that due measure of concord which, strange and sad anomaly! The arrogance of a few individuals has destroyed. And I believed that all are alike persuaded that this course is at the same time pleasing to Almighty God (as well as the highest object of my own desires), and will bring no small honor to yourselves, should you be successful in restoring peace. Delay not, then, but hasten with redoubled zeal to terminate the present dissensions in a manner becoming the occasion, by assembling together in that spirit of true sincerity and faith which the Saviour whom we serve especially demands from us, I may almost say with an audible voice, on all occasions. No proof of pious zeal on my part shall be wanting. Already have I done all to which my attention was directed by your letters. I have sent to those bishops whose presence you desired, that they may share your counsels. I have dispatched Dionysius, a man of consular rank, who will both remind those prelates of their duty who are bound to attend the Council with you, and will himself be there to superintend the proceedings, but especially to maintain good order. Meantime should any one, though I deem it most improbable, venture on this occasion to violate my command, and refuse his attendance, a messenger shall be dispatched immediately to banish that person in virtue of an imperial edict, and to teach him that it does not become him to resist an emperor's decrees when issued in defense of truth. For the rest, it will be for your Holinesses, unbiased either by enmity or favor, but consistently with ecclesiastical and

apostolic order, to devise a fitting remedy whether it be for positive offenses or for unpremeditated errors; in order that you may at once free the Church from all reproach, relieve my anxiety, and, by restoring the blessings of peace to those who are now divided, procure the highest honor for yourselves. God preserve you, beloved brethren!

Chapter 43. Bishops from all the Provinces attended the Dedication of the Church at Jerusalem.

No sooner had these injunctions been carried into effect, than another emissary arrived with dispatches from the emperor, and an urgent admonition to the Council to hasten their journey to Jerusalem without delay. Accordingly they all took their departure from the province of Phœnicia, and proceeded to their destination, availing themselves of the public means of transport. Thus Jerusalem became the gathering point for distinguished prelates from every province, and the whole city was thronged by a vast assemblage of the servants of God. The Macedonians had sent the bishop of their metropolis; the Pannonians and Mœsians the fairest of God's youthful flock among them. A holy prelate from Persia too was there, deeply versed in the sacred oracles; while Bithynian and Thracian bishops graced the Council with their presence; nor were the most illustrious from Cilicia wanting, nor the chief of the Cappadocians, distinguished above all for learning and eloquence. In short, the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia, Phœnicia and Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Libya, with the dwellers in the Thebaid, all contributed to swell the mighty concourse of God's ministers, followed as they were by vast numbers from every province. They were attended by an imperial escort, and officers of trust had also been sent from the palace itself, with instructions to heighten the splendor of the festival at the emperor's expense.

Chapter 44. Of their Reception by the Notary Marianus; the Distribution of Money to the Poor; and Offerings to the Church.

The director and chief of these officers was a most useful servant of the emperor, a man eminent for faith and piety, and thoroughly acquainted with the Divine word, who had been honorably conspicuous by his profession of godliness during the time of the tyrants' power, and therefore was deservedly entrusted with the arrangement of the present proceedings. Accordingly, in faithful obedience to the emperor's commands, he received the assembly with courteous hospitality, and entertained them with feasts and banquets on a scale of great splendor. He also distributed lavish supplies of money and clothing among the naked and destitute, and the multitudes of both sexes who suffered from want of food and the common necessities of life. Finally, he enriched and beautified the church itself throughout with offerings of imperial magnificence, and thus fully accomplished the service he had been commissioned to perform.

Chapter 45. Various Discourses by the Assembled Bishops; also by Eusebius, the Writer of this History.

Meantime the festival derived additional luster both from the prayers and discourses of the ministers of God, some of whom extolled the pious emperor's willing devotion to the Saviour of mankind, and dilated on the magnificence of the edifice which he had raised to his memory. Others afforded, as it were, an intellectual feast to the ears of all present, by public disquisitions on the sacred doctrines of our religion. Others interpreted passages of holy Scripture, and unfolded their hidden meaning; while such as were unequal to these efforts presented a bloodless sacrifice and mystical service to God in the prayers which they offered for general peace, for the Church of God, for the emperor himself as the instrumental cause of so many blessings, and for his pious sons. I myself too, unworthy as I was of such a privilege, pronounced various public orations in honor of this solemnity, wherein I partly explained by a written description the details of the imperial edifice, and partly endeavored to gather from the prophetic visions apt illustrations of the symbols it displayed. Thus joyfully was the festival of dedication celebrated in the thirtieth year of our emperor's reign.

Chapter 46. That Eusebius afterwards delivered his Description of the Church of the Saviour, and a Tricennial Oration before Constantine himself.

The structure of the church of our Saviour, the form of his sacred cave, the splendor of the work itself, and the numberless offerings in gold, and silver, and precious stones, I have described to the best of my ability, and dedicated to the emperor in a separate treatise, which on a fitting opportunity I shall append to this present work. I shall add to it also that oration on his Tricennalia which shortly afterwards, having traveled to the city which bears his name, I delivered in the emperor's own presence. This was the second opportunity afforded me of glorifying the Supreme God in the imperial palace itself: and on this occasion my pious hearer evinced the greatest joy, as he afterwards testified, when he entertained the bishops then present, and loaded them with distinctions of every kind.

Chapter 47. That the Council at Nicæa was held in the Twentieth, the Dedication of the Church at Jerusalem in the Thirtieth, Year of Constantine's Reign.

This second synod the emperor convened at Jerusalem, being the greatest of which we have any knowledge, next to the first which he had summoned at the famous Bithynian city. That indeed was a triumphal assembly, held in the twentieth year of his reign, an occasion of thanksgiving for victory over his enemies in the very city which bears the name of victory. The present meeting added luster to the thirtieth anniversary, during which the emperor dedicated the church at the sepulchre of our Saviour, as a peace-offering to God, the giver of all good.

Chapter 48. That Constantine was displeased with one who praised him excessively.

And now that all these ceremonies were completed, and the divine qualities of the emperor's character continued to be the theme of universal praise, one of God's ministers presumed so far as in his own presence to pronounce him blessed, as having been counted worthy to hold absolute and universal empire in this life, and as being destined to share the empire of the Son of God in the world to come. These words, however, Constantine heard with indignation, and forbade the speaker to hold such language, exhorting him rather to pray earnestly on his behalf, that whether in this life or in that which is to come, he might be found worthy to be a servant of God.

Chapter 49. Marriage of his Son Constantius Cæsar.

On the completion of the thirtieth year of his reign he solemnized the marriage of his second son, having concluded that of his first-born long before. This was an occasion of great joy and festivity, the emperor himself attending on his son at the ceremony, and entertaining the guests of both sexes, the men and women in distinct and separate companies, with sumptuous hospitality. Rich presents likewise were liberally distributed among the cities and people.

Chapter 50. Embassy and Presents from the Indians.

About this time ambassadors from the Indians, who inhabit the distant regions of the East, arrived with presents consisting of many varieties of brilliant precious stones, and animals differing in species from those known to us. These offerings they presented to the emperor, thus allowing that his sovereignty extended even to the Indian Ocean, and that the princes of their country, who rendered homage to him both by paintings and statues, acknowledged his imperial and paramount authority. Thus the Eastern Indians now submitted to his sway, as the Britons of the Western Ocean had done at the commencement of his reign.

Chapter 51. That Constantine divided the Empire between his Three Sons, whom he had instructed in Politics and Religion.

Having thus established his power in the opposite extremities of the world, he divided the whole extent of his dominions, as though he were allotting a patrimonial inheritance to the dearest objects of his regard, among his three sons. To the eldest he assigned his grandfather's portion; to the second, the empire of the East; to the third, the countries which lie between these two divisions. And being desirous of furnishing his children with an inheritance truly valuable and salutary to their souls, he had been careful to imbue them with true religious principles, being himself their guide to the knowledge of sacred things, and also appointing men of approved piety to be their instructors. At the same time he assigned them the most accomplished teachers of secular learning, by some of whom they were taught the arts of war, while they were trained by others in political, and by others again in legal science. To each moreover was granted a truly royal retinue, consisting of infantry, spearmen, and body guards, with every other kind of military force; commanded respectively by captains, tribunes, and generals of whose warlike skill and devotion to his sons the emperor had had previous experience.

Chapter 52. That after they had reached Man's Estate he was their Guide in Piety.

As long as the Cæsars were of tender years, they were aided by suitable advisers in the management of public affairs; but on their arrival at the age of manhood their father's instructions alone sufficed. When present he proposed to them his own example, and admonished them to follow his pious course: in their absence he furnished them by letter with rules of conduct suited to their imperial station, the first and greatest of which was an exhortation to value the knowledge and worship of the Sovereign Lord of all more than wealth, nay, more than empire itself. At length he permitted them to direct the public administration of the empire without control, making it his first request that they would care for the interests of the Church of God, and boldly profess themselves disciples of Christ. Thus trained, and excited to obedience not so much by precept as by their own voluntary desire for virtue, his sons more than fulfilled the admonitions of their father, devoting their earnest attention to the service of God, and observing the ordinances of the Church even in the palace itself, with all the members of their households. For their father's forethought had provided that all the attendants of his son's should be Christians. And not only so, but the military officers of highest rank, and those who had the control of public business, were professors of the same faith: for the emperor placed confidence in the fidelity of men devoted to the service of God, as in a strong and sure defense. When our thrice blessed prince had completed these arrangements, and thus secured order and tranquillity throughout the empire, God, the dispenser of all blessings, judged it to be the fitting time to translate him to a better inheritance, and summoned him to pay the debt of nature.

Chapter 53. Having reigned about Thirty-Two Years, and lived above Sixty, he still had a Sound Body.

He completed the time of his reign in two and thirty years, wanting a few months and days, and his whole life extended to about twice that period. At this age he still possessed a sound and vigorous body, free from all blemish, and of more than youthful vivacity; a noble mien, and strength equal to any exertion; so that he was able to join in martial exercises, to ride, endure the fatigues of travel, engage in battle, and erect trophies over his conquered enemies, besides gaining those bloodless victories by which he was wont to triumph over those who opposed him.

Chapter 54. Of those who abused His Extreme Benevolence for Avarice and Hypocrisy.

In like manner his mental qualities reached the highest point of human perfection. Indeed he was distinguished by every excellence of character, but especially by benevolence; a virtue, however, which subjected him to censure from many, in consequence of the baseness of wicked men, who ascribed their own crimes to the emperor's forbearance. In truth I can myself bear testimony to the grievous evils which prevailed during these times; I mean the violence of rapacious and unprincipled men, who preyed on all classes of society alike, and the scandalous hypocrisy of those who crept into the Church, and assumed the name and character of Christians. His own benevolence and goodness of heart, the genuineness of his own faith, and his truthfulness of character, induced the emperor to credit the profession of these reputed Christians, who craftily preserved the semblance of sincere affection for his person. The confidence he reposed in such men sometimes forced him into conduct unworthy of himself, of which envy took advantage to cloud in this respect the luster of his character.

Chapter 55. Constantine employed himself in Composition of Various Kinds to the Close of his Life.

These offenders, however, were soon over-taken by divine chastisement. To return to our emperor. He had so thoroughly trained his mind in the art of reasoning that he continued to the last to compose discourses on various subjects, to deliver frequent orations in public, and to instruct his hearers in the sacred doctrines of religion. He was also habitually engaged in legislating both on political and military questions; in short, in devising whatever might be conducive to the general welfare of the human race. It is well worthy of remark, that, very shortly before his departure, he pronounced a funeral oration before his usual auditory, in which he spoke at length on the immortality of the soul, the state of those who had persevered in a life of godliness, and the blessings which God has laid up in store for them that love him. On the other hand he made it appear by copious and conclusive arguments what the end of those will be who have pursued a contrary career, describing in vivid language the final ruin of the ungodly. His powerful testimony on these subjects seemed so far to touch the consciences of those around him, that one of the self-imagined philosophers, of whom he asked his opinion of what he had heard, bore testimony to the truth of his words, and accorded a real, though reluctant, tribute of praise to the arguments by which he had exposed the worship of a plurality of gods. By converse such as this with his friends before his death, the emperor seemed as it were to smooth and prepare the way for his transition to a happier life.

Chapter 56. How he took Bishops with him on an Expedition against the Persians, and took with him a Tent in the Form of a Church.

It is also worthy of record that about the time of which I am at present writing, the emperor, having heard of an insurrection of some barbarians in the East, observed that the conquest of this enemy was still in store for him, and resolved on an expedition against the Persians. Accordingly he proceeded at once to put his forces in motion, at the same time communicating his intended march to the bishops who happened to be at his court, some of whom he judged it right to take with him as companions, and as needful coadjutors in the service of God. They, on the other hand, cheerfully declared their willingness to follow in his train, disclaiming any desire to leave him, and engaging to battle with and for him by supplication to God on his behalf. Full of joy at this answer to his request, he unfolded to them his projected line of march; after which he caused a tent of great splendor, representing in shape the figure of a church, to be prepared for his own use in the approaching war. In this he intended to unite with the bishops in offering prayers to the God from whom all victory proceeds.

Chapter 57. How he received an Embassy from the Persians and kept the Night Vigil with others at the Feast of Easter.

In the meanwhile the Persians, hearing of the emperor's warlike preparations, and not a little terrified at the prospect of an engagement with his forces, dispatched an embassy to pray for conditions of peace. These overtures the emperor, himself a sincere lover of peace, at once accepted, and readily entered on friendly relations with that people. At this time, the great festival of Easter was at hand; on which occasion he rendered the tribute of his prayers to God, and passed the night in watching with the rest.

Chapter 58. Concerning the Building of a Church in Honor of the Apostles at Constantinople.

After this he proceeded to erect a church in memory of the apostles, in the city which bears his name. This building he carried to a vast height, and brilliantly decorated by encasing it from the foundation to the roof with marble slabs of various colors. He also formed the inner roof of finely fretted work, and overlaid it throughout with gold. The external covering, which protected the building from the rain, was of brass instead of tiles; and this too was splendidly and profusely adorned with gold, and reflected the sun's rays with a brilliancy which dazzled the distant beholder. The dome was entirely encompassed by a finely carved tracery, wrought in brass and gold.

Chapter 59. Farther Description of the same Church.

Such was the magnificence with which the emperor was pleased to beautify this church. The building was surrounded by an open area of great extent, the four sides of which were terminated by porticos which enclosed the area and the church itself. Adjoining these porticos were ranges of stately chambers, with baths and promenades, and besides many apartments adapted to the use of those who had charge of the place.

Chapter 60. He also erected his own Sepulchral Monument in this Church.

All these edifices the emperor consecrated with the desire of perpetuating the memory of the apostles of our Saviour. He had, however, another object in erecting this building: an object at first unknown, but which afterwards became evident to all. He had in fact made choice of this spot in the prospect of his own death, anticipating with extraordinary fervor of faith that his body would share their title with the apostles themselves, and that he should thus even after death become the subject, with them, of the devotions which should be performed to their honor in this place. He accordingly caused twelve coffins to be set up in this church, like sacred pillars in honor and memory of the apostolic number, in the center of which his own was placed, having six of theirs on either side of it. Thus, as I said, he had provided with prudent foresight an honorable resting-place for his body after death, and, having long before secretly formed this resolution, he now consecrated this church to the apostles, believing that this tribute to their memory would be of no small advantage to his own soul. Nor did God disappoint him of that which he so ardently expected and desired. For after he had completed the first services of the feast of Easter, and had passed this sacred day of our Lord in a manner which made it an occasion of joy and gladness to himself and to all; the God through whose aid he performed all these acts, and whose zealous servant he continued to be even to the end of life, was pleased at a happy time to translate him to a better life.

Chapter 61. His Sickness at Helenopolis, and Prayers respecting his Baptism.

At first he experienced some slight bodily indisposition, which was soon followed by positive disease. In consequence of this he visited the hot baths of his own city; and thence proceeded to that which bore the name of his mother. Here he passed some time in the church of the martyrs, and offered up supplications and prayers to God. Being at length convinced that his life was drawing to a close, he felt the time had come at which he should seek purification from sins of his past career, firmly believing that whatever errors he had committed as a mortal man, his soul would be purified from them through the efficacy of the mystical words and the salutary waters of baptism. Impressed with these thoughts, he poured forth his supplications and confessions to God, kneeling on the pavement in the church itself, in which he also now for the first time received the imposition of hands with prayer. After this he proceeded as far as the suburbs of Nicomedia, and there, having summoned the bishops to meet him, addressed them in the following words.

Chapter 62. Constantine's Appeal to the Bishops, requesting them to confer upon him the Rite of Baptism.

The time is arrived which I have long hoped for, with an earnest desire and prayer that I might obtain the salvation of God. The hour has come in which I too may have the blessing of that seal which confers immortality; the hour in which I may receive the seal of salvation. I had thought to do this in the waters of the river Jordan, wherein our Saviour, for our example, is recorded to have been baptized: but God, who knows what is expedient for us, is pleased that I should receive this blessing here. Be it so, then, without delay: for should it be his will who is Lord of life and death, that my existence here should be prolonged, and should I be destined henceforth to associate with the people of God, and unite with them in prayer as a member of his Church, I will prescribe to myself from this time such a course of life as befits his service. After he had thus spoken, the prelates performed the sacred ceremonies in the usual manner, and, having given him the necessary instructions, made him a partaker of the mystic ordinance. Thus was Constantine the first of all sovereigns who was regenerated and perfected in a church dedicated to the martyrs of Christ; thus gifted with the Divine seal of baptism, he rejoiced in spirit, was renewed, and filled with heavenly light: his soul was gladdened by reason of the fervency of his faith, and astonished at the manifestation of the power of God. At the conclusion of the ceremony he arrayed himself in shining imperial vestments, brilliant as the light, and reclined on a couch of the purest white, refusing to clothe himself with the purple any more.

Chapter 63. How after his Baptism he rendered Thanks to God.

He then lifted his voice and poured forth a strain of thanksgiving to God; after which he added these words. Now I know that I am truly blessed: now I feel assured that I am accounted worthy of immortality, and am made a partaker of Divine light. He further expressed his compassion for the unhappy condition of those who were strangers to such blessings as he enjoyed: and when the tribunes and generals of his army appeared in his presence with lamentations and tears at the prospect of their bereavement, and with prayers that his days might yet be prolonged, he assured them in reply that he was now in possession of true life; that none but himself could know the value of the blessings he had received; so that he was anxious rather to hasten than to defer his departure to God. He then proceeded to complete the needful arrangement of his affairs, bequeathing an annual donation to the Roman inhabitants of his imperial city; apportioning the inheritance of the empire, like a patrimonial estate, among his own children; in short, making every disposition according to his own pleasure.

Chapter 64. Constantine's Death at Noon on the Feast of Pentecost.

All these events occurred during a most important festival, I mean the august and holy solemnity of Pentecost, which is distinguished by a period of seven weeks, and sealed with that one day on which the holy Scriptures attest, the ascension of our common Saviour into heaven, and the descent of the Holy Spirit among men. In the course of this feast the emperor received the privileges I have described; and on the last day of all, which one might justly call the feast of feasts, he was removed about mid-day to the presence of his God, leaving his mortal remains to his fellow mortals, and carrying into fellowship with God that part of his being which was capable of understanding and loving him. Such was the close of Constantine's mortal life. Let us now attend to the circumstances which followed this event.

Chapter 65. Lamentations of the Soldiery and their Officers.

Immediately the assembled spearmen and bodyguard rent their garments, and prostrated themselves on the ground, striking their heads, and uttering lamentations and cries of sorrow, calling on their imperial lord and master, or rather, like true children, on their father, while their tribunes and centurions addressed him as their preserver, protector, and benefactor. The rest of the soldiery also came in respectful order to mourn as a flock the removal of their good shepherd. The people meanwhile ran wildly throughout the city, some expressing the inward sorrow of their hearts by loud cries, others appearing confounded with grief: each mourning the event as a calamity which had befallen himself, and bewailing his death as though they felt themselves bereft of a blessing common alike to all.

Chapter 66. Removal of the Body from Nicomedia to the Palace at Constantinople.

After this the soldiers lifted the body from its couch, and laid it in a golden coffin, which they enveloped in a covering of purple, and removed to the city which was called by his own name. Here it was placed in an elevated position in the principal chamber of the imperial palace, and surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold, presenting a marvelous spectacle, and such as no one under the light of the sun had ever seen on earth since the world itself began. For in the central apartment of the imperial palace, the body of the emperor lay in its elevated resting-place, arrayed in the symbols of sovereignty, the diadem and purple robe, and encircled by a numerous retinue of attendants, who watched around it incessantly night and day.

Chapter 67. He received the same Honors from the Counts and other Officers as before his Death.

The military officers, too, of the highest rank, the counts, and the whole order of magistrates, who had been accustomed to do obeisance to their emperor before, continued to fulfill this duty without any change, even after his death entering the chamber at the appointed times, and saluting their coffined sovereign with bended knee, as though he were still alive. After them the senators appeared, and all who had been distinguished by any honorable office, and rendered the same homage. These were followed by multitudes of every rank, who came with their wives and children to witness the spectacle. These honors continued to be rendered for a considerable time, the soldiers having resolved thus to guard the body until his sons should arrive, and take on themselves the conduct of their father's funeral. No mortal had ever, like this blessed prince, continued to reign even after death, and to receive the same homage as during his life: he only, of all who have ever lived, obtained this reward from God: a suitable reward, since he alone of all sovereigns had in all his actions honored the Supreme God and his Christ, and God himself accordingly was pleased that even his mortal remains should still retain imperial authority among men; thus indicating to all who were not utterly devoid of understanding the immortal and endless empire which his soul was destined to enjoy. This was the course of events here.

Chapter 68. Resolution of the Army to confer thenceforward the Title of Augustus on his Sons.

Meanwhile the tribunes selected from the troops under their command those officers whose fidelity and zeal had long been known to the emperor, and dispatched them to the Cæsars with intelligence of the late event. This service they accordingly performed. As soon, however, as the soldiery throughout the provinces received the tidings of the emperor's decease, they all, as if by a supernatural impulse, resolved with one consent, as though their great emperor had been yet alive, to acknowledge none other than his sons as sovereigns of the Roman world: and these they soon after determined should no longer retain the name of Cæsar, but should each be honored with the title of Augustus, a name which indicates the highest supremacy of imperial power. Such were the measures adopted by the army; and these resolutions they communicated to each other by letter, so that the unanimous desire of the legions became known at the same point of time throughout the whole extent of the empire.

Chapter 69. Mourning for Constantine at Rome; and the Honor paid him there through Paintings after his Death.

On the arrival of the news of the emperor's death in the imperial city, the Roman senate and people felt the announcement as the heaviest and most afflictive of all calamities, and gave themselves up to an excess of grief. The baths and markets were closed, the public spectacles, and all other recreations in which men of leisure are accustomed to indulge, were interrupted. Those who had erewhile lived in luxurious ease, now walked the streets in gloomy sadness, while all united in blessing the name of the deceased, as the one who was dear to God, and truly worthy of the imperial dignity. Nor was their sorrow expressed only in words: they proceeded also to honor him, by the dedication of paintings to his memory, with the same respect as before his death. The design of these pictures embodied a representation of heaven itself, and depicted the emperor reposing in an ethereal mansion above the celestial vault. They too declared his sons alone to be emperors and Augusti, and begged with earnest entreaty that they might be permitted to receive the body of their emperor, and perform his obsequies in the imperial city.

Chapter 70. His Burial by his Son Constantius at Constantinople.

Thus did they there testify their respect for the memory of him who had been honored by God. The second of his sons, however, who had by this time arrived, proceeded to celebrate his father's funeral in the city which bears his name, himself heading the procession, which was preceded by detachments of soldiers in military array, and followed by vast multitudes, the body itself being surrounded by companies of spearmen and heavy armed infantry. On the arrival of the procession at the church dedicated to the apostles of our Saviour, the coffin was there entombed. Such honor did the youthful emperor Constantius render to his deceased parent, both by his presence, and by the due performance of this sacred ceremony.

Chapter 71. Sacred Service in the Church of the Apostles on the Occasion of Constantine's Funeral.

As soon as [Constantius] had withdrawn himself with the military train, the ministers of God came forward, with the multitude and the whole congregation of the faithful, and performed the rites of Divine worship with prayer. At the same time the tribute of their praises was given to the character of this blessed prince, whose body rested on a lofty and conspicuous monument, and the whole multitude united with the priests of God in offering prayers for his soul, not without tears — nay, rather with much weeping; thus performing an office consonant with the desires of the pious deceased. In this respect also the favor of God was manifested to his servant, in that he not only bequeathed the succession of the empire to his own beloved sons, but that the earthly tabernacle of his thrice blessed soul, according to his own earnest wish, was permitted to share the monument of the apostles; was associated with the honor of their name, and with that of the people of God; was honored by the performance of the sacred ordinances and mystic service; and enjoyed a participation in the prayers of the saints. Thus, too, he continued to possess imperial power even after death, controlling, as though with renovated life, a universal dominion, and retaining in his own name, as Victor, Maximus, Augustus, the sovereignty of the Roman world.

Chapter 72. Of the Phœnix.

We cannot compare him with that bird of Egypt, the only one, as they say, of its kind, which dies, self-sacrificed, in the midst of aromatic perfumes, and, rising from its own ashes with new life, soars aloft in the same form which it had before. Rather did he resemble his Saviour, who, as the sown grain which is multiplied from a single grain, had yielded abundant increase through the blessing of God, and had overspread the whole world with his fruit. Even so did our thrice blessed prince become multiplied, as it were, through the succession of his sons. His statue was erected along with theirs in every province; and the name of Constantine was owned and honored even after the close of his mortal life.

Chapter 73. How Constantine is represented on Coins in the Act of ascending to Heaven.

A coinage was also struck which bore the following device. On one side appeared the figure of our blessed prince, with the head closely veiled: the reverse exhibited him sitting as a charioteer, drawn by four horses, with a hand stretched downward from above to receive him up to heaven.

Chapter 74. The God whom he had honored deservedly honored him in Return.

Such are the proofs by which the Supreme God has made it manifest to us, in the person of Constantine, who alone of all sovereigns had openly professed the Christian faith, how great a difference he perceives between those whose privilege it is to worship him and his Christ, and those who have chosen the contrary part, who provoked his enmity by daring to assail his Church, and whose calamitous end, in every instance, afforded tokens of his displeasure, as manifestly as the death of Constantine conveyed to all men an evident assurance of his Divine love.

Chapter 75. He surpassed all Preceding Emperors in Devotion to God.

Standing, as he did, alone and pre-eminent among the Roman emperors as a worshiper of God; alone as the bold proclaimer to all men of the doctrine of Christ; having alone rendered honor, as none before him had ever done, to his Church; having alone abolished utterly the error of polytheism, and discountenanced idolatry in every form: so, alone among them both during life and after death, was he accounted worthy of such honors as none can say have been attained to by any other; so that no one, whether Greek or Barbarian, nay, of the ancient Romans themselves, has ever been presented to us as worthy of comparison with him.

Letter to Carpianus on the Gospel Canons



Translated by Mark DelCogliano

TO CARPIANUS, ON THE GOSPEL CANONS

EUSEBIUS TO CARPIANUS HIS BELOVED BROTHER IN THE LORD:
GREETINGS.

Ammonius the Alexandrian, having exerted a great deal of energy and effort as was necessary, bequeaths to us a harmonized account of the four gospels.¹ Alongside the Gospel according to Matthew, he placed the corresponding sections² of the other gospels. But this had the inevitable result of ruining the sequential order of the other three gospels,³ as far as a continuous reading of the text was concerned. Keeping, however, both the body and sequence of the other gospels completely intact, in order that you may be able to know where each evangelist wrote passages⁴ in which they were led by love of truth to speak about the same things, I drew up a total of ten tables⁵ according to another system, acquiring the raw data⁶ from the work of the man mentioned above. These tables are set out for you below.

The first of them lists the reference numbers for similar things recounted in the four gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the second in the three, Matthew, Mark, and Luke; the third in the three, Matthew, Luke, and John; the fourth in the three, Matthew, Mark, and John; the fifth in the two, Matthew, and Luke; the sixth in the two, Matthew and Mark; the seventh in the two, Matthew and John; the eighth in the two, Mark and Luke; the ninth in the two, Luke and John; the tenth is for unique things recorded in each gospel.

Now that I have outlined the structure⁷ of the tables set out below, I will explain how to use them.⁸ In each of the four gospels, consecutive reference numbers are assigned⁹ to each section, starting from the first, then the second, and the third, and so on in sequence, proceeding through the whole gospel to the book's end. Every reference number has a numeral written below it in red that indicates in which of the ten tables the reference number is located.¹⁰ If the red numeral is a I, the reference number is clearly in the first table, and if

it is a II, in the second, and thus in sequence to the numeral ten.

And so, suppose you open one of the four gospels at some point, wishing to go to a certain chapter in order to know what gospels recount similar things and to find in each gospel the related passages in which the evangelists were led to speak about the same things. By using the reference number assigned for the section in which you are interested and looking for it within the table indicated by the red numeral below it, you will immediately discover from the titles at the head of the table how many and which gospels recount similar things. By going to the other gospels' reference numbers that are in the same row as the reference number¹¹ in the table you are at and looking them up in the related passages of each gospel, you will find similar things mentioned.

Please see *The Gospel Canon Tables*

ENDNOTES

This was translated and released to the public domain by Mark DelCogliano, to whom many thanks The text used was the Patrologia Graeca vol. 22, columns. 1276-1277.

¹ Gr. τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐγγέλιον. Lit. “the through-four [diatessaron] gospel.”

² Gr. περικοπή, translated throughout as ‘section’.

³ Gr. τὸν τῆς ἀκολουθίας εἰρμὸν τῶν τριῶν.

⁴ Gr. τόπος, translated throughout as ‘passage’.

⁵ Gr. κανὼν, translated throughout as ‘table’.

⁶ Gr. ἀφορμή.

⁷ Gr. ὑπόθεσις.

⁸ Lit. “And so this (which precedes) is the structure of the tables which are set out below; but this (which follows) is a clear explanation of them.”

⁹ Lit. “a certain number is consecutively assigned.”

¹⁰ Lit. “And at every number a numeral is assigned below it in red indicating in which of the ten tables the number happens to be found.”

¹¹ Lit. “that are assigned alongside the number.”

Concerning the Place Names in Sacred Scripture



Translated by C. Umhau Wolf

Eusebius' *Onomasticon* is a directory of place names, serving as a primary source for historical geographers with a contemporary knowledge of fourth century Palestine and Transjordan. Eusebius describes his method as: "I shall collect the entries from the whole of the divinely inspired Scriptures, and I shall set them out grouped by their initial letters so that one may easily perceive what lies scattered throughout the text," implying that he had no similar type of book to work from; thus, his work was entirely original, based only on the text of the Bible. Of the approximate 980 Old and New Testament names of places, Eusebius identifies some 340 with locations known in his own day and age. The primary source for the *Onomasticon* is the Codex Vaticanus, Gr. 1456 dating from the eleventh or twelfth century.

Eusebius organises his entries into separate categories according to their first letters. Under each letter, the entries are organised first by the book they are found in, and then by their place in that book. In almost all of the entries, Eusebius brings down the respective distances in Roman milestones (*semeia*) from major points of reference, such as from Jerusalem, Beit Gubrin (Eleutheropolis), Hebron, Ptolemais, Caesarea, etc. Distances between each "milestone" were usually 1,600 meters-1,700 meters, although the standard Roman mile was 1,475 meters. Since most villages in the *Onomasticon* are far removed from Roman-built roads, scholars have concluded that Eusebius did not deduce the geographical information from maps based on a milestone survey, but had instead collected the information from some other source.

The *Onomasticon* has traditionally been dated before 324, on the basis of its limited references to Christianity and complete absence of remarks on Constantine's buildings in the Holy Land. The work also describes traditional religious practices at the Oak of Mamre as though they were still current, while they are known to have been suppressed soon after 325, when a church was built on the site.

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Foreword

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of many scholars, living and dead, and friends, not all of whom can be mentioned. First he is indebted to Moses Bailey and Alexander Sperber who introduced him to the labyrinth of the *Onomastica* of the Bible before World War II. Thanks to Ernest Wright who in his concern for the non-classically trained seminarians and neophyte archaeologists suggested this English translation of the *Onomasticon* reputed to be Eusebius' as a sabbatical project. Thanks to Edward Campbell for his insistence on an article for the *Biblical Archaeologist* (Sept. 1964, xxvii, 3) which forms the basis for the introductory critical remarks in this edition and are used by permission of the American Schools of Oriental Research whose Jerusalem building was the seat for much of the research.

Thanks to the trustees of Harvard University for permission to quote from the Thackeray translation of Josephus' *Antiquities* in the Loeb Classical Library. A special thanks to the host of geographers who have labored over the *Onomasticon* including among many Conder, Buhl, Thomsen, Abel, Albright, Avi-Yonah, Glueck, O'Callaghan, Kallai, Melamed, and Mittmann. The basic text of Klostermann, published in 1904, with reference to Lagarde, has been used in this translation.

C. Umhau Wolf, December 24, 1971

Translator's Preface

This English edition of the *Onomasticon* is the first in the Western languages. It is a fairly literal translation of the Greek text and is not intended for the classics scholar but for those who are not versed in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, but are interested in the geography and archaeology of the Holy Land. It is not intended for textual critics of the Bible or of the *Onomasticon* although some of the notes and appendices include variants and textual materials.

To avoid a double translation, the Greek and Latin have been conflated except for the final editor's Introduction which varies greatly in the two languages. Parentheses () are used to indicate minor variations in the Latin from the presumed earlier Greek text. Brackets [] are used to indicate either a lacuna in the Greek text which has been emended from the Latin or an addition of significance made by the Latin editors. The notes on individual entries also indicate which of these occur in any given section.

The notes that follow the translation are not an attempt at a biblical geography for which the reader has access to many good volumes. They do not attempt an archaeological survey of the Holy Land. The notes emphasize late Roman and Byzantine sites and sources especially when the *Onomasticon's* text makes some attempt to locate and identify a place or where the text is confused. Not all Old Testament or New Testament sites are mentioned in the *Onomasticon* and many of those which are have not been located in the Greek and Latin texts so are not located or identified in these notes. Again reference to a biblical atlas or geography is to be had for this detailed study.

New theories of identification and new archaeological discoveries are appearing with great frequency. Some updating of the *Onomasticon* locations is to be continuously in the works. The most recent studies are by Avi-Yonah, Melamed and Mittmann with single studies appearing in Israeli journals (*Israel Exploration Journal*, *Eretz-Israel*, and *Tarbiz*) and others (*Biblical Archaeologist*, *Revue Biblique*, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, *Deutsche Palästina-Verein*, etc.).

Digitizer's Note

I decided to proof and edit this manuscript soon after my father's death. My father, Dr. C(arl). Umhau Wolf, had spent more than four years of research, translation, and writing on this *Onomasticon* project.

Originally the Catholic University of America Press had requested the translation but when the draft of the manuscript was sent to the press they decided that the translation was too scholarly for their planned use in their *Fathers of the Church* series.

Even though he referred to the *Onomasticon*'s translation as "just a laundry list," I wanted the translation to be more accessible than just gathering dust in a file drawer. The aged manuscript has faded making some entries difficult to read and this has caused difficulty with the output from the optical scanner. I have spent almost a year correcting the scanned manuscript and hope that the final version has few errors. The manuscript should be considered a draft manuscript and not a final draft for publication.

I did very few editorial changes since my background in electronics and library science leaves me quite ignorant of this subject. I have added the *Onomasticon*'s translation's Sections to the End notes. I have used diacritical marks only where indicated in the original manuscript since there are some places that the name differs only due to a diacritical mark. This causes a double entry in the index for those places and names that have been used with and without the diacritical marks. The endnote numbers were abandoned shortly after the beginning of the translation for reasons unknown to me. I have completed the endnote numbers to the translation. I have not changed the text where there is a question mark (?) indicating that the text required additional research.

The Klostermann citations were handwritten in the margins. I have included the Klostermann citations in all end notes and have substituted the complete Lagarde citation for the Lagarde section numbers located also as handwritten additions in the margins. Each end note consists of the following elements: the end note number; the place or name; the biblical chapter and verse from the Greek text; the Klostermann text page and line number of the Greek text; and the Legarde text page number and line number of the Greek text. After end note number one, the citations are abbreviated using "K" for

Klostermann and “L” for Legarde. Where a place or name is not found in the Legarde text, I have indicated “n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.”

The index includes Greek variants of places and names found in the end notes. Also included are the Arabic places and names that were italicized in the body, but I have decided for ease of sorting alphabetically to eliminate the italics throughout the index. I did not use the Latin textual variants for places and names in the index.

Abbreviations of books are expanded to full titles only when the full title is known to the digitizer. I took the liberty of changing the journals listed at the end of the Translator’s Preface from initials to complete titles.

In 1964, my father spent his sabbatical leave in the Middle East. He, my stepmother, and my youngest sister were residents at the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) most of that year while he did research for the translation of the *Onomasticon*. During this time, I was stationed at Asmara, Ethiopia with the U. S. Army’s Signal Corps. I was able to travel to Jordan to visit my family and I had the pleasure of a short stay at the ASOR.

I would like to thank Roger Pearse, Ipswich, United Kingdom, for his encouragement to digitize the manuscript, his suggestion to add a biography of the author, his word processing editing, and for placing the final digitized manuscript on his web site’s pages about Eusebius of Caesarea, <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers>. I thank David J. McGonagle, Director, The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.), for assuring me that I had the most recent draft copy of the *Onomasticon*’s translation’s manuscript. Thanks to Mike Robinson, Reference Librarian, Bryan Wildenthal Memorial Library, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas, for obtaining, through interlibrary loans, the many books that I requested during the digitization process.

I realize that there are many excellent translations of the *Onomasticon* in print today. I hope this translation may be a minor supplement to these available translations.

Noel C. WOLF, November 18, 2005

Dr. Carl Umhau Wolf (1914 – 2004): Bibliographical Sketch of Author

Dr. Wolf was born, in Baltimore, Maryland, a third generation German-American on both sides of his father and mother. His paternal grandfather came to the United States from Alsace in 1871. His father was a Lutheran minister with a Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology. He had to be known by his second name, Umhau (his mother's maiden name) because his father was named Carl also.

His knowledge of languages began with four years of Latin, two years of French, and two years of German in high school followed by Biblical Hebrew in Seminary and continued with Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, Medieval Hebrew, Syriac, and Yiddish in graduate school.

He received a B.A. from John Hopkins University (1934), a B.D. from Capital University (1938), an M.S.D. from Capital University, an M.A. from Ohio State University (1936), and a Ph.D. from Hartford Seminary (1942), dissertation title, *The pre-Masoretic Pronunciation of Hebrew According to the Septuagint*. He was ordained as a Lutheran minister at his father's church, Grace Lutheran, Baltimore, Maryland (1937).

After ordination and marrying Dorothy Rising, Dr. Wolf was called to be the pastor at a dual Lutheran parish Zion, Jelloway, Knox County, Ohio and St. John, Kaylor Ridge, Holmes County, Ohio. It wasn't until 1990, while doing research for his grandfather's biography, that he discovered that his grandfather's first congregation, also as a newly married, was close by at Fryburg, Holmes County, Ohio. He remained here until he was awarded the Jacobus Fellowship at Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut to complete his doctoral thesis at the seminary.

Dr. Wolf was called up to active service in May 1941 and was commissioned a First Lieutenant Infantry Chaplain assigned to the First Infantry Division (The Big Red One), 16th Regiment. He completed, in absentia, his Ph.D. while stationed with the U. S. Army at Camp Blanding, Gainesville, Florida. The oral exam was waved and substituted with a written exam. The First Infantry Division participated in the invasion of Africa from Morocco to Algeria. Chaplain Wolf wrote and had mimeographed a short "salaam" note in Arabic to be scattered over the landing zone by aircraft and

handed out by soldiers. He spent the rest of his war service in the Allies' African campaign directed against Field Marshal Rommel's German troops. He wrote a memoir of his army experience, *African Asides*, which had to be submitted to the U. S. Army Censors before publication. When it was returned to him, the censors had one entire chapter crossed out and each page stamped "Unauthorized for publication." Other chapters had entire pages and many paragraphs crossed out. The uncensored bound typescript was donated, along with other items, to the newly dedicated Chaplain's Archival Museum and Library, Fort Jackson, South Carolina.

Dr. Wolf was the Executive Secretary of the Johns Hopkins Student YMCA after the war. He became a special student, postdoctoral courtesy, under Dr. W. F. Albright at the Near Eastern Seminary.

In 1947, he accepted the Old Testament professor position at the Chicago Lutheran Divinity School, Maywood, Illinois. Most of his first students were World War II veterans. He was later promoted to the Dean of Graduate Studies of the school. During his years at the Divinity School, he founded the *Biblical Colloquium* and was secretary of the venerable *Chicago Society of Biblical Research*. He became a member of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and later became Vice President of the branch. He published a children's book on race relations called *Freddie*.

In 1948, Dr. Wolf spent the summer at an archaeological site in South Dakota doing what is known as salvage archaeology. Salvage archaeology is a dig required by law to check out possible ancient Native American sites before a bridge, large dam, or other new construction projects can get authorization to begin construction. This dig was where a new dam was to be constructed on the Missouri River just north of the state capital, Jefferson City. Native American remains and minor artifacts were uncovered by the team and were turned over to the South Dakota State Museum. One time during a storm the team had to take refuge in a large stone horse trough as a tornado came through the dig site.

Dr. Wolf was awarded the Thayer Fellowship at the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) (now The W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research (AIAR)) to study in Jerusalem (1950). He traveled alone to Jerusalem. His wife arrived a few months later. She had the

misfortune of being mugged in Cairo, Egypt while in transit to Jerusalem. John Badeau, President, American University of Cairo, took her in and assisted her in obtaining a replacement ticket to travel to Jerusalem, as well as clothes and luggage.

During his year at the ASOR he participated in the excavation of Herod's Jericho Palace and assisted with the Library of Congress cataloging of various monasteries' collections. The Wolf's were specifically assigned to the Syrian Monastery.

My father was one of Dr. W. F. Albright's "men" until he was forced to turn down a Fulbright Research Grant to compare Iron Age pottery in Egypt due to his wife, my mother, having been diagnosed with a fatal brain cancer in 1952. Dr. Albright never understood why my father had to turn down the scholarship. After that, Dr. Albright never spoke to him.

In 1952 with Dr. Albright no longer a sponsor or a friend, Dr. Wolf had little hope of archaeological professional advancement. He accepted the position of head pastor of the congregation at St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Northwestern Ohio of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, Toledo, Ohio. His wife died during the first year of the family's arrival at Toledo.

Dr. Wolf remarried in 1954 to Betty Hartman, a third generation member of St. Paul and a well-accepted radio and television personality. He served as head pastor from 1953-1965. Some highlights of this Toledo period are the establishment of an ecumenical project, the Annual Lecture at St. Paul, featuring leading Catholic and Protestant scholars; a speaker at the dedication of the National Islamic Center (now the Islamic Mosque and Cultural Center), Washington, District of Columbia (D.C.); and active involvement with the small Muslim congregation in Toledo which later became the Islamic Center of Greater Toledo. In 1962 he was granted a sabbatical year.

Dr. Wolf took his sabbatical leave in 1964. He, his wife, and his youngest daughter traveled in their Volkswagen bus from Hamburg, Germany to Jerusalem. They were residents at the American School of Oriental Research (ASOR), Jerusalem, most of that year. My father used this time to verify Eusebius' *Onomasticon's* places' locations as well as assist with an archeological excavation just outside of Jerusalem. He and his wife traveled throughout the Middle East for several months. One trip through Iraq and Iran

included time in jail in Kurdistan while the Kurdistan officials decided whether they were spies. My stepmother wrote a well-received book, *Journey Through the Holy Land*, Doubleday Press, 1967, reprinted in 1968, about living and traveling in the Middle East. She also reassembled pottery items using the shards from the excavation site.

In 1965 Dr. Wolf accepted an invitation to become the Director of the Lutheran Institute for Religious Studies (LIFRS), a new continuing education program for clergy and laity at Texas Lutheran College (now Texas Lutheran University), Seguin, Texas. The program covered the area of three Lutheran synods which served Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and New Mexico. Many of the programs were ecumenical seminars and weekend conferences for opening dialogues between the many racial, ethnic, and social groups of the four states. Some of these meetings became very confrontational. He was a member of the Board of the Hispanic American Institute. From 1972-1974 Dr. Wolf was active in the Texas Conference of Churches on Aging.

Dr. Wolf returned to Toledo, Ohio in 1975 as pastor at Hope Lutheran church. In 1977 he and his wife published a text and leader's guide on retirement, *Ten to Get Ready*, and the accompanying guide, *Leader's Guide*. In 1980, Dr. Wolf retired from Hope Lutheran Church. For the next twenty years, whenever he was in Toledo, he served as interim pastor of Washington Congregation of the United Church, a "Transdenominational" church.

During retirement Dr. Wolf and his wife spent the cooler months in Austin, Texas and the warmer months in Toledo. In 1990 he completed a biography of his grandfather, George Wolf, who was an ordained minister who had served in Ohio, Indiana, North Dakota, and California. Dr. Wolf was active in aging and retirement issues. He taught many ten-week courses in the Austin and Toledo senior centers as well as the Austin Lifelong Learning Institute. He also was active in the Gray Panthers and participated in picketing the United States President Reagan's White House Conference on Aging at Washington, D.C. In 1999 they sold the Austin house and began permanent residence in Toledo. He and his wife became the only non-black members of Ascension Lutheran church where they worshiped the remainder of their lives. His wife died in 2001 and Dr. Wolf died in 2004.

Dr. Wolf enjoyed research, writing, and publishing. His publications including articles, book reviews, and sermons have appeared in many

Lutheran papers and journals. He published articles (popular and learned) in many non-Lutheran and sectarian journals. These include, but are not limited to: *The Moslem World* (now *Muslim World*), *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *The Journal of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research*, *Biblical Archaeology*, *Interpretation*, *Adult Leadership*, *American Sociological Review*, *Christian Century*, and *The Christian Advocate*. He also contributed articles in the books *The Interpreter's Dictionary to the Bible*, *Supplement to the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Studies*, and *The Making of Ministers*.

Dr. Wolf's books include a three-volume series, *Nineteenth Century Lutherans in Northwest Ohio and Southeast Michigan*; *Biography of Rev. George Wolf, H.P.*; *Biography of Nathaniel Carter: First Joint Synod Negro Pastor*; *Biography of Marmaduke Carter*, the son of Nathaniel Carter who was also a Lutheran Pastor; *Freddie*, a children's book; and *The Onomasticon of Eusebius Pamphili: Compared with the Version of Jerome and Annotated*.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA AND THE ONOMASTICON ¹

Introduction

Eusebius Pamphili, better known as Eusebius of Caesarea, had the encyclopedic interests of ancient scholars. Although popularly known as “The Father of Church History” because of his ten volumes on the history of the Christian Church from New Testament times to just before the Council of Nicea, Eusebius was an omnibus writer. “His erudition would be remarkable in any age; the versatility of his studies is amazing and posterity owes him a heavy debt.”² His works are used by students in many disciplines. At least twenty-nine or thirty works are known by name, of which about twenty are extant or preserved almost fully in some translation.

Even the classification of these works is difficult. Foakes-Jackson calls Eusebius a chronologer, a theologian, a biblical student, a topographer of Palestine, an historian, and an apologist. The editor of the newest translation of the *Church History*, Deferrari has six classifications: historical, exegetical, apologetic, doctrinal, letters, and homilies. Lake gives no classification except a possible chronological division of four periods in Eusebius’ life: early period, 303-313, 313-325, and after Nicea.

Of the early period only *Adversus Hieroclem* is extant, but other apologeti, and historical works belonged to this period. Of the second, the same two types of writings dominate. The *Chronicon* or *World History* survives in an Armenian and a Latin translation. The *Preparatio Evangelica* is fully extant, while the *Demonstratio Evangelica* is about half complete in our present texts. During the last great period of persecution of the Christians by Rome there must have been a devastating burning of Christian books, and the library of Caesarea would have been a principal target although no literary reference to this tragedy remains.

The renowned *Church History* or *Ecclesiastical History* (*Historia Ecclesiastica*), originally with only eight books, belongs to the period between the Edict of Milan and the Council of Nicea. The study of *Palestinian Martyrs* also comes from this period of improved church-state relations. After Nicea there are many writings on Emperor Constantine, Eusebius’ commentaries on Old and New Testament, his geographical works and some theological and apologetic works. Except for the first three parts of his geographical writings, at least fragments of all the works from this last period survive, attesting the more favorable circumstances of the Church.

As an historian Eusebius bridges the gap in our history from the Book of Acts to the Council of Nicea. Foakes-Jackson compares his importance to that of Josephus who does the same for the inter-testamental history of the Jews.³ Both were wide readers and often used their sources uncritically. As scholars, favored with patronage from Roman rulers, they had access to books and other political and military sources not open to all. Although called “historians” both wrote their histories as apologies for their faith. Neither is as complete as modern scholarship would desire, but despite the many faults and lacunae they remain our only written sources for the history of their respective periods. The historical writings of both are not only similar in origin, nature and purpose, but are approximately equal in length.

Neither Josephus nor Eusebius was a fanatic defender of the faith. They can hardly be claimed by one sect or party, yet their influence on their respective rulers and on their co-religionists can not be ignored or minimized. Josephus was considered a traitor or “Quisling,” while Eusebius was called “heretic.” He was involved in the Arian struggle. He was sympathetic to Arius and some of his best friends were Arians even if he himself were not theologically an Arian. In an attempt to mediate the difficulties and to hold to a middle of the road theology himself, he lost his opportunity for sainthood. His contemporaries could not agree on his orthodoxy. The controversy over his theological position continued after his death among other church historians and theologians, even though he signed the Nicene Creed and the anathema decreed upon Arius.⁴ At the Council of Tyre in 335 he was accused not merely of heresy but of apostasy since he apparently had escaped the persecutions of the first decade of the fourth century unscathed. His later writings seem to be orthodox, but the Arians still used him. He suffered even a greater loss of reputation when the Iconoclasts quoted him at the second Council of Nicea and forced the more orthodox to attack him severely. His reputation in the East never recovered after the Photius schism, but St. Jerome in the West admired him and is greatly responsible for the survival of his writings. Details of the controversy as well as summaries of his many writings are not pertinent in this Introduction, but the classic Smith’s *Dictionary of Christian Biography* is still a good survey.

Life of Eusebius

The name Eusebius is a common one. At least forty contemporaries are called by this name. Another famous church father is Eusebius of Nicomedia. St. Jerome also occasionally used the name Eusebii. Therefore, the author of the *Onomasticon* is distinguished from the others by three epithets.

Because he was the bishop of Caesarea in Palestine for a number of years he is often called Eusebius of Caesarea. Some authors call him Eusebius “the Palestinian” which may refer to this same fact of his bishopric or perhaps hint of his origin and birth. He himself chose and preferred the name Eusebius Pamphili after his teacher and friend, Pamphilus, the martyr.

No biography of Eusebius of Caesarea exists from contemporary times. It is believed that his successor Acacius, bishop of Caesarea, wrote one, but it is no longer extant. The place and the year of his birth are unknown. Earlier scholars suggested his birth was between 275 and 280. More careful recent scholarship places the date earlier, between 259 and 265.⁵ There is no evidence that he was not a Palestinian and perhaps even a native of Caesarea itself. His parents were not Jewish, but again all proof that they were Christian is lacking. Arius called him “brother” to Eusebius of Nicomedia but this probably reflects Christian usage or theological kinship rather than blood relationship.

Little is known of his youth and early training. But he soon became a student in the theological school of Caesarea founded by Origen. He studied under Pamphilus. Their relationship became more than that of student to teacher. They were friends and co-workers. Both were lovers of books and admirers of Origen. They probably added new books to the illustrious library gathered together at Caesarea by Origen during the last twenty years of his life. The theological, biblical and exegetical tradition of Origen was most influential on Eusebius. Apparently about 296 when still in Palestine as a student, Eusebius had his first glimpse of Constantine.

The action of Eusebius during the great persecution is a matter of debate and much speculation. There is no doubt that during part of the time he was absent from Caesarea. But he visited the imprisoned Pamphilus sometime during the period 307-310. There is a suggestion that he was arrested and held briefly himself in 309. He also reports that he witnessed the deaths of other

martyrs in Tyre and elsewhere. After the death of Pamphilus in February 310, he fled to Egypt. It is suggested that he may have been arrested a second time (or for the first time). He was released when peace was restored in 313 and he returned to Caesarea. As noted above he was accused at the Council of Tyre in 335 of betraying the faith and of making the pagan sacrifice in order to survive. He did not suffer injury in the persecution it is true, but no evidence was produced in 335 or since to prove his supposed apostasy.

Shortly after 313 he became bishop of Caesarea. When he was ordained a deacon or priest is unknown. Some suggest he was not ordained at all until elected bishop. In 314 a brief persecution flared up under Licinius but it did not affect Palestine and Egypt. In 315 Eusebius is known as one who has been bishop for some time already. About 318 the Arian troubles began to come to a head. He was chairman of the Council of Nicea (the term president is deliberately avoided here) in 325. He and Constantine seem to have agreed on policy for the most part. As a moderate he felt the church could have room for both the followers of Arius and of Athanasius. He usually voted, however, with the majority. But after Nicea he spent much effort to prevent the complete alienation of the Arians from the mainstream of the Church. There is no record of his stand on the Easter controversy. Eusebius described some of the pomp of the Council in *De Vita Constantini*. He played a large role in all the proceedings and sat at Constantine's right even though Rome, Alexandria and Antioch outranked Caesarea.

Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea for almost twenty-five years. In 330 he turned down the opportunity to become bishop of Antioch. He attended the Council of Antioch in 331 and the Council of Tyre in 335. Similarly he was active in the Synods of Jerusalem and Constantinople in the same year. He was the chief orator for the 30th anniversary of Constantine's reign. This panegyric was later attached to his Life of Constantine. Eusebius remained high in the regard of Constantine and was a close advisor to him at least from 325 on, if not as early as 313. Constantine died in 337 and Eusebius shortly after in 339 or 340 at about eighty years of age. His successor as bishop of Caesarea was present at the Synod of Antioch in 341.

Caesarea

Caesarea Palestine was located on the coast of Palestine in the Sharon plain. Its ruins at Qeisariyeh are eight miles south of Dor and about thirty miles north of Jaffa. It had been the capital of Judea and the seat of Roman procurators after the time of Herod until 66 A.D. It was the metropolis of Christian and Byzantine Palestine and seemed to have served after 70 A.D. as the ecclesiastical capital.⁶

Herod the Great began to build a new Hellenistic city on the site of Strato's Tower in 22 B.C. Strato's Tower was a relatively insignificant town with its beginning perhaps in the Persian period. It is mentioned by Zenon in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Caesarea Sebaste was at least twelve years in the building and was consecrated to Augustus in 13 B.C. Josephus gives us details of the glory and grandeur of Herod's Caesarea in his *Antiquities* XV, 9, 6 and Wars I 21, 5-8. The public buildings were in the magnificent Hellenistic-Roman style. The whole area was well irrigated by aqueducts and drainage canals, and remained a garden spot for years, until neglect and economic reverses gave it back to the sand.

At the time of Jesus' birth Caesarea was at its zenith. In 1961 an inscription with the name of Pontius Pilate was found in the theatre excavations.⁷ The Jews of Caesarea were among the first victims of the First Revolt's suppression. Vespasian was acclaimed emperor at Caesarea in 69 A.D. and in 70 A.D. Titus brought the temple spoils to Caesarea.

The city was expanded further in the 2nd Century A.D. New aqueducts, new roads and monuments were erected and the city became a colonial capital and shortly thereafter a metropolis with the privilege of coining its own money. By the end of that century there was a Christian bishop in Caesarea along with a famous rabbinic school. In the third century a colony of Samaritans was established. In the Byzantine period, fourth to sixth centuries, Caesarea reached new heights rivaling that of Herod.

In 639 Arabs conquered the city and brought an end to Roman rule. For some 460 years the Moslems controlled the city and used its port for commercial and military expansion. The Crusaders and the Moslems battled over Caesarea many times and in 1291 its destruction was complete. Thereafter it was only a site for temporary habitation by squatters as the dust,

sand and malaria took over.

In the nineteenth century Moslems from Bosnia were resettled by the Turks near the ruins of the Crusader city. Between 1937 and 1940 the Jewish colony Kibbutz Sedot Yam was established near the Roman ruins. The glory of ancient Caesarea intrigued the colonists and since that time many archaeological efforts have been exerted toward the recovery of Herodian, Byzantine and Crusader remains.

Already in 1932 a synagogue was reported near the sea. In 1945 and later it was excavated. It has a history from the Roman period to the Arab conquest. Italian archaeologists began digging in the Herodian area about 1959, with special attention to the theatre. In 1960 the Link expedition to the port was carried out. The large scale Israeli Department of Antiquities excavation began in 1960 in the Crusader area. Excavation continues apace.

The history of the city is being refined by these continuing archaeological endeavors. Perhaps the grand temple of Augustus has been found along with many other Herodian foundations. One large Byzantine establishment may even turn out to be Origen's library. The Crusader fortress and cathedral have been cleared and it has been recognized that much of Byzantine Caesarea was obliterated by the rebuilding of the Crusaders.

The Onomasticon

It was in the flourishing Roman-Byzantine city of Caesarea that bishop Eusebius wrote or compiled his four part geographical work, of which only the last, the *Onomasticon*, survived the exigencies of time. According to the preface, the three lost works were in some way preparatory for the *Onomasticon* if not fully incorporated into it. Wallace-Hadrill gives these high sounding titles to the first three works: 1) Interpretation of Ethnological Terms in the *Hebrew Scriptures*, 2) Chorography of Ancient Judea with the Inheritance of the Tribes, 3) Plan of Jerusalem and of the Temple with Memories relating to the Various Localities.⁸

The first was a translation or transliteration of Hebrew proper names into Greek. This does not seem to have been much more than a skeletal outline of proper names based on the Hexapla. Whether it included an etymology of the place-names (and perhaps some personal names) as in the more technical sense of an onomastical list cannot now be determined.⁹ Such a list is Jerome's *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* which is based on Philo and Origen. Undoubtedly Eusebius had their lists and those of others, both Jewish and Christian.

The second was a list or description of ancient Judea arranged by tribes. This was of course based on the tribal lists of Numbers and Joshua. It is reasonable to suspect that almost all of this has been incorporated bodily into the final work since one of the things the *Onomasticon* treats most thoroughly is the tribal designation of each place based on the Greek text of the tribal divisions. There is some inconclusive discussion as to whether this description accompanied a map or was only a map. There is a map attached to the 12th century Latin manuscript of Jerome's *Onomasticon* in the British Museum which could be derived from Eusebius' map, if such a map existed.¹⁰

The third was a descriptive plan of Jerusalem and the Temple area. In the *Onomasticon* many proper names of areas in and around Jerusalem are separately identified and described, especially some with New Testament significance. Probably this information was closely related to the original plan for the complete work. The rediscovery of the HolyCity by Constantine and St Helena was responsible for this renewed interest.

The fourth part is the *Onomasticon* itself, which was completed about 330

A.D. or shortly before. Several facts pertain to the problem of settling the date. It is dedicated, as is the *Church History*, to Paulinus, who retired as bishop of Tyre before the Council of Nicea (325), and died in 330. That gives the latest possible date. On the other hand, the Greek text notes none of the Constantinian churches, of which Eusebius knew and about which he wrote in other works (so that architects and archaeologists use his works as primary sources for the Constantinian foundation). Jerome, however, places the *Onomasticon* late in Eusebius' career. Taken together, these facts suggest that Eusebius dedicated it to Paulinus after his retirement as bishop of Tyre.

In the Greek Vatican Manuscript the *Onomasticon* is entitled "Concerning the Place-names in Sacred Scripture." The Latin does not contain such a precise title. In general, the book is a geographical bible dictionary within certain stated limitations. (These were breached by later editorial additions and marginal glosses.) With a few exceptions the text confines itself to the Holy Land as proposed in the preface. This of course counters the plan to give all place-names of Holy Scripture, since among others the cities which Paul visited are missing. The preface also proposes that cities and villages are to be noted, but the present Greek and Latin texts include also wadies, deserts, mountains, districts and even an occasional personal and idol name. Almost 1000 items, largely from the Old Testament and from the first 6 books, are recorded, of which about 400 are sufficiently described to warrant an attempt at localization.¹¹ Already in the time of the Survey of Western Palestine, Conder claimed to have identified 300.¹²

The arrangement of the book is according to the Greek alphabet from Alpha to Omega. Since the Greek letters do not follow the Semitic alphabet there are some doublets as well as some transcriptional errors, some of which were from the Septuagint LXX (hereafter LXX). Jerome in the Latin had to indicate some of the places where the three alphabets diverge. In the present text - A - takes up almost one quarter of the entire length of the book. Judah is the primary area detailed, especially in sections -A- and -B-.

Within each alphabetic division, the place-names are arranged according to the order of the biblical books in the Septuagint, beginning with Genesis. Numbers and Deuteronomy are often linked together as one subdivision. In smaller alphabetic sections the Pentateuch is made the first heading. The book of Leviticus is not referred to (see Appendix III). The other major divisions

are Joshua, Judges, Kings and the Gospels. I Chronicles, Job, Maccabees and the Prophets are usually subsumed under Kings.

II Chronicles is rare and some of the place-names of I Chronicles are omitted, but most of these were paralleled in earlier lists. Esther and Daniel are not involved, probably because the majority of place-names in them are outside of the proposed territorial scope of the column. The greatest geographic lacuna seems to be Ezra-Nehemiah. In addition, Rabbakkuk, Haggai, Malachi, Ruth, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Lamentations are omitted although none of these has a strong topographical orientation. There are only one or two, sometimes questionable, items from Psalms, Job, Song of Solomon, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah and the Acts. The New Testament Epistles and the Book of Revelation are almost completely ignored. Except for Maccabees none of the apocrypha or pseudepigrapha appears (see Appendix III).

Method and Sources

The treatment of each place name almost seems whimsical, varying from one or two words to a whole page. The simplest entries are “tribe of...” or “lot of...” and “station (camp) in the desert.” Other simple notations are the listing of the variant readings from one of the columns of the Hexapla. Significantly for textual criticism (see below) the two longest entries are both out of the supposed geographical limits, namely Ararat and Babel. Both are padded with direct quotations from Josephus’ *Antiquities*. The longest legitimate entry is Beersheba.

Seven or eight items appear with more or less regularity in the *Onomasticon* usually in the same artificial order. This arrangement is not at all conducive to great literary style and the translation does not attempt to smooth things out. Eusebius is not noted for style even in his *Church History*. In the present work, as we seem to have it, it is the work of an archivist who accumulated miscellaneous facts. There may be also in these items material for literary criticism. The items that occur are as follows:

1. A word for word quotation of the biblical text of the Hexapla with some allusion to variant readings.
2. A generalized location of the place in tribal or provincial area which may or may not be contemporary to the editor.
3. A summary of the events or event associated with the place, with any Gospel allusion usually coming at the end as an addendum.
4. A quotation of or reference to other authorities such as Josephus.
5. A specific location in reference to the fourth (?) century towns and roads, with or without indication of distance and direction.
6. A modern name of the place and whether still inhabited or in ruins along with reference to present memorials or tombs.
7. Notations about the present inhabitants (pagan, Christian, Jewish, Samaritan) and some of their activities.
8. Reference to similarly sounding names in “other” regions.
9. Reference to Roman garrisons and forts.

There can be little doubt that Eusebius based his work on the text of the Hexapla,¹³ that great compilation in six columns of the current variant Greek texts which brought them into conformity with the Hebrew (which appears as

column 1). Caesarea was the place in which Origen produced the Hexapla. The text of the *Onomasticon* uses the transcriptions of the Hebrew into Greek letters (Col. 2) more often than any other Greek forms. Reference to Aquila (Col. 3), Symmachus (Col. 4), Theodotion (Col. 6), and Origen (Col. 5) in the text may also be wholly from the Hexapla, although Col. 5 would represent other Greek manuscripts of the Old Testament. A few of the Hexaplaric annotations are marginal glosses later than the 4th century.

If Eusebius knew Hebrew he did not utilize the Masoretic text, and unlike Jerome, was dependent upon the Hexapla. Some think there is use of simple Hebrew by Eusebius in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* but this Hebrew could also be derived from Philo and Origen. The few references in the Greek version of the *Onomasticon* to “in Hebrew” could all be references to Col. 1 or 2 of the Hexapla and require no great knowledge of either Hebrew language or texts. As noted above they could be glosses or a later editorial addition. The occasional etymological notations and the frequent quotations of the interpretations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion could also be accounted for in the same ways. Some of the etymologies found in the Masoretic text in Hebrew are not utilized by the *Onomasticon*.

Additional information based on the Bible includes the lists of Levitical cities and the cities of refuge, as well as the stations of the desert. Occasionally there is added reference to the capture of the place by Joshua and the subsequent killing of its king, or the fact that the tribe to whom the place was allotted was unable to dispossess the original inhabitants and so take possession of their territory. Three times the Samaritan founding of a city by those transported by the Babylonians is noted.

Often the generalized location of the place is solely the biblical location. The tribal allotments are fairly completely recorded. Of course, Eusebius is confused as much as modern scholars about the real status of border towns or other towns listed in different tribal territories according to diverse texts. For much of this localization Eusebius must have had first hand and personal knowledge of the country, although certainly not as thorough as that of Jerome. The Greek text is more detailed and accurate in the location of sites in the central hill country than elsewhere. Perhaps this was because Eusebius, as bishop of Caesarea, frequently traveled to Jerusalem and also because his earlier sources were produced there in Jewish circles.

Topographic references are found in his other works. So we find in *Demonstratio Evangelica* Bethlehem (I, 1; vii, 2), Mt. of Olives (iv, 18); in *De Vita Constantini* Bethlehem (iii, 41f), Mt. of Olives (iii, 41), Jerusalem (iii, 25-40), Mamrē (iii, 51); in *De Laudibus Constantini* Bethlehem (ix, 17), Mt. of Olives (ix, 17), and in *Theophania* Jerusalem (iv, 18). These are but a small sample. In his *Church History* allusions to topography and geography are especially frequent in the first two books. Brief topographical notes are recorded also in some of his commentaries.

The famous library at Caesarea and the library of Bishop Alexander in Jerusalem were treasure houses of source materials for Eusebius, especially in his *Church History* and *Demonstratio Evangelica*.¹⁴ Anonymous sources seem to be referred to with “it is said” or “they affirm” but whether these were written records or local oral traditions cannot be determined. Josephus is quoted twelve times. The commentaries of Origen and the writings of Paulinus were also referred to. Roman administrative lists, maps, charts and military documents have also influenced the final recension of the text, but at what date is unclear. The two early fourth century itineraries, the Antoninus and the Bordeaux, are very close to *Onomasticon* and all three may depend on a common source. Paula and Jerome, of course, used the *Onomasticon* as one of several sources for their travels.

The Roman road system was well organized and charted.¹⁵ Many of the milestones of the first three centuries must have survived into the fourth even though it was the custom of each emperor to install new markers as a kind of memorial to his reign. For the most part distances seem to be according to mileposts. The slight divergence between Jerome and Eusebius, which is often only one mile, can be largely accounted for by the fact that a site is seldom so small as to be only at one milestone and also that in seventy-five (or more) years the roads and starting points normally would change slightly.

The *Tabula Peutinger*, a kind of road map of the Roman Empire, is perhaps contemporary with Eusebius (possibly a little earlier) even though all our extant manuscripts are medieval. A check of some of the roads suggests that it or its forerunner was a source for the *Onomasticon*. For example, on the coastal road, Eusebius notes every point from Sidon to Ostracine except Apollonia. From Damascus to Petra on the “King’s Highway” he has all except three non-biblical stops, but adds the three biblical towns Madaba,

Dibon and Heshbon. From Caesarea to Jerusalem nothing is missing. There is no doubt that the twenty-eight places located by means of two fixed points and a milestone, as affirmed by Martin Noth, are on the Roman roads.¹⁶ The formula is either “in the border of city a x miles from city y” or “going from city z toward city b at sign x.” Sometimes a compass direction is added. Occasionally the distance is not in terms of miles, but of the number of days needed for the journey (see Appendix V).

Another method of localization is from a fixed point, with a distance and sometimes a direction but with no definite road outlined. The city is usually the datum point for location both by distance and by region. There are 226 common distances of which 190 are based on a city and only thirty-six on some other locality. Similarly ninety-three directions appear of which seventy-four are oriented on a city and only nineteen on some other fixed point.¹⁷ The four major cities of reference are Eleutheropolis, Jerusalem, Legeon, and Hesbon.¹⁸ In addition there are ten city regions in which villages are located, the more important being Eleutheropolis, Jerusalem, Diospolis, Diocaesarea, Sebaste¹⁹ and Neapolis (see Appendix VIII).

In addition to the use of the Roman road system and the city regions, localization is also made by the use of the expressions “near,” “around,” “not far from,” “extending up to,” “between x and y,” “along side,” “midway between a and y” (see Appendix IX). Distance is also variously recorded as “separated from,” “distant from,” “going up to,” “going into,” “going down,” “along the road between” (see Appendix V). There is a possibility that different sources were used and so reflect themselves in the various methods of localization. It is quite possible that each editor had his own style for locating a contemporary site or tradition. When the *Onomasticon* has been programmed through a computer it may be possible to isolate clearly these editorial additions. This would also be true of Latin translation of various Greek terms (see Appendices I and IX).

It must be remembered that Eusebius was writing for his contemporaries and some knowledge of the country and its oral traditions of the time could be assumed even though modern scholars might wish for more specific information. The different editors may have utilized other oral traditions and travelers’ information as well as their own personal experiences and additional written sources. Priests and bishops from other areas of the Holy

Land would naturally exchange road information in the 4th century just as tourists and pilgrims do today.

Most important is the data indicating the fourth century status of the site. (This assumes Eusebius is the major redactor, but the variety of terms used may reflect different traditions and strata.) Several Greek words are used for “exists,” “remains,” “is still,” as well as several synonyms for “called,” or “named,” and “pointed out” or “shown.” There is also the reference to present inhabitants and importance which can be checked out in other literature and by archaeological excavation. At least two hundred items have a notation of fourth century existence of which three quarters are fairly well localized and identified. A few sites are indicated as abandoned or in ruins. It is possible that at times *topos* as well as *eremos* represents a ruined site (cp. Galgala 66:4 where both words are used together).

Among the incidental facts given is the religious constituency of a town. Anaia (26:9, 14), a double village, is a Jewish village which has a companion Christian settlement. There are eleven wholly Jewish villages; three Christian, one Samaritan and one Ebionite recorded in the text (see Appendix II). Heathen shrines are reported in at least three places. Idols are mentioned at least ten times. A special interest is shown in tombs and memorials without any critical analysis of contradictory items such as the various traditions for the location of the tomb of Habakkuk (70:22, 88:26, and 114:15). Tombs of the Maccabees, Mary, Abraham, Haran, Rachel, Joseph, Joshua, Jesse, and David are mentioned. Again these traditions may be from several editors' hands. Jerome remarks on five churches built in the 4th century (see Appendix I).²⁰

Usually the last item to be noted is the presence of a fort or Roman garrison. There is a very close parallel to much of the material gathered in the *Notitia Dignitatum* which dates from slightly later than Jerome's translation of the *Onomasticon*. The *Notitia Dignitatum* or a similar work must have been used for the final recension.

Manuscripts, Editions and Translations

The basic manuscript for the *Onomasticon* is Codex Vaticanus, Gr. 1456 which dates from the 11th or 12th century. For the most part the hand is clear but there are still many errors, corruptions and lacunae. According to a notation it once was in the Library at Sinai. It seems to be in a direct line from the original Greek. Lagarde and Klostermann used this as their *textus receptus*.

I was privileged to check this manuscript in the Vatican Library. It is contained in a volume of onomastica and is on pages 2 - 53. The ink is dark and clear except for two faded pages 9 and 18. All the pages are single columned except for the recto and verso of 19 which is a palimpsest and has the text in two columns. The scribal hand seems to be the same throughout, although some of the alphabetic divisions and biblical sections have been added later by different hand and different ink. Alphabetic and biblical headings are usually on the same line. Occasionally they are in red ink. The point is regularly used after the place name and usually at the end of the phrase or sentence entry. Prepositions and articles are usually not separated from the following word.

Dependent upon this manuscript is Codex Parisinus Gr 464 which dates from the 16th century. These two manuscripts were edited and published by Lagarde in 1870. The second, Codex 464, was the sole source used by Bonfrere in 1631 and 1659 for his edition of the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius.

The translation of Jerome was made about 390 A.D. He recognized errors in Eusebius and used his knowledge of Hebrew to correct the transliterations and some of the etymology. He also corrected some of the place descriptions and locations. Already in 389 Jerome has used some of this material in his *Hebrew Questions*, which we have utilized from time to time in the notes. The reference to this volume in the Latin was probably not original with Jerome but cross reference by a scribe in the 5th century or later. Jerome has more etymologies than Eusebius' Greek text, but this information was ready at hand from his *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, which is incorporated in the notes of this present volume. As noted above Jerome was familiar with the Constantinian and post-Constantinian church foundations. By various counts between forty-five and fifty-five additional names appear in Latin even when

allowing for obvious scribal lacunae of Vaticanus 1456.

It was through Jerome's Latin version that European scholars and pilgrims became acquainted with the *Onomasticon*. According to the Latin preface there had already been at least one earlier translation into Latin. Several 8th and 9th century Latin manuscripts have survived which were used rather freely by Klostermann to emend Vaticanus. These are the Monacensis Lat. 6228, Codex Sangallensis 133 and 130, and Bambergensis B iv 19. The Latin is really not an exact translation and Klostermann was a bit overly optimistic with his emendations of the Greek. Latin editions of the *Onomasticon* have been prepared by Martinainay in 1699 and by Vallarsi in 1735 and 1767.

Syriac translations of Eusebius' works were made very early and often Syriac writers added new important information to the text. One early geographic work called, "The Book of the Figure of the World" included the *Onomasticon* as its fourth part. Unfortunately this is lost and known only by literary sources, but could it possibly be the four geographic works of Eusebius noted in the Greek preface? A manuscript of the 14th century was discovered and partially edited in the early 1920's.²¹ This is a rather slavishly literal work following the Greek word order and rendering every article, and will be valuable for textual criticism if and when a new Greek edition is published.

Procopius of Gaza in his *Commentary on the Octateuch* frequently quotes the *Onomasticon*'s Greek text. These quotations often confirm or correct the Vaticanus text. Already in 1716 Reland had recognized the usefulness of Procopius in the study of the ancient monuments of Palestine. Thomsen and Klostermann rely heavily on an eleventh century Procopius manuscript. The Madaba Map is sometimes appealed to for emending transcriptions but this is a dubious procedure.

The earliest critical edition of the *Onomasticon* was that of 1862 by Larsow and Parthey, followed in 1870 by Lagarde (second edition 1887). Klostermann's text appeared in 1904. So far the *Onomasticon* has not appeared in the Migne series of Greek Church fathers although much of Eusebius has been published there. It is about time for a new critical edition of the Greek and Latin texts to appear.

In 1931-1933 Melamed published his important critical study of the *Onomasticon* in a Hebrew journal *Tarbiz*. He also translated the *Onomasticon*

into Hebrew. The present volume is the first modern translation of the *Onomasticon* into a western European language, the first ever in English.

Pilgrims

Already before Constantine, interest in the places of the prophets and the sites of the Savior's deeds had been aroused (*Historia Ecclesiastica* iv, 26, 14). Both Clement of Alexandria and Origen showed scholarly interest in the Holy Land and they as much as Constantine and St. Helena are responsible for the knowledge of Palestine in the 4th and 5th centuries. Other pilgrims in the third century followed Origen (*Historia Ecclesiastica* vi, 11, 2). Constantine's mother and mother-in-law began the series of Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land which have never ceased even in time of hostilities.

Of first rank is the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (ca. 332-333). This is so nearly contemporaneous with the *Onomasticon* that one hesitates to posit any dependent relationship, but there are many parallels. Both had the Bible as a common source and both probably utilized an earlier Roman itinerary and perhaps some lists. It is quite possible that the earlier "map" of Eusebius was known by the Pilgrim. Later scribes probably corrected reciprocally these two works.

Paula (ca. 382) and Silvia (ca. 385) came in the time of Jerome and could easily have known and used the Greek *Onomasticon*. From their time on there is no reasonable doubt that the pilgrims were dependent upon the *Onomasticon*. There is real evidence of such dependence by Aetheria, who may be the same as Silvia, on the *Onomasticon* for places as well as forms of names.²² Even allowing for the Bible as a common source, the Greek text was primary also. The earlier Latin translation noted in Jerome's preface and that of Jerome could also have been in the hands of this pilgrim.

After the turn of the 5th century, the rise of monasticism, the end of the Christological controversies, together with the peace and security of the realm, brought many pilgrims to the Holy Land. Some followed the example of Jerome and remained, while others returned to their homelands. But a high percentage of them valued highly the *Onomasticon* in one of its several versions. Next to the Bible, it was their basic guide and companion. It "remained the vade-mecum of the pilgrims to the time of the crusaders."²³

The Madaba Map

The Madaba Map has been adequately studied by Avi-Yonah and by O'Callaghan.²⁴ Their general conclusions do not disagree with those of the first students of this mosaic map of sixth century biblical lands found east of the Jordan. There is a very close relationship of the Map legends to the *Onomasticon*. The map also parallels the so-called Jerome map of medieval times which may have been derived from an earlier Eusebius map or plan.

The area of the map and of the *Onomasticon* is approximately the same. Byblos is the most NW site for both. On the East the line is Damascus and Bozrah. The Egyptian cities such as On and Memphis form the SW limit. A very high proportion of the sites on the map are directly from the text of the Greek *Onomasticon*, according to some estimates two thirds. This is even more significant a figure than at first appears since the mosaic is a Christian map depicting Gospel sites. Less than one fourth of the Old Testament sites in the area appear on the Madaba Map. The division of tribal territory and the boundaries of the Philistines also agree with the Greek text.

In a few instances the map even seems to follow the errors of the Greek text: for Akrabbim, Anob, Thamna, Gedour, Bethaun, Adiathim, etc. In still fewer the mosaicist follows an independent tradition: Emmaus, Geba, Ainon, Bethabara, and Dalah. He also has a more detailed knowledge of post-Constantinian Jerusalem and Palestina Secunda than the *Onomasticon* could be expected to reveal. Yet the absence of monasteries indicates that the source of the map was prior in time to the fantastic monastic tide.²⁵

For Garisim and Gebal the map apparently records both traditions: the Jewish near Jericho and the Samaritan near Nablus, which later the Greek *Onomasticon* emphatically denies as correct. In the few instances where transcription only, not location, disagrees with the Greek of the *Onomasticon*, it may be that the map reflects not a separate tradition but a Semitic designer who did not always understand his Greek source. In addition to the *Onomasticon* and its "map" (?) the mosaicists probably had access to one or more pilgrim itineraries and to diocesan lists. This would be one explanation for the non-biblical names appearing on the map, some of which are not entries in our text, but serve as reference points only.

The Madaba Map, as the *Onomasticon*, has varied types of entries. Avi-

Yonah notes four classes, three of which probably derive directly from the Greek *Onomasticon*: 1) A simple place name with no additions but properly located in tribal boundaries, 2) the sixth century name and the biblical name, which parallels “there is now” or “it is a village now called,” 3) reference to churches and other monuments, 4) eleven texts which refer to scriptural events. In groups 2 and 4 the correlation with the Greek *Onomasticon* is almost 90%.

All the large walled cities with towers behind on the Madaba Map are called “city,” “large city,” “famous city,” “metropolis” by Eusebius. For the smaller cities with only a front wall and four or five towers and for the larger villages with three or four towers connected by a wall, there is no consistent correlation with the *Onomasticon*’s terminology. (Nor is there any consistency in the various strata of the *Onomasticon* that can be checked out in the present state of textual criticism and archaeological research.) Both Beersheba and Ekron are called “large town” but are different as depicted on the map. Does this imply Ekron had declined in the intervening centuries? Bethzur and Bethel are both simply villages in Eusebius, but Bethzur is a large town on the map while Bethel is small, having only two towers and the connecting wall. Does this accurately record the changed fortunes?

Critical Study of the Onomasticon

Textual criticism of the *Onomasticon* began with Jerome. In his *Hebrew Questions* he corrected not only the text but the facts of Eusebius. In the Latin version, Jerome not only improved on the earlier anonymous Latin translation, but also reviewed Eusebius and his own former conclusions. In correspondence and commentaries over a twenty-year period Jerome corrected Eusebius as well as checked the Greek text. Modern students must use these works of Jerome: Latin versions of the *Onomasticon*, *Hebrew Questions*, *Epistles* 46 and 108 and miscellaneous commentaries. The notes in this present volume include most of the relevant materials from these texts. The *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* is sometimes useful for checking transcriptions and/or transliterations and the occasional etymology of the Greek text. The texts of many items from this are also included in the notes to follow.

Whether Procopius of Gaza consciously emends and corrects the Greek text of the *Onomasticon* or not, cannot be determined. But from the very beginning of modern scholarship, his quotations of Eusebius have been used, e.g., by Roland, Lagarde, Thomsen, and Klostermann. As noted above, the Madaba Map is not to be considered a critical source.

On the other hand, literary or source criticism has seldom appeared regarding the *Onomasticon*. In antiquity the authorship even of such a prosaic agglomeration of materials was taken for granted. The witness of Procopius and Jerome, as well as that of others less directly concerned, and the notations on ancient manuscripts were considered sufficient proof of authorship. Not until Thomsen and Kubitschek in 1905 and 1906 began their argument over the streets and road network behind the *Onomasticon* was any higher criticism applied, suggesting additions, glosses etc.²⁶ Kubitschek made much of the inconsistencies in distance, the apparent placing of two different sites at the same milestone, assuming a roadway. He is agnostic about Eusebius' use of itineraries, pilgrim reports (oral or written) and suggests, although not directly, that these inconsistencies may reflect an unscholarly card file system of recording all available information, contradictory, reduplicative or not. In the reply Thomsen for the first time admits possible glosses. He suggests that some of the Greek *Onomasticon* may have been personal marginal notes on

Eusebius' own manuscript (of onomastical lists, his *Onomasticon*, Greek Bible manuscript and/or Hexapla) and never intended any separate publication of the final redaction. According to this theory, as they became unwieldy he arranged them in an alphabetic order (if an onomastical list, this order may have been already established) and according to the books of the Bible (or this arrangement could have been primary as in the Hexapla or some onomastical lists and the alphabetic order thus secondary). After Eusebius' death all such notes would be treasured by his students and although revered as from his hand, nevertheless recognize as incomplete. One or more of his admirers would try to complete it, correct it and make it worthy of the bishop of Caesarea. The preface could be added in those days with no thought of intellectual dishonesty.

This revolutionary explanation for the contradictions, doublets and inequities of treatment, as well as stylistic inconsistencies, was forgotten for years and even the German school ignored it for a generation. As late as 1943 Noth speaks as if one author and one date is to be accepted and that Eusebius is the genuine author, not merely one of the last redactors.

The detailed and precise work of criticism by the Jewish scholar Melamed ²⁷ in the early 1930's has been neglected, probably because it was written and published in Modern Hebrew long before Israel had become a state and modern Hebrew a necessary language for biblical scholars. Published separately as an offprint it made no new impact. The recent monumental biblical encyclopaedia published in Israel has Melamed's own summary concerning the *Onomasticon*, but this too is in Modern Hebrew.

In the first part of his criticism Melamed notes that the Torah and the Prophets are the source for the basic text rather than all the books of the Bible as proposed in the preface. In the New Testament only the Four Gospels are primary. He concludes that all other references to places cited in other books, i.e., the writings and Acts are from a second hand, as probably also the rare annotations from Maccabees. He notes some could well be omitted because in Hebrew there is little typographical material in such books. But the absence of reference to Ezra-Nehemiah, Leviticus (except Levitical cities) Daniel's sites are probably considered outside the Holy Land as delimited in the preface (see Appendix III).

In the second part Melamed treats of doublets, of improper entries (e.g.,

personal names, idols, etc.), of confusions and lacunae and notes that not even all the place-names of Torah, Prophets and Gospels are recorded. He emphasizes the obvious confusion of traditions, the conflation of transliterations. Part three concerns the use of the Hexapla and the fifth column of Origen. Curiously the annotations from the Former Prophets have many references to Aquila.

In the fourth part his criticism begins to take form. Noting that not all the alphabetic sections are divided by the same biblical divisions, he lists certain Old Testament texts which have been given exhaustive treatment, e.g., Joshua 21, Numbers 33, I Kings 9:15, and Isaiah 60. He concludes that originally only cities and villages were listed with some biblical information but without any contemporary geographical details. All mountains, which are not announced in the Greek preface, appear in the Greek *Onomasticon* out of their proper biblical order. So also all stones and rocks are not in their proper place. The Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee appear to be appendages at the end of their respective sections. The idol Chemosh is out of place. Further, when two similar entries appear with the second usually having “another” after the name, the first is almost always where it should be in the biblical order, while the second or “another” is properly entered only six times. This suggests editorial additions.

In the commentary on places which include among other things, etymology, history, topographical identification (both biblical and contemporary), allusion to versions, distances, roads and other names, Melamed notes many variants and inconsistencies. Sometimes more than one historical event is recorded in a single entry. Occasionally a reference is given to Josephus but no event of history is recorded. There is a stereotyped formula for many events in Joshua, such as “and killed its king” or “did not drive out the former inhabitants (foreigners).” The notation “whence David fled” appears almost as an afterthought. The lot of Benjamin is much confused. Not all the cities of refuge are called such and they are variously labeled. There is also no single formula by which fourth century [sic] existence is indicated. As noted before the same distance from the same fixed point is given for more than one place. (This could be accounted for by the quadrant use of directions, but not if on the same road between the same two reference points.) On the other hand, there are double entries for the same place giving divergent

localizations. Etymologies are rare, and as noted above, the obvious ones in the Masoretic text, such as Bethlehem, Melchizedek, etc. are ignored.

In the *Onomasticon* only one place is from Mark and it appears also in Matthew. There is only one extensive New Testament quotation, that from John. In all of the Gospel entries some history is recorded. But many of the Old Testament names with Gospel associations do not have any reference to the later history. When they do it seems to be from a secondary hand. In twenty out of twenty-three New Testament references there is still a clear tradition of the site at the time of the editor's addition (or final redaction?). Therefore, only once is direction given. Usually distance is also lacking. This of course could indicate that the tradition of the Gospel sites was still too much alive to require more precise localization and identification. The use of the formula "our Lord and God Jesus Christ" and other Christological formulations reflects the fourth and fifth century Christology. The name Jesus does not occur alone.

In his conclusion, Melamed sees the *Onomasticon* as basically a Jewish work from several Jewish hands. In all he notes four stages of editorial work. In Tarbiz ²⁸ he was agnostic as to which was Eusebius' own contribution, suggesting perhaps he was merely the final redactor who Christianized an originally Jewish book by adding Gospel details. A generation later in the Encyclopaedia ²⁹ he allows more to Eusebius as author and editor, at least giving him credit for more topographical details, which of course were derived from itineraries, maps and administrative lists, and all re-edited by his pupils and Jerome.

Above we have noted nine items that occur with more or less regularity and in approximately that same order in many entries. Some lines seem obviously not original, such as the extensive quotations of Josephus on Ararat and Babel. At best such references would have been noted "Josephus affirms" or "of which we read in Josephus." These quotations are infrequent and lengthy quotations rare. It is therefore not too radical to assume these quotations are secondary editorial and scribal additions.

The infrequent references to Gospel events in Old Testament entries are usually tacked on as if an afterthought. This suggests that they are also secondary, but at this point we cannot prejudge Eusebian authorship. Similarly the notation about Roman garrisons most frequently occurs at the end of an

entry and could readily be considered an editorial addition if not a marginal gloss.

As for the rest, there is the same dilemma faced by biblical scholars. There is the same problem of authorship and sources. Is a man, even bishop and scholar, who annotated and re-edits an older book, or who conflates, even poorly, two or more sources, an author? Is he still the author even if he is re-edited by his pupils? Both Amos and I Isaiah have been worked over by their disciples, but nevertheless are usually considered to be the authors of the major portion of their books. Is only the final redactor of the Pentateuch ultimately the inspired author or is the author to be considered the composer of the primary and longer source? Is the source Q or any other behind the Synoptics the real author even though tradition calls Matthew, Mark and Luke Gospel writers? Because there is no real literary style to the *Onomasticon* and even his *Church History* is no masterpiece, it would be vain to attempt a Wellhausenist literary analysis of sentences or paragraphs. It remains for a programmed computer to read out traditional, conventional, phrased or words that may be utilized to indicate separate hands.

No doubt the basic schema or framework of the *Onomasticon* was originally a Jewish compilation of place-names in the *Torah* (and possibly also the *Prophets*). This probably was centered in Jerusalem area. It may have been mediated to Eusebius through Origen and his school with added textual information from the Hexapla. Whether the biblical information on Old Testament places was in such a pre-Eusebian source or not cannot be determined as yet. It is quite possible that Eusebius himself added the Gospel items at the end of each alphabetic section of his source. A student or later editors may have added the Gospel notes to the Old Testament place-names in order to complete the Christianization of the book. Since the topographical details seem to agree well with fourth century records and archaeology, and since Christian tradition regards Eusebius as the father of Palestinian geography, it seems reasonable to assume that he is responsible for the topographical and historical statements in the majority of entries even though he used, almost slavishly, certain Roman itineraries. The interest in shrines and tombs could be from an earlier Jewish hand or from an earlier distinct source available to our "author"-editor."

One must agree with Melamed that items out of their proper biblical order

are secondary. But at this point Thomsen may be more nearly correct than Melamed. These could be marginal glosses, even from the hand of Eusebius, which pupils or disciples incorporated, perhaps a bit carelessly into their copies in such a manner as marginal glosses were included in New Testament manuscripts by medieval scribes. Eusebius' study notes, questionings, etc. could thus have gained validation which he would not have given them. Obviously by the time the Greek copy and the early Latin version reached Jerome, the *Onomasticon* had been to all intents and purposes complete as found in the Greek Vatican Manuscript 1456. Jerome corrected it on the basis of new sources and his personal knowledge of Hebrew and of the land, and brought it up to date regarding fourth century Christian churches.

The *Onomasticon* as we now have it has a history of development covering several centuries. It began as an onomastical list (perhaps first only Levitical cities, cities of refuge and tribal allotments) as early as Philo of Alexandria. In still Jewish hands it was expanded to include major sites of the Torah and then of the Major Prophets. It is further enlarged by the school of Origen with major additions of text, interpretations and variant transliterations from what is now called the Hexapla. This is made into a pilgrim's guide book to the Holy Land in the early fourth century by the friend of Constantine and bishop of Caesarea. Eusebius' pupils incorporate minor additions and are responsible for some of the doublets, perhaps from Eusebius' own marginal notes. Jerome brought it up to date for the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. Medieval copyists and scribes occasionally incorporated other marginal notes, more Hexaplaric data and fleshed out the Josephus quotations.

The Onomasticon and Biblical Topography

The average reader of the Bible assumes that a place referred to in the Old or New Testaments still exists somewhere in one of the countries of the Near or Middle East under the same name and in approximately the same location. In his fancies, he is sure he could go there promptly and find the precise place. One of the biggest disappointments of the modern tourist-pilgrim is the conflicting opinions, the indeterminable and even lost sites in Palestine. The scholar is likewise frustrated in his search.

The scientific student of biblical geography and topography is forced to face up to many problems, to choose among many possibilities and claimants, and at times to be honestly agnostic. Thus at least two or three sites are championed by different persons for the authentic Emmaus. Many are the problems, sites and arguments for (and even excavations of) Gilgal. Scholars are hard pressed to determine if the seven references to Aphek represent six or seven different sites with the same name or only one. In the most simple topographical name, the historical geographer can have at least ten variant traditions about its location, each with sub variants.

1. There is the biblical site as it was during biblical times. This may sound simple enough to define, but the biblical texts may refer the same name to more than one location. Likewise even within biblical times the settlement as well as the name could wander from the original location. An explicit of this is Bethnimra. The Early Bronze age city was at Tell Mustah. Across the road and beyond the wadi to the north is the Iron Age Israelite site, Tell Bleibel. Down the valley a short distance to the West is Tell Nimrin, the Byzantine and medieval Arab site which retains the name. The present town of Shunat Nimrin is adjacent to this tell toward the Jordan. In modern Israel this movement of names is happening all over again. New settlements and kibbutzim are taking biblical names, sometimes from a nearby tell, sometimes on the basis of a biblical atlas or geography of the 30's, 50's or later, and other times sentimentally chosen, but most frequently not exactly on the original site. The exiles returning from Babylon confused the topographers in a similar manner.

2. The biblical site as Jewish tradition reported it is also multiple. Even the rabbis quoted in the Talmud do not always agree.³⁰ The Targum, Philo and

Josephus complicate the tradition enough, let alone what happens to it in medieval Jewish scholarship.

3. The first known Christian topographer, Eusebius, sought to identify the biblical site as it was in biblical times. But it is already obvious that his text is not always clear and that there are contradictory localizations for the same place. The roads are not always clear, directions may involve the entire quadrant of the compass, and spellings are confused. On top of that, the tradition reported by Eusebius reflects at best a post-Old Testament, perhaps even post-biblical, and therefore late decision.

4. The site as Jerome found it in the Jewish tradition is usually cited under “The Hebrews affirm.” This would be a fourth stream which might have been utilized by Eusebius and still other early Christian topographers. This is not always the same as the fifth.

5. This is the site as Jerome interpreted the text of the Scripture and the text and traditions of the *Onomasticon*.

6. Both 4 and 5 may be quite distinct from the site as Jerome determined it by his own personal experience and study. But even this sixth stream is complicated since Jerome does not always agree with himself (or at least various Latin editors did not agree). As even a good scholar in the 20th century should, Jerome reserved the right to change his mind. His commentaries, Epistles 48 and 108, as well as *Hebrew Questions* do not always agree with the Latin *Onomasticon*’s text.

7. Because of our problems with the third through sixth possibilities there is then a seventh to be accounted for. This is the site as Jewish (later Israeli) and German (rarely French, English and American) scholars in the last two centuries interpreted the data in Eusebius and Jerome. The ZDPV is full of debates on this subject.³¹

8. After Eusebius came the full surge of pious pilgrims. Their reports of shrines, tombs, churches, pagan remnants, and sites in general are often in conflict with one another. Because of the exigencies of the times, names and even whole districts were shifted (cf. *Onomasticon* on Garizin and Gaibel).

9. The crusaders developed a whole new Palestinian topography which is a study in itself. For the most part they tended to concentrate all the important sites within the small territory held by the Latins and so compressed one tradition into another for the convenience of the pious as well as for their

safety.

10. Finally, the site in Moslem tradition and among Arab geographers marks the first revival of scholarly study after the 4th century. Saarisalo ³² and others suggest that Arab tradition of Old Testament sites is more reliable than Christian tradition of New Testament sites.

The site then as the first western and European scholars determined it could be any of the preceding ten, depending on the weight and worth given to each respective tradition by the investigators. Unfortunately it is also fairly certain that they added new traditions as they were misled by over helpful but ignorant guides who answered happily, but erroneously, misleading questions in “pidgin-Arabic.” This is perhaps an eleventh claim with which we must reckon.

The *Onomasticon* concerns primarily the third through the seventh levels above. It is only a secondary source for the first two, but still valuable. It is the first scientific work on biblical topography extant, accumulating perhaps four to five centuries of tradition, oral and written, into one complex, confusing and exasperating manuscript. Despite its errors, lacunae and obscurities it must be used and has been used by scholars since the time of Reland.

One reason for valuing this secondary source is simply chronology. Conder stated it plainly: it is “a witness to survival of Hebrew nomenclature of the country in the fourth century, even more perfectly preserved than now.” ³³ This same argument is presently used for the textual value of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the ones from other nearby caves. Yet, even Conder recognized that in the *Onomasticon* “we see tradition not made but in the process of making.” ³⁴ Actually it is both. Eusebius has preserved for us Jewish traditions that may go back beyond New Testament times, but he also has added his own fourth century fact and fiction (plus later additions of editors and scribes) to the corpus of topographical tradition which is not always reconcilable to the Bible. The *Onomasticon* is more exact than the Bible itself, since the Scriptures do not pretend to be geographical documents and do not attempt to make any specific localizations on the basis of directions (the only exceptions being the tribal boundary lists and such vague terms as “east of,” “opposite” etc.).

It is most probable that the *Onomasticon* can be taken as a primary source

for the fourth century, although with further literary criticism and archaeological comparison it may become a primary source for earlier centuries. “The *Onomasticon* in any case seems to be an introduction to the knowledge of the occupation of the land in the fourth Christian century. For his own time, and only for this has the *Onomasticon* the value of an original important source for us, since the situation made it possible for him to be exact on the places of his own time”³⁵ The *Deutschen Palestina Vereins* has therefore taken Eusebius seriously and for his own sake.³⁶ Avi-Yonah based much of his study of the Roman Map of Palestine (ca. 300) on the information in the *Onomasticon* and more recently used it to develop the economic history of the Byzantine period.³⁷ Those interested in New Testament sites and early Christian churches also have utilized the Greek and Latin texts of the *Onomasticon*.³⁸

Since according to Lapp, less than 2% of the ancient sites in Palestine are excavated and none of these completely,³⁹ surface sherding is requisite. Glueck pioneered this work in Transjordan and the Negev. Others in Israel have intensively surveyed smaller areas. Mittmann has outlined in his thesis the East Jordan territory to the North. Besides the DPV others schools such as the École Biblique, the ASOR (now the Albright Institute), the Franciscans and the Department of Antiquity of Jordan and Israel have conducted sherding trips. However, only ZDPV consistently publishes the results and no school, museum or other agency coordinates or files the reports of the others, so much is lost and not available to this study.

The work of Glueck, Avi-Yonah, Mittmann and others indicates that the late Roman and Byzantine periods were most prosperous. Unfortunately Glueck did not include a Byzantine map similar to that of Early Bronze and Iron sites in Transjordan, but the count is almost astronomical for sites that should be on such a map for Transjordan alone as a reading of Glueck’s volumes and the narrow territory of Mittmann’s thesis indicate. These surveys and others personally made or heard about by the author corroborate the high number of sites reported in the *Onomasticon* as still inhabited in the 4th century even if density of population figures are still not scientifically precise.

The area of Eusebius’ competence seems to end at a line east and west through the Northern tip of the Dead Sea and then going north along the ridge of the Ammonite plateau. In south Judea, Moab and Edam he is less

knowledgeable even in his own topographical information of contemporary towns and garrisons. He knows the hill country around Jerusalem best. The coastal plain and the Jordan valley are adequately reported. Samaria and Galilee are fairly well described.

The area encompassed by the *Onomasticon* (even as outlined in the Greek preface) is basically the Old Testament idealized boundary “from Don to Beersheba.” When Eusebius uses the term “Palestine” it is frequently non-historical. It may even be anachronistic, as it has been since 1948 with the establishment of the new state of Israel. The terms Samaria, Perea (called by Jerome Transjordan after the biblical phrase), Galilee and Idumea all have indefinable limits. Palestine Prima, Secunda, Tertia may at times be referred to and if so will be noted in the separate entry’s notes to follow. Part of the confusion is the conglomeration of sources from various dates.

As noted above the city and its district are the basis for topography and these are more important than the provincial descriptions. Melamed finds six Transjordanian areas centered around cities: Susita, Pella, Amman, Heshbon, Kerak and Petra. In the west there are twelve such centers according to him: Sepphoris, Tabor, Bethshan, Acco, Caesarea, Sebaste, Diospolis, Jericho, Jerusalem, Eleutheropolis, Hebron and Beersheba. Not all of these are important to the *Onomasticon* as Appendices V, VI and VIII indicate.

Villages are well located by Eusebius in these city-districts. If our finding them today is difficult, it is not so much the fault of the ancient writers as of other factors. As in the 20th century, so in the 4th, a village was not a single tell and a city was not a narrow spot at a milestone as some scholars seem to assume. Tell Deir ‘Alla, Franken points out, is only a small section of the total location of Deir ‘Alla as known to the natives today. To limit Livias (Julius) to Tell er-Rameh even if it fits Eusebius closely is to be unrealistic. Similarly Gadara is not merely the tell of Umm Qeis still inhabited and bordered north and south by Roman theatres. Even though names may have shifted they may often remain within the general district. Many of the towns are listed on the border, not only in biblical tribal allotments but also in the municipalities of the *Onomasticon*. Avi-Yonah in his map of Roman Palestine notes the region of a city or town properly on the basis of; first, all the inhabited places mentioned as belonging to it, second, all places whose localization is determined by measurement from it, and third all territory watered by the

aqueduct (see Appendix V).⁴⁰

Another difficulty in studying Eusebian topography has been the false assumption that distance always indicates a town on a Roman road. However, important villages and tells today are often indicated by mileage but are not on the main road. There is no necessity to limit Eusebius' site to known Roman roads. Even when he is measuring from and along a Roman road, the site may be indicated by noting the point at which one takes off over the hills with or without benefit of track or path to find that village (e.g., Bethel). Although the debate about roads and Eusebius continues we must remember he was not writing a book about Roman highways but at best utilizing a Roman map or garrison list to help him locate biblical sites as best he could.

Text and archaeology will soon be able to check one another. Most of Eusebius' fixed points of reference were important cities in the 4th century according to other written sources and archaeology. But it is still not possible to check his terminology or classification of towns and villages archaeologically. The use of nouns and adjectives in Greek or Latin may reflect just as much an editor's style or propensity as a change in fortune. After all, size is relative without area and population measurements. Jerome is not at all consistent in the translation of the Greek (any more than he is or should be in the Vulgate - see Appendix IX). If Jerome were trying to indicate a change in significance by a change in terminology, we may soon be able to check the facts archaeologically. The corpus of Palestinian pottery is gradually being extended into the 4th century through Caesarea, Araq al Emir and other pottery now that the Byzantine levels are not considered dump to be bulldozed away to get down to Israelite levels. But as far as possible the existence of fourth century settlements has been checked in the present study. Details of the results will be in the notes on individual entries to follow.

Summary

It is obvious that the author, whoever that may be, did not fulfill completely the purpose as stated in the preface. The *Onomasticon* is not a complete topography of Palestine of the Old and New Testaments (see Appendix III). It is not an historical geography to the Holy Land since not all the biblical or post-biblical facts have been summarized despite the numerous editorial additions layer on layer. The *Onomasticon* does provide us an extant list of Greek transliterations of Hebrew place-names based largely on the no longer extant Hexapla. Incidentally that makes it a valuable source for textual study of the Hexapla. The quotations of the Greek Bible and the references to the six columns of Origen are important critical resources.

The *Onomasticon* in its present form has provided an almost complete tribal division for the allotments in Joshua. Judah is most complete. Unfortunately not all the sites were located or identified in the 4th century. There is no evidence that all this information was in the lost description of Judea, part two of Eusebius' geographical opus, but that may have been incorporated into this work and could account for the Jerusalem-Eleutheropolis-Chebron triangle being so well done. If, however, the *Onomasticon* was accompanied by a map the location of minor border towns could have been left to the map alone and the curt notation "tribe of..." which is valueless for our purposes would have been sufficient for the ancient reader.

The *Onomasticon* provides us with a contemporary knowledge of fourth century Palestine and Transjordan. Some two hundred sites were positively inhabited in that time and as such Eusebius' work is a primary source for geography of the holy Land as seen in the 4th century.

The stated purpose of the fourth and final geographical work attributed to Eusebius was to identify biblical place-names and to associate them with known places in the fourth century. "The special work of Eusebius is the positive identification of biblical places with those which were known in the country in his day and herein lies the immeasurable value of his work all."⁴¹ This was done on the basis of many sources as noted above: Jewish, Roman, Christian, as well as oral tradition. The methodology has been followed by many scholars of the last two centuries when they based many identifications on real or imagined survivals of the name in similarly sounding names. Of

course, this principle is open to attack especially when applied by persons with little linguistic or philological knowledge and left unchecked by archaeological research.

Adapting the conclusions of both Reland and Conder⁴² we may sum up the value of the *Onomasticon*. Its worth is highest where Greek and Latin texts agree. The orthography of biblical names, especially in the Hexapla, can be restored by the use of the *Onomasticon*. The similar sounding names reflect a source and a survival fifteen hundred years older than any today, and record some which are otherwise lost today. The defects are largely matters of precision and lacunae. The principal cities are not defined as to their relative position and there is no sure, fixed point from which the mileage is known to have been taken. The description of locations are too often vague and even when compass directions are given they are limited to the four cardinal points and so are ambiguous, at least a quadrant being involved, and at times contradictory between Greek and Latin texts. The text as preserved to us in final redaction is often a heterogeneous agglomerate of unrelated materials assembled by many hands over several centuries. The principle of similar sounding names is tenuous at best.

Nevertheless, even though Abel has been criticized for too much reliance on the similarity of sounds, his judgment of the *Onomasticon* stands: “The *Onomasticon* despite its errors and its faults is of great help for knowledge of Palestine of biblical times and of the Byzantine period.”⁴³ It is hoped that this volume will make some small contribution to biblical and Byzantine topography (limited to *Onomasticon*’s localizations and identifications) as well as permit English speaking students and Bible readers to reassess Eusebius as a geographer.

ENDNOTES.

¹ The substance of this Introduction was published in the *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. XXVII (Sept. 1964), p.3 and is used by permission of the editor Edward F. Campbell and the American Schools of Oriental Research.

² Foakes-Jackson, F. J. *Eusebius Pamphili* (1933), p. xiv.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

⁴ On Eusebius' theology, see Berkhof, L. *Die Theology des Eusebius von Caesarea* (1939) and Deferrari, E. J. *Church History in the Fathers of the Church Series*, Vol. I. Introduction.

⁵ For additional material on his life, see Lake, K. in the introductory volume to *Ecclesiastical History* (1953 Loeb Classics); Wallace-Hadrill, D. S. *Eusebius of Caesarea* (1960); Altaner, B. *Patrologie* (1958), pp. 206ff., and the various dictionaries and encyclopedias.

⁶ For the history of Caesarea see Reifenbera, A. *Israel Exploration Journal*, I (1951), p. 20ff, Kadman, L. *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima* (1957), p. 16ff. popular summary in *Illustrated London News*, Oct.26, 1963, pp. 684ff. cf. Negav, Avraham. *Caesarea* (1967).

⁷ For archaeological study of the first campaign report *Caesarea Maritima* (1959), Fritsch, C.T. and Ben-Dor, I. *Biblical Archaeologist* XXIV (1961), Barag, D. *Bulletin of Israel Exploration Society* (in Hebrew), XXV, (1961), p. 231ff, Avi-Yonah, M. Rabinovitz Synagogue Fund *Bulletin*, I (Dec. 1949), p. 17f; II (June 1951), p. 28, III (Summer 1956, p. 44f. Negev, Avraham. *Op. cit.* (1967). Also see notes and reports in *Revue Biblique*, *Israel Exploration Journal*, *Bulletin of Israel Exploration Society*, *Biblica*, and *Newsletter ASOR* July 1971.

⁸ Wallace-Hadrill. *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁹ *Cp.* Wutz, F. *Onomastica Sacrum*, 2 Vols. 1914-1915.

¹⁰ Avi-Yonah. M. *The Madaba Map*, (1954), p. 30. O'Callaghan, R. "Madaba (Carte de)" *Supplement to Dictionnaire de la Bible*. V (1957), Col. 636 cp. Fischer, H. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palestina-Vereins*, (hereafter ZDPV), XII (1939), p. 169ff.

¹¹ Avi-Yonah, M. *Madaba Map*, p. 28 counts 983. Melamed. E. Z. *Tarbiz*, IV (1933), p. 248, counts 990.

¹² Conder, C.R. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* (1896), p. 244. *Cp.* Thomsen, Peter. *Loca Sancta*, Vol. I (1907) *passim*.

¹³ Klostermann, E. *Das Onomasticon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (1904) = *Eusebius Werke*, Vol. III, Part I, p. xvi f. cf. Melamed, E. Z., *op. cit.*, III (1932), p. 409, and *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, I (1950), p. 151f. Also cp. Klostermann, E. *Texte und Untersuchungen*, VIII 2 (1902), p. 9f.

¹⁴ In his lost *Life of Pamphilius*, Eusebius had listed the contents of the library in Caesarea; cf. *Church History*, VI 32:2.

¹⁵ Avi-Yonah, M. *Map of Roman Palestine* (1940, 1962); Miller, Konrad. *Itineraria Romana* (1916).

- ¹⁶ Noth, M. *ZDPV*, LXVI (1943), p. 34f; cf. Thomsen, P. *ZDPV*, XXVI (1903), p. 169ff.
- ¹⁷ Beyer, C. *ZDPV*, LTV (1931), p. 215, note 2.
- ¹⁸ Kubitschek, W. *Jahrhefte des Österreichischen Archaeologischen Institut in Wien*, VIII (1905), p. 124.
- ¹⁹ Cf. Beyer, C. *Op. cit.*, p. 213 note 1. Noth, M. *Op. cit.*, p. 32 and *Tarbiz*, IV (1933), p. 260.
- ²⁰ Armstrong, G. T. *Imperial Church Building in the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, p. 90ff, cf. Armstrong in *Gesta VI* (1967), p. 1ff. Avi-Yonah, M. *Studi di Antichita Cristiana*, XXII (1957), p. 117ff. Kopp, C. *The Holy Places of the Gospels* (1963), and Baldi, P.D. *Enchiridion Locorum Sanctorum* (1935).
- ²¹ Rahmani. Tisserant, Devreese, and Power. *Revue de l'Orient Chrétienne*, 3rd series, III - XXIII (1922-23), p. 225ff.
- ²² Ziegler. J. *Biblica*, XII (1931), p. 70ff. for other pilgrim texts see *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* volumes, especially Vol. I (1896) and Geyer, P. *Itinera Heirosolymitana*, Vol. XXXIX (1898) in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.
- ²³ Lemaire, P, and Baldi, D. *Atlante Storico Della Bibbia* (1955), p. 2.
- ²⁴ Cf. Note 10 above and popular summary by Gold, V. R., *Biblical Archaeologist*, XXI (1958), p. 50ff.
- ²⁵ Avi-Yonah, M. *Madaba Map*, p. 32.
- ²⁶ Cf. Notes 12 and 18 above. Also Thomsen, P. *ZDPV*, XXIX (1906), p. 130f.
- ²⁷ Melamed, E. Z. *Tarbiz*, III (1932), pp. 314-27, 393-409; IV (1933), pp. 78-96, 249-84 (in Hebrew).
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV (1933), p. 269f.
- ²⁹ *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, I (1950), cols. 152f. (in Hebrew).
- ³⁰ Neubauer, A. *La Géographie du Talmud* (1868), cp. Romanoff, Pail. *Onomasticon of Palestine* (1937). Avi-Yonah, M. *The Holy Land* (1965).
- ³¹ The annual Holy Land trips are reported regularly. More specifically Mittmann, S. articles regularly since Volume 79 (1963).
- ³² Saarisalo, A. *Studia Orientalia*, XVII (1952), p. 3.
- ³³ Conder, C. R. *Op. cit.*, p. 245.
- ³⁴ Conder, C.R. *Survey of Western Palestine*, IV (1881), p. 234.

- ³⁵ Noth, M. *ZDPV*, LXVI (1943), p. 32.
- ³⁶ Mittmann, S. *Beiträge zur Siedlungs und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes*(1970) and notes 10, 16, 17, 26, 31, and 35 above.
- ³⁷ Avi-Yonah, M. *Map of Roman Palestine* (1940, 1962) cf. *Israel Exploration Journal*, VIII (1958), p. 39f.
- ³⁸ See Note 20 above and various geographies, atlases beginning with Bernard, J. H., "The Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem," *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, I.
- ³⁹ Lapp, P. *Biblical Archaeologist*, XXVI (1963), p. 122f.
- ⁴⁰ Avi-Yonah, M. *Map of Roman Palestine*, p. 3.
- ⁴¹ Thomsen, P. *ZDPV*, XXVI (1903), p. 141.
- ⁴² Conder, C. R. *Survey of Western Palestine*, IV (1881), p. 247f.
- ⁴³ Abel, F.M. *Geographie de la Palestine*, I (1933), p. XV.

CONCERNING THE PLACE NAMES IN SACRED SCRIPTURE by Eusebius of Pamphilia, Bishop of Caesaria Palestine

As a kind of preface to the work proposed by you, O Paulinus, holy man of God, I have previously presented the subjects suggested. First I translated into the Greek language the names of the nations throughout the world which have Hebrew names in the sacred Scriptures. Then on the basis of the whole Bible I composed a map of ancient Judea and defined the allotments of the twelve tribes within it. Furthermore, using the “blueprint” as it were, provided by Scripture, I sketched a representation of their ancient and renowned capital, i.e., Jerusalem, and of its temple with appended notes of its areas.

Now, in this work and in accordance with those things previously prepared for the usefulness of the completed project, I continue your proposal and set forth the names of the cities and villages mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures in their native language, of what sort of territory they were, and whether our contemporaries call them by the same name as the ancients or otherwise. I shall gather the materials sought from all of the inspired Scripture, but for easy reference I shall organize in alphabetic order each of the citations scattered among the readings.

Latin Preface by Jerome

Eusebius who received his cognomen from the sainted martyr Pampilius had already written the following:

- 1) The Ten books of the *Church History*
- 2) The Canons of the Times (which we rendered into Latin)
- 3) Names of the various Nations (in which he explained how these were formally spoken among the Hebrews and are now spoken)
- 4) Description of the land of Judea and the lots of the separate tribes
- 5) Also a Plan of Jerusalem and its temple with a most succinct description

Finally he worked on this little book and gathered together for us from the Holy Scriptures almost all the names of cities, mountains, rivers, villages and other places indicating if they still exist, are unchanged or are in part corrupted. And so we have translated the study of this remarkable man according to the order of the alphabet in Greek. We have left unchanged those proper records we have not seen, but have changed a few.

As formerly in the preface to The Canons of the Times, I debated whether I should be only a translator or an author of a new work. Especially because someone hardly instructed in the language dared to translate this same book into the Latin language which is not really Latin. The wise reader will quickly discover the ignorance of him by comparison with what we have translated. Even though I do not claim for myself eminence, nevertheless I believe I can surpass those who are farmers.

SECTION A

GENESIS

Ararat, Armenia.¹ Scripture says that the ark came to rest (after the deluge) in the mountains of Ararat. It is asserted that the remains of the ark are still shown on the mountains of Armenia. Jeremiah also mentions Ararat in his vision against Babylon. In the first book of the *Antiquities of the Jews* Josephus likewise sets forth the story of the place. Upon the testimony of non-scriptural witnesses he derives this information:

“Noah, thus learning that the earth was delivered from the flood, waited yet seven days, and then let the animals out of the ark, went forth himself with his family, sacrificed to God and feasted with his household. The Armenians call that spot the Landing-Place, for it was there that the ark came safe to land, and they show the relics of it to this day. This flood and the ark are mentioned by all who have written histories of the barbarians. Among these is Berosus the Chaldean who in his description of the events of the flood writes somewhere as follows: ‘It is said, moreover, that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia on the mountains of the Cordyaeans, and that persons carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they use as talismans.’ These matters are also mentioned by Hieronymus the Egyptian, author of the ancient history of Phoenicia, by Mnaseas and by many others. Nicolas of Damascus in his 96th book relates the story as follows: ‘There is above the country of Minyas in Armenia a great mountain called Baris, where, as the story goes, many refugees found safety at the time of the flood, and one man, transported upon an ark, grounded upon the summit, and of the timber were for long preserved; this might well be the same man of whom Moses, the Jewish legislator wrote.’”

Achad.² City of King Nebrod in Babylon. [According to the Hebrews this is said to be the Mesopotamia city which today is called Nisibis. It was once besieged and captured by Lucullus the Roman consul and within a few years was given over by Emperor Iovianus to the Persians.]

Aggai (Ai).³ To the west of Bethel. They are not far distant from one another. Bethel is now located on the left side of the road going from Neapolis to Jerusalem at about the 12th milestone from Jerusalem. Bethel even now exists. [A church has also been built there where Jacob slept on the way to

Mesopotamia whence this place was given the name Bethel which means “house of God”. But for Aggai, a deserted place, there are shown only ruins. This is also called in Scripture Gai. [It should be remarked that there is no letter G in Hebrew but it was called Ai, written with the letter called by them Ain.]

Astarōth Karnaein.⁴ Territory of the giants situated above (on the ridge). Sodom which Chodollagomor captured (destroyed). Today there are two towns (forts) of this name in Batabia or Beloloun the cities of Adara and Abila, about nine miles apart.

Arbō. [Arboc.⁵ In our codex written corruptly as Arboc, Arbo is the reading in the Hebrew. That means “four” since this is where the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob along with the “great Adam” are buried. So in the book of Josue. Perhaps some suppose this tradition that he was buried in the location of Calgary.] “That is, Hebron” now a large town which was formerly a metropolis of the foreigners where giants dwelled. Afterwards the capital of David. It was allotted to the tribe of Juda and was a Levitical city and one of the cities of refuge. It is twenty-two miles south of Jerusalem. The oak of Abraham [which is also Mamrē, was pointed out up to the time of Constantine, emperor of Rome] and his tomb are seen there [a church has been constructed there by us]. The terebinth where angels were entertained by Abraham is openly revered by the people (in the vicinity as a religious place). Formerly it was called Arbo but later Hebron after Hebron one of the sons of Caleb according to Paralipomenon.

Ailam (Ailath).⁶ Is situated at the extremity of Palestine between the southern desert and the Red Sea where cargo was transported by ship from both Egypt and India. A detachment of the Tenth Roman Legion is stationed there. Properly called Aila today (it was formerly pronounced Ailath) from whence the ancient people the Ailamites whose king was Chodollagomor [who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles]. Another Ailam of the foreigners (of Palestine) is noted in Kings.

Adama.⁷ One of the five cities of Sodom which was destroyed with the others.

Asasan Thamar (Asasonthamar).⁸ Where the Amorrites dwelled whom Chodollagomor destroyed is located near the wilderness of Cades. It is said there is a village Tharmara (a fortThamara) one day journey from Mapsis on

the road from Hebron to Ailam. Today there is a garrison (Roman fort) of soldiers there.”

Aloua (Allus).⁹ Region of the princes of Edom (the Edomite) which is now in the Gebalene near the city of Petra.

Ainan (Aenam).¹⁰ “On the road to Thamna.” Now Ainan is a deserted place near Thamna which today is a large populous town situated between Jerusalem and Diospolis. There is a spring near the place said to be Ainan beside which an idol used to be worshiped by the inhabitants. [There is a spring at the above mentioned place Aena whence Aenan, that is “spring” gets its name, where a strange, large idol is revered by the inhabitants. But the Hebrews declare that Aenan does not designate a place but a crossroad where a clear prospect is required to choose one road from another.]

[Ailōn Atad (Areaatad).¹¹ “Which is beyond the Jordan” where they mourned Jacob. The place is three miles from Jericho and two from the Jordan. It is now called Bethagla which is interpreted “place of circling” because there (according to custom) they were circling in lamentation over Jacob.]

EXODUS

Ailim (Aelim).¹² “Where there were twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees.” A station of the children of Israel on the desert (to which Moses came after crossing the Red Sea).

[Ailous (Aelim).¹³ Station of the children of Israel in the desert (in the desert where the children of Israel made camp).]

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Aserōth.¹⁴ Part of the desert where “Mariam and Aaron spoke against Moses.” Once the Avvim dwelt in Aseroth as far as (the city) Gaza. [But rather this is not called Aseroth but Aserim in Hebrew.]

Asemōna.¹⁵ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Aētharim.¹⁶ For Aquila and Symmachus (interpreted) “road of the spies.” There “the Canaanite who lived in the Negreb” (south) came and fought the Israelite in the desert.

Aiē or Achelgai.¹⁷ Symmachus (interpreted) “on the hills.” It is said to be “fronting Moab” (now) Areopolis, “on the east.”

Arnōn.¹⁸ [A high cliff] “which extends from the territory of the Amorrites” situated between “Moab and the Amorrites” it is also the “border of Moab.” Which is Areopolis in Arabic. Today a place called Arnon is pointed out by the nearby inhabitants extending north to Areopolis. Units of soldiers are spread out there to guard it because of the dangers in that place (soldiers from many forts are spread out because of the many bloody and formidable invasions). Once Sehon, king of the Amorrites, took it from the Moabites. (Once this belonged to the Moabites but Sehon, king of the Amorrites, waged war against it and took it.) Afterwards it was given to the children of Israel who took possession of the territory beyond the Jordan reaching from the Arnon to Mt.Hermon and Lebanon. (The territory of the children of Israel beyond the Jordan beginning at the Arnon extends up to Mt.Hermon and Lebanon.)

Ar.¹⁹ Place (or city) on the Arnon which according to the Septuagint LXX (hereafter LXX) [the Septuagint interprets with a long vowel] Er.

Aēsīmōn.²⁰ Place in the desert [in short this word itself signifies arid land or desert].

Abelsattein (Abelsattim).²¹ Place in the desert “to the west of Moab” (south).

Azōr (Iazer).²² “Boundary of the children of Ammon” (border city of Ammon) which is called Philadelphia now. It along with Philadelphia delimits the region of the Amorrites. There is eight miles (about) from Philadelphia a village Azer (Iazer) remaining today.

Aroēr.²³ “It is on the edge of the Wadi Arnon.” A city of Moab which the Emin, an ancient people, once possessed, which the children of Lot, that is those from Moab, seized [and overthrew the former inhabitants]. It is today pointed out perched on the brow of the mountain where the torrent flows through the gorge (abruptly) to the Dead Sea. Aroer was given by lot to the tribe of Gad and is said to be “toward” (opposite) “Rabba.”

Astarōth.²⁴ The ancient city of Og [king of Basan] where giants dwelled. It was given to the tribe of Manasse. It is located in the Batanea six miles from Adraa a city of Arabia. Adraa is twenty-five miles from Bostra. Note also the previous Astaroth Karaein.

Agrou Skopia.²⁵ (Lookout). Mountain of Moab to which Balac [son of Sepphor] brought Balaam “on the peak of cursing” overlooking the Dead Sea. It is still pointed out not far from the Arnon. (Diviner to curse against Israel above the precipice which because it falls quite strongly is called “cleft” and impinges over the Dead Sea not far from the Arnon.)

Arabōth Mōab.²⁶ Where the people were numbered a second time. Aquila “on the plain of Moab.” Symmachus “on the field of Moab.” “It is on the Jordan opposite Jericho.” A place is pointed out now near Mt. Phogor which is located on the road from Livias to Hesebon of Arabia opposite Jericho.

Araba. Aquila ²⁷ “In the plain.” Symmachus “in the field.” Theodotion “in the west.” Symmachus also once “uncultivable.”

Astarōth (Ataroth).²⁸ Ancient city of the Amorrites in Peraia [across the Jordan] which was given by lot to the tribe of Gad. Adtaroth is also the name of the son of Salma or Salomon according to Paralipomenon.

Astarōth Sōphar (Ataroth Sofan).²⁹ This is also a city of the tribe of Gad.

Arad.³⁰ City of the Amorrites near the desert of Cades. There is now (shown) a village four miles from Malaatha, and twenty from Hebron. Tribe of Juda.

Asemōna.³¹ A city in the desert south of Judaea. It determines the border between Egypt and the sea [and the lot of] the tribe of Juda. Note another [Asemōna above], a camp [of the children of Israel].

Akrabbein (Acrabbi).³² Eastern boundary of Judaea. Tribe of Juda. There is a large village nine miles east of Neapolis on the road descending via the so-

called Akrabattine toward the Jordan at Jericho. The Akrabbein is said to be also the region of the Amorrites from which according to Judges “the tribe of Nephthali did not drive out” the heathen.

Asadadda (Asadada).³³ Northern boundary of Judaea.

[Arad.³⁴ This is also a boundary of Judaea], twenty miles south of Hebron. Note another above.

Asarēnan (Asarenam).³⁵ Northern boundary of Judaea.

Aserna (Asernai).³⁶ This is also a boundary of Judaea.

Arbēla.³⁷ Eastern boundary of Judaea. There is a village of Arbela across the Jordan in the region of Pella, a city of Palestine. Another Arbela lies in the Great Plain nine mile north from Legeon.

Aulōn.³⁸ [Not Greek as one might think since this is a Hebrew word] The Great long plain is still called the Aulon. It is bordered on both sides by mountains [and is very long] extending from Lebanon to the desert of Pharan. In the Aulon [that is the valley plain] is the famous city [Tiberias] and nearby the lake, Scythopolis, Jericho and the Dead Sea and their surrounding regions. The Jordan flows through the midst of the whole region (which river) arising from the springs near Paneas and disappearing into the Dead Sea.

Amalēkitis (Amalecitis).³⁹ Territory in the desert to the south of Judaea beyond the city called Petra going toward Aila. The Scripture emphasizes this, “Amalek lived in the region of the Negeb (south).” From this region other Canaanites came and fought the children of Israel in the desert. The same Scripture testifies “The Amalecites and Canaanites are living in the valley.”

Araba.⁴⁰ [Aquila “plain.” Symmachus] “field.” Note above also. There is a village called Araba in the district of Diocaesarea [which was formerly called Safforinia] and another about three miles west of Scythopolis.

Amman.⁴¹ This is now Philadelphia, a famous city of Arabia. “The Raphaim formerly lived” there. The sons of Lot drove out the inhabitants who lived there in Amman before them.

Argob.⁴² Territory of the kingdom of Og [king of Basan] above the Jordan which was taken [by lot] by the half tribe of Manasse. There is even now a village called Erga near Gerash, a city of Arabia, fifteen miles to the west. It is

interpreted by Symmachus “outskirts.”

Asēdōth.⁴³ City of the Amorrites which was given [by lot] to the tribe of Ruben. It is called Asedoth Phasga which is “hewn in rock” (in our tongue “cut away”).

Abareim (Abarim).⁴⁴ The mountain on which Moses died. It is said to be “Mt.Nebo which is in the land of Moab facing Jericho “beyond the Jordan on the summit of Phasga.” The very same names are pointed out when one goes from Livias to Hesebon near Mt.Phogor itself which still bears that name, from which the territory is also even now called Phasga.

Auōth Iaeir (Avothiair).⁴⁵ [Which is interpreted “home of Iair.”] It is in Basan (where there are sixty villages in Mt.Galaad). There is a village Iaeir in the mountains of Galaad which was taken (by lot) by the half tribe of Manasse. It is now in the place called Gonia (Golan) in the (region of) Batanaea.

JOSHUE

Antilibanos (Antilibanus).⁴⁶ What is beyond the Lebanon to the East toward (near) region of Damascus (is called Antilibanus). Tribe of Manasse (which the tribe of Manasse received by lot).

Azēka (Azeca).⁴⁷ City of the Chanaanites to which Josue pursued the five kings. It was given to the tribe of Juda. There is even now a village called Azeka between Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem.

Ailōm (Aialon).⁴⁸ Ravine. Where “the moon” stood when Josue prayed, near the village which is even today called Aialon, three miles from Bethel to the east. It is near Gabaa and Rama, cities of Saul. [The Hebrews assert the town of Aialon to be near Nicopolis in the second mile on the road to Jerusalem.]

Achōr.⁴⁹ The valley called Achor [in Hebrew *emecachor* which means valley of confusion or violence because of the confusion or violence in Israel] where they stoned Achor (Achan), who stole what was under ban from whom Achor is named. It lies north of Jericho and is even now the name by those nearby [by the inhabitants. Mentioned by Osee the prophet.]

Asēdōth.⁵⁰ This is another city [not that which has the same name above] which Josue fought, killing its king.

Asōr.⁵¹ City of King Jabin which Josue burned because it was alone “chief of all the kingdoms of the foreigners (Philistines).” There is even now another village called Asor in the eastern region of Ascalon. Give [by lot] to the tribe of Juda. Scripture also knows the new Asor [calling it so to distinguish it from the old].

Aermōn.⁵² Territory of the Hevites captured by Josue. [The Hebrews properly as the reading indicates, affirm that Mt. Hermon is near Paneas which was once held by the Hevites and the Amorrites, from where in summer delicacies of snow are brought down now to Tyre.]

Alak (Aalac).⁵³ Aquila “division of the mountain.” Symmachus “smooth mountain” [that is clear or slippery]. A mountain above Paneas.

Aermōn.⁵⁴ Mountain of the Amorrites [which is reported] the Phoenicians called Sanior and the Amorrites called it “This Sanir.” They say it is the mountain even now called Mt. Hermon which is revered as a shrine by the

gentiles (on its summit is a wonderful temple where the people worship) opposite (near) Paneas and Lebanon. To the east is the boundary of the inheritance of the children of Israel beyond the Jordan (extends) from Mt.Hermon to the Wadi Arnon.

Anōb.⁵⁵ A city which Josue fought. There is even now a village near Diospolis, four miles to the east called Betoannaba. [Others however affirm it located eight miles from there and is called Bethannaba.]

Asdōd.⁵⁶ Which is also (now called) Azotus. The Enacim remained in it (giants as they were called). Today it is a famous city of Palestine. It was in the lot of the tribe of Juda.

Ader.⁵⁷ A city which Josue fought, killing its king.

Aphek (Afec).⁵⁸ A city which Josue also fought, killing its king.

Aksaph (Acsaf).⁵⁹ This king Josue also fought. It is reported there is a village (called) Chasalous in the plain below Mt.Thabor eight miles from Diocaesarea.

Akkarōn (Accaron).⁶⁰ (In) tribe of Dan [or as I determine in the tribe of Juda]. “It is counted among the Chanaanites.” One city of the five satrapies of the heathen (Palestine) which was also allotted to the tribe of Judah. But they did not possess it since they did not destroy the heathen (never were able to expel the original inhabitants from it). There is also a large village of Jews called Accaron between Azotus and Iamnia to the east. [Some believe Accaron to be the Tower of Strato afterwards called Caesarea.]

Azōtos (Azotus).⁶¹ Which is called (above) Asdod. The (not ignoble) city of Palestine still remains. Formerly one of the five satraps of the heathen which was also allotted to Juda, but they did not possess it because they did not destroy the heathen (were not able to expel the original inhabitants).

Askalōn (Ascalon).⁶² A renowned city of Palestine. Formerly one of the five satrapies (of the heathen) which was allotted to Judah but they did not possess it because they did not destroy the heathen (were not able to overcome its inhabitants).

Apheka (Afeca).⁶³ Boundary “of the Amorrites” beyond the Jordan which was given to the tribe of Ruben. There is now a large village (castle) called Aphec

near Hippos a city of Palestine.

Algad (Agad).⁶⁴ (Located) “at (the foot of) Mt. Hermon.”

Aimath (Aemoth).⁶⁵ City of the valley was given to Ruben. They say there is now a village Amathous in the lower Peraea (beyond the Jordan), south of Pella. Another village near Gadaranis (named) Emmath where there is hot water (where hot water flows forth) for hot baths. In Kings it is said, “from the entrance of Emath unto the sea of the Arabia” (that is wilderness) which is the Dead Sea. [I have however discovered upon investigation a city of Coele Syria called Aemath which is now called Epifania in the Greek tongue.]

Ammon.⁶⁶ Beyond the Jordan. City of the tribe of Gad. It is Amman or Philadelphia, a famous city of Arabia.

Adira.⁶⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda near the desert. There is another village in the region of Diospolis near Thamnitike which region itself is called after the village Thamna.

Akarka.⁶⁸ Symmachus “the ground.” A village near the desert. Tribe of Juda.

Achōr.⁶⁹ (In) the [tribe of Juda. Note also above.

Adommim].⁷⁰ (Lot of) the tribe of Juda. (Once) a little village, now deserted. The place is called Maledamim on the road going down from Jerusalem to Jericho. A garrison is there. [In Greek “the ascent of blood.” The Latin also calls it the ascent of red or redness for the blood of those so often poured out by the soldiers. It is also on the boundary of the tribes of Juda and Benjamin. A fort of soldiers is located there to help travelers. This is the place of the wounded and bloodied of which the Lord speaks in the Parable of the one going down from Jerusalem to Jericho.]

Amam.⁷¹ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Aser.⁷² (In) the tribe of Juda. There is now a large village called Aser on the road from Azotus to Ascalon.

Asarsoual (Asarsual).⁷³ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Ain.⁷⁴ (In) the tribe of Juda. (City) set aside for priests. There is now a village called Bethanin two miles from the terebinth (that is the tent of Abraham) and four from Hebron.

Asthāōl.⁷⁵ (In) the tribe of Juda. There is (remains today) now a (little) village called Astha between Azotus and Ascalon.

Asna.⁷⁶ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Adolam (Adollam).⁷⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda. A large (not small) village (called by that name) is now ten miles east of Eleutheropolis.

Adiathaim (Adithaim).⁷⁸ (In the lot of) the tribe of Juda. It is reported that there is a village Adia near Gaza and another Adatha near Diospolis to the east.

Adasa.⁷⁹ (In) the tribe of Juda. There is now even a village near Gophna. [But I wonder how Gufna region can possibly be in the tribe of Juda. Evidently it should be as again in the Book of Josue I is given to the lot of Ephraim.]

Ather.⁸⁰ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Asan.⁸¹ (In) the tribe of Juda. There is now also a village called Bethasan in the region of Jerusalem sixteen miles (in the fifteenth) to the west.

Asema.⁸² (In) the tribe of Juda.

Achzeib (Agzif).⁸³ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Anab.⁸⁴ (In) the tribe of Juda. It is even now in the in the boundary of Eleutheropolis. Also another large village of the Jews called Ania in the Daroma nine miles south Hebron.

Asthēmō (Asthemof).⁸⁵ (In) the tribe of Juda. This village (of the Jews) is also in the Daroma north of Aneon.

Ancim (Anim).⁸⁶ (In) the tribe of Juda. Another Anaia near the former (of which we spoke above) now happens to be wholly Christian (all its inhabitants are Christians) to the east of the first.

Aphaka (Afeca).⁸⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Amata (Ammata).⁸⁸ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Arebba.⁸⁹ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Archiatārōth (Ataroth).⁹⁰ City of the tribe of Joseph [near Rama in the tribe of Joseph].

Atarōth.⁹¹ (City of) the tribe of Ephraim. There is now also a village Ataros

four miles north of Sebaste (it is said).

Adar.⁹² City of the tribe of Ephraim.

Asēr.⁹³ City of the tribe of Manasse. There is also now (pointed out) a village called thus on the road (descending) from Neapolis to Scythopolis in the fifteenth mile near the main highway.

Atarōth.⁹⁴ City of the lot (tribe) of Benjamin. There are now two Ataroths near Jerusalem.

Anathōth.⁹⁵ City or the lot of Benjamin. Set aside for priests near Jerusalem at the third milestone. The home of Jeremia the prophet.

Adar (Addar).⁹⁶ City of the lot of Benjamin.

Ailmōn (Aelomon).⁹⁷ City or lot (tribe) of Benjamin. Set aside for priests.

Amekkasis (Amez-casis).⁹⁸ City or lot of Benjamin [that is valley of Casis in tribe of Benjamin].

[Aueim (Avim).⁹⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin.]

Aphra.¹⁰⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin. There is also even now a village Aphra (in of Bethel) five miles to the east.

Ammōenia (Ammoniam).¹⁰¹ (In the tribe of) lot of Benjamin.

Aphnei (Afni).¹⁰² (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin.

Alph.¹⁰³ Lot of Benjamin. (This entry is missing in Latin.)

Arēm (Arim).¹⁰⁴ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin. It is now a village near Diospolis called Bethariph.

Amsa.¹⁰⁵ (In tribe of) lot of Benjamin.

Asar.¹⁰⁶ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon.

Anan.¹⁰⁷ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon.

Amarchabob.¹⁰⁸ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon.

Ain.¹⁰⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Juda or Simeon. Priestly city.

Asenna.¹¹⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon.

Ammathar.¹¹¹ (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon.

Anoua (Anua).¹¹² (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon. There is another village Anoua on the road from Neapolis to Jerusalem at the fifteenth (tenth) milestone.

Anathōn.¹¹³ (In the tribe of) lot of Zabulon.

Acheselōth (Ahaseloth).¹¹⁴ City of (tribe of) lot of Issachar. They say there is a village (called) Chaalous in the plain by Mt.Tabor eight miles east of Diocaesarea (as we said above).

Aiphraim (Aefraim).¹¹⁵ City of (tribe of) lot of Issachar. There is a village Aphraia called Aphraia six miles north of Legeōn.

Anerth (Anereth).¹¹⁶ (In) lot of (tribe of) Issachar.

Aims (Aemes).¹¹⁷ (In) lot of (tribe of) Issachar.

Achsaph (Achsaf).¹¹⁸ (In tribe of) lot of Aser.

Alimelech.¹¹⁹ Lot of Aser.

Amod (Amath).¹²⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Aser.

Abdōn.¹²¹ (In tribe of) lot of Aser. [City separated to Levites.]

Aneiēl (Aniel).¹²² (In tribe of) lot of Aser. There is a village (named) Baitonnaia, fifteen miles east of Caesarea, lying in the mountains where there are said to be healing baths.

Achran.¹²³ (In tribe of) city of Aser.

Armmōn.¹²⁴ (In tribe of) lot of Aser.

Akhō (Accho).¹²⁵ It is now called Ptolemais. Lot of Aser where Aser “did not destroy” the heathen (drive out the former inhabitants).

[Achzeiph (Achzif).¹²⁶ (In tribe of) lot of Aser, from which they did not destroy the heathen] (in which the foreigners remained). It is Ekdippa, nine miles from Ptolemais, on the road to Tyre.

Amma.¹²⁷ Lot of Aser.

Aphek (Afec).¹²⁸ Lot of Aser from which they did not destroy the heathen (in which the early inhabitants remained).

Ademmei (Ademme).¹²⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

Asedeim (Aseddim).¹³⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

Amath.¹³¹ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

Adami.¹³² (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

Asōr.¹³³ Lot of Nephthali. (It is written) the King of Assyria also destroyed this.

Azanōth.¹³⁴ Boundary of Nephthali. (Now there is also) a village in the plain in the region of Diocaesarea.

Ailōn.¹³⁵ City of the lot of Dan. Separated to the Levites. A village of Alon is near Nicopolis. Before “Ailon” Origen (Septuagint) interprets “where there were bears.”

JUDGES

Arad.¹³⁶ City where “the children of Iothor (omitted pr. n.), of Iobab father-in-law of Moses” dwelled in the midst of Israel.

Ared.¹³⁷ Spring beside which Gadeon camped.

Arisōth.¹³⁸ City of Sisara, general of Jabin. Tabis is now a great city (village) beyond the Jordan six miles from the city of Pella on the road to Geresh.

[Ares.¹³⁹ Ascet of Hares. Aquila “thicket.” Symmachus “mountain.”]

Aroueir (Aruir).¹⁴⁰ Where Jephte fought. It is a village in the mountains six miles north of Jerusalem.

Arima.¹⁴¹ Where Abimelech was crowned.

Aialon (Aialin).¹⁴² City “in the land of Zabulon.” Home of Elon the judge of Israel.

Abel.¹⁴³ Of the vineyards. Where Jephte fought. Land of the children of Amman. There is even now a village Abela, a fertile vineyard, (to be seen in the seventh) six miles from Philadelphia. Also another famous wine producing city called Abela is twelve miles east of Gadara. And there is (still) a third Abela of the Phoenicians (in Phoenicia) between Damascus and Paneas.

KINGS

Armthem Seipha (Sofim).¹⁴⁴ City of Elcana and Samuel. It is situated (in the region of Thamna) near Diospolis. The home of Joseph who was from Arimathea in the Gospels.

Abenezzer.¹⁴⁵ A stone of help (hearing or of help). Place where “the heathen carried away the ark of the covenant” between Jerusalem and Ascalon near the village of Bethaamas.

Aphesdomeim (Afesdomim).¹⁴⁶ Where Saul fought. Aquila (interprets) “on the boundary of Dommein.”

Anegb (Annegeb).¹⁴⁷ Aquila “south.” Symmachus “south.”

Arith.¹⁴⁸ Where David dwelled. There is a village (named) Arath west of Jerusalem.

Aialim.¹⁴⁹ Aquila (translates) “of the deer.” Theodotion “the stones of the deer.”

Aendōr.¹⁵⁰ (Which is “in Jezrahel” where the children of Israel prepared for battle. There is now a large town Endor four miles south of Mt. Tabor.

Aphek (Afec).¹⁵¹ Near Endor of Jezrahel where the war broke out against Saul.

Arma.¹⁵² Where David sent some of “the spoils.”

Athach.¹⁵³ Where David sent some of the “spoils.”

Amma.¹⁵⁴ “By the wilderness road of Gabaon.”

Aeththam Adassai (Aethon Adasai).¹⁵⁵ (Which for Symmachus is (interpreted) “the lower road.”

Alōn Area Orna.¹⁵⁶ This is Jerusalem.

Assour.¹⁵⁷ City in Judaea which Solomon built.

Abelmaelai (Abelmaula).¹⁵⁸ One of the capital cities of Solomon. Home of Eliseus (the prophet). There is now a village called Bethmaela (Bethmaula) in the Aulon [of which we have spoken above], ten miles from Scythopolis (to the south). There is also a (little village Abelmea seen on the road from (between) Neapolis to (and) Scythopolis.

Auothiaeir (Avothiair).¹⁵⁹ One of the capital cities of Solomon.

Ailath.¹⁶⁰ “On the shore of the red sea in the land of Edom.” Note above Ailas also.

Ailōth (Aeloth).¹⁶¹ Azarias built this.

Ainda (Aenda).¹⁶² Asa (the king) fought against this (and overthrew it).

Asiōn Babai (Asiongaber).¹⁶³ (Which is also Asion Gaber. There the ships of Josaphat were broken (the fleet was destroyed). It is said to be Aisla (Essia) quite near Aila beside the Red Sea.

Alae (Alle), Abor, Gozan.¹⁶⁴ (Names) of rivers in the territory of the Medes on whose mountains Israel was resettled (was led away captive).

Abena (Abana).¹⁶⁵ River of Damascus.

Aophsith (Aofsithe).¹⁶⁶ Or Aphousoth which Aquila (understands) “in freedom.”

Aian.¹⁶⁷ The “king of Assyria” captured this.

Aia.¹⁶⁸ [Place in the territory of Assyria.

Ainath] (Ameth).¹⁶⁹ Territory of Assyria.

Asimath (Asima).¹⁷⁰ [City in the land of Judaea which] those from Aimath (Emath) built there.

Arkem (Arcem).¹⁷¹ According to Josephus this is Petra the famous city of Palestine.

Adramelech.¹⁷² Assyrian idol. The same as Anemelech (Latin omits this phrase) [which the Samaritans worshiped] which were the gods of the Samaritans.

Arōnieim (Aroniim).¹⁷³ A road (according to) Isaia. Aquila Oronaim, Symmachus Aranneim. In the vision “against the Moabs.”

[Agalleim (Agallim).¹⁷⁴ Isaia (also mentions this) in his vision “against the Moabites.”] There is now the village Aigalleim (Aegalim) eight miles south of Areopolis.

Aileim (Aelim).¹⁷⁵ Well of Deimmon (Dimon). [This place is also recorded in] Isaia in the vision “against the Moabites.”

Arina (omitted in Latin) or also Ariel.¹⁷⁶ Aquila and Symmachus “lion of God.” It is asserted that this is (the same as) Areopolis since the inhabitants of Areopolis still call their idol Ariel worshipping Ares (that is Mars) from whom the city (supposedly) is named. [It seems to be, however, that as a consequence of the prophetic text Ariel signifies allegorically Jerusalem or the temple itself, and that is the lion of God who bears the rule strongly and powerfully. Concerning this I speak more fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Adama.¹⁷⁷ (In Isaia). Aquila and Symmachus “ground,” Theodotion (interprets) “land.”

Agros (Ager).¹⁷⁸ Of the fullers. According to Isaia. The place is pointed out now in the suburbs of Jerusalem.

[Asedek (Asedec).¹⁷⁹ Isaia the prophet predicts the future of this place in Egypt. Remember, however, that in Hebrew this name should be written Aares which is dryness and some interpret “in the sun,” but others translate “in the clay” probably designating either Heliopolis or Ostracinas. But these disputed matters are discussed more fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Arphad (Arfad).¹⁸⁰ City of Damascus against which the King of Assyria fought. (as it is written) in Isaia, Jeremia and Kings.

Anaeougaua (Aneugaua).¹⁸¹ In Isaia. Aquila [Ane and Gaua]. Symmachus “rouse up” and “humiliate.” [Perhaps the U syllable in the middle of the word should be interpreted as the conjunction “and.”] Also in Kings (we read about this also in Kings).

Armenia.¹⁸² (In) Isaia (Which is) Ararat. Sarasa (Latin omits).

Asel (Asael).¹⁸³ Zachariah mentions this.

Anamaēl (Anameel).¹⁸⁴ Tower of Jerusalem [as written in the book of] Zachariah.

Asademōth (Assaremoth).¹⁸⁵ In Jeremia. In Hebrew “of Sademoth” (is written). Aquila “the suburbs.”

Aeniōth.¹⁸⁶ In Jeremia. Aquila “workshop” (or shop).

Alōth (Alaoth).¹⁸⁷ In Jeremia. (For which) in Hebrew Louith (Luith is written).

Aitham (Aethan).¹⁸⁸ In Jeremia. (Which) Aquila (interprets) “firm” (“powerful”). Symmachus “ancient.”

THE GOSPELS

Akeldama (Aceldama).¹⁸⁹ “Field of blood.” in the Gospels. It is even now pointed out on the north (south side) of Mt. Zion in Jerusalem.

Ainōn (Aenon).¹⁹⁰ “Near Saleim” (Salim), where John baptized according to the Gospel of John. The place is pointed out even now eight miles south of Scythopolis near Salalm (Salim) and the Jordan.

SECTION B

GENESIS

Babel (Which is also) Babylon.¹⁹¹ Interpreted “confusion.” It was the city of Nemrod, king of the giants. Where the tongues of those who designed the tower were confused, whose chief, Josephus affirms, had been Nimrod. He also is a witness to the story about the tower which the Greek Sibylline taught, saying. “The place in which they built the tower” is now called Babylon because of the obvious confusion of their first language. The Hebrews called that confusion Babel. [Because of the confusion of the speech of those who were building the most high tower with all zeal since the Hebrews call confusion Babel.] Concerning this tower and the dialects of man the Sibylline also recalls writing thus. All mankind had one language but some built a high tower so they might climb up to heaven by it. The gods sending winds overturned the tower and gave to each his own (peculiar and unique) language. And so because of this the city is called Babylon.”

Baithēl (Bethel).¹⁹² It is now a village twelve miles from Jerusalem to the right of the road going to Neapolis. It was formerly called Oulamma and also Luza. It was given to (the lot of) the tribe of Benjamin, near Bethaven and Gai. Josue also fought there killing the king. [Further, since some hold Ulammaus to be the old form following the error of the Greek volume, they err greatly. Surely the word is Hebrew and they appear to have confused the name of the city with Ulam meaning “first,” i.e., former, while Luza really means “almond.” So properly Bethel was first called Luza. Neither this nor Bathaun should be looked for in another city since the Hebrews reckoned them to be Bethel. But from the time of Jeroboam, son of Nabat, made there the Golden calves and the ten tribes worshiped there, it has been called Betraun, i.e., “House of God.” But we have spoken of this fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Bala.¹⁹³ “That is Sigor (Segor) It is now called Zoora (Zoara), the only one [of the five cities] of the territory of Sodom [cursed by Lot] which escaped. It is now inhabited (remains still) in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. A garrison of (Roman) soldiers is (stationed) there (a peculiar people crowd in there.) The Balsam and the date palm in the land surrounding it proves the ancient fertility of the place. [Nothing is wrong because Segor is said to be Zoara, for they are the same word for “very little” or “little.” It is Segor in Hebrew and

Zoara in Syriac. Bala however is interpreted “swallowed.” On this we have spoken fully in the book: *Hebrew Questions*.]

Belanos (Belanus).¹⁹⁴ “Mourning” (i.e., oak) under which Rebecca’s nurse died and was buried.

Barad.¹⁹⁵ “Between Cades and Barad the well of Agar is even now pointed out.

Bēthlehem.¹⁹⁶ [City of David. In the lot of the] tribe of Juda (in which our Lord and Savior was born.) It is six miles south of Jerusalem near the road descending to Hebron. There the tombs of Jesse and David are pointed out. [One mile farther. near the tower of Ader, which means “tower of the flock,” is where the shepherds heard prophetically of the Lord’s birth before it happened. Also near this same Bethlehem is pointed out the tomb of one of the kings of Judaea, Archalaeus, which is reached first on a narrow path diverting from the main highway to our cell.] Also called Bēthleem is the son of Efratha, (i.e. of Mary) according to Paralipomenon (book it is fully spoken. Read the story well!).

EXODUS

Beelsephōn (Beelrefon).¹⁹⁷ Station of the children of Israel near the desert going out of Egypt through the waters, near the Red Sea.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Banēiakan (Baneiacan).¹⁹⁸ Station on the desert in the journey of the people (children of Israel).

Bamōth.¹⁹⁹ City of the Amorrites near the Jordan in the region of the Arnon which the sons of Ruben took.

Basan.²⁰⁰ [Of which is written above] “Og, king of Basan.” This is also the Maachathites who are called Aouth Iaeir (that is resident Iair). And the (half-) tribe of Manasse received it (by lot). Located in the Galaad, it is the region of the Basanites which is now called Batanaia.

Beelphegōr (Baelfegor).²⁰¹ (Which is interpreted “idol of shame.” It is the idol of Moab which is Baal on Mt.Phogor [which the Latins call Priapus. This is fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*].

Baian (Baeon).²⁰² City of the Amorrites which the sons of Ruben took.

Bēthnamran (Bethamnaram).²⁰³ Across the Jordan. Which the tribe of Gad built. There is even now a village Bethnampris five miles north of Livias.

[Betharran.²⁰⁴ Across the Jordan. Which the tribe of Gad built.]

Beelmeōn.²⁰⁵ Across the Jordan. Which the sons of Ruben built. There is a large village near the hot waters of Baara [where the water springs freely from the earth] called Beelmaous of Arabia, located nine miles from Hesebon. Eliseus the prophet came from here.

Baal.²⁰⁶ Across the Jordan. City of the sons of Ruben.

Bouthan (Buthan).²⁰⁷ Station of the children of Israel in the desert which is also (called) Aitham (Aetham).

Bēla.²⁰⁸ Eastern boundary of Judaea. Note also the above (named) Arbela.

Bosor.²⁰⁹ “In the desert,” “across the Jordan,” (given in the lot to) “the tribe of Ruben,” “east of Jericho,” a priestly city of refuge. This is Bostra a metropolis of Arabia. There is also another Bosor, city of Esau, now in the hills of Idumea which Isaia mentions saying, “Who is this coming from Edom? The one in red garments from Bosor?”

Bēroth.²¹⁰ “Of the sons of Jakeim (Iacim).” Place in the desert where Aaron died. It is pointed out (still today) ten miles from Petra on the summit of the

mountain.

JOSUE

Bounos.²¹¹ (That is hill) of foreskins. Place at Galgal where Josue circumcised the people (of Israel). At the second mile from Jericho is pointed out even now (today) the stones which were brought up out of the Jordan (as scripture records).

Bēthōrōn.²¹² To where the (enemy) kings were pursued by Josue. Given (in lot) to the sons of Joseph, that is Ephraim. There are two villages twelve miles from Jerusalem on the road to Nicopolis, [of which the near] one called [Bethoron the Lower] set apart for the Levites.

Barnē.²¹³ This is Cades Barne, on the desert which extends up to the city of Petra.

Baalgad.²¹⁴ In the plain “of the Lebanon at the foot of Mt.Hermon. Josua also captured this.

Bethphogor (Bethfogor).²¹⁵ Across the Jordan. City of the sons of Ruben near Mt.Phogor, opposite Jericho, six miles above Livias.

Bēthasimouth (Bethsimuth).²¹⁶ Place of (home of) Isimouth. [There is even now (up to today a village Ismouth] opposite Jericho, ten miles to the south near the Dead Sea.

Bērōth (Beeroth).²¹⁷ At the foot (the hill) Gabaon. There is now (pointed out today) a village near Jerusalem on the road to Nicopolis (Neapolis) at the seventh milestone.

Botnia (Bothnim).²¹⁸ Also Potein (Latin omits). Across the Jordan, a city of the tribe of Gad. There is even now (today) a place called by this same name.

[Bētharam.²¹⁹ City of the tribe of Gad near the Jordan,] which (is called) according to the Assyrians (Syrians) Bethramphtha. It is now called Livias [so named by Herod in honor of Augustus].

Bethnema.²²⁰ Across the Jordan. City (of the tribe) of Gad near Livias.

[Bethagla.²²¹ Tribe of Juda.] There is now a village called Agla ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Gaza. Also another (maritime) Bethagla by the sea eight miles (from Gaza).

Bētharaba.²²² (In) the tribe of Juda.]

Baal.²²³ “This is Carlatihjarim, city of Iarim,” (i.e., town of the forest or as some think city of Iarim) tribe of Juda. There is a village Cariathiareim (today) on the road descending from Jerusalem to Diospolis at the tenth milestone.

Baala.²²⁴ Also Bala (not in Latin). (In) tribe of Juda.

Balōth.²²⁵ (In) tribe of Juda.

Bethphalei (Bethfali).²²⁶ Also Bethelai (not in Latin). (In) tribe of Juda.

Bērsabee.²²⁷ (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon. There is now a large village twenty miles south of Hebron in which a garrison of (Roman) soldiers is stationed. Here the territory of Judaea begins extending up to Dan near Paneas. Bersabee is interpreted “well of the oath” because there Abraham and Isaac swore (a pact of alliance) with Abimelech. It is not necessary to move the cities reported in Juda which are also found in Simeon and/or Benjamin. For since the tribe of Juda excelled in war it is likely that through a successful action, in the final description of the territory it was given a share of the inheritance allotted to the other tribes. Scripture indicates quite clearly that Simeon lived in the midst of Juda. [Once the men of the tribe of Juda were most warlike, strong and numerous, dominating all as the chief tribe and so therefore the lots of other tribes are occasionally reported as bound to it. Scripture also teaches quite clearly that Simeon dwelled in the midst of the tribe of Juda.]

Balaam (Balam).²²⁸ (In) tribe of Juda.

Baskōth (Bascath).²²⁹ (In) tribe of Juda.

Bethdagōn.²³⁰ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now (still today) a large village Keparadagōn (Caferdago) [pointed out] between Diosopolis and Iamnia.

Bēthalōth.²³¹ (In) tribe of Juda.

Bēthphou (Bathaffu).²³² (In) tribe of Juda. A village fourteen miles beyond Raphia on the road to Egypt. It is the border of Palestine.

Betharaba.²³³ Symmachus “near the uninhabitable” [translates “in the place which is near the uninhabitable,” meaning desert.]

Beesthara.²³⁴ (In) tribe of Manasse. Separated to the Levites “in the Basanite” (region).

Bethaun.²³⁵ (In) tribe of Benjamin. Near Gai and Bethel, opposite Machmas, [which some regard to be the same as Bethel as said above].

[Baliloth.²³⁶ (In) tribe of Benjamin.]

Bethsour (Bethaur).²³⁷ (In) tribe of Juda or Benjamin. There is now a village Bēthsōrō at the twentieth milestone on the road going from Jerusalem to Hebron. (Near) there is also pointed out a spring coming out of the hill where it is said the eunuch Candaces was baptized by Philipp. (There is a spring arises at the foot of the hill and bubbles forth, and is swallowed by the ground.) There is also another Bethsour (in) the tribe of Juda one mile (a thousand paces) from Eleutheropolis.

Boon.²³⁸ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

[Bēthalōn.²³⁹ (In) tribe of Benjamin.] Symmachus (interprets) “in the field.”

Bēthagla (Bethalla).²⁴⁰ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

[Bērōth.²⁴¹ (In) tribe of Benjamin.]

Bola.²⁴² (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon.

Bathoul.²⁴³ (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon.

[Bēth.²⁴⁴ (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon.]

Baaeth.²⁴⁵ (In) lot of (tribe or) Simeon.

Bērammōth.²⁴⁶ (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon.

[Bēthlabaōth.²⁴⁷ (In) lot of (tribe of) Simeon.]

Bethleem.²⁴⁸ (In) lot of (tribe of) Zabulon. There is another one of Juda. (Distinct from the other named Bethleem of Juda.)

Bēthphasis (Bethfases).²⁴⁹ (In) tribe of Issachar.

Batnai (Batnae).²⁵⁰ (In) tribe of Aser. Now a village called Bethbeten (about) eight miles east of Ptolemais.

Bēthdagōn.²⁵¹ Linking up “with Zabulon.” Lot of Issachar. (Place where the two tribes Zebulon and Issachar have common borders.)

Bēthaemek (Bethemec).²⁵² Symmachus (interprets) “of the valley” (place of the valley). Lot of Aser.

Bēthanatha (Bethana).²⁵³ (In) tribe of Nephthali. There is a village (named) Batanaia fifteen miles from Caesarea in which there are said to be healing baths. Note also (under the name) Anaia above.

Banē.²⁵⁴ (In) tribe of Dan.

Barakai (Barac).²⁵⁵ (In) tribe of Dan. There is even now [a little] village (called) Barka (Bareca) near Azotos.

JUDGES

Bezek (Bezec).²⁵⁶ City of (king) Adonibezek. There are now two villages (named) Bezek near each other seventeen miles from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis (descending to).

Bēthsan.²⁵⁷ The tribe of Manasse “did not destroy” the heathen of this city (were not able to expel the original inhabitants). It is (now called) Scythopolis, a famous Palestinian city. The Scriptures call it also the house of San, which (in our language is interpreted “enemy”) is “house of enmity.”

Bethsames.²⁵⁸ Priestly city of (in) tribe of Benjamin. It is even now (today pointed out about) ten miles east of Eleutheropolis toward Nicopolis.

Bathma (Bethnath).²⁵⁹ (In) lot of (the tribe of) Nephthali. They did not destroy the heathen here. (But the tribe of Nephthali could not expel the former inhabitants from here.)

[Bethsames.²⁶⁰ Another one.] (The former inhabitants remained here.)

Baalermōn.²⁶¹ Mountain near Lebanon in the territory of the heathen (Allofylus).

Baleth (Baaeth).²⁶² (In) lot of (tribe of) Dan.

Bethbēra.²⁶³ (Interpreted house of) water (or well) which Gideon seized (by warlike expedition).

Bēthasetta.²⁶⁴ Where Madian fled (turned in flight).

Balanos (i.e., oak of) Sikimōn.²⁶⁵ Where Abimelech reigned. It is pointed out (up to today) in the suburbs of Neapolis toward the tomb of Joseph.

Borkonneim (Borconni).²⁶⁶ Aquila “blackthorn” Symmachus (interpreted) “prickly plant.”

Bēra.²⁶⁷ Where Joatham stood when he fled from Abimelech. The village (Bera) is eight miles north of Eleutheropolis.

Baalthamar.²⁶⁸ Near Gaba. Where the children of Israel prepared for war against the tribe of Benjamin. This place (little town) is also (even today) called Beththamar (as noted above).

KINGS

Bēthchōr (Bethchur).²⁶⁹ Where (up to this place) the people pursued closely (the fleeing) “heathen.” It is also called “the s tone of help.”

Bama.²⁷⁰ Where Saul ate with Samuel when he was about to be anointed king. Aquila translates for Bama “hill.”

Bōsēs.²⁷¹ Name of a rock. [About which we speak in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Basōr (Besor).²⁷² Wadi to which David came.

Bōrasan.²⁷³ Where (place to which) David sent some of “the spoils.”

Baoureim (Baurim).²⁷⁴ Where (place to which) her weeping husband followed Michol, Saul’s daughter.

Baalasōr.²⁷⁵ “Near Ehraim” where “(the sheep) of Absalom” were shorn.

[Bēthmacha.²⁷⁶ (Here Joab followed the fleeing Seba and afterwards, we read, it was taken by the Assyrian king. There is now a village called) Machamim] (in the eighth mile going up from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem).

Balth (Balaath).²⁷⁷ City which Solomon built.

Baithsarisa (Bethsarisa).²⁷⁸ Where the man came to (the prophet) Eliseus (with his gifts). It is in the boundary of (a village of) Diospolis fifteen miles to the north in the Thamnitica.

Baithaggan (Bethagan).²⁷⁹ Road through which (we read) Ochozias fled.

[Basekath (Bazeoath).²⁸⁰ Ancient city of Judaea.]

Baithakath (Bethacath).²⁸¹ (Village of Samaria) to which Jehu went. There is a village of Samaria (located not more than) fifteen Miles from (the city of) Legeōn in the great plain. Aquila (interprets) “house of bending” Symmachus “separated house.” [This is because of the narrow and low entrance of such a separated house and because one is not able to stand up on entering.]

Baithannē (Baenith).²⁸² Also Bainith. The Samaritans (who were brought from) Babylon built this.

Bublos (Byblus).²⁸³ City of the Phoenicians. In Ezechiel. For this the Hebrews have Gobel.

Boubastos (Bubastus).²⁸⁴ City of Egypt in Ezechiel.

Bōz.²⁸⁵ In the land of Kedar. In Jeremia (as Jeremia writes).

Bēl.²⁸⁶ Idol of Babylon.

THE GOSPELS

Bēthsaida.²⁸⁷ City of “Andrew and Peter” and Philipp (the apostles). Located in Galilee on (near) the Lake of Gennesareth.

Bēthphagē (Bethfage).²⁸⁸ (Little) village on the Mt. of Olives where the Lord Jesus came.

Bēthania.²⁸⁹ Village two miles from Jerusalem on the slope of the Mt. of Olives where the Christ (Savior) raised Lazarus. The place (tomb) of Lazarus is pointed out even now [where a church has been constructed.]

Bēthaabara (Bethabara).²⁹⁰ “Where John was baptizing” (the penitent) “across the Jordan.” The place is pointed out where many of the brothers even now consider it an honor to wash. (Where today many of the brothers, the believers, desiring a renewal of life are baptized in the Depths.)

Bēzatha (Bethsaida).²⁹¹ Pool in Jerusalem which is (called probatike and interpreted by us) “sheep.” Once it had five porticos. There are now pointed out twin pools, of which one is filled by the rain water (winter rains) and the other it appears that the water becomes miraculously red, as they say, bearing the traces of the sacrificial victims formerly washed in it. So it is called the sheep after the sacrifice. (Red like blood which in itself is seen as a sign of old. The sacrificial victims were brought unbound by the priests into the bath, whence it received its name.)

SECTION G

GENESIS

Gaiōn (Geon).²⁹² The Nile according to the Egyptians, arising out of Paradise and encircling “all of Ethiopia.”

Gomorra.²⁹³ One of the five cities of Sodom (which divine punishment) destroyed at the same time as the rest.

Gerara.²⁹⁴ The Geraritike is now called after this, (the region) beyond the Daroma. Twenty-five miles south of Eleutheropolis. It is the old southern boundary of the Chanaanites and a royal city of the Philistines (metropolis of Palestine). It is located, as Scripture affirms, “between Cades and Sur” (i.e., between) two deserts. The one adjoins Egypt whence the people came having come through the (straits of the) Red Sea. The other (true) Cades extends up to the desert of the Saracens.

Galaad.²⁹⁵ Mountain to which Jacob went fleeing from Laban, a full “seven days” journey from Haran. It is situated back of Phoenicia and Arabia, connected with (the hills of) Lebanon, extending through the desert as far as Petra beyond the Jordan. There Sehon the Amorrite dwelled. It (the above mentioned mountain) was given by lot to the sons of Ruben and [Gad and the half-tribe of Menasse. In Jeremia it is said], “Galaad, [you are to me] like the peak of Lebanon.” There is also a city Galaad set on the mountain with the same name. “The descendants of Machir son of Manasse” took Galaad from the Amorrites.

Gader.²⁹⁶ Tower where Jacob dwelled and Ruben violated the bed (of his father). [Since the letter G is absent in Hebrew it is written Ader.]

Gethem (Gethaim).²⁹⁷ According to the Hebrew, Aueith (Auith). City of Adad, the fourth to rule the land of Edom in Idumaea now called Gebalene.

Gesem.²⁹⁸ District in Egypt in which Jacob dwelled with his sons.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Gasiōn (Gaber).²⁹⁹ Station of the children of Israel in the desert as it is in Numbers and in Deuteronomy. It is the city of Esau. It is thought to be Asian (Essiam) near the Red Sea and Aila.

Gai.³⁰⁰ Station of the children of Israel in the desert. There is even now (said to be) a city Gaia (of Palestine) near (the city of) Petra.

Gelmōn Deblathaeim (Gelmōn Deblathaim).³⁰¹ Station (i.e., halting place of the children of Israel) in the desert.

Gadgad.³⁰² Mountain in the desert. Station of the children of Israel. (Where the children of Israel made camp.)

Gaza.³⁰³ City of the Avvim in which the Caphthorim dwelled who destroyed the Avvim (the former inhabitants). The ancient boundary of the Chanaanites with Egypt. It was allotted to the tribe of Juda but they did not possess it and did not expel the heathen from it. [The Enacim, i.e., giants, of the Allofylus remained most strong.] It remains even now a famous city of Palestine. [It is still to be inquired after since the prophet said Gaza would be an everlasting mound in the future. The solution is: the place of the ancient city hardly shows traces of foundations, yet that which is now seen was in a place different from the one which was destroyed.]

Gergasei (Gergasi).³⁰⁴ Located on the Jordan near the city of the Galaad (City of Transjordan near tribe Mt.Galaad) which the tribe of Manasse received. It is said to be Gerash the famous city of Arabia. Some affirm it to be Gadara. But the Gospel mentions the Gerassenes (Gergessenes).

Gadgada.³⁰⁵ Where “there is a torrent of water” a place in the desert.

Gaulōn or Gōlan (Gōlam).³⁰⁶ (In) the tribe of Manasse. A priestly city of refuge “in the Basanitide.” Now a great city (large village) called Golan in the Batanaia. The city and the district have the same name. (From this name the whole region is also named.)

Gaibal (Gebal).³⁰⁷ Mountain in the Promised Land where Moses commanded an altar to be built (at the command of Moses an altar was built). They say (there are) two neighboring mountains facing each other located at (near) Jericho, one of which (is said) to be Garizin, the other Gaibal. But the

Samaritans erroneously point out two others near Neapolis (argue for two mountains near Neapolis but they err greatly) since the great distance of one from the other there shows that they are not able to hear one another when calling out from one (hear the voices calling out in turn blessing or cursing as Scripture records).

Garizein (Garizin).³⁰⁸ Mountain where those calling out the blessing (curse) stood. Read the above mentioned Gaibal (Gebal).

Golgol or Galgal.³⁰⁹ The Scriptures teach this is near Mt.Garisein and Mt.Gaibal. The place of Galgal is in the Jericho region (near Jericho). [Therefore the Samaritans err who would point out Mt.Gairsin and Mt.Gebal near Neapolis which Scripture testifies are near Galgal.]

Gai.³¹⁰ “In the land of Moab.” Ravine of Moab. “Near the house of Phogor” where Moses is buried.

JOSUE

Galgala.³¹¹ This is the above mentioned Golgol, “to the east” of old Jericho going toward the Jordan. There Josue circled with the people and made “the Passover” using wheat for the first time after the cessation of the manna. (In this place) He set up stones from (carried from the bed of) “the Jordan.” The tent of witness remained there. Given by lot to the tribe of Juda. The deserted place is pointed out [two miles from Jericho which the people] today worship as holy (some men of that region hold in holy awe). Another Galgala is found (is looked for) around (near) Bethel.

Gai.³¹² It is near Bethaun and Bethel. Josue attacked it killing its king. It is now deserted. (Now only a ruined place is shown.) The Amorrites from the Jordan formerly inhabited it.

Gabaon.³¹³ From whence came the Gabaonites in order to make supplication to Josue. It was (once) a great metropolis and capital (royal city) of the Hevites which was given by lot to (tribe of) Benjamin. There is even now a village called the same (pointed out) near Bethel, four miles to the west on the road to Rama. (It lies near Rama and Remmon.) Set aside for Levites near Remmaa. Here Solomon while he was sacrificing (animals) was found worthy of an oracle from God.

Gaibe (Gaba).³¹⁴ Lot of Benjamin. [City set aside for Levites.

Gazer.³¹⁵ (In) lot of (tribe of) Ephraim.] (City) set aside for Levites. Josue attacked it killing its king. (Later) Solomon built it up. Now called Gazara, a village four miles north of Nicopolis. (Quite obvious) the tribe of Ephraim did not capture it from the heathen (were not able to expel from it the foreigners).

Goson.³¹⁶ Josue also attacked this.

Geth.³¹⁷ (In which the giants) The heathen (called) Enacim and the Philistines not being driven out remained here. There is (pointed out) even now a village (in the fifth mile) on the road from Eleutheropolis to Diospolis five miles from Eleutheropolis.

Gesoureim (Gesom).³¹⁸ City of the heathen. This is the same as Gargasei in the Basanitide from which the children of Israel did not drive out the Gesoureim (were not strong enough to drive out).

Gader.³¹⁹ Josue conquered (killed) its king. (We read that) Jacob “pitched his tent beyond the tower of Gadar.”

Gōein of Gelgel (Goim in Gelgel).³²⁰ Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “of nations of Gelgel.”

Gelgel.³²¹ Josue also took this. Even now (is shown) a village (hamlet) called Galgoulis (Galgulis) six miles north of Antipatris.

Golathmaeim (Golathmaim).³²² A place which is interpreted “possessing water.”

Gadda.³²³ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a village on “the border of the Daroma to the east above (overlooking) the Dead Sea.

Gadeira (Gadera).³²⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a village (hamlet called) Gidora (Gadora) in the district of (city of) Jerusalem around the terebinth.

Gedour (Gedur).³²⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a large village (called) Gedrous (Geddrus) ten miles from Diospolis on the road to Eleutheropolis.

Gabli.³²⁶ Land of the heathen (Allofylus).

Gisōn.³²⁷ (In) tribe of Juda.

Gelōn.³²⁸ (In) tribe of Juda.

Gadērōth.³²⁹ (In) tribe of Juda.

Gethemmōn.³³⁰ (In) tribe of Manasse. City separated to the Levites.

Gai.³³¹ Ravine (valley or gorge).

Galennoum (Geennom).³³² Which is interpreted ravine of Ennoum. This is said to be (thought) Geenna. (Given by) lot of tribe of Benjamin. It is close to the wall of Jerusalem to the East. [More fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Geththepher.³³³ Lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon.

Gēephthael.³³⁴ Ravine (i.e., valley) Ephthael. Lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon.

Gabathōn.³³⁵ Lot or (in tribe of) Dan. City separated to the Levites. There is a city called Gabe sixteen miles from Caesarea and another village Gabatha on the boundary of Diocaesarea near the great plain of Legeon. And there are villages Gabaa and Gabatha in the eastern region of the Daroma. Another

Gabatha, lot (tribe of) of Benjamin where Saul's home was. Still another Gabathon of the heathen as noted in Kings [near Bethlehem in the tribe of Juda].

Gethremmōn.³³⁶ Another. (Another city in tribe of) lot of Dan. Separated to the Levites. There is now a large village twelve miles from Diospolis on the road to Eleutheropolis.

Galeilōth (Galiloth).³³⁷ Place by (near) the Jordan where the sons of Ruben set up an altar (to God). (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Gaas.³³⁸ Mountain (in the tribe of Ephaim) where Josue was buried north of it. His (the) monument (of Josue son of Nun) is now pointed out near the village of Thamna.

Gabass (Gabath).³³⁹ Mountain of Ephraim (Latin omits). City of Phineas son of Eleazar, where Eleazar was buried. There is a village Gabatha twelve miles from Eleutheropolis where the monument of Habacuc is pointed out. (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Gabaan (Gabaam).³⁴⁰ As far as this place (here) Benjamin (the tribe of Benjamin) fought (was fought against) as it is in Judges.

KINGS

Geththa.³⁴¹ The ark (of the covenant) was brought here from Azotos. Now it is a large village which is called Giththam on the road between Antipatris and Iamnia. There is also another Geththeim (Geththim).

Gallei (Gallim).³⁴² Home of Phalti, who after David fled got Michol “David’s (his) wife.” Mentioned both here and in Isaia. They say there is a village called Gallaia (Gallaa) near Accaron.

Gelamsour (Gelamsur).³⁴³ Territory of the heathen (Allofylus).

Gelboue (Gelbua).³⁴⁴ Mountain of the heathen six miles from Scythopolis on which there is a (large) village called Gelbous (Gelbus).

Geddour (Gedud).³⁴⁵ Whence David went down. Aquila “Marauder” (i.e., lightly equipped or armed). Symmachus “armed band.”

Gazēra.³⁴⁶ Where David struck down “the heathen.” Also note Gazer previously (above).

Gessour (Gessur).³⁴⁷ Territory of the heathen in Syria.

Gilōn.³⁴⁸ Home of Achitophel.

Gob.³⁴⁹ Where a battle was fought.

Gailaia (Gailaea).³⁵⁰ There are two Galilees. One of these is Galilee of the nations located in the region of Tyre where Solomon gave “twenty cities to Hiram.” (In) lot of (the tribe of) Nephthali. The other is near Tiberias and its lake (the Lake of Gennesareth) lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon.

Geiōn (Gion).³⁵¹ Where Solomon was anointed (king).

Gēr.³⁵² Where Jehu (king of Israel) struck down Ochozias (king of Juda) “Near Jebelaam.”

Geththachopher.³⁵³ Home of Jona the prophet.

Gaddei (Gaddi).³⁵⁴ Hazael (king of Damascus) defeated it. Note also Gadda above.

Gēmela.³⁵⁵ Territory of Edam (Idumaeans). Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “ravine of salt.”

Gebein (Gebin).³⁵⁶ Isaia mentions this. There is now a village Geba five miles

from Gouphnis (Gufnis) on the road to Neapolis.

Gōzan.³⁵⁷ In the territory of Hamath (Emath). Isaia mentions this. It is in the region (borders of) the Damascans.

Garēb.³⁵⁸ Hill near Jerusalem. In Jeremia (As Jeremia writes).

Gēbarōth (Gebarth).³⁵⁹ Aquila “in defenses.” Symmachus “in the community” in Jeremia. (Symmachus correctly read Jeremia “in the farm-estate.”)

Gaimōd (Gemen or Gamon).³⁶⁰ Territory of Moab (Moabites) according to Isaia.

Gaipha (Gefa).³⁶¹ (Name of a) territory. In Isaia (as is written in Isaia).

THE GOSPELS

Gadara.³⁶² City beyond the Jordan opposite Scythopolis and Tiberias (situated) to the east in the mountains at the foot of which baths of hot water are located (at whose foot hot water flows out and baths are built over it).

Gergesa.³⁶³ Where the Lord (Savior) healed the demoniacs (restored those vexed with demons to sanity). Now (today) a village is pointed out on the mountains near Lake Tiberias where the swine were condemned (cast down) to death. Noted also above.

Gethsimanē (Gethsimani).³⁶⁴ Place where the Christ (the Savior) prayed before the passion. It is located at (the foot of) the Mt. of Olives where even now the faithful fervently utter prayers (where now a church has been built over it).

Golgotha.³⁶⁵ “Place of the skull” (Calvary) where the Christ (the Savior) was crucified [for the salvation of all]. It is pointed out (today) in Jerusalem north of Mt.Zion.

SECTION D

GENESIS

Dasem.³⁶⁶ Great Assyrian city which Assur built “between Nineve and Chalach.”

Drus (Drys i.e., oak).³⁶⁷ Mambre near Hebron, where there is a [very old and of many years] terebinth even now [up to the time of my childhood and the reign of Emperor Constantine] pointed out. There (under which) Abraham pitched his tent. It is also venerated by the people (just as perhaps it also is dedicated to an extraordinary power).

Damaskos (Damascus).³⁶⁸ Famous Phoenician city. So also the son of Abraham’s steward is called “Masek.” [It is the same name by which Masec the son of Abraham’s steward is called. Further “Masec” is fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions* I must merely fulfill the role of translator and determine why the servant of Abraham was named Masec.]

Dan.³⁶⁹ The village called that (up to today) is four miles from Petra on the road toward Tyre. This is also the border of (promised to) Judaea (on the north) from whence the Jordan arises [bursts forth and receives its name. Ior is Hebrew for reithron, i.e., stream. or river].

Danaba (Dannaba).³⁷⁰ City of Balac son of Beor, king of Edom. After him Iob became king [it seems to me a long time after]. There is now a village Dannea (Dannaia) eight miles from Areopolis on the road to the Arnon and another Danaba (Dannaba) on Mt. Phogor seven miles from Hesebon.

Dōthaeim (Dothaim).³⁷¹ Where Joseph found his brothers grazing (cattle). It remains (is shown up to today) in the region of Sabaste about twelve miles to the north.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Daibōn (Debon) or Dibon.³⁷² Station of the children of Israel in the desert. There is another very large village even now near the Arnon which once was the possession of the sons of Moab and then the children of Israel took it from Sehon the Amorrite. (Afterwards Sehon the Amorrite held it by right of conquest. but the children of Israel captured it and held it so in the partition it came to the tribe of Gad.) Also given to the tribe of Gad. Isaia mentions it in the vision “against the Moabites (Moab).” Isaia mentions it.

Daibōngad (Dabira).³⁷³ Station of the children of Israel.

Dusmai Moab (Dysmae Moab i.e., to the west of Moab).³⁷⁴ “Along the Jordan opposite Jericho” where Balac “king of Moab” and “the elders of Madian” deceived (cheated with the plot) Israel. There Moses also wrote Deuteronomy.

JOSUE

Dabeira (Dabira).³⁷⁵ (City given to (in tribe of) Dan whose king Josue killed. There is another Jewish village on Mt.Thabor in the region of Diocaesarea.

Dor of Naphath (Nafeth).³⁷⁶ Symmachus (translates) “by the sea” (maritime). Dora near Caesarea Palestine [at the ninth milestone on the road to Tyre. Now deserted.] (Given in lot to) the tribe of Manasee did not possess it since they did not destroy the heathen. (They were not able to possess it since the former inhabitants remained in it.)

Dabeir (Dabir).³⁷⁷ (In) the tribe of Juda. Called “city of letters” which Gothoniël Caleb’s brother seized [or as some say the son of Caleb’s brother] killing the Enacim in it. Given (separated to) to the priests.

Dabeir (Dabir).³⁷⁸ Above the Jordan. City of the Amorrites.

Deimōna (Dimona).³⁷⁹ (In) tribe of Juda.

Dalaan (Dadan).³⁸⁰ (In) tribe of Juda.

Denna.³⁸¹ (In) tribe of Juda. It is also (as Dabir) the city or letters.

Dauid (Dauia).³⁸² (In) tribe of Juda.

Douma (Duma).³⁸³ (In) the tribe of Juda. Now a large village in the Deroma (to the south) in the region of Eleutheropolis at the seventeenth milestone.

Damna.³⁸⁴ (In) tribe of Zabulon. City separated to the Levites.

Dabasthe (Dasbath).³⁸⁵ (In) tribe of Zabulon.

Dabrath.³⁸⁶ (In) tribe of Issacher. City separated to the Levites.

JUDGES

Drus.³⁸⁷ (i.e., oak) which is “in Ephratha.” In lot (tribe) of Manasse. Home of Gedeon. [We have spoken on this in the book *Hebrew Questions*, how Ephratha is now thought to be found in the tribe of Manasse.]

KINGS

Deibon (Dibon).³⁸⁸ (Of which we spoke above.) Isaia mentions this in the vision “Against the Moabites” (Moab).

Deseth.³⁸⁹ Aquila (translates) “house wall” Symmachus “city wall.”

Dōdaneim (Dodanim).³⁹⁰ Isaia (writes of this) in the vision on Arabia. It is also near Areopolis.

Darōm.³⁹¹ Symmachus (changes to) “in the south.” In Ezechiel. (Ezechiel mentions it.)

Diospolis.³⁹² City of Egypt. In Ezechiel. (As Ezechiel writes.)

Dadan.³⁹³ In the land of Cedar according to Jeremia.

Deblathaeim (Deblathaim).³⁹⁴ In the land of Moab according to Jeremia.

Daidan (Daedan).³⁹⁵ In the (territory) or Idumaea according to Jeremia (as Jeremia writes). Located four miles north of Phainon (of the mines of Phainon).

THE GOSPELS

Dekapolis (Decapolis).³⁹⁶ (As we read) in the Gospels. It is located in Persea, Hippos, Pella and Gadara. (It is in the territory of the ten Transjordanian cities around Hippos, Pella and Gadara.)

SECTION E

GENESIS

Edem (Eden).³⁹⁷ The place to the east of the paradise of God. Interpreted “delight” (Translated pleasure or delight).

Eueilat (Euila).³⁹⁸ “Where there is gold” [Where there is found purest gold which in Hebrew is called Zaab] and “ruby” and “emerald” (and most precious jewels, stones and emeralds). The Phison flowing from Paradise encircles it. According to the Greeks it is the Ganges “flowing from India” (which we call Ganges), changing its name). One of the descendants of Noe is called Eueilat (Euila) who, Josephus tells, “dwelled with his brothers, who were from the river Kophenos (Cofene), in parts of India and region of Syria (in the region of India and even to the place called Ieria).” Ismael it is said (written) lived on the desert of Euila which (Holy) Scriptures affirm to be the desert of Sour (sur) “opposite Egypt” and extending to the midst (Latin omits) of the land of Assyria.

Euphrates.³⁹⁹ River of Mesopotamia coming forth (rising) from Paradise. [Further Salustius a reliable author asserts, however, the source of the Tigris and Euphrates to be proven in Armenia, from which we perceive something also about Paradise and its rivers must be known.]

Ellasar.⁴⁰⁰ City of King Arioeh.

Ephratha.⁴⁰¹ Region of Bethlehem the City of David in which the Christ was born. Tribe of Benjamin. [It is also however in the tribe of Juda, apparently wrongly ascribed to the tribe of Benjamin.] There “on the way” Rachel is buried, (Near the road where Rachel is buried) at the fourth (fifth) milestone from Jerusalem in the place called (by the Septuagint) the Hippodrome. The monument is pointed out even now. (Latin omits this sentence.) Also the father of Bethlehem was called Ephratha according to Paralipomenon. (We read also of Efratha in the book of Paralipomenon as noted above.)

EXODUS

Eirōth (Iroth).⁴⁰² Place in the desert at which they (the children of Israel) arrived from Egypt after coming through the Red Sea.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Empurismos (Conflagration. i.e., empurismos).⁴⁰³ Place on the desert where those speaking against God were burned up. (Where some of those people were consumed by fire.)

Enthaath (Inthaath).⁴⁰⁴ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Ebrōna.⁴⁰⁵ Station of the people (children of Israel) in the desert.

Emath.⁴⁰⁶ Where the spies with Josue came through. (Spies Josue sent.)

Ermana (Errma).⁴⁰⁷ Where some of the people were defeated by the Chanaanites and Amalecites. The Chanaanites (who) are called Amorrites in Deuteronomy.

Essebōn.⁴⁰⁸ “City of Schon” the Amorrite “in the land of Galaad” who took up arms against the king of Moab (and took possession of it from the Moabites by right or war). Isaia mentions this in the vision of the Moabites (against Moab) and also Jeremiah. Further it is now called Esbous (Esbu) a famous city of Arabia situated in the mountains opposite Jericho, twenty miles from the Jordan. Given to the tribe of Ruben. Separated to the Levites.

Edraei (Edrai).⁴⁰⁹ Whence the gigantic (and powerful) Og, king of Basan, (was killed and all his people (struck down). Now there is Adra a famous city of Arabia, twenty-four miles from Bostra.

Elealē.⁴¹⁰ City of the Amorrites in Galaad which was given to the tribe of Ruben. Isaia also mentions it in his vision of the Moabites (against Moab). Also noted in Jeremiah. There is now a large village preserved (is shown) not more than one (in the first) mile from Esbous (Esbu).

Enna.⁴¹¹ Which is located near the desert of Cades.

Erman.⁴¹² Mt. Hermon which “the Phoenicians” called Sanior. Note also above.

JOSUE (of Naue)

Emekachōr.⁴¹³ Which means valley of Achor (i.e., tumult or confusion) where Achar (Achan) the condemned thief was stoned, from whom it derives its name. The place is even now pointed out near Jericho beside (not far from) Galgala. [It is quite wrong to think the Valley of Achor is named for the name of the one atoned, for he is called Achan, not Achor or Achar.]

Eglōm.⁴¹⁴ Also Odollam. Whose king (named) Dabeir Josue struck down. (In) tribe of Juda. Even now there is a (very) large village ten (twelve) miles east of Eleutheropolis. Note above also (of which we have spoken above).

Enemek (Inemec).⁴¹⁵ Aquila and Symmachus (translate) “in the valley.”

Esōr (Esrom) also Asor.⁴¹⁶ (In) tribe of Juda near the desert. Note above also (of which we have spoken above).

Enakeim (Enacim).⁴¹⁷ Josue destroyed “the Enacim (giants) from the mountains (of the region) of Hebron.” [But it seems to be that Enacim is not the name at a place but of the inhabitants.]

Ephrōn.⁴¹⁸ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a (very) large village (named) Ephraim (Efraea) twenty miles north of Jerusalem.

Edrai (Edre).⁴¹⁹ (In) tribe of Juda.

Ethnan.⁴²⁰ (In) tribe of Juda.

Ebeziouthia.⁴²¹ (In) tribe of Juda.

Euein (Euim).⁴²² (In) tribe of Juda.

Elthōlad (Elthōlath).⁴²³ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Ereb.⁴²⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. Eremintha now a village in the Daroma. (Today a village in the Daroma, i.e., to the south, is called Eremiththa.)

Essan (Esan).⁴²⁵ (In) tribe of Juda.

Eloul (Elul).⁴²⁶ (In) tribe of Juda. [Is a village today in the region belonging to Jerusalem named Alula near Hebron.]

Eltheke.⁴²⁷ (In) tribe of Juda. Now is Thekoua (Thecua) a village twelve (nine) miles east (south) of Jerusalem. Home of Amos the prophet whose tomb is pointed out there even now.

Engaddi.⁴²⁸ (In) tribe of Juda. Where David fled (hid) in the wilderness of Jericho in the Aulon (which is a district of the plain of which we spoke above). A large Jewish village Engaddi is now located near the Dead Sea where there are balsams. Note also above Gaddi (Latin omits). [Of whose vineyards Solomon speaks.]

Esthemō.⁴²⁹ Priestly city. It is now a large Jewish village of the region of Eleutheropolis in the Daroma.

Emekraphaeim (Emecrafaim).⁴³⁰ Aquila and Symmachus “in the valley of Raphaeim.” Lot or (in tribe of) [Benjamin.

Edōmim (Edomia).] ⁴³¹ Lot of (in tribe of) Benjamin. There is now (shown) a village Edouma in the Akkrabattine twelve miles east [of Neapolis].

Erma.⁴³² Josue also took this and killed its king. Given by lot to Simeon and (or) Juda.

Ether.⁴³³ Lot or Simeon. It is now (named) Ietheira a large village in the interior of the Daroma close to Malatha.

Eththa.⁴³⁴ Lot of (in tribe of) Simeon.

Elkath.⁴³⁵ Lot of (in tribe of) Aser. City separated to Levites.

Elkōk (Icoc).⁴³⁶ Lot of Nephthali. (On the border of three tribes. i.e.,) joining “Zabulon on the south and Aser” by the sea (west) and “Juda to the east.”

Edraei (Edrai).⁴³⁷ Lot of (in tribe of) Naphthali.

Elthekō.⁴³⁸ Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Separated to the Levites.

Esthaol.⁴³⁹ Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Where Samson died. It is even now (shown) ten miles north of Eleutheropolis on the road to Nicopolis.

Elba.⁴⁴⁰ Lot of (in tribe of) Aser. Aser did not drive out the heathen. (They did not stop to drive out the former inhabitants.)

Eremmōn.⁴⁴¹ A (very) large Jewish village sixteen miles south of Eleutheropolis in the Daroma.

Emmathdōr.⁴⁴² Lot of (in tribe of) Nephthali. Separated to the Levites.

Emath.⁴⁴³ Boundary of the heathen (Allofylis) in the region of Daroma.

Enlechi (Inlechi).⁴⁴⁴ Aquila (interprets) “jaw.”

Eniakebzēb (Inaczeb).⁴⁴⁵ Symmachus (translates) “in the valley of Zeb.”

KINGS

Ergab.⁴⁴⁶ Where Jonathan (son of Saul) “shot the arrows” (the place he accurately aimed the arrows he was using). Aquila (interprets) “to the stones” Symmachus “stone.” Also elsewhere Symmachus (says) “for this perimeter.”

Echela.⁴⁴⁷ Where David hid. Now (properly) called Enkela (Eccela), a village seven miles from Eleutheropolis. The tomb of the prophet Habacuc is pointed out nearby.

Elmōni.⁴⁴⁸ A place. Which is interpreted by Aquila and Theodotion “here or there.” [As we are able to say this or that. However let the diligent reader recognize what in principle any part of this book can only touch briefly, I do not agree with all that I pass on, but defer to the Greek authority since I have disputed more fully on this in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Esthama.⁴⁴⁹ When (place to which) David sent.

Elōth.⁴⁵⁰ Azarias the king built this.

Emath.⁴⁵¹ In Isaia. A city of Damascus which the king of Assyria besieged. Also Zacharia and Ezechiel also mention it. But in Amos (it is written) Emath Rebba (Rabba) which is (signifies to us) Emath the great. Note also above (We spoke of this also above). Perhaps (it seems to us) it is Epiphaneia near Emesēs (where even today Syrians say it thus).

Eser.⁴⁵² City which Solomon built.

Enacheim (Inachim) or Enbachein (Inbachim).⁴⁵³ In Michea (Micheas the prophet also mentions it). Aquila and Symmachus (translate) “in weeping.”

Enaraba (Inaraba).⁴⁵⁴ Aquila (translates) “in level ground” (or plain). Symmachus “in the field.”

Elkese.⁴⁵⁵ Home of Nahum (the prophet, also called) the Elkesite.

Emakeim (Emacim).⁴⁵⁶ Aquila and Symmachus (translate) “valleys.”

THE GOSPELS

Emmaous (Emmaus).⁴⁵⁷ Home of Cleopas who is mentioned in the Gospel of Luke. It is now Nicopolis a famous city of Palestine.

Ephraim.⁴⁵⁸ “Near the desert” where the Christ (the Lord Jesus) came “with his disciples.” Note also the above Ephron (We have spoken of this also above under Efron).

SECTION Z

GENESIS

(These above words are mostly to be read with the shortened letter E accordingly we read with a long vowel what in Greek is called Eta.)

Zaphōeim (Zafoim).⁴⁵⁹ Territory of the princes of Edom now in the region (called) Gebalene.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Zoob.⁴⁶⁰ “As It is said in the book, The Ward of the Lord burned Zoob and the torrents of Arnon.” City of the Amorrites located on the Arnon.

Zephrona.⁴⁶¹ Northern boundary of Judaea.

Zared.⁴⁶² Ravine Zared in the midst of the desert.

JOSUE

Zeiph (Zif).⁴⁶³ (In) tribe of Juda.

Zanaoua (Zannoua).⁴⁶⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. Now (today) there is a village [called Zanoua] in the boundary of Eleutheropolis on the road to Jerusalem.

Ziph.⁴⁶⁵ Tribe of Juda (Latin omits). A village now (up to the present day) is in the Daroma on the boundary of Eleutheropolis near Chebron at the eighth mile to the East. There David hid.

KINGS

Zeib (Zif).⁴⁶⁶ “Dry mountain” of Zeib (rough mountain or foggy or cloudy near Zif), in which David lived near Chumalba, which is called (in scriptures) Karmelos. This is name given today to a village of Jews. Home of Nabal the Camelite. One of the descendants of Caleb is said to be Zeib (Zif) according to Paralipomenon.

Zogera (Zogora).⁴⁶⁷ In Jeremia. City of Moab. It is now called Zoora or Sigor (Segor), one of the five cities of Sodom.

Zēb.⁴⁶⁸ In Jeremia City of Amman. There is now (shown) a village Zia fifteen miles west of Philadelphia.

Zōeleth.⁴⁶⁹ (Name of) a stone called this on which Adonias sacrificed “near the spring Rogel.”

SECTION E

GENESIS

Ēlath.⁴⁷⁰ Territory of the princes of Edom and a city of Esau ten miles east of Petra.

‘Erōōn (Eroum).⁴⁷¹ City in Egypt where Joseph met his father (Jacob).

Elioupolis (Eliopolis, city of the sun).⁴⁷² City in Egypt which the Hebrews called On, of which it is said Potiphar was priest. Also noted in Ezechiel.

Etham.⁴⁷³ Station of the children of Israel in the desert. Also (called) Bouthan (Buthan).

JOSUE

Ēngannim.⁴⁷⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. It is now (a village) near Bethel.

Ēnaim.⁴⁷⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a village Bethenim near the terebinth.

Ēndōr.⁴⁷⁶ (In) tribe of Manasse. Home of the witch [the priestess of oracle who was consulted by Saul king of Israel]. Also note the above Aendōor, which is near (the city of) Nain where (in whose gates) the Christ (the Savior) raised up the son of the widow. It is also near Scythopolis.

Ēnganni.⁴⁷⁷ (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. City separated to the Levites. Another village Ēnganna is said to be around Cerasa in Perea (across the Jordan).

Ēnada.⁴⁷⁸ (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. There is now another village Ēnadab about ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Jerusalem.

Ēnasōr.⁴⁷⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali. Note also Asor above.

‘Ērakōn (Erecon).⁴⁸⁰ Boundary or the tribe of Dan near Joppa.

JUDGES

‘Ētam.⁴⁸¹ Where Samson dwelled “in the cave Etam” beside the wadi.

KINGS

‘Ēla.⁴⁸² (We read) valley Ēla (which) Aquila and Theodotion (interpret) “valley of the oak.”

Ēngaddi.⁴⁸³ Desert where David hid. Note above Engaddi (in) tribe of Juda located west of the Dead Sea.

Ēmath.⁴⁸⁴ Territory of the heathen. According to Jeremiah, a city of Damascus.

Ēnan.⁴⁸⁵ “Border of Damascus” according to Ezechiel, (to the East “from Thaiman and the city of the palm trees,” which according to the others (other Interpreters taught it is) Thamar.

SECTION TH

GENESIS

Thaiman (Theman).⁴⁸⁶ Territory of the princes of Edom in the (land of) the Gebalitikes named from Thaiman the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau. It is even now a village Thaiman about fifteen (five) miles from Petra. (A garrison of Roman) soldiers are (is) stationed there. Home of Eliphaz the king of the Thaimanites. One of the children born to Israel is (called) Thaiman. (It is understood that) all the southern region is called thus (Theman in Hebrew) for Thaiman is to be interpreted “south.”

Thamna.⁴⁸⁷ Where Juda sheared his sheep. A (very) large village remains (is shown) in the boundary of Diospolis midway to Jerusalem. (In) tribe of Dan or Juda.

Thamna.⁴⁸⁸ Another city of the princes of Edom. Also “the concubine of Eliphaz son of Esau who bore Amalec to him” from whom the Amalecites.

DEUTERONOMY

[Thophol (Thafol).⁴⁸⁹ Place in the desert “beyond the Jordan” where Moses wrote Deuteronomy. Opposite Jericho.

Thaath.⁴⁹⁰ Station of the children of Israel.

Thara.⁴⁹¹ Station of the children of Israel.]

JOSUE

Thaphphou (Thaffu).⁴⁹² City which Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king. It was given to the tribe of Juda. Noted also above Bethaphou (Bothafu) on border of Palestine and Egypt.

Thanak (Thaanac).⁴⁹³ City which Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king. It was given to the tribe of Manasse. Separated to the Levites. Now it (there is a village of this name in the fourth mile) is four miles from Legeon.

Thēnath.⁴⁹⁴ (In) tribe of Joseph. There is today a village Thena ten miles east of Neapolis on the way down to the Jordan.

Thaphphoue (Thaffue).⁴⁹⁵ (In) tribe of Joseph.

Thaphphouth (Thaffuth).⁴⁹⁶ (In) tribe of Manasse.

Thekō.⁴⁹⁷ Now (a village) Thekōe is (shown) near the desert of Ailias, home of Amos the prophet. Formerly a city of refuse (Latin omits last phrase).

Thersa.⁴⁹⁸ Josue took this along with its king.

Therama.⁴⁹⁹ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Thōlad.⁵⁰⁰ (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon.

Thabōr.⁵⁰¹ Border of Zebulon. There is a (high and wonderfully rounded) mountain near (in the middle) of the plain (of Galilee) ten miles East of Diocaesarea. It is also the border of the tribes of Issachar and Nephthali.

Thalcha.⁵⁰² (In) tribe of Simeon. Now a large village of Jews called Thala (Thella about) sixteen miles from Eleutheropolis in the Daroma (to the south).

Thamnathsara.⁵⁰³ City of Josue son of Nun located “in the mountain.” It is Thamna noted also above in which even now there sepulchre of Josue is pointed out. (In) tribe of Dan.

Thalassa.⁵⁰⁴ The salt (sea) also called Dead and Asphalt (i.e., bitumin) between Jericho and Zoora.

JUDGES

Thaanach.⁵⁰⁵ The tribe of Manasse did not possess it since they did not expel the heathen from it. Here Debora fought Sisara. Also separated to the Levites. It is now a large village three miles from Legeon.

Thēbēs.⁵⁰⁶ City which Abimelech was fighting. From the tower “a woman threw a piece of the millstone on his head” (and he was killed). There is now in the district of Neopolis a village called Thebes at the thirteenth milestone on the road to Scythopolis.

Thamnatha.⁵⁰⁷ Note also Thamna above. (In) tribe of Dan.

KINGS

Thēlamou land of (Thelamuge).⁵⁰⁸ (Place) to which “Abner sent to David.” Aquilla (interprets this word) “immediately” Symmachus “for himself.”

Thaad.⁵⁰⁹ Near Galaad.

Thamsa.⁵¹⁰ Border of Solomon’s kingdom.

Thermōth.⁵¹¹ City which Solomon built “in the desert” (of which we make further mention in the book *Hebrew Questions*).

Tharseis (Tharsis).⁵¹² Where gold from (brought to) Solomon. According to Josephus (Josephus thinks) Tarsos is Cilicia. According to Ezechiel Charchedon but according to the Hexapla the Hebrews hold Tarseis to be located at Karchedon. Others claim it is India. [Ezechiel the prophet perceives it to be Carthage since according to the interpretation of the Hexapla where we read Carthage the Hebrew has written Tharsis. Some others suggest even India. We wrote of this indeed in the Epistle to Marcellus as is fully discussed in the in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Tharsa.⁵¹³ Home of Aseph (Asa) king of Israel.

Thersila.⁵¹⁴ Home of Manaeim. There is now a village of Samaritans called Tharaila in the Batanaia.

Thesba.⁵¹⁵ Home of Elias, (the prophet) the Tishbite.

Thaiman (Theman).⁵¹⁶ According to Ezechiel a city of Idumea. Isaiah also (mentions it) in the (his) vision against Arabia. Noted also in Jeremiah. The city of Esau is also reported in the book of Abdia. One of the sons of Esau is also called Thaiman. Noted also above.

Tharthak.⁵¹⁷ The Hevites founded this in the land of Judea.

Thalasar.⁵¹⁸ Territory of Syria.

Thogarma.⁵¹⁹ (We read) in Ezechiel.

Thapheth (Thafeth).⁵²⁰ (We read) in Jeremia of the altar of Tapheth. In the suburbs of Jerusalem there is even now pointed out a place called this near the fuller’s pool end of the field of Acheldamach.

SECTION I

GENESIS

Iabōk (Iabōc).⁵²¹ River of the ravine where after Jacob crossed it, he struggled with the apparition and so his name was changed to Israel. It flows between Amman, that is Philadelphia, and Gerasa at the fourth mile and then goes down and joins the Jordan (mixes finally with the waters of the Jordan).

Idoumaia (Idumaea).⁵²² Territory of Esau after whose similar name it is named. Others call it Edom. It is around Petra (now) called the Gebalene.

Iather.⁵²³ Territory of the princes of Edom in this same Gebalene (of which we spoke above).

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Iatabatha.⁵²⁴ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Ianna.⁵²⁵ “Which is in the plain of Moab looking from the summit of the cleft (under the cliff of Phasga, i.e., cut out) (toward) the desert.” Beside the Arnon.

Iessa (Iassa).⁵²⁶ Where Sedon king of the Ammorites was fought. Isaiah also mentions this in the vision “Against the Moabites.” Also noted in Jeremiah. It is now pointed out between Madaba and Dibon.

Iazēr.⁵²⁷ City of the Ammorites ten miles west at Philadelphia in the Perea of Palestine beyond the Jordan. It was made the boundary of the tribe of Gad (Latin omits this sentence), “reaching to Aroer which is opposite Rabba.” Also Jeremiah. It was separated to the Levites. Fifteen miles from Essebon and from it a great river flows forth to fall into the Jordan (bursts forth and is received by the Jordan).

Jordanēs.⁵²⁸ River dividing Judaea and Arabia and the Aulim (of which we spoke above) next to the Dead Sea. It runs through Jericho and is lost in the Dead Sea. (After many twists it joins the Dead Sea near Jericho and disappears.)

Ietabatha.⁵²⁹ “Wadies of water” place in the desert.

‘Ierichō.⁵³⁰ City which Josue razed (after crossing the Jordan) and captured (killed) its king. Afterwards Ozan from Bethel, from the tribe of Ephraim restored it. Here our Lord Jesus the Christ (our Lord and Savior) came and revealed himself as worthy of honor. It was also destroyed at the siege of Jerusalem (by the Romans) because of the faithlessness (perfidy) of the inhabitants. It was rebuilt a third time and the city is now pointed out (which city remains today). Of the two former cities there is even now some evidence remaining. (Remains of both older cities are pointed out up to the present day.)

JOSUE

‘Ierusalēm.⁵³¹ Adonibezek ruled this and afterward the Jebusites from whom it was called Iebus. (Much later) David destroyed it and made it the metropolis of (all the providence) of Judaea. Because of this it was the place for the temple [the expenses of the structure were neglected by the sons of Solomon]. In Genesis it is Salem which Melchizedec ruled (according to Josephus). Given by lot to the tribe of Benjamin.

Iebous.⁵³² “This is Jerusalem.”

Iareim (Iarim).⁵³³ City [of the Gabaonites.

Ierimouth (Iarimuth).⁵³⁴ “City] which Josue took. Tribe of Juda. Four miles from Eleutheropolis near the village of Esthaol.

Isimōth.⁵³⁵ Where David hid. Noted above as Bēthsimouth by mistake. But in the first Book of Kings Aquila (interprets) for iessemos “disappear.” Symmachus correctly has “desert.”

Iedna.⁵³⁶ At the sixth milestone from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron.

Iekkomam (Ieconam).⁵³⁷ City of Carmel which Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king.

Iaair.⁵³⁸ City of the tribe of Manasse.

Iamneia (Iammel).⁵³⁹ (In tribe of) city of Juda. It is now a city of Palestine Jamneia between Diospolis and Azotos.

Iabeir (Iabir).⁵⁴⁰ City of letters. Tribe of Juda.

[Iagour (Iagur).⁵⁴¹ (In) tribe of Juda.]

Iermous (Iermus).⁵⁴² (In) tribe of Juda. There is now a village Iermochos ten miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to Jerusalem.

Iechthaēl.⁵⁴³ (In) tribe of Juda.

Iephthan (Iecthan).⁵⁴⁴ (In) tribe of Juda.

Iether.⁵⁴⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. Priestly city. There is also now a (very) large village (named) Ietheria twenty miles from Eleutheropolis in the (interior of) Daroma near Malathōn. All its inhabitants are Christian. Noted also above.

Ianoun (Ianum).⁵⁴⁶ (In) tribe of Juda. A village Ianoua is now three miles

south of Legeōn. But this does not appear to be the explanation (as written).

Iettan.⁵⁴⁷ (In) tribe of Juda. Priestly city. It is a (very) large village of the Jews now eighteen miles south of Eleutheropolis in the Daroma.

[Iezrael.⁵⁴⁸ (In) tribe of Juda. But not the same as above.]

Iezrael.⁵⁴⁹ (In) tribe of Manasse. Another. There is even now a most famous (very great) village Esdraela in the great plain located between Scythopolis and Legeon. Also the border or Issachar. One of the posterity of Ephratha was called Iezrael according to Paralipomenon.

Iekdaan.⁵⁵⁰ (In) tribe of Juda.

Iephliithi (Ierflethi).⁵⁵¹ (In) tribe of Joseph.

Iano.⁵⁵² (In) tribe of Ephraim. The king of Assyria took this. There is even now a village Ianō in the (region of) Akrabattine, twelve miles East of Neapolis.

Iamein (Iamin).⁵⁵³ (Which) Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “right hand.”

Iasēb.⁵⁵⁴ Aquila and Symmachus “the inhabitants.” (For which the Hebrews read “the inhabitants.”)

Ieblaam.⁵⁵⁵ (In) tribe of Mannase from which they did not drive out the heathen.

Ierphēl.⁵⁵⁶ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Ieknal.⁵⁵⁷ Lot of Zabulon (in tribe of). City separated to Levites.

Iapheth (Iafthie).⁵⁵⁸ (In) tribe of Zabulon on the east. Also called Joppe. (Now Joppe is called the ascent of Iafō). The maritime village (city above the sea called) Symmachus on the way from Caesarea to Ptolemais near the Mt.Carmel is said to be Ephā.

Iephthaēl.⁵⁵⁹ (In tribe of) Lot of Zabulon.

Iadela.⁵⁶⁰ (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon.

Iermoth.⁵⁶¹ (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. City separated for priests. (Probably also) another Iermouth (above). Hosea (the prophet) mentioned it.

Iamnēl (Iabnel).⁵⁶² (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

Ierōn.⁵⁶³ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

Iethlan (Iethlam).⁵⁶⁴ (In tribe of) lot of Dan.

Iēlōn.⁵⁶⁵ (In tribe of) lot of Dan.

[Ioud (Iud).⁵⁶⁶ (In tribe of) Dan.]

‘Ierakō (Ieracon).⁵⁶⁷ Water of (tribe of) lot of Dan.

Iabeis Galaad.⁵⁶⁸ The children of Israel fought here. There is now a village beyond the Jordan located on the mountains six miles from the city of Pella on the road to Gerasa.

KINGS

Iaar.⁵⁶⁹ Salt. Where there was an apiary.

[‘Ieramēlei.⁵⁷⁰ Territory of the heathen.]

Iether.⁵⁷¹ To which David sent. There is now a village (named) Ietheira in the Daroma. Noted also above.

Iekmaan.⁵⁷² City of the chief of Solomon.

Itaburion.⁵⁷³ Aquila and Symmachus (translated) “Thabor.” In Oseo. (It is also Mt. Thabor.) Located in the Great plain east of Legeon.

Iekthoēl.⁵⁷⁴ (Name of) Petra in the book of Kings.

Ietaba.⁵⁷⁵ Ancient city of Judaea.

Ioppē.⁵⁷⁶ City of Palestine which is now on the coast. (in tribe of) (maritime) lot of Dan.

THE GOSPELS

Itouraia, Also Trachonitis.⁵⁷⁷ Territory which Philip ruled as tetrarch according to the Gospels. There territory extended into the desert (of Arabia) (Latin omits) near Bostra of Arabia (Latin omits) is said to be the Trachonitis.

SECTION K

GENESIS

Karnaëim. Astaroth Karnaëim.⁵⁷⁸ There is now a large village of Arabia (in a corner of the Batanea) which is called Karnaia beyond the (river) Jordan. There according to tradition the house of Job is pointed out. There is also another village called Karnaia in the region (nine miles from) of Jerusalem.

Kadēs.⁵⁷⁹ Where the spring “of judgment” was.

Kadēa Barnē.⁵⁸⁰ The desert which extends to (the city of) Petra a city or Arabia. There Mariam went up and died, and there the doubting Moses struck the rock to give water to the thirsty people. The tomb of Mariam herself is pointed out there even now. There also Chodollagomor beat the chiefs of the Amalakites.

Kenaz.⁵⁸¹ Territory or the princes of Edom.

Kariathaeim.⁵⁸² City which “the sons of Ruben” built. There is now a (flourishing) wholly Christian village called Kariatha (Coraiatha), near Mēdaba, city of Arabia, ten miles west toward (the place called) Barē.

Kariatharbo.⁵⁸³ “That is Hebron” noted also above. (i.e., the village of the four which is Hebron of which we spoke above.)

Kanath.⁵⁸⁴ Village of Arabia [called Manatha] even now, [which Nobe took] and named Naboth. Given to tribe of Manasse. It is located even now in the Trachoitis near Bostra.

Kata ta Krusea (Catatachrysea, i.e., to gold).⁵⁸⁵ Mountain which is full of gold dust on the desert eleven days distant from Mt.Choreb beside which Moses wrote Deuteronomy. It is said that (formerly) the mountain (full) of gold veins was near the copper mines in Phainon (which in our time were still working).

Kadēmōth.⁵⁸⁶ Desert from which Moses sent the elders (ambassadors) “to Sohon” [king of the Amorrites].

Kariath.⁵⁸⁷ City (village) which was under the metropolis of Gabaon.

Kades.⁵⁸⁸ City which Josue besieged, killing its king. Given (in lot) to tribe of Juda.

Kademoth.⁵⁸⁹ (Another) city of the sons of Ruben.

[Kedsōn.⁵⁹⁰ (In) tribe of Ruben.] (City) separated to Levites.

JOSUE

Kapseēl.⁵⁹¹ (In) tribe of Juda.

Kina.⁵⁹² (In) tribe of Juda.

Keeila.⁵⁹³ (In) tribe of Juda. Where David once lived. Even now a village Kela (nearly) eight miles east of Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron. The Tomb of Habacuc the prophet is pointed out there.

Kariathbaal.⁵⁹⁴ This is the city Iareim. Tribe of Juda.

Kana.⁵⁹⁵ (In) tribe of Ephraim.

[Kabsaeim (Capsaim).⁵⁹⁶ (In) tribe of Ephraim.]

Kane.⁵⁹⁷ (In) tribe of Manasse.

Kariathiareim (Kariathbaal).⁵⁹⁸ Or city Iareim (of salt). One of the (cities of the Gabaonites. (Belonging to) tribe of Juda between Jerusalem and Diospolis. Located on the road nine miles from Jerusalem. The home of Uria the prophet whom Ioakim killed in Jerusalem according to Jeremia. The son of Sobal is called Cariathiareim according to Paralipomenon.

Kisōn (Kision).⁵⁹⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. City separated to the Levites.

Kartha.⁶⁰⁰ (In tribe of) city of Zabulon separated to Levites.

Katta.⁶⁰¹ (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon. City separated to Levites.

Kana.⁶⁰² Near Sidōn the Great (to distinguish it from the other, the less). Lot of (tribe of) Aser. There (it was in Cana) our Lord and God (Savior) Jesus Christ changed the water into wine. Home of Nathanael (judged a true Israelite as the Savior testified). It is (today a city) in Galilee of the Nations.

Kades (Cades).⁶⁰³ Lot of Naphthali. Priestly city formerly city of refuge “in Galilee in the mountains of Nephthali.” The king of Assyria took it. It is now (called) Kudissos, twenty miles from Tyro near Paneas.

Kartham.⁶⁰⁴ City (in) of tribe of Nephthali, separated to Levites.

JUDGES

Ketrōn.⁶⁰⁵ (In tribe of) Zabulon “did not drive out the heathen” (in which the former inhabitants remained).

Karka (Carcar).⁶⁰⁶ Home of “Zebee and Salmana” whom Gedeon killed. There is now a Fort Karkaria one day journey from the city of Petra.

Kamōn.⁶⁰⁷ City of Iaeir where the judge of Israel was buried. There is now a village Kammōna in the great plain six miles north of Legeon on the road to Ptolemais.

Kisōn.⁶⁰⁸ Wadi near Mt.Thabōr where Sisara was fought.

Kadēmim (Cademi).⁶⁰⁹ Wadi where Debora fought.

Koilas of the Titans (i.e., valley of giants).⁶¹⁰ Against whom David fought.

Klauthmōn.⁶¹¹ Territory of lamentation (i.e., place of weeping) a place so called (receiving its name from lamentation).

KINGS

Kēni.⁶¹² Territory of the heathen (Philistines).

Karmēlos.⁶¹³ Home of Nabal. A village called Chermala which is interpreted Karmelos is now ten miles east of Hebron. A (Roman) garrison is located there.

[Karmēlos. Mountain.]⁶¹⁴ On the Phoenician sea and dividing Palestine from Phoenicia. Where Elias lived. (Entry not in Latin.)

Kabseēl.⁶¹⁵ Home of Banaias son of Ioda. (Entry not in Latin.)

Kedrōn.⁶¹⁶ Wadi or ravine of Kedron near Jerusalem. (To the east, the Gospel of John mentions it.)

Kurinē (Cyrene).⁶¹⁷ (On the border of Egypt) where the Assyrian king sent away the Damascenes.

Kōa.⁶¹⁸ Near Egypt.

Karchēdon (i.e., Carthage).⁶¹⁹ Isaia in vision of Tyre and also Ezechiel. In the Hebrew it is Tharsis [of this we have spoken fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*].

Kollas Iōsaphat.⁶²⁰ (Coelas, i.e., valley) located between Jerusalem and the Mt. of Olives. [We read in the prophet Joel.]

Kedam.⁶²¹ In Ezechiel. Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “east.”

Kēdar.⁶²² In Ezechiel. “Princes of Kedar.” Also in Jeremiah and Isaia in the “vision of Arabia.” It is in the territory of the Saracans (desert). The son of Ismael, son of Abraham (Latin omits phrase) is (named) Kedar.

Kariōth.⁶²³ In territory of Moab according to Jeremiah.

Kapharnaoum.⁶²⁴ By the Lake of Gennesaret. It is now a village (city) in the Galilee of the nations, (located) “on the border of Zebulon and Naphthali.”

[Here ends our reading for the letter C i.e., the Greek Kappa the rest are under the letter Chi, which has aspiration in itself and of which there is very little use in Latin.]

SECTION L

GENESIS

Lasan.⁶²⁵ Border of the Chanaanites with the Sodomites.

Louza (Luza).⁶²⁶ Jacob renamed this Bethel. This village, inhabited even now, is on the left of the road going to Jerusalem from Neapolis. Given to tribe of Benjamin.

Louza (Luza).⁶²⁷ Another. Given to the sons of Joseph. Near Suchem (Sychem) nine (three) miles from Neapolis.

Lōtan.⁶²⁸ City of the princes of Edom.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

[Lebōna.⁶²⁹ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Lobon.⁶³⁰ Place on the desert ““Beyond the Jordan” where Moses read Deuteronomy.

JOSUE]

Lacheis.⁶³¹ This also Josue besieged and captured (killed) its king. Isaiah (and Jeremia) also mention(s) this. There is even now a village seven miles south of Eleutheropolis toward the Daroma. Noted also in Jeremia. (In) tribe of Juda.

Lebna.⁶³² Josue also besieged this and captured (killed) its king. Given to the tribe of Juda. Priestly city. There now is a village called Lobana in the area of Eleutheropolis. Isaia noted it also.

Laserōn (Lasaran).⁶³³ Josue also besieged this and captured (killed) its king.

Lithos Boen.⁶³⁴ “In sons of Ruben.” Border of the tribe of Juda.

Labōth.⁶³⁵ (In) tribe of Juda.

Lamas.⁶³⁶ (In) tribe of Juda.

Labōth.⁶³⁷ (In tribe of) lot of Simeon.

Labanath.⁶³⁸ (In tribe of) lot of Aser.

Lakoum.⁶³⁹ Border of Nephthali.

JUDGES

Labōemath.⁶⁴⁰ (For which) Aquila (interprets) “entrance of Emath.”

Lesem.⁶⁴¹ This “the sons of Dan” besieged and called it Dan.

Louza.⁶⁴² Another near Baithel located in the land of the Hethites. The one left from Bethel founded it as it is told in Judges.

Lechei.⁶⁴³ (For which) Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “in the jaw.”

Laisa.⁶⁴⁴ The sons of Dan took this which was some distance from (near) Sidon and called it Dan. It was the northern border [of Judaea which reached from Dan to Beersheba]. Isaia also mentions it. Noted above near Paneados from whence the Jordan (river) originates.

KINGS

Lemattara.⁶⁴⁵ Where Jonathan shot “the arrow” (dart). Aquila “to the mark.” Symmachus “to the set place.”

Ladabar.⁶⁴⁶ Where Memphibosthe was.

Lōdabar.⁶⁴⁷ Home of Machir.

Libanos.⁶⁴⁸ Conspicuous (very high) mountain of Phoenicia.

Loueith (Luith).⁶⁴⁹ Isaia mentions this. There is a village (today) between Areopolis and Zoora called Loueitha.

SECTION M

GENESIS

Manassē.⁶⁵⁰ Territory of India where the sons of Jectan the son of Eber dwelled.

Mambre.⁶⁵¹ That is Hebron. The tomb of both of the sons of Abraham is located there. (Tomb of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is located there.) Noted also above. One of the companions of Abraham is also called Mambre.

Madiam.⁶⁵² City of one of the sons of Abraham and Cetura. Located beyond Arabia to the south in the desert of the Saracens, to the east of the Red Sea whence it was called Madiani and now is called (the territory of) Madian. Scripture calls the daughter of Iobab [Moses' father-in-law] daughter of Madian. There is a second city named thus near Arnon and Areopolis, the ruins of which are pointed out.

Mōab.⁶⁵³ (Called) from Moab the son of Lot. City of Arabia which is now (called) Areopolis. Noted also above. The territory is also called Moab, but its city is (rightly called) Habbath Moab (i.e., The Great of Moab).

Masrēka.⁶⁵⁴ City of the king of Edom near the Gebalene.

Mabsar.⁶⁵⁵ This large village (called) Mabsara remains even now in the Gebalene dependent upon Petra.

Magediēl.⁶⁵⁶ It also belonged to one of the princes of Edom in the Gebalene.

EXODUS

Magdolos.⁶⁵⁷ Station on the journey of Israel (coming out of) from Egypt, where they stopped before (crossing) the Red Sea. Also noted in Ezechiel: From Magdolos to Syene. According to Jeremia here those Jews [fleeing the impending destruction by Babylonians] dwelled with Jeremia in Egypt.

Merra.⁶⁵⁸ (Which means) “bitter.” Place on the desert where the available water was bitter. Moses sweetened it by throwing in a wood.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Mnemata epithumias.⁶⁵⁹ (Memoriae, i.e., graves) of lust. Station of the children of Israel in the desert where they were destroyed because of the meat (where while eating the meat the wrath of God rose upon them).

Makēlōth.⁶⁶⁰ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

[Mathekka.⁶⁶¹ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.]

Masourouth.⁶⁶² Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Maththanem.⁶⁶³ Now called Maschana. Located on the Arnon (about) twelve miles east of Madaba.

Misōr.⁶⁶⁴ City of Og king of Basan. [However Misor means flat place or plain.]

Machanarath.⁶⁶⁵ Border of Amman which is also Philadelphia.

Madbaris.⁶⁶⁶ According to the Hebrews the desert is so called. [What we call the desert the Hebrews call Madbarim.]

Misadai.⁶⁶⁷ “Of the sons of Iakeim.” Place on the desert where Aaron died.

JOSUE

Makēda.⁶⁶⁸ Where Josue shut up five kings in the cave, which kings he also killed along with the king of Makeda. Given to tribe of Juda. Now it is eight miles east of Eleutheropolis.

Madōn.⁶⁶⁹ City where Iobab ruled (was king) and against whom Josue fought.

Massepha.⁶⁷⁰ (In) tribe of Juda. There Jephthae dwelled. Near Kariathiareim in which the ark was once kept and where Samuel judged the people. Jeremia also notes it.

Merran.⁶⁷¹ It is the water where they prepared for war. Now there is a village (named) Merrous twelve miles from Sebaste near Dothaeim.

Mastraiphōth Maim.⁶⁷² (Which for) Aquila “Mastaiphoth water.” Symmachus “Mastraiphōth sea” (is interpreted).

Machathi.⁶⁷³ City of the Ammorites beyond the Jordan and near Mt.Hermon from which the children of Israel did not expel the Machathites (were not able to expel).

Marōm.⁶⁷⁴ [Josue also besieged this and captured (killed) its king. Note above Marous.

Mageddo.⁶⁷⁵] Josue also besieged this and captured (killed) its king. Given to tribe of Manasse who (never) did not possess it since they did not drive out the heathen (former inhabitants).

Misōr.⁶⁷⁶ (For which) Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “level plain.” City of tribe of Ruben. Separated to Levites in the Gebalene.

Meddaba.⁶⁷⁷ City now in the mist of Arabia which in even now called Medaba near Essebon. (A city of Arabia today which retains its ancient name near Esebon.)

Mēphaath.⁶⁷⁸ (In) tribe of Benjamin. Another is beyond the Jordan where a garrison of (Roman) soldiers is stationed, near the desert.

Maspha.⁶⁷⁹ (In) tribe of Gad. Separated to Levites. There is another Masseba (Masfa) on the northern border of Eleutheropolis. (There is still another of the tribe of Juda on the way to Jerusalem.

Manaeim.⁶⁸⁰ (In) tribe of Gad. Separated to Levites in the Galaaditide.

Mōlada (Moladab).⁶⁸¹ (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon.

Medebēna (Medemena).⁶⁸² (In) tribe of Juda. It is now Menoeis (a city) near the city of Gaza. Noted in Isaia.

Magdala.⁶⁸³ (In) tribe of Juda.

Marēsa.⁶⁸⁴ (In) tribe of Juda. It is now deserted at the second milestone from Eleutheropolis. (Its ruins are now only two miles from Eleutheropolis.)

Maōn.⁶⁸⁵ (In) tribe of Juda. East of the Daroma.

Marōth.⁶⁸⁶ (In) tribe of Juda.

Maddei (Maddi).⁶⁸⁷ (In) tribe of Juda.

Maspha.⁶⁸⁸ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Machtrōth.⁶⁸⁹ (In) tribe of Manassa.

Marala.⁶⁹⁰ Ascent of Zebulon. Tribe of Manasse (Latin omits phrase).

Masan.⁶⁹¹ (In) tribe of Aser. Near Carmel at the sea. City separated to Levites.

Meeleph (Maeleb).⁶⁹² Border of Nephthai.

Magdiel.⁶⁹³ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthai. It is now a large (small) village five mile from Dor on the road to Ptolemais.

JUDGES

Mosphetham (Mosfethaim).⁶⁹⁴ (For which) Aquila (interprets) “of the lot.” Symmachus “midpoint” (of the vicinity).

Mōre.⁶⁹⁵ Name of a hill. (More fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.)

Mannēth.⁶⁹⁶ Where Japhte fought. There is now (shown) a village Maanith four miles from Esbon on the road to Philadelphia.

Machmas.⁶⁹⁷ There is now a large village in the region of Jerusalem called Machamas (retaining the old name) at the ninth mile near hamlet of Rama.

KINGS

Messab.⁶⁹⁸ “Of the heathen” (enemy city) near Gaba (Gabaa).

Magdōn (Magrōn).⁶⁹⁹ Where Saul stayed.

Massēpha “of Moab.”⁷⁰⁰ Where David came fleeing from Saul (fleeing to avoid Saul’s hatred).

Masereth.⁷⁰¹ Desert now deserted where David stayed. (Which) Aquila (interprets) “in fortress” Symmachus “in place of refuge,” Theodotion “in the caves.”

Masbak.⁷⁰² City of the heathen (enemy), king Adrazar.

Mela (i.e.) Gemela.⁷⁰³ (Which) Aquila and Symmachus (translate) “valley of salt.” (We spoke of this above.)

Maacha.⁷⁰⁴ Territory of king of Gesour.

Mōdeeim.⁷⁰⁵ Village near Diospolis. Home of the Maccabees where their tomb is pointed out even now. (Indeed it is amazing that their remains are shown in Antioch, but our author is to be believed.)

Mapsar Turou.⁷⁰⁶ Aquila “wall of Tyre.” Symmachus “fortification of Tyre.”

Masa.⁷⁰⁷ City which Solomon built.

Meebra.⁷⁰⁸ (For which) Aquila (translates) “from across.” Symmachus “from opposite” (i.e., across or opposite).

Makes.⁷⁰⁹ City of one of the chiefs of Solomon.

Melō (Mello).⁷¹⁰ City which Solomon built. (Further) Symmachus and Theodotion (translate) “completion.” (This also is more fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.)

Maidan.⁷¹¹ City which Solomon built.

Memphis.⁷¹² In Osee. City of Egypt. (Osee, Ezechiel, Jeremia the prophets mention this.) Also in Ezechiel. In Jeremia those Jews (who fled Jerusalem) with Jeremia went to Memphis.

Macha.⁷¹³ In Osee. (For which) Aquila and Symmachus (translate) “the desire.”

Milētos.⁷¹⁴ City of Asia. Noted in Ezechiel.

Maribōth.⁷¹⁵ (Which Ezechiel mentions saying) “to the waters of Maribeth,” Ezechiel. Aquila “litigation.” Symmachus “controversy.”

Mōrathei (Morasthi).⁷¹⁶ Home of Michea the prophet. (It is a village) east of Eleutheropolis.

Masogam.⁷¹⁷ Territory of Moab according to Jeremiah.

[Misōr.⁷¹⁸ Territory of Moab according to Jeremiah (near Jeremiah).

Mōphath.⁷¹⁹ Territory of Moab according to Jeremiah.] Noted above Mēphaath.

Maōn.⁷²⁰ Territory of Moab according to Jeremiah (near Jeremiah).

Molchom.⁷²¹ Idol of Ammon according to Jeremiah (as Jeremiah writes).

Magedan.⁷²² The Christ went to the region of Magedan according to Matthew and Mark also mentions Magedan. Now (the region called) Magedanē is around Gerasa.

SECTION N

GENESIS

(Five Books of Moses)

Naid.⁷²³ Land where Cain dwelled. (Properly) interpreted “restlessness,” (i.e., in motion or fluctuation).

Nineve.⁷²⁴ City of Assyria which Assur built going from the land of Sammaar. There is now (another) city of Jews called Nineve near the Gonias (corner) of Arabia.

Naaliēl.⁷²⁵ Near the Arnon. A station of the children of Israel.

Nabau.⁷²⁶ (Which the Hebrews called Nebō.) Mountain above the Jordan opposite Jericho on the land Moab. There Moses died. It is pointed out even now about six miles west of Esbon (opposite the east region of Esbon).

Nabōth (Nabo).⁷²⁷ City of the sons of Ruben in the territory of Galaad. Noted also by Isaia in the vision “against the Moabites” and in Jeremia. There is also (a certain) man named Nabau who was of Kanath and this city was named from that Naboth. Nabau is now shown deserted eight miles south of (the city of) Hesbon.

Nageb.⁷²⁸ The South (is called Nageb) according to the Hebrews. Symmachus (interprets) “south.” [It should be known that this area among the Hebrew tribes is called Nageb, Theman, and Darom, which we are able to translate as south. (Latin uses four synonyms for south quadrant; austrum (south), adricum (southwest), meridiem (south), eurum (southeast).]

JOSUE

Naphethdor (Nafeddor).⁷²⁹ Symmachus (interprets) “Dora on the coast” (maritime). It is nine miles from Kaisareia. (Dor is today a deserted city in the ninth mile on the road from Caesarea to Ptolemaise.)

Naphthō.⁷³⁰ A spring of water is so called. Tribe of Benjamin.

Naam.⁷³¹ City of the tribe of Juda.

Nesib.⁷³² (In) tribe of Juda. There is a Nasib (which is now called Nasibi) nine (seven) miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Hebron.

Nebpsan.⁷³³ (In) tribe of Juda.

Naaratha.⁷³⁴ (In) tribe of Ephraim. There is now a village of Jews Noorath five miles from Jericho.

Napheth.⁷³⁵ (In) tribe of Manasse.

Naalōl.⁷³⁶ (In tribe of) lot of Zabulon. City separated to Levites.

Nakeb.⁷³⁷ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

JUDGES

Neala.⁷³⁸ From here the heathen “were not driven out” by Zabulon (Zabulon could not expel). Located in the Batanaca is (a village named) Neeila (Neila).

Nobba (Nabe or Nobba).⁷³⁹ To which Gedeon went up. City separated to the priests which (afterwards we read) Saul [in a rage] destroyed.

Nemra.⁷⁴⁰ City of (tribe of) Ruben in land of Galaad. There is now a large village Namara in the (region or the) Batanaea.

KINGS

Naniōth.⁷⁴¹ (Place) “in Rama.” City where David dwelled. (We spoke of this in the book *Hebrew Questions*.)

Nachōn.⁷⁴² “Threshing floor of Nachōn” which Aquila (interprets) “threshing floor prepared.”

Naphath.⁷⁴³ The city of one of the chiefs of Solomon.

Nērigel.⁷⁴⁴ The Samaritans from Babylon (who had been brought from Babylon) built this in (the region of) Judaea.

Nazeb.⁷⁴⁵ The Hevites built this in (the land of) Judaea.

Nasarach.⁷⁴⁶ Idol of Assyria.

Nebēreim (Nemerim).⁷⁴⁷ Isaia (mentions this) in the vision “against the Moabites.” Also Jeremia. It is now (a village called) Bennamareim north of Zoora.

Nabeōth.⁷⁴⁸ Territory in Isaia.

THE GOSPELS

Nazareth.⁷⁴⁹ Whence the Christ was called a Nazorite (Our Lord and Savior was called). Formerly (as a taunt were called) the Nazarenes are now the Christians. It is even now in Galilee (a village) opposite Legeōn fifteen miles to the east near Mt.Thabor (named Nazara).

Naein (Naim).⁷⁵⁰ Village (city) in which the son of the widow was raised from the dead (The Lord raised). It is today twelve (two) miles south of (Mount) Thabor near Aendor.

SECTION X

JOSHUE

Xil.⁷⁵¹ (In) tribe of Juda.

SECTION O

GENESIS

Orech.⁷⁵² City of King Nebrod (Nemrod) in Babylon.

Our of the Chaldees.⁷⁵³ Where “Arran died” the brother of Abraham. Where also Josephus reports his tomb is even “now pointed out.” [Of this also we have looked into and have spoken in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Oulammaous.⁷⁵⁴ The Hebrew has Louza. This is called also both Louza and Bethel. Noted above. There is (shown) another Oullama twelve miles east of Diocaesarea.

[Olibama.⁷⁵⁵ City of the princes of Edom.]

Odollam.⁷⁵⁶ Noted above also. Isaia mentions it.

EXODUS

Othom (Othon).⁷⁵⁷ The second station where those (the children of Israel) coming from Egypt came from Sokchōth “near the desert.”

JOSUE

Opher.⁷⁵⁸ Josue besieged this and captures (killed) its king.

Oolei.⁷⁵⁹ City (in tribe of) of lot of Aser.

Ophra.⁷⁶⁰ Orad Ophra up to (the land of) Saul.

[Here we read through O the short letter, later we record the long vowel.]

Ous.⁷⁶¹ Home of Job. In the territory of Ausitide. One of the sons of Esau is also called thus. [Of which we spoke in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

SECTION P

THE PENTATEUCH

Petra.⁷⁶² City in the land of Edom in Arabia which is called Iechthoel. This is also called Rekem by the Assyrians (Syrians).

SECTION R

THE PENTATEUCH

Roōbōth.⁷⁶³ City of Assyria which Assur built going from the land of Sennaar. [Of this also we have spoken fully in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Roōbōth.⁷⁶⁴ Another City which is “by the river” which was the home of the king of Idumea. Now there is a fortress in the Gebalene (and a large village called by this name).

Ramesse.⁷⁶⁵ City which the children of Israel built in Egypt. The whole territory was formerly called this. In it Jacob dwelled with his children.

Roōb.⁷⁶⁶ Through which came (crossed) the spies with Josue (son of Nun). There is a village (today called) Roōb four miles from Scythopolis. Separated to the Levites.

Raphaka.⁷⁶⁷ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Raphidim.⁷⁶⁸ Place in the desert beside Mt.Horeb where the water flowed “from the rock” in Mt.Horeb. The place is called “Temptation.” There Josue also fought Amalek near Pharan.

Ratima.⁷⁶⁹ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Remmen Phares.⁷⁷⁰ Station of the children of Israel.

Ressa.⁷⁷¹ Station of the children of Israel.

Ramōth.⁷⁷² City (in) the tribe of Gad. Priestly and refuge, in the (land of) Galaaditide. It is now (a village) fifteen miles west (against the east) of Philadelphia.

Rekem.⁷⁷³ It is also Petra, city of Arabia, “whose ruler Rocom the children of Israel killed. It is said he was also king of Madiam.

JOSUE

Remmōn.⁷⁷⁴ (In) tribe of Simeon or Juda. Now Remmōn is a village near Jerusalem, fifteen miles to the north.

Rōgēl.⁷⁷⁵ Spring is called this. In lot (tribe) of Benjamin.

Rama.⁷⁷⁶ (In) tribe of Benjamin. City of Saul. Seven (six) miles north of Jerusalem opposite Bethel. Jeremia mentioned it.

Rekēm.⁷⁷⁷ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Remmōn.⁷⁷⁸ Rock Remmon. (In tribe of) lot of Simeon or Zabulon.

[Rabbōth.⁷⁷⁹ (In tribe of) lot of Issachar. There is now another village Robbo in the region of Eleutheropolis to the east.

Rethōm.⁷⁸⁰] (In tribe of) lot of Issachar.

Roōb.⁷⁸¹ (In tribe of) lot of Aser. [City separated to the Levites.

Rama.⁷⁸² (In tribe of) lot of Aser.] “Up to the fortress city of Tyre.”

Rama.⁷⁸³ (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

[Some of the names of the villages are assigned to different tribes because with us we see only one name to pronounce, when among the Hebrews they are written with various letters.]

[Rekkath.⁷⁸⁴ (In tribe of); lot of Nephthali.]

Rouma (Arima also).⁷⁸⁵ Where “Abimelech sat” as in Judges. Now it is called Remphis (Remthis) in the region of Diospolis which is called by many Arimathaia.

KINGS

Remmōth.⁷⁸⁶ Where David sent “the spoils.”

Rachel.⁷⁸⁷ Where David sent “the spoils.”

Remmōth Galaad.⁷⁸⁸ Now there is a village in Perea (beside the Jordan) beside the river Jobok. Noted also above.

Rabbath.⁷⁸⁹ City of the king of Ammon which is (now) Philadelphia. Jeremia also mentions it.

Raōs (Roos).⁷⁹⁰ David came here (crossed through). Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “the top” (the vault).

Rogellein.⁷⁹¹ Home of Bersellein the Galladi.

Raphaein (Raphaeim).⁷⁹² Valley of the heathen (Allofylus). North of Jerusalem.

Remman.⁷⁹³ City of the king of Syria near Damascus.

Reth.⁷⁹⁴ Asa conquered this.

Rathem.⁷⁹⁵ (Which for) Aquilla (is interpreted) “juniper tree” and Symmachus “shelter” (shady place).

Remmōn.⁷⁹⁶ Isaia (mentioned this) in the vision “Against the Moabites.”

Raseph.⁷⁹⁷ City of Syria.

Rapheth.⁷⁹⁸ City “in the territory of Thaimon” (Theman) of Assyria. In Isaia (it is written).

Rebla.⁷⁹⁹ In the land of Aimath where (victorious) Pharaoh led away Ioachaz (to Egypt).

Remma.⁸⁰⁰ Mountain in Isaia. (For which Aquila (interprets) “Mt. Ermona” (Emmona), Symmachus “in Armenia.” There is a village Remmous (Remmus) in Daroma. (Further) in the (book) of Kings Remman is the home of the idol of the Damascenes.

Reblatha.⁸⁰¹ Territory (or city) of Babylon (which they now call Antioch).

Ramade (Ramale).⁸⁰² (For which) Aquila (interprets) “be lifted up.” (Written) in Zacharia. There is also (another place) Rama of Benjamin (in the tribe of)

around Bethlehem where “a voice is heard in Rama.” (Of this we have fully spoken in the book *Hebrew Questions*.)

Rinokoroura.⁸⁰³ Isaia. City of Egypt. [You should know that this word is not found in the Hebrew books but has been added by the translators of the Septuagint at the noted place.]

SECTION S

[What we have said in the book on *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, even now in the heading of the letter S we see that among the Hebrews there are three S's: Samech, Sade and Sin. Yet these are pronounced as one sound among the Greek and Latin which in the Hebrew language are differentiated. So it is that each name appears to us to sound differently, and further each has another letter. Not only from one but from three letters places and cities and villages are described.] ⁸⁰⁴

GENESIS

Sidōn.⁸⁰⁵ Famous Phoenician city. Formerly the northern boundary of the Chanaanites. Later of Judaea. Given by lot (to tribe of Aser) of Israel. Tribe of Aser fought to possess it but the tribe of Aser' "did not drive out the heathen" (were not able to drive out the enemy) Scripture affirms.

Sennaar.⁸⁰⁶ Plain of Babylon where the Tower was built. From which "Assur went out and built Nineve." Josephus mentions it saying in the first book of *Antiquities*, "And as concerning the plain called Senaar in the region of Babylon, Hestiaeus speaks as follows, 'Now the priests who escaped took the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalius (war like) and came to Sanaar in Babylonia.'"

Suchem (Sikima) (Salēm).⁸⁰⁷ City of Jacob now deserted. The place is pointed out in the suburb of Neapolis. There (near) the tomb of Joseph is pointed out near by. Abimelech came down on it (Latin omits phrase) "And sowed it with salt" as in (the book of) Judges. (Afterwards) Jeroboam rebuilt it according to Kings. Located on the border of the (tribe of) lot of Ephraim. One of the sons of Emmōr is called Suchem from which the place is called. There is also another Suchem in the mountain of Ephraim, a city of refuge.

Sennaar.⁸⁰⁸ Home of Amarphal who fought against (the king of) Sodom.

Sodoma.⁸⁰⁹ City of wicked men which was completely destroyed (divine fire consumed) near the Dead Sea.

Sebōeim.⁸¹⁰ City of the wicked near Sodom which was completely destroyed (disappeared in eternal ashes).

Sōpheira.⁸¹¹ "Mountain of the East" in India. The sons of Iektan son of Eber dwelled near it as Josephus affirms, "Those from the river Kōphēn inhabited parts of India and of the adjacent country of Sēria." Here also the ships of Solomon carried cargo for three years' journey.

Soora.⁸¹² City near Sodom also called Sigor and Zoora. (Of which we spoke above.)

Sauē.⁸¹³ Ancient city in which the Ammorites dwelled beyond Sodom, which Chodollagomar destroyed.

Sēeir.⁸¹⁴ Mountain of the land of Edom where Easu dwelled in the (region of) Gebalene. It is named after him for he was fully covered with hair (he was

hairy and bristly) and “being covered with hair” is the interpretation of Sēeir. (Seeir means hairy and so gets its name.) Scripture also says that before Esau, the Chorrites dwelled in the place called Seeir and were destroyed by Chodollagomor. Isaia also mentioned Seeir in the vision “of the Idumeans.”

Salēm.⁸¹⁵ City of Sikimōn as Scripture affirms. Another village [is shown up to the present day near Jerusalem, to the west, by this same name. In the eighth mile toward Scythopolis in the plain there is a village Salumias. Josephus affirms the true Salem to be that in which Melchisedec ruled which later is called Solyma and finally gets the name Jerusalem.]

Sour.⁸¹⁶ [Where the angel came to Sarai’s maid Agar between Kades and Barad. The desert of Sur extends up to the Red Sea which goes around the border of Egypt. Further Kades is the desert beyond the city Petra. But Scripture notes the desert of Kades extends beyond Egypt to which the Hebrews first came after crossing the Red Sea.]

Sēgōr.⁸¹⁷ [Which is also Sala and Zoara, one of the five cities of Sodom. By the prayer of Lot was saved from fire.] Up to now it is still pointed out, Isaia mentions it in the vision “Against the Moabites.” (As we have spoken above.)

Skēnai (Scenae).⁸¹⁸ (i.e., tabernacle.) Where Jacob dwelled after coming from Mesopotamia. [Which in the Hebrew language is called Socchoth.]

EXODUS

Sokchōth.⁸¹⁹ First station of the children of Israel in the desert before (crossing) the Red Sea (after) coming out of Egypt.

Sin.⁸²⁰ Desert extending between the Red Sea and the desert of Sina. From Sin they came into Raphidin, from there “into the desert of Sina” near Mt.Sina where Moses received (the tables of) the law. This desert the *Hebrew Scriptures* call Kades, but this is not in (the interpretation of) the Septuagint.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Selmona.⁸²¹ Station [of the children of Israel in the desert.

Saphar.⁸²² Mt.Saphar. Station] of the children of Israel in the desert.

Sattein (Sattim).⁸²³ Where “the degraded people fornicated with the daughters of Moab” near Mt.Phagōr. From here Josue sent those to spy out Jericho.

Sabama.⁸²⁴ City of Moab in (land of) Galaad which the tribe of Ruben received. Isaia also mentions this in the vision “Against the Moabites.”

Selcha.⁸²⁵ City of King Og in the (region of) the Basanitide.

Senna.⁸²⁶ Border of Judaea which is now (a hamlet) Magdalsenna [which means tower of Sena] eight (seven) miles north of Jericho.

Sephama.⁸²⁷ Border of Judaea to the east.

[Sadada.⁸²⁸ Border of Judaea.]

JOSUE

Somerōn.⁸²⁹ Josue besieged this and captured (killed) its king. This is said to be (now called) Sebaste now a city of Palestine (where relics of Saint John the Baptist are kept). It is said in Kings that Zambri, king of Israel, bought “the Mountain of Semeron from one Semel” and he built on it (its top) a city and named it Sameron after Semel (from the name of its owner he called it Serneron).

Sēeira.⁸³⁰ Josue also besieged this.

Selcha.⁸³¹ City in the Basanitude.

Siōr.⁸³² Which was opposite Egypt. There is (today shown) a village Sior between Jerusalem and Eleutheropolis. (In) tribe of Juda. [Of which there is full discussion in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Saorth.⁸³³ (In) tribe of Ruben, above the Jordan.

[Sachoth.⁸³⁴ (In) tribe of Gad, above the Jordan.]

Saphōn.⁸³⁵ (In) tribe of Gad, above the Jordan.

Sachōron.⁸³⁶ (In) tribe of Juda.

[Sama (Samen).⁸³⁷ (In) tribe of Juda.]

Soual.⁸³⁸ (In) tribe of Juda or Simeon.

Sikelag (Secelec).⁸³⁹ Agchous (Anchus) (king of the heathen) gave this over to (the people) of David. Tribe of (lot of) Juda or Simeon in the Daroma.

Sansana.⁸⁴⁰ (In) tribe of Juda.

Saleei.⁸⁴¹ (In) the tribe of Juda.

Saraa.⁸⁴² Village in the boundary of Eleutheropolis, (about) ten miles north on the road to Nicopolis. (In) tribe of Dan or Juda.

Sokchō.⁸⁴³ (Today there are) two villages nine miles from Eleutheropolis on the road (highway) to Jerusalem. The upper (one in the Mountains) and the lower (the other in the plain) are named Sokchōth. (In) tribe of Juda.

Saraein.⁸⁴⁴ (In) tribe of Juda.

Sennaan (Senam).⁸⁴⁵ (In) tribe of Juda.

Sapheir.⁸⁴⁶ Village in the mountains which is (located) between Eleutheropolis and Askalon. (In) tribe of Juda.

Sokchō.⁸⁴⁷ Noted also above Sokcho (is spoken of also above). It is said (also) the Samaritans from Babylon (who were brought from Babylon) founded it (the village).

Skacha.⁸⁴⁸ (In) tribe of Juda.

Selo.⁸⁴⁹ (In) tribe of Ephraim. In this the ark (of the testament and the tabernacle of the Lord remained) was first kept up to the time of Samuel. It is twelve (ten) miles from Neapolis in the Akrabattine. One of the sons of the patriarch Juda was called Selon (we read).

Suchem (Sechem).⁸⁵⁰ (In) tribe of Manasse. City of priests and refuge in the Mountains of Ephraim where the bones of Joseph are buried. Noted also above Suchem (of which we spoke above).

Sama.⁸⁵¹ (i.e.), Spring of Sama. (Sames) (in) tribe of Benjamin. (For which) Aquila (interprets) “spring or the sun.”

Semreim.⁸⁵² (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Sela.⁸⁵³ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Sabe (Sabēe).⁸⁵⁴ (In) tribe of Simeon.

Sarith (Sarid).⁸⁵⁵ Border of Zabulon.

Sams.⁸⁵⁶ (For which) Symmachus and Theodotion (interpret) “sun.”

Semerōn.⁸⁵⁷ Lot or (in tribe of) Zabulon.

Sounēm (Sunem).⁸⁵⁸ Lot of (in tribe of) Issachar. There now is a village Soulēm (shown) five miles south of Mt.Thabor.

Sion (Seon or Soen).⁸⁵⁹ Lot of (in tribe of) Issachar. Now (there is shown a village) is beside Mt.Thabor.

Sasima.⁸⁶⁰ Border of Issachar.

Sior.⁸⁶¹ Lot of (in tribe of) Aser.

Sennanein.⁸⁶² Oak. (Belonging to) border of Naphthali.

Sorek (Sorec).⁸⁶³ Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Samson was there (we read) near Esthaol [of which we have spoken above].

Sames.⁸⁶⁴ Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. Noted above. [Which was mentioned above under the name of] Bethsamus.

Salabein (Salabeim).⁸⁶⁵ Lot of (in tribe of) Dan. But there is now another (large) village (shown) in the border of Sebastē called Salaba.

Sepeth.⁸⁶⁶ (Place) of the Chanaanites.

JUDGES

Seirōtha.⁸⁶⁷ Where Aod fled (the judge fled). Noted above also Seeira (we spoke about above).

Sour Oreb.⁸⁶⁸ (Which) Aquila (interprets) “Rook of Oreb.”

Selmon.⁸⁶⁹ Mountain on which Abimelech went fighting Sikima.

Sephina.⁸⁷⁰ (Which for) Aquila and Symmachus (is interpreted) “north.”

Sōrēch.⁸⁷¹ (Name of) wadi. Home of Balila wife of Samson. It is (today) the village called Sōrēch (Cafarsorch) north of Eleutheropolis near (the hamlet) Saraa the home of Samson.

KINGS

Sōpheim.⁸⁷² In Mt. Ephraim (in neighborhood) of Armathaim.

Salisa.⁸⁷³ Through which Saul went.

[Senna.⁸⁷⁴ Name or a rook.

Saaleim.⁸⁷⁵ (Village) through which Saul went.] A village of the region of Eleutheropolis seven miles to the west.

Seiph (Sthif).⁸⁷⁶ Where Saul met Samuel.

Sabeim.⁸⁷⁷ Where Saul fought.

Sōnam.⁸⁷⁸ Home of the [woman] Somanite. There is a village (today) called Sanim on the border of Sabastē in the Akrabattinē.

Saphamōth.⁸⁷⁹ Where David sent.

Seeira.⁸⁸⁰ (Name of) well (at which) Joab turned away (back) Abner (the chief of the army).

Souba.⁸⁸¹ Whose king David defeated.

Sarthan.⁸⁸² Below (at the foot of) Iezrael.

Sōpheira (Soupheir).⁸⁸³ Where Solomon's ships went. Noted above (of which we spoke above). Mountain in the east (region) of India.

Serōra.⁸⁸⁴ City on the way to Edom.

Saba.⁸⁸⁵ Royal city of the Aithiopians which Josephus affirms Cambuse (the queen) named Meroen from the name or her own sister.

Sela.⁸⁸⁶ Where Joas was beaten.

Sephpharouem (Saffaruaim).⁸⁸⁷ From here the Assyrians moved to another place (transmigrating) to live in Samaria, from whom (arose the beginnings of the) are the Samaritan nation. Isaia mentions it.

Sademoth.⁸⁸⁸ Where Josias (the king) burned (the images of) the idols.

Sarepta.⁸⁸⁹ Famous village (little city) of Sidon (Sidonians on the highway) where Elias (once) "dwelled.

Sarōn.⁸⁹⁰ (Which) Isaia (mentions saying), "Sarōn became a swamp" and the territory from Mt.Thabor to Lake Tiberias is now called Sarōnas. There is

another Saronas, the region from Caesarea to Joppa. (All the land from Caesarea Palestine to the city of Joppa is called Saronas.)

Sephela.⁸⁹¹ (As written) in Isaia. (For which) Aquila (interprets) “plain,” Symmachus “valley.” Even now it is called Sephela. It is all the region (fields and plains) around Eleutheropolis to the north and the west.

Sennaar.⁸⁹² In Micheae. (For which) Aquila (interprets) “Sannaan,” Symmachus “flourishing” (fertile). (Michea the prophet mentions this.)

Sedrach.⁸⁹³ Land or Damascus. (We read) in Zacharia.

Siōn.⁸⁹⁴ Mountain (in the city) of Jerusalem.

Samareia (Samaria).⁸⁹⁵ Royal city of Israel. Now (it is called) Sebastē. Also the region around it. [Receives its name from that city.]

Sor (Tyre).⁸⁹⁶ Phoenician metropolis. Lot of (in tribe of) Naphthali.

Soēne.⁸⁹⁷ City of Thebes. In Ezechiel (as Ezechiel writes).

Sais.⁸⁹⁸ City of Egypt. [Ezechiel mentions it. District of Saïtes also.]

Sadala.⁸⁹⁹ Border of Judaea as in Ezechiel (as Ezechiel writes).

Sabareim.⁹⁰⁰ “On the border between Damascus and Aimath” as in Ezechiel (as Ezechiel writes).

Salisa.⁹⁰¹ (For which) Aquila (interprets) “three years.” As in Jeremia. (Jeremia mentions this.)

Suchar.⁹⁰² Before Neapolis near the field which Jacob gave to Joseph his son. In it the Christ (our Savior) according to John conversed with the Samaritan (woman) at the well. It is even now pointed out (where a church is now built).

SECTION T

GENESIS

Tigris.⁹⁰³ The river going out east from Paradise, according to Scripture, “over against Assyria” (after many turns) flowing “into the Red Sea” as Josephus affirms. It is called by the nickname Tigris because of the violence resembling that of the like-named animal. (Properly called by this name because the excessively swift current is like the quickness of the animal.)

Terebinthos in Sikemon.⁹⁰⁴ Under which Jacob hid “strange gods” (idols) near Neapolis.

JOSUE

Tina.⁹⁰⁵ (In) tribe of Juda.

Telem.⁹⁰⁶ (In) tribe of Juda.

Tessem.⁹⁰⁷ (In) tribe of Juda.

Turos.⁹⁰⁸ (In) tribe of Nephthali.

JUDGES

Tabath.⁹⁰⁹ Where they fought against the Midianites.

Tōb.⁹¹⁰ Land where Jephthe dwelled.

Tapheth (Tofeth).⁹¹¹ “In the valley of the sons of Ennom” where the people committed idolatry (worshiped pagan idols), (is a place) in the suburbs of Jerusalem.

Tanis.⁹¹² City of Egypt. (As) in Isaia and Ezechiel.

Taphnas.⁹¹³ City of Egypt. In Osee and Ezechiel and Jeremia. There the Jews who fled to Egypt with Jeremia [for fear of the Babylonians] dwelled.

THE GOSPELS

Trachonitis territory or Itouraia.⁹¹⁴ Of which Philip was tetrarch according to the Gospel of Luke. Noted above (we spoke of it above). It is extending from Bostra in the southern desert up to Damascus. (Beyond Bostra city of Arabia in the southern desert almost up to Damascus.)

[We read this with the simple letter but truly that which follows is not from Teth but from Tau, i.e., for which the Greek Theta is written we must read with aspiration.] Note: in the Latin Manuscripts TH now follows.⁹¹⁵

SECTION PH

GENESIS

Pheisōn (Fison).⁹¹⁶ Interpreted “multitude.” It is the river the Greeks (we) called (call) Ganges which flowing from Paradise to (going through the regions at) India flows out into the sea. (Scripture) also said it encircles “all the land of Hevila where gold and rubies and (precious) emeralds (are produced).”

Pharan.⁹¹⁷ (Now) a city beyond Arabia adjoining the desert of the Saracens [who wander in the desert] through which the children or Israel went moving (camp) from Sinai. Located (we say) beyond Arabia on the south, three days journey to the east of Aila (in the desert Pharan) where Scripture affirms Ismael dwelled, whence the Ishmaelites [who are not the Saracens]. It is said (we read) also that (king) Chodollagomor cut to pieces those in “Pharan which is in the desert.”

Pulistieim.⁹¹⁸ Now called Askalon and the famous territory of Palestine around it.

Phrear.⁹¹⁹ (Well) of the oath. Which Abraham dug where he swore an oath. It is now called Bērosaba in the (region) of the Geraritike (of which we spoke above).

Phrear.⁹²⁰ (Well) of vision. On the desert where Isaak dwelled.

Phrear.⁹²¹ (Well) of judgments. Up to the present time there is a village in the Geraritike called (by name) Berdan (which means in Latin “well of judgments”).

Phrear.⁹²² (Well) of Oath. Where Isaac and Abimelech swore. It is called the city of Isaac. There are also many other and different wells in (Holy) Scripture which are even now pointed out in the (region of) Geraritike and near Askalon.

Phanouēl.⁹²³ Where after an all-night of wrestling Jacob’s (Jacob merited the name Israel) name was changed to Israel near the Wadi Iabok, which in Hebrew is called [Faniel, i.e., “face of God” because he saw god there].

Phogōr (Fogo).⁹²⁴ City of (king) Adad in the (region of) Geralitike.

Phinōn.⁹²⁵ Station of the children of Israel in the desert, which was (one of) a

city of the princes of Edom. It is Phainon where there are copper mines between the city of Petra and Zoara. [Now a village Phainon in the desert where copper is mined by condemned prisoners between the city of Petra and Zoara of which we spoke above.]

EXODUS

Phithōm.⁹²⁶ City in Egypt which the children of Israel built.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Pharagx.⁹²⁷ Botrous. Ravine of the cluster where the spies got fruit as proof of the land. It is said to be Gophna interpreted “vine” fifteen miles from Jerusalem on the road going up to Neapolis. The report they swear is true. (This entry is not in the Latin)

Phin.⁹²⁸ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

Pharagx Zare.⁹²⁹ Ravine Zared. Section of the desert. (This entry is not in the Latin.)

Phear.⁹³⁰ Well in the desert. Where the people were. (This entry is not in the Latin.)

Phathoura.⁹³¹ City beyond Mesopotamia where Balaam (the soothsayer) came from. Located near Eleutheropolis there is another village (named Phathoura) on the road to Gaza.

Phogōr (Bēthphogōr).⁹³² Mountain in Moab to which (king) Balak led Balaam (the Soothsayer). Located above the place now called Libiados (Livias). There is another (village) Phogōr near Bethlehem (which is now called Faora).

Phasga.⁹³³ City of the Amorrites. It is also a mountain to the east of Phasga. Aquila (interprets) “tomb” (quarry) and the Septuagint “of the tomb” (in a quarried place).

JUDGES

[Phanouel.⁹³⁴ City which Jeroboam built.]

Phanouēl.⁹³⁵ Tower which Gedeon destroyed. One of the sons of ōr is called Phanouēl.

[Phraathōn.⁹³⁶ Home of Abdon judge of Israel “in the mountain of Amalek.”]

KINGS

Pharagx Ennom.⁹³⁷ Ravine Ennon. Ge Ennom in Hebrew. Therefore some affirm this to be Gebenna near Jerusalem. It is said to be the name of the Ravine of Josephat. (This entry is not in the Latin.)

Phelmoni Almoni.⁹³⁸ Aquila “so and so” or “a certain.” Symmachus “such a place.” Theodotion “to a certain (place)” Elmoni (of which there is a full discussion in the book *Hebrew Questions*).

Phogō.⁹³⁹ City of the king of Edom.

Pharphar.⁹⁴⁰ River of Damascus.

Phathori.⁹⁴¹ Territory of Egypt as in Ezechiel and Jeremia where the Jews (having fled) dwelled.

SECTION X

GENESIS

Chalannē.⁹⁴² City of King Nebrod (Nemrod) in Babylon. Noted in Isaia (saying) “Chalanne where the tower was built.”

Chalak.⁹⁴³ City of Assyria which Assur built coming from the land of Sennaar.

Charran.⁹⁴⁴ There is even now in Mesopotamia (beyond Edessa) a city called Karra. [Where the Roman soldiers were defeated and Grassus, their leader, was captured.]

Chebrōn.⁹⁴⁵ Formerly called Arbok. (Arbe for which the Greek wrongly has Arbok.) Founded seven years before Tanis of Egypt. Noted above and described. Was the royal city of the Enakim. [Who we must believe were strong and gigantic.]

Chōba.⁹⁴⁶ “It is left (north) of Damascus.” There is a village Choba now in that region where Hebrews believing on the Christ [and keeping all the commandments of the Torah] are called Ebionites. [Against such doctrines Paul the apostle wrote to the Galatians.]

Chabratha.⁹⁴⁷ Aquila (interprets) “by the road” (i.e., near the road) going to Ephratha of Bethleem where Rachel died bearing Benjamin. [We have seen this word above and we spoke of it in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

Chasbi.⁹⁴⁸ Where the wife of Juda bore a son. A deserted place (ruin) is now pointed out in the region of Eleutheropolis near Odollam. [This is fully discussed in the book *Hebrew Questions*.]

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

Chōrēb.⁹⁴⁹ Mountain of God in the territory of Moab. Near Mt.Sinai beyond Arabia in the desert [Where the mountain and the desert or the Saracens called Faran meet. It seems to me that the two names are for the same mountain which is now called Sinai and now Choreb.]

Charada.⁹⁵⁰ Station of the children of Israel.

Chenereth.⁹⁵¹ Sea. Border of Judaea. Lot of (tribe of) Nephthali. [But the town which later in honor of Tiberius Caesar, Herod the King of Judaea restored and called Tiberias first bore this name.]

JOSUE

Chepheira.⁹⁵² City (village) of Gabaōn (of the city of Gabaon). (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Chasalōn.⁹⁵³ Tribe of Benjamin on the border of Jerusalem. A (very) large village.

Chsil.⁹⁵⁴ (In) tribe of Juda.

Chaphtheis.⁹⁵⁵ (In) tribe of Juda.

Chermel.⁹⁵⁶ Tribe of Juda. Large city Chermel in the Daroma (Latin omits these two phrases). Home of Nabal (the Canaanite). Near Chebrōn (of which we spoke above) to the south. A guard of soldiers is stationed there. (Latin omits the last two sentences.)

Chabōn.⁹⁵⁷ (In) tribe of Juda.

Cheilōn.⁹⁵⁸ (In) tribe of Juda.

Cephrei.⁹⁵⁹ (In) tribe of Benjamin.

Cheselath Thabor.⁹⁶⁰ Lot of (in tribe of) Zabulon.

KINGS

Chettieim.⁹⁶¹ Land of the Chittites or (is said to be) Cyprus. Whence the city Louza was founded. (There is also now a city of Cyprus called Cititium.)

Charrei.⁹⁶² (To this place) where Joab pursued Sabee (who was stirring up a revolution).

Chomarreim.⁹⁶³ Where Josias put to flames (burned) the idols (images).

Chalannē.⁹⁶⁴ “Where the tower was built” according to Isaia. Noted above (as we spoke above).

Charran.⁹⁶⁵ City of Assyria around Thaiman (region) according to Isaia.

Chaselath tou Thabōr.⁹⁶⁶ Border of Zabulon. Noted above Chessalous (we spoke of it above under the name Chsalus).

Chōbal.⁹⁶⁷ Border of Aser.

Chalab.⁹⁶⁸ “Aser did not drive out” the heathen (former inhabitants) from here.

Chorra.⁹⁶⁹ Wadi across the Jordan [in which Elias hid in the region of the same river].

Chōtha.⁹⁷⁰ Territory of Assyria.

Chōbar.⁹⁷¹ River of Assyria as in Ezechiel.

Charchamus.⁹⁷² City beside the river Euphrates.

Chamōam.⁹⁷³ Village near Bethlehem.

Chelōn (Elōn).⁹⁷⁴ City of Moab as in Jeremia.

Chamōs.⁹⁷⁵ Idol of Moab.

Chōrazein.⁹⁷⁶ Village (city) of Galilee over which the Christ suffered [wept and wailed at unbelief] according to the Gospel. Now deserted two miles from Capharnaoum.

Cheimarrous Kedrōn.⁹⁷⁷ (i.e., Wadi) before Jerusalem (of which we spoke above between the Mt. of Olives and Jerusalem) where the Christ (Lord and Savior) was handed over as the Gospel of John affirms.

SECTION O

THE PENTATEUCH

ōn.⁹⁷⁸ “Which is Heliopolis” (i.e., city of the sun) city in Egypt. The children of Israel built this according to the interpretation of the Septuagint. But more correctly the Hebrew (books) did not hold this since it existed (was built) before the coming of the children of Israel (before Jacob came into Egypt). (Petefrem) the father of Asennek was priest here.

ōr.⁹⁷⁹ Mountain on which Aaron died near the city of Petra. There is now pointed out the rock which flowed for Moses (which Moses struck and gave water to the people).

ōbōth.⁹⁸⁰ Station of the children of Israel in the desert.

JOSUE and KINGS

Osa.⁹⁸¹ (In tribe of) lot of Aser.

Oram.⁹⁸² (In tribe of) lot of Nephthali.

Opheir.⁹⁸³ Where gold was brought by Solomon as (we read) in (the book of) Kings. One of the descendants of Eber was named Oupheir whose sons (coming) “from the river Kōphenos in inhabited India and the nearby Syrias” (from the river Kophene dwelled in the region of India called Ieria) according to Josephus. (I believe) this region is properly named from him.

Ôn.⁹⁸⁴ City of Samaria. The Hebrew had (written) Aun. Aquila and Symmachus (interpret) “useless.” Theodotion “unjust.”

ōlō.⁹⁸⁵ City of priests.

ōronaeim.⁹⁸⁶ City of Moab in Jeremiah (as Jeremiah has written).

ENDNOTES

Latin Preface by Jerome

SECTION A

GENESIS

¹ Ararat, Armenia. Genesis 8:4; Klostermann. *Das Onomasticon der biblischen Ortsnamen*(1904) (hereafter K.) 2:23 (page#:line#), cf. 38:11; Legarde. *Onomastica Sacra* (1966) (hereafter L.) 232:25 (page#:line#).

Ararat is suspect as an entry in the original manuscript since it is a mountain and is out of the region of Palestine as well. The inclusion of the long quotation from Josephus' *Antiquities*, (I, iii, p. 5ff.) is repeated in the text of Procopius 285A & B. Eusebius refers to Ararat also in his *Preparatio Evangelica*, (viii, p. 10f.) and Jerome, in his *Commentary on Isaiah* 37:36ff.). In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (60) Jerome translates "mountain of taunting."

The referents in Josephus are largely third century B.C., e.g. Berosus, Musseas. However, Nicolas was a contemporary of Josephus and a biographer of Herod the Great. The location has persisted in tradition as in the present Kurdistan areas, between Armenia and Parthia in ancient times.

Leaetai is used by Eusebius fairly consistently for written sources, most frequently the Bible. Cp. Genesis 8:4, II Kings 19:37, Jeremiah 51:27. On the other hand, *phasin* (*dicuntur*) reflects an anonymous oral tradition.

The text of Eusebius and Jerome vary only slightly in the quotation of Josephus. The translation of the quotation is that of Thackeray from the *Loeb Classic Library* (used with permission). The textual variants are all minor.

² Achad. Genesis 10:10; K. 4:26; L. 233:54.

Textual variants: Achab (Greek); and Archath, Achar, and Acath (Latin).

Achad as the above Ararat also is not in the region of Palestine. Its size is recognized by the use of *polis* (Greek) and both *urbs* and *civitas* (Latin). Jerome in *Hebrew Questions* notes "it is now called Nisibis." In another entry he notes it is in Edessa. The date referred to by Latin was 363 A.D.

³ Aggai (Ai). Genesis 12:8; K. 4:27; L. 233:55.

The location of Ai is still a complex archaeological puzzle. Judith Krause-Marquet and Pere Abel felt that Eusebius must have had *et-Tell* in mind because of the words *topos eremos* used also for Ainan (K. 8:13) and Galgala (K. 66:4). Procopius 320A records Eusebius: "Aggai now is a deserted place not far west of Bethel" (cp. Joshua 7:2, 8:1). This would be on the road to Bethel which leaves the main road at the 12th milestone (cf. K. 40:20). Bethel is often used as a referent in the Bible and is so used in the text (see Appendices).

Jerome also notes a church had been built at Bethel (*Commentary on Genesis* 28:19) probably

by Constantine (*Epistle* 108:12). For other churches added in Jerome's account see Mambre (K. 7:20), Bethany (K. 59:18), Gethsemane (K. 75:19), and Sychar (K. 165:3-4).

Ailia (Aelia) is Jerusalem. Neapolis is 36 miles from Jerusalem according to the *Deut. Table* but other texts have 30 miles (*Itin. Ant.* 200:1). On the Madaba Map it is a large walled city with a basilica. In Eusebius it is a point of reference and according to K. 150:2 distinct from Shechem. Shechem was destroyed in pre-Christian times and Neapolis built there by Vespasian. This Neapolis is present day Nablus near Mt. Garizin. A bishop was present at the Council of Nicea. A basilica was erected there by Justinian according to Procopius (*Buildings*, V, viii, 1) after time of our text.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (61) Jerome translates "inquiry or gaiety."

⁴ Astarōth Karnaein. Genesis 14:5; K. 6:4; L. 233:61.

Textual variant: Asarōth (Greek).

There are many *attarah* in the region of Palestine. The names and spelling in both the *Masoretic Text* (hereafter *MT*) and *Onomasticon* are confusing. In this entry no positive location is given. Only a general area. Procopius 332C wrote, "It is now the city of the blessed Job in the Batanaia. Two villages between Adaron and the city Bibles, nine miles distant from each other, are so-called" (cf. K. 112:3 and K. 142:3 for "home of Job").

Abela (K. 32:15) Is the present *Tell abil*. Adra (K. 84:7) in Syriac Manuscript is indicated as *dari* 'at or der' at the present Syrian border town with Jordan. The Batanaia is also called Batalona (K. 12:12). All was part of the land of Bashan (K. 44:9).

The two villages are best located at *Tell 'ashtarah* and *Sheih Sa 'ad*. The former is a large tell suitable for the Old Testament Ashtaroth (cf. K. 12:11). Perhaps the latter succeeded as chief administrative city of the district of Karnaeim (cf. K. 112:3). However in the Bible, Astaroth is merely identifying the site of a battle which took place near the city. If so, then Karnaeim added to the name gives the district in which the battle took place (cf. *Biblical Archaeologist* Dec. 1962, p.109). Eusebius seems to look for two sites.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome has four entries on Astaroth with several interpretation repeats: sheepfold, manger, blackened hall, or make an investigation (61, 85, 90, and 98).

⁵ Arbō. Arboc. Genesis 23:2; K. 6:8 and 7:11; L. 233:65.

Textual variants include: Arboch (Greek), Arbee (Latin), Arboq. Another variant seems to identify Arbō Chebrōn and the terebinth. The entire entry has been inserted out of biblical order by a late editor.

The terebinth is located at six stadia from Chebrōn by Josephus (*Wars*, iv, 553). In (K. 76:1) Mamrē also locates the terebinth in the vicinity of Chebrōn (cp. K. 170:25). In K. 26:16 it is located two miles from Bethanin (cp. K. 68:21, 94:21 and Eusebius' *De Vita Constantini*, iii, 51f., *Demonstratio Evangelica* V 9). Also see Kariatharbō K. 112:18 where Genesis 23:2 makes the equation.

The location in general is present day Hebron, *el kalil*, and this is the spot Eusebius locates clearly. It was never a strong Christian city. Ancient site is probably at *Jebel er-Rumeide* where Roman and Byzantine remains are also found. Jerome notes a church has been built there (cf. K. 7:3 and note for other churches). It is difficult to tell if Jerome refers to the Church of Mamrē (*Ramet el Khalil*) or the church of the graves of the patriarchs.

Jerome in *Hebrew Questions* writes “For Arbee the LXX has ‘field’ with Chebron located on the mountain. The city is also called Mambra is named after the friends of Abraham” (44), cf. Genesis 18:1, I Chronicles 2:42, Joshua 14:13f, 20:7, 21:11, II Samuel 2:1 etc.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome translated “Arbee, four or fourth” (61) after the four great men: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Adam (cf. *Hebrews Questions*, p. 28, *Epistle* 108:11, 46:3, *Commentary on Jeremiah* 31:15, Zacharia 11:4, Matthew 27:33, and Ephesians 5:14.

⁶ Ailam (Ailath). Genesis 14:1; K. 6:17; L. 234:75.

In the Vulgate we find Ailath, Elath, and Aila for this same site.

Palestine is the southern part of Syria. This word is missing in the Vatican Manuscript. Technically the southern limits of the *Onomasticon* should be Ailam (Ailath). The ruins are inland about one mile from Aqabah but not as far inland as *Tell el Kbeleifah* which is probably the older Ezion Geber (K. 36:1, cf. K. 34:23, 62:13, Josephus *Antiquities*, IX, 12, 1).

It was the end of the road going north to Damascus and the terminus of the overland road west to the Mediterranean. In Jerome’s time it was a very busy port (*Vita Hilariaris*, 18, and cf. *Commentary on Ezekiel* 47:18). Eusebius does not indicate its size but it may be inferred that it was a *polis*. A bishop was present at Nicea.

Eusebius uses some army source and the text is useful for noting the deployment of the Roman legion. The Tenth is located here. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:18f.) verifies this entry. The *Tabula Peutinger*, 820 has a Haila 83 miles from Petra and 150 miles southeast of Gaza which fits this site at *el ‘aqaba*.

The city in II Samuel 10:16 is in northeast Transjordan. The Syriac text notes it is a city of the Philistines. The Greek *allophulos* usually means Philistines but once or twice we cannot be positive, so in this present translation the general term “foreigners” has been preferred, especially when Jerome does not have *Filistine*. He has *Filistine* in K. 7:15, K. 21:2, K. 3:25, K. 119:3 but more often uses transliteration *allofylorum* (see Appendix I).

⁷ Adama. Genesis 14:2; K. 8:4; L. 234:82.

The Sodomite Pentapolis is not clearly located by Eusebius. He generally locates them beside the Dead Sea (cf. Sodoma K. 150:10,) K. 153:16 suggests a tradition did exist for Segor but it is also not precisely recorded. The most exacting attempt is for Bala in K. 42:1f.

In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome translates “dirt, ground or earthen”(61).

⁸ Asasan Thamar (Asasonthamar). Genesis 14:7; K. 8:6; L. 234:84.

On the Madaba Map there is a Thamara located as suggested by Eusebius here. *Tabula Peutinger* has a Thamaro 52 or 53 miles from Jerusalem while Ptolemy's list (V, 15, 5f) has a Thamaro about 55 miles distant. The *Notitia Dignitatum* (74:40) has a Tarba and (74:46) a Thamarra both of which have a garrison.

Alt found a fort at *Qasr el Juheiniye* and he is followed by many locating the fort there and the village at 'ain el 'Arus. Aharoni more recently (*TEJ*, 1963, p.30ff) suggests 'Ain Husb which is about a day's walk (32 km) from Kurnub which is generally identified with Maphsis (cf. also Avi-Yonah) and has a large Roman fort as well as Nabatean and Iron II sherds.

The Madaba Map using Jerome's spelling has located properly Mampsis. Many Nabatean, Roman-Byzantine levels excavated at *Kuroub*. It shows a revival in the fourth century A.D. as also does Oboda (Avdat, 'Abda, and K. 176:9). This may be indicated by "village" in Greek and "oppidum" in Latin (cf. K. 10:25).

II Chronicles 20:2 identified Thamar with En Gedi or at least locates it in the district of En Gedi (86:16). Jerome in *Hebrew Questions* says, "his city which we now call Engaddi, is rich in balsam and palms since Asason Thamar translated into our language is city of the palms" (18) (cf. Judges 1: 16, Ezekiel 47: 29).

⁹ Aloua (Allus). Genesis 36:40; K. 8:10; L. 234:89.

Textual variants: Alloyd (Greek), Gōla (LXX), and Alloys (Syriac). Hebrew has 'Alvah or 'Aliah.

Petra (cf. K. 142:7) is often called the capital of ancient Nabatean or the capital of the ancient Arabs. It has been suggested that Udrub, 14 km east of Petra may retain the tradition of this site since it is the Arabic synonym for the Hebrew.

The relation of Idumaea and Edōm to Gebalēnē is uncertain. They are connected here as well as in K. 62:8 and K. 102:23, etc. In his *Commentary on Obadiah 1* Jerome has Gebalēnē on the border of Eleutheropolis and apparently includes part of the Daroma (K. 26:10) but generally it is lying east of the Dead Sea (K. 100:4).

¹⁰ Ainan (Aenam). Genesis 38:14; K. 8:12; L. 234:91.

Textual variants: Aenam (Greek), Aeinam (Greek), and Enan (Greek).

Ainan is one of three deserted places in the *Onomasticon* (Aggai K. 4:27 and Galgala K. 66:4). This phrase may indicate ruins noted by Eusebius or an editor. The location "near" (cf. Appendix V) is quite vague and could be adjacent or as far as 15 miles. It probably indicates it is within the region of a city at the editor's time. Geographers are uncertain about the Old Testament site. It is difficult to determine a location from Eusebius but Noth suggests *kefr 'en*. Procopius 463C has an accurate Latin translation of this entry.

Several times the Greek quotes only the biblical location as here "on the way to Thamna" (cf. K. 8:17, K. 10:15, K. 90:3). Thamna is on the Madaba Map (cf. K. 96:24) and near to Diospolis at *Kh Tibne*.

Eusebius has “large village” for 32 existing towns. There are others called “large city.” Thamna is probably off the main Roman road from Jerusalem to Diospolis. Many road into Diospolis and it is frequently a reference point for the text (cf. K. 20:16, K. 24:24, K. 28:10, K. 48:23, K. 68:6 etc). *Tabula Peutinger* has Luddis 12 miles from Azotus and Emmaus. It is on the Madaba Map with a church near modern Lydda and perhaps is Old Testament Lod (I Chronicles 8:12). Acts 10:22 shows its Christian character. Its new name was given by Hadrian c. 136 A.D. In about 200 Septimus Severus gave it municipal status. The identity is made by St. Paula “Lydda which was changed into Diospolis near Arimethea” (PPT I p.4 cf. Jeremiah *Epistle* 108:8). It suffered heavily under the Diocletian persecutions of 303 (cf. Eusebius *Martyrs of Palestine*). There was a bishop in the 4th century.

Here we have evidence of the flourishing of the pagan cults in the 4th century in spite of Constantine’s efforts. Avi-Yonah suggests a temple and spring at the source of *Wadi Ri’a* may be the Aena of Jerome.

¹¹ Ailōn Atad (Areaatad). Genesis 50:10; K. 8:17; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text.

Textual variants: ‘Ainan Atad, ‘Alona Atad (Greek) and Areaatat, Areaatath (Latin).

This entry is not in the Greek Vatican Manuscript and so Lagarde does not print it. Klostermann here and elsewhere emends the Greek on basis of Procopius and Jerome.

In a few places, Eusebius gives mileage from two points (cf. K. 12:13, K. 14:1, K. 24:16) without clearly indicating a road. Both the scriptures and the *Onomasticon* seem confused about Atad or Abel-mizraim. It seems preferable to locate in the southwest of Palestine rather than across the Jordan or in the Jericho region.

Eusebius and Jerome only have a “place” not a village. The Madaba Map uses both Alōn Atad and Bethgela with the mosaic of a church there near the *Wadi Qilt*. Procopius 512B accurately reproduces the text. Apparently a secondary Christian tradition transferred the site from across the Jordan to the location southeast of Jericho. It probably is the present ‘*ain* and *deir hajla* (cf. K. 48:19, K. 52:8).

Jerome in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* translates “Atad, evidence or twig” (62) and Bethgela as “his house of jollity” (91).

EXODUS

¹² Ailim (Aelim). Exodus 15:27; K. 8:22; L. 234.97.

After this entry in the Vatican Manuscript 1456 there is a different hand which may be an attempt to locate the site in relation to a monastery. Lagarde and Klostermann both omit the entry in a new hand, probably because it is rather unclear. Also inserted are division “Numbers and Deuteronomy” in a different hand.

These stations are for the most part not within the provenance of the *Onomasticon*. It is probable that a later editor inserted these into Eusebius’ text. This of course would account in part for the manuscript confusion at this point.

¹³ Ailous (Aelim). Numbers 33:13; K. 10:1; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text.

This entry also is not in the Greek Vatican Manuscript and is inserted from the Latin by Klostermann. As above, the list of stations in the desert is suspect.

Jerome in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* has “fermented or mixed, as the Greeks say *phurason*, mixed” (79).

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

¹⁴ Aserōth. Numbers 12:1; K. 10:4; L. 234:100.

Summary of biblical information (Numbers 12:1, Deuteronomy 2:23).

Jerome has two entries on Aseroth in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*: “majestic or beautiful house” (78) and “Aseroth is house or entrance court, if it is written with a heth and tzade. But if correctly written with alef and sin it means beautiful” (86).

For Gaza see K. 62:22 below.

¹⁵ Asemōna. Numbers 33:29; K. 10:7; L. 234:3.

Textual variant: Asemōnas (Greek). Out of order and a station list added later.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome translates “his bone, from bone, not from mouth” (79).

¹⁶ Aētharim. Numbers 21:1; K. 10:9; L. 235:5.

The textual variants from Aquila and Symmachus are frequently recorded. Since the Hexapla was compiled by Origen in Caesarea, Eusebius must have had easy access to it. One medieval text confuses *AK* as an added syllable to the place name. One manuscript also has *synodos* for *odos* which does not make sense.

In *Hebrew Names*, Jerome translates Atharim “spies” (78).

¹⁷ Aiē or Achelgai. Numbers 21:11; K. 10:12; L. 235:8.

Eusebius and the LXX have trouble with Hebrew double names, so we find Achelgaei, Nachal Gaei.

The location is vague and uncertain in both the Bible and *Onomasticon*. Areopolis was an autonomous city in the Roman Province of Arabia. According to Procopius’ *Buildings* V, viii, 1, under Constantine this became Palestina Tertia. It is probably Ar Moab, the present Rabba (cf. below and K. 124:15). Ptolemaeus has it 65 miles from Philadelphia (16:15). This identity goes back at least to the third century A.D. The Madaba Map has an *Aia* at that location. In K. 36:24 it is identified with Ariel and is a pagan shrine (cf. Jeremiah 49:3; LXX 30:3).

There are a number of texts where the Greek has alternate names. The most familiar is Ashdod Azōtos (K. 20:18, K. 22:11). But also K. 36:7,24; K. 48:11; K. 25:27; K. 58:3; K. 64:6; K. 90:10; K. 132:8; K. 160:19; cf. K. 40:7 Babel.

¹⁸ Arnōn. Numbers 21:13; K. 10:15; L. 235:11.

This entry is not an original. It is a river or wadi, not a city. It is called a *topos*, and *locus*, “place.” It has been considered the southern border of Transjordan. Jerome’s *Commentary on Isaiah* 16:2 notes, “it is the border between Amorites and Moabites.” Procopius 857A paraphrases the *Onomasticon*: “formerly the land of the Amorites. The Arnon is said to be the border separating it from the Moabites” (cf. Numbers 21:23ff).

Areopolis is called a city of Arabia or Moab (cf. above and K. 124:15). Arabia is the name of the Roman province established in 106 A.D. whose southern border was the Dead Sea and the Arnon. Other Nabatean towns given autonomy in Provenance Arabia were Esbus, Medeba, Charachmoab and Petra. In 200 A.D. Septimus Severus gave it municipal status. According to the *Tabula Peutinger* it is 62 miles from Philadelphia. There was a Roman garrison at Areopolis according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (81:17) and other posts around the wadi (*Notitia Dignitatum* 81:34, 82:35). A *polis* such as Areopolis may by its very name include a general region with all its dependent villages.

The name Arnon has obviously survived to the fourth century. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome translates “heap of gloom or praise”(78).

¹⁹ Ar. Numbers 21:15; K. 10:25; L. 235:21.

Textual variant Êr (Greek as in LXX)

This place is related to the previous two entries. If it, as well as “deserted place” could mean “ruin,” then perhaps there was a rebuilding by the time of Jerome. The word oppidum usually is not an indication of size of city or village but, if Pliny is to be believed it is a Roman settlement around a shrine or sanctuary, or it is a heavily fortified town (see Appendix I).

Jerome in *Hebrew Names* translated, “he stirred up or wakefulness” (78).

²⁰ Aēsīmōn. Numbers 21:20; K. 10:27; L. 235:23.

Textual variants: Aisimōn and Asēnōn (Greek).

The third in a series of four “places” at this point in Eusebius.

²¹ Abelsattein (Abelsattim). Numbers 33:49; K. 10:28; L. 235:24.

LXX has Abetsatteim and Setim.

Eusebius does not locate this “place” very well. Many feel it is the Byzantine Abile at *Kh Kefraim* but Eusebius does not make this identity. Jerome in his *Commentary on Joel* 3:18 suggests it is near Livias (K. 48:15) 6 miles from Dead Sea. In *Hebrew Names* he translates mourning of the bank or of the shore” (79).

The difference in direction may not be as great as it seems. Eusebius has west and Jerome south, but most directions refer to a quadrant, so southwest could fit into either quadrant. Possibly out of order or suspect.

²² Azōr (or Iazer). Numbers 21:24; K. 12:1; L. 235:25.

Textual variant for contemporary sites, Zazer (Latin).

A confused text is probably responsible for this entry. The relation of this with Iazēr (K. 4:13) is unclear. For biblical Hazor see 20:1, a different site.

Probably Ptolemy's (V, 15,6) list of a *Gazōros* is the same town as K. 12:3 and K. 104:13. Josephus *Antiquities*. XII, 8, 1 has Jazōros or Jazorōs. A village eight miles west of Philadelphia is *Kh sar* (note 10 miles in K. 104: 13).

On Amman or Philadelphia see K. 16:15 below.

In *Hebrew Names*, Jerome has 5 entries which could pertain, based on “hearing” or “helping” (82, 94, 125, 127, and 134).

²³ Aroēr. Deuteronomy 3:12, 4:48; K. 12:5; L. 235:29.

This polis is located on the brow of the Arnon (K. 10:15) and probably still exists with its traditional name at ‘*Ara* ‘*ir*. Archaeological excavation shows it was weak in 4th Century A.D. The biblical information from Numbers 21:26, Deuteronomy 2:9 and Joshua 13:25 is summarized by Eusebius, with real additions.

There are three or four biblical places with this same name. Jerome has three entries in *Hebrew Names*: “lightening or emptying of the watch or shell” (79), “cover of the guard or spread out the watch”(88) or “covered”(125).

In this entry *polis* in Eusebius becomes one of the few instances where it is translated by *oppidum* in Latin (cf. 10:25 and Appendix I). This and next entry are out of order and suspect as late additions.

²⁴ Astarōth. Deuteronomy 1:4; K. 12:11; L. 235:35.

Astarōth occurs often in the *Onomasticon* (K. 6:4, K. 12:27, K. 112:3). Here the references in scripture are summarized (Joshua 12:4, 13:31). The Old Testament site is perhaps *Tell ‘ashtarāh* which is too far from Dera to fit the *Onomasticon*. But nine miles closer could be *Tell el Yaduda* or *el Muzeirib*.

The “another” above refers to K. 6:4 and with no location is without any identification (cf. also K. 112:3).

Astaroth and Edrai were the major cities of Bashan. Adraa is at *der ‘at* located by the

Tabula Peutinger as 24 miles from Bostra (cf. K. 84:9) but 25 miles here. Valerian made Adraa a city in status. For Bostra see also K. 46:10. There was a bishop in Adra in the 4th and 5th centuries.

Batanaia is the all-inclusive name for the territory which includes Trachonitis (K. 166:1) as well as the Gaulon (K. 64:6). Perhaps also it is to be identified with part of Itouraia (K. 110:26). The relationship of these with the several regions of Arabia is unclear. In Herod's time Dera was the east border of Batanaia, but it was in Nabatean or Syrian control in the 4th century.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “sheepfold or the spies act” (61).

²⁵ Agrou skopia. Numbers 23:14; K. 12:16; L. 235:40.

In one text the Latin adds “is” a mountain.

This is not an original entry. Apparently *Onomasticon* identifies it with Phasgo (16:24), Phasga (168:28) and Pogor (168:25 cf. 170:13). The location is not readily fixed. The Hebrew and the Confraternity Translation suggest “hill of cursing” for the Greek “peak of the hewn.”

²⁶ Arabōth Mōab. Numbers 26:3; K. 12:20; L. 236:44.

Textual variants: Iebous (Greek) and Esbon (Latin).

The synonym used by Aquila and Symmachus are repeated in Procopius 992A. They are probably correct and so no confusion of this “place” arises with Ar Moab (K. 10:25). See below on Iordan (K. 104:20), Iericho (K. 104:25), Libias (K. 44:17 and K. 48:15), and Esbous (K. 84:1). For Phogor (cp. 168:25), this is probably a late addition to the text.

²⁷ Araba. Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 12:25; L. 236:49.

See below K. 16:12 and K. 90:11.

Hexaplatc information in this entry. Out of order and doubly suspect.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome has “west or evening” (86) and “fine” (89).

²⁸ Astarōth (Ataroth). Numbers 32:34; K. 12:27; L. 236:51.

Textual variants: Atarōth (Greek) and Astaroth (Latin).

Probably this is not the same as K. 12:11 above. It is of Gad and not Manassē. Reference to Solomon is in I Chronicles 2:54. Only a generalized biblical location.

The Peraia is always translated by Jerome as Transjordan. In Byzantine times Peraia was continuous with the region of Philadelphia (K. 104:14).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “crowns” (79), “crown” (89).

²⁹ Astarōth Sōphar (Ataroth Sofan). Numbers 32:35; K. 12:30; L. 236:54.

Textual variant: Atroth (Latin).

Possible two cities of Gad combined in this entry. So far appears three times in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*: “his spy or trumpet” (72), “war trumpet” (85), “scattering of the lookouts or scattering of the spies or I will see the spies” (134).

³⁰ Arad. Numbers 33:40, 34:4; K. 14:1; L. 236:55.

Textual variants: Arama (Greek) and Arath, Arat (Latin).

The Greek has confused Arad with the Addar of Hebrew. But Joshua 15:21 suggests this possibility in the LXX. One of rare entries with mileage given to two reference points.

The double location (repeated by Procopius 1045C) identifies this with *Tell el 'Arad* about 20 miles south of Chebrōn but no Byzantine village there. Madaba Map location agrees with Eusebius: “Arad from which come the Aradites.” The Bronze Age city is being excavated. A Judean temple and administrative center is there. Arad has Chaleolithic, Early Bronze, Iron, Persian and Hellenistic remains with a very slight Nabatean/Roman fortress. Eusebius’ Arad is not this tell since it has an archaeological gap of 1st through 7th A.D.

Malaatha is used for a reference by Eusebius (cf. 88:4, 108:3). It is in Idumea according to Josephus *Antiquities*, XVIII, 6, 2. It probably is the Moleatha of the *Notitia Dignitatum* (74:45) where there was a garrison. The name may persist in the tradition at *Kh* or *Tell Milh* (Malhata) where there is a Roman fort as well as some Middle Bronze, Iron and Hellenistic sherds. Perhaps the Byzantine village is to be found at *el quseife* which is 6 kilometers from Arad. Perhaps it is to be related to Molada (130:6). On “oppidum” cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I.

Jerome in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* has “descending” (62 and 78).

³¹ Asemōna. Numbers 34:4; K 14:4; L. 236:58.

The Madaba Map quotes Eusebius for the southern limit of Palestine (Ioudaia) cf. Joshua 15:4, Ezekiel 47:134. It is probably Israeli Atzmon at *'Ain el Quseimeb* (cp. K. 10:7).

³² Akrabbein (Acrabbi). Numbers 34:4; K. 14:7; L. 236:61.

Eusebius has confused the southern border of Judah (Numbers 34:4) with a northern site. The Madaba Map follows Eusebius and locates it at a northern village site. Procopius 1048B records the first part of the *Onomasticon* referring to an eastern border. Biblical data is from Joshua 15:3 and Judges 1:36.

Perhaps Eusebius is influenced by Josephus’ *Wars* II, 20,4 and III, 3,5 and sees this as one of the Toparchies of Juda, perhaps Akrabattinē (cf. K. 86:25, K. 108:20, K. 156:30, K. 160:14). This northern site is *'aqrabeh*, just nine miles southeast of Nablus.

But the southern border must be southwest of the Dead Sea, a boundary with Edom rather than with the Amorites. This may be the Ascent at *Nagb-es-safi* (cf. I Maccabees 5:3).

Jerome in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* has “of scorpions or fitting” (79) and “of scorpions” (89 and 98).

³³ Asadadda (Asadada). Numbers 34:8; K. 14:13; L. 236:67.

Textual variants: Asaradda (Greek) and Sadada (Latin, cf. K. 155:17).

Simple border of Judah as in Ezekiel 47:13; cf. K. 154:19. Out of order and suspect.

³⁴ Arad. Numbers 34:4; K. 14:14; L. 236:68.

Textual variants: Arath and Arat (Latin).

Part of this entry is missing in Vatican Manuscript. See above K. 14:1.

³⁵ Asarēnan (Asarenam). Numbers 34:9; K. 14:16; L. 236:70.

Textual variants: Asarēnan, Asaerēnan and Asserēnan (Greek).

Simple border listing. Same as next entry.

³⁶ Aserna (Asernai). Numbers 34:10; K. 14:17; L. 236:71.

Textual variant: Asernaei (Greek).

Probably the same as the previous entry (cf. Ezekiel 47:13). Simple border listing.

³⁷ Arbēla. Numbers 34:11; K. 14:18; L. 236:72.

Textual variant see K. 46:6.

Two sites: One in Transjordan and Decapolis (K. 80:16) region and the near the great plain of Megiddo.

Pella is an important reference point in the *Onomasticon* (K. 22:25, K. 32:6, K. 80:17, K. 110:13). In 66-67 A.D. it was a refuge for Christians fleeing from Jerusalem (cf. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 5, 3). At this time it is a *polis* in Palestine. Formerly it was one of the independent Decapolis, probably at *Kh Fahil*, and later it was included with Syria.

Arbela is a dependant village of Pella. It may be *tell Abil* or *tabaqat fahl*. Jerome has perhaps confused it with Ribla which may be at Irbid (cp. Betharbel, Hosea 10:14).

The great plain southwest of the Sea of Galilee is called after the important city (*oppidum*) Legeōn. On oppidum cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I. This is the plain of Jesreel (Josephus' *Antiquities*, V, 1, 22 and IV, 6, 1). From the time of Hadrian on Legeōn controlled the area from Galilee to Samaria. It was called Maximianopolis in the early 4th century but Eusebius never uses that name. It had Roman camps around it. Now called *Lejjūn*. There is also an Irbid southwest of Galilee with a synagogue and Roman-Byzantine sherds, but the distance does not fit *Onomasticon*. Quite possibly Arbela is '*Affule* in Roman-Byzantine times.

Arebla in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* is "a trap" (79).

³⁸ Aulōn. Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 14:22; L. 236:75.

Textual variant: Tiberias is missing in the Vatican Manuscript. Dubious entry.

Aulon in Roman times came to be identified with the Jordan valley as reflected here in both Eusebius and Jerome. The description here, together with that of Jordan (K. 104:20) is fairly complete.

The valley begins in Libanon (K. 122:27) and reaches south to Pharan (K. 166:12).

Skythopolis is an important city, one of the cities of the Decapolis (K. 80:15), used frequently in the *Onomasticon*. The listing of all the others is confused but surely included Hippus, Gadara, Abila, Pella, Gerasa and Philadelphia. Skythopolis is identified with Bethshan at *Tell al Husn* (K. 54.8). It was the capital of Palestina Secunda in Byzantine times.

Lake of Tiberias was in Hellenistic times the sea of Gennesaris and in the New Testament

Gennesaith (K. 58:12 and K. 120:2). Today it is the Sea of Galilee (K. 72:20).

For Ierichō see K. 104:25.

Paneas is used as a referent often in the *Onomasticon*. A bishop came to Nicea from here. Baniyas today, at the source of the Jordan was also the site of Caesarea Phillippi, also listed as one of the Decapolis (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, vii, 17). In *Tabula Peutinger* it is 32 miles from Tyre.

On the Dead Sea see K. 100:4.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome says, “Elan, oak or aulon of which we wrote more fully in the Book of Places” (83) and “Ailon which we spoke of under Aulon above (88).”

³⁹ Amalēkitis (Amalecitis). Deuteronomy ?; K. 16:5; L. 237:84.

This is probably the wilderness of Zin in the Old Testament (K. 152:18, cf. Numbers 13:29, 14:25; Josephus *Antiquities* III, 2, 1) includes the inhabitants of Petra and Gobolitis as the Amalakites. Not an original entry, but a gloss.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “licking people” (61) “dull people or licking people” (74,161).

⁴⁰ Araba. K. 16:1; Deuteronomy 1:7; L. 237:91.

Textual variant: Safforinea (Latin).

In Deuteronomy 1:7 it really refers to the plain as in K. 12:25.

Eusebius reports on two villages by this same name. Ona is three miles west of Skythopolis or Bethshan (K. 16:2 and K. 54:8). Some suggest ‘*Arabūne* but the distance is not great enough. Probably marks the place of the turn off from the main road.

The second is a village dependent upon Diokaisareia which is Sepphōris (Saffuriya) in Josephus (*Wars*, II, 21, 7) and frequently used as a referent in the *Onomasticon*. Many Jews fled there in 71 and 135 A.D. Vespasian made Sepphōris into a municipality. A Roman garrison was there according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:28). Constantine built a church there (Epiphanes *Ad Haer*, I, 30, 11). The village may be located at ‘*arabet el battōf*. It is distinct from K. 86:9 although the Vatican Manuscript has a gloss at that place which wrongly seems to equate them.

⁴¹ Amman. Deuteronomy 2:19; K. 16:15; L. 237:94.

No doubt of this continuing identity (Deuteronomy 2:20). Jerome in *Commentary on Nahum* 3:8 writes, “Ammona which is now called Philadelphia.” It also is one of the cities of the Decapolis (K. 80:16) and a bishop was present at the Council of Nicea. It is in the province of Arabia located by the *Tabula Peutinger* as 62 miles from Aeropolis (Rabbath Moab cf. K. 10:17). It is used as a referent in the *Onomasticon*. It is probably the same as Rabba Ammon.

To Eusebius it was a most important city. He uses *polis episēmos* for only seven towns of his own time: Abela (K. 32:16), Adra (K. 84:8), Gaza (K. 62:26), Gerasa (K. 64:3), Damaskos

(K. 76:4), Philadelphia and Askalon (K. 22:15). Amman/Philadelphia is also used to describe the region.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Amon, son of my people or people of my wall” (61, 78, and 90).

⁴² Argob. Deuteronomy 3:4; K. 16:18; L. 237:97.

Og of Bashan (K. 44:9) had many cities according to Scripture. In I Kings 4:13 Argob is in the 6th district of Solomon. The Erga of Eusebius is not the same as that Argob. Fifteen miles West of Gerasa is *er-rudjib*, which may be Erga. Others more correctly suggest *Arjan* in the Wadi Yabis (cf. K. 94:26).

Bashan is also Trachonitis (K. 166:1) in the Province of Arabia. Gerasa is one of the famous cities of Byzantine times (K. 64:3). See entry above.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “height of cursing” (86 and 109), “lofty cursing” (115).

⁴³ Asēdōth. Deuteronomy 3:17; K. 16:22; L. 237:2.

This is one of eleven entries in the *Onomasticon* which include an etymological notation not specified as from the Hexapla (cp. K. 12:17, K. 18:21, etc.).

⁴⁴ Abareim (Abarim). Deuteronomy 32:49; K. 16:24; L. 237:4.

Textual variants: Easgan and Esbum (Latin).

As a “mountain” it is probably a late addition to the Greek list of place names.

The relation of Phasgō to the Moab plain is more clearly indicated here. Eusebius was fascinated with Phasgō, Peor, Phogor, etc. (K. 12:17, K. 16:22, K. 168:28, etc.). It is probably present day Mt. Nebo or *ras sijagla* where a Byzantine church has been partially restored. The identity of the two made here by Eusebius is contested by scholars who would put Phasgō farther south (cf. Deuteronomy 34:1 and 32:49).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Abarim, is passing over, which in Greek is indicated by *peran*” (179).

⁴⁵ Auōth Iaeir (Avothiair). Deuteronomy 3:14; K. 18:4; L. 237:10.

Textual variant: Golam (Latin).

The etymology “shoulder of Iaeir” is not in the Vatican Manuscript. Out of order and suspect. Gōnias is mentioned only here and in K. 136:3 but Gauiōn and Gōlan are in K. 64:7f. and seem to be in the same area (cf. Basan 44:9 and Galaad 44:10; cp. Numbers 32:39, Deuteronomy 4:43; Joshua 13:30).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “gloria of the light or life of light” (86).

JOSHUA (of Naue)

⁴⁶ Antilibanos (Antilibanus). Joshua 1:4; K. 18:8; L. 237:14.

This area is Eusebius' interpretation, perhaps from a faulty Greek text. The New Testament and most LXX texts have Libanon here. In I Chronicles 5:23 Mt. Hermon (K. 20:9) is in the lot of Manasseh. The placement of the tribal indication last suggests it is a later editor's addition.

⁴⁷ Azēka (Azeca). Joshua 10:10; K. 18:10; L. 238:16.

Azeka is important Old Testament city in Jouda (cf. Joshua 15:35). It is mentioned in the Lachich letters. The Old Testament site is fairly certain at *Tell es-Zakariyeh*. This village may be on the Maddba Map west of Sōebō. In the vicinity is the Byzantine town, perhaps at *Kh el 'Alami*. The Greek location literally means "halfway" to Jerusalem, but this is not precisely intended.

Eleutheropolis is frequently used as a referent by Eusebius. In about 200 A.D. Septimus Severus gave it municipal status. It was a city on which a great many villages were dependent. It was one of the largest regions in Palestina Prima. In *Tabula Peutinger* and Ptolemy it is called Betogabri and is located 32 miles from Jerusalem. It suffered greatly under Diocletian about 303 A.D. A bishop attended the Council of Nicea. It is the present *Beit jibrin*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Azeca, strength or crafty" (88).

⁴⁸ Ailōm (Aialon). Joshua 10:12; K. 18:13; L. 238:19.

Textual variant: aialun (Latin).

Eusebius, followed by the Madaba Map, seems to be confused with Ailmōn (K. 28:l; cf. Joshua 21:18). This could be 'Almit, east of *Tell el Ful* or *Kh Haiyan* both near Rama (K. 144:14) and Gabaa (K. 70:10, 22). The location in reference to Bethel points to *Kh el 'alja* (cf. I Samuel 10:26, Judges 19:13) to the southeast.

The Hebrew tradition by which Jerome corrects Eusebius is much more reasonable. It fits the biblical materials and is repeated by Jerome in *Commentary on Ezekiel* 42:22 and Ezekiel 42:22 and *Epistle* 108:3 (cf. Paula vi, PPT, I,51) This Alous was known by Eusebius (K. 30:27) as in the Nicopolis region. It must then be *Jalo*, east of 'Amwas on the road to Jerusalem.

Ailōn in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* is referred to the previous Aulonem (88) or, for Aialon "fields or valleys" (90).

⁴⁹ Achōr. Joshua 7:24, 26; K. 18:17; L. 238:23.

Note the error in the Greek where the name of Achan is turned into Achōr and the valley named after him (Hosea 2:15). Procopius and K. 84:18 have an entry under Emekachōr, i.e., "valley of Achōr." Procopius 1017 A writes, "Emekachōr is interpreted by Thedotion and Symmachos, valley of Achōr. Located north of Ierichō it is even now called this by those in the vicinity. Achōr means "perverted." Jerome's *Epistle* 108:13 and Paula VI, PPT 1, 12) writes "It would be quite lengthy if I would discuss the valley of Achor, i.e. commotion or

uproar, where theft and greed were condemned.” This is not a city, out of order, so suspect.

It seems obvious that the name of the “place” was known in the fourth century, possibly near Gilgal (K. 84:21). The *Wadi Nue ‘ime* fits Eusebius.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “commotion or uproar” (89), “commotion or uproar or perverted” (120).

⁵⁰ Asēdōth. Joshua 10:40; K. 18:21; L. 238:27.

Cf. K. 16:22 above. This is one of six entries where “another” or “a second” is used for occurrences of the same name, probably indicating editing of several sources.

⁵¹ Asōr. Joshua 11:1; K. 20:1; L. 238:29.

Ancient Hazor has been well excavated and the location attested at *Tell el Qedah*, but Eusebius does not locate it. Procopius 1048D reports, “it alone Iēsous burned while besieging the other kings since it was the chief of the foreigners” (Joshua 11:10 also Joshua 90:9; cf. K. 30:22).

The second Asōr (cf. Esōr K. 84:26) from Joshua 15:25 is near Askolon and probably dependent upon it. It may be present day *jasur* east of Asbdod (K. 20:18).

Interpretation of Hebrew Names has “arrow of light” (88 and 102) and “entrance hall” (109).

⁵² Aermōn. Joshua 11:3, 17; K. 20:6; L. 238:34.

LXX also uses the term Baalermon. Vatican manuscript has Ailerthmōn.

Again a mountain gives its name to a region which was the frontier of Og and of the tribes. It is part of the Anti-libanas (K. 18:8) range. Also called Sanir (K. 20:10) or Sanior, and Sirjon (see below K. 20:9, cf. Judges 3:3).

The snows of Hermon were famous for delicacies of ice in the course of history. The inhabitants of Beirut still bring snow, even snowmen on radiators of cars, down from the mountains in the summer. Even now it is at times called *jebel el teld* or “mount of snow,” but mostly *jebel esh sheikh*.

Tyrus (K. 162:15) is also called Sor.

Interpretation of Hebrew Names “banned wall” (88).

⁵³ Alak (Aalac). Joshua 11:17; K. 20:7; L. 238:35.

Textual variant: Ahalac (Latin). It is not in the New Testament.

This entry is textually corrupt. In the Vatican Manuscript a new hand is recognized and several words have been added. Perhaps an attempt is made to use LXX and add Symmachus.

As noted previously, mountains, three of which are here in successive entries together, are suspect as not fitting the original purpose and limitations of the *Onomasticon* to place names.

Interpretation of Hebrew Names “my portion or slippery” (88).

⁵⁴ Aermōn. Joshua 11:17; K. 20:9; L. 238:37.

Textual variant: For Saniōr the Vatican Manuscript has Aniōr.

This mountain (cf. K. 20:6 and K. 18:8) is given several names. The Phoenicians called it Sirjon. In Ugaritic it is ah-r-j-n and in Hittite Sarijana and perhaps indicates the Anti-libanos range. The Amorites called it Senir and the Assyrians Sanian. In LXX we find both Sanir and Saneir. Eusebius records some of these traditions (Deuteronomy 3:9; Joshua 12:1).

Paganism was not extinct in the fourth century. Ruins of a temple at Banyas have been found. The information Eusebius records of this pagan cult is dependent upon an anonymous source, quite possibly only hearsay. This seems to be the purport of *phasin*, “they say” or “it is reported” (cf. the Latin *dicitur*). Paneas became an autonomous city at the death of Agrippa II and was called briefly Caesarea Philippi.

⁵⁵ Anōb. Joshua 11:21; K. 20:15; L. 238:44.

Textual variants: Bētoannab (Greek) and Bethoannaba (Latin).

Eusebius’ reference here is to Bētoannaba which is as confusing as his reference to Anea (K. 26:8). Jerome attempts to correct Eusebius at *Beit Nuba* near Nikopolis but the Madaba Map follows Eusebius and identifies Anob with Bētoannaba to the East of Diospolis (K. 8:14).

In the Roman post service, the horses were changed every four miles and the two authors have two locations. Eusebius probably identifies *‘innaba* as his Bētoannaba. Four miles is distance to turn off from the main road. Jerome seems to intend *Beit nūba* for his Bēthannaba. Both sites have Roman-Byzantine ruins. The proper Old Testament site is *Kh ‘Anab*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “my submissiveness” (88).

⁵⁶ Asdōd. Joshua 11:22; K. 20:18; L. 238:47.

Cf. below K. 22:11. Note “oppidum” in Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix II).

⁵⁷ Ader. Joshua 12:14; K. 20:21; L. 238:50.

Possibly confused with K. 62:5 and K. 68:11. The letter *G* is noted as missing in the by Hebrew by Jerome (K. 63:4, cf. also K. 43:22).

Interpretation of Hebrew Names “flock” (88).

⁵⁸ Aphek (Afec). Joshua 12:18; K. 22:1; L. 238:52.

Textual variant: Aphak (Greek).

Eusebius has several references to Aphek (K. 22:19, K. 30:16, K. 34:11, cf. K. 26:15). No location is indicated in this entry. The three items listed together seem to be copied from a list of cities conquered by Iēsous. Probably for eight different towns in the Old Testament.

Interpretation of Hebrew Names “surrounded or border” (89) “new madness or bounded” (102), “he surrounds or reaches to” (114).

⁵⁹ Aksaph (Acsaf). Joshua 12:20; K. 22:3; L. 239:54.

Textual variants: Achaselōth and Exalous (Greek) and Asapb, Asapat and Ascaph (Latin).

Aksaph is wrongly connected with Chasalous and its real biblical location is in debate: *et Tell, Tell Far, Tell Harbaj, Tell Keisan, Kh el musheirefeh* are all preferred by some scholars to the homonymy *KhIksa*. However *Kh Iksa* may be Eusebius' Chasalous. It has Byzantine remains. (But see K.28:23).

Thabōr is a city on the mountain which is used by Eusebius as a referent. Located at *jebel at-Tor* (cf. K. 98:23).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "limping or made, i.e. poiēsis (creation)" (89).

⁶⁰ Akkarōn (Accaron). Joshua 13:3; K. 22:6; L. 239:57.

Akkarōn is the Greek form of the name given to one of the five cities of the Philistines, Ekron (see next entry cf. K. 32:11, K. 62:22, K. 68.4).

The Madaba Map puts Akkarōn near Iamnia (K. 106:20) on the road to Azōtus (K. 22:11). The map has the name repeated possibly for ancient and modern site with identical names in Greek.

The Old Testament site seems to be at *Kh Muqenna* a very large site with proper sherds. The name is reflected in *Aqir* which is a Byzantine to modern site and perhaps was the one which Eusebius had in mind. Jerome reports an obviously erroneous tradition which would locate it at Caesarea.

This is one of eleven towns reported to be inhabited by Jews in Eusebius' day (K. 26:9, K. 26:12, K. 86:18, K. 88:17, K. 98:26, K. 108:8, K. 78:6, K. 86:21, K. 92:21, K. 136:24 plus perhaps Nineveh (K. 136:2) cf. Appendix II.

Interpretation of Hebrew Names "teaching of gloom or barrenness" (89) "flocks grazing or is pasture as the Greek has en poimniotrophiois (sheep feeders)" (123).

⁶¹ Azōtos (Azotus). Joshua 13:3; K. 22:11; L. 239:63.

Textual variant: Askadōd (Greek). Note Latin transliteration Allefylous (cp. K. 68:24 and Azotes is the Greek of I Maccabees 4:15 etc. for this Philistine city, cf. the more general entry in K. 20:18 (Joshua 15:47, Judges 1:18).

The continued use of the name probably accounts for the lack of any location being given here. After all it is one of the famous cities of his time as also is Askalōn (K. 22:15) and Gaza (K. 62:26). In K. 20:19 Eusebius uses polichnē but in K. 22:11 polis. He uses polichnē for only four other cities of his time: Iamneia (K. 106:20), Sebastē (K. 154:22), Gaza (K. 130:8) and Gabe (K. 70:8).

The Madaba Map has the two cities, one coastal and one inland. Reflecting the Greek of Eusebius it may be suggesting that in the 4th to 6th centuries the inland Ashdod was less important.

The *Tabula Peutinger* locates Asdōd ten miles from Iamnia (K. 106:20) and twelve miles from Askalōn. Procopius 1024B retains the double names Asdōd and Azōtos. Josephus also reported on the double Azōtos. Jerome in *Commentary on Isaiah* 20:1 writes “Azotus,” which is called Esdod by the Hebrews, is the most powerful of the five cities of Palestine.” It was made a municipality by Vespasian. The other Philistine cities are in K. 22:6, K. 22:15, K. 62:22 and K. 68:4.

The ancient Philistine site at ‘eshdud is being excavated. The Roman-Byzantine settlement is strong and prosperous on the old site. The ancient sea port was at *Tell Mor*, but the Roman-Byzantine port is at *Minet el caāa* and it was of increasing importance in Eusebius’ time.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Azotii, i.e. Asdodi, fire of my uncle or burning”(89) “Azotus is called by the Hebrews Esdod and they have the same etymology, fire of the uncle” (143) “Ashdod destruction or violent movement or burning”(88).

⁶² Askalōn (Ascalon). Joshua 13:3; K. 22:15; L. 239:67.

Askalōn is one of the “famous cities” in the *Onomasticon* and another of the five Philistine cities (see previous entry). According to Josephus *Wars* I,21, 11 Herod the Great rebuilt it. Jews were there from the first century on and a synagogue has been excavated from late Roman times. For a brief period a city Diocletianopolis was in the vicinity named after the Emperor. It may be the same town, but the *Onomasticon* makes no mention of it. A bishop from Askalōn was at the Council of Nicea. There is a large walled city on the Madaba Hap south of Azōtus (cf. Joshua 15:25, Judges 1:18)

As a city it is used as a referent by the *Onomasticon*. The *Tabula Peutinger* locates it 12 miles from Azōtus (K. 22:11) and 15 miles from Gaza (K. 62:22). *Tell ‘Ashalon* is the site for all periods with the Roman and Byzantine city expanding off and around the mound.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “weight or disreputable fire” (89) “disreputable fire or ignoble fire” (143).

⁶³ Apheka (Afeca). Joshua 13:4; K. 22:19; L. 239:71.

A number of Apheks are in the *Onomasticon* (cf. K. 22:1). This Apheka is one of three contemporary villages called “great” in the text (cf. Thamna 96:25 and Magdiel 130:21) but others are *episēmos* “famous” or “notable,” *megistai* (splendid) rather than *megalē* (large).

The location “near” or “in the vicinity of” is very inexact in the terms of our text. Sometimes it is made more exact by a second location which gives mileage.

Hippos is a city of the Decapolis and is near present day Susita (Aramaic for the Greek?). The remains are primarily *Qalat el Husn*. A great Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine site is there. Its region included dependent villages such as Apheka.

On the plateau east, the Sea of Galilee (K. 72:21) is the present day *Fiq* which suits the *Onomasticon* and is on the road between Damascus and Beisan. The change in its fortunes over a century may be indicated by the change to “large castle” in Jerome. Or it may merely be Jerome’s Hebrew knowledge coming through since Hebrew *aphek* can be translated

“fortress” (Appendix IX).

Palestine may be East Jordan called Palastinē Secunda.

⁶⁴ Algad (Agad). Joshua 13:5; K. 22:22; L. 239:74.

Here as in many entries the *Onomasticon* merely quotes the Bible. Perhaps this should be Baalgad as in MT (cf. K. 48:1). The LXX transliteration is used.

⁶⁵ Aimath (Aemoth). Joshua 13:5; K. 22:23; L. 239:75.

Textual variants: Aitham (Greek) and for “other” Amatha (Latin).

Possibly three or four towns are involved in these lines.

In the Peraia and located in relation to Pella (cf. K. 14:19), this Ammathous was a chief city in Herodian Peraia. It is probably *Tell ‘Ammata* near *Tell el Qos*. This site has many Roman-Byzantine sherds. The Talmud identifies this with Saphon (K. 156:1) which may have been at *Tell el Qos*. There was probably a Roman garrison at this first Ammathous according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:33).

Near Gadara (K. 74:10) in the Bethshan valley there is a *Tell el Hamah* which may reflect Emmatha and possibly the city of Roubin. Better for Eusebius is nearby *scheri ‘at-el mensdire* where there are springs, baths and extensive Roman establishments. Note how each of these first two are localized in a different manner.

Jerome’s addition is the present Syrian town of Hamath on the Orontes (cf. K. 36:10).

The fourth town in Syria was the Northeast limit of David’s kingdom as noted here from II Kings 14:25f. Its identity with Epiphania is repeated in K. 90:7 and in Jeromes’ *Commentary on Isaiah* 10:5. But in the *Commentary on Amos* 6:2 he apparently sees that as the “little Emath” while the “great Emath is now called Antiochia.” Possibly this Hamath also is in K. 88:30 below.

⁶⁶ Ammon. Josua 13:10, 25; K. 24:1; L. 239:81.

Cf. 16:15 above.

⁶⁷ Adira. Joshua 15:3; K. 24:3; L. 239:83.

The broken section of the Madaba Map may include Addara near Diospolis (K. 8:14). The location of the biblical site is unknown as is the location of the “other” site. The best suggestion is *Kh ed Deir* for the region of Diospolis (cp. K. 80:11).

Thamna (K. 96:24) on the southern border of Joudas is in the region also of Diospolis. It gives its name to the Thamnitikē southwest of Nablus. If Jerome is consistent, there is indication of a change in fortune for the worse in the century.

⁶⁸ Akarka. Joshua 15:3; K. 24:6; L. 239:86.

Textual variants: Akkarka and Akarkas (Greek).

The text is unclear. It may be a confusion for Ekron, Akkarōn (K. 22:6). Or with the LXX it may be the Hebrew article transliterated. Near the steppe or desert could fit Karkaia (K. 116:18) a day beyond Petra, but that is inconsistent with the tribe of Jouda annotation. No identification is possible.

⁶⁹ Achōr. Joshua 15:7; K. 24:8; L. 239:88.

The last part of this entry is missing in the Vatican Manuscript.

A Simple tribal listing. See K. 18:17 and K. 84:18.

⁷⁰ Adommim. Joshua 15:7; K. 24:9; L. 239:89.

Textual variants: Adonim and Addommim (Latin).

There is a strong possibility that the Greek text is incomplete and that Jerome is not adding information to Eusebius. The first word is missing in the Vatican Manuscript.

This is “deserted” or in ruins at the editor’s time. It is also called “a place” but not a “deserted place” literally. This is the only use, however, of “deserted village” in the *Onomasticon*. Jerome in *Epistle* 108:12 (Paula *PPT* I,11) writes, “she passed by, (i.e. on the road from Jerusalem to Jerico), reflecting on the kindness of the Samaritan, that is of the shepherd who put the half dead man upon his own beast and brought him to the fold of the church and the place Adomim which is translated ‘of blood’ because much blood was shed there in the frequent inroads of robbers” (Luke 10:30ff.).

Maledommei means “ascent of blood” and in Arabic *Qal’at ed damm* means almost the same thing, “fort of blood”, while *Tal’at ed damm* would be identical in meaning. This spot is located just about half way to Jericho. The tradition of robbers, of the Good Samaritan is reinforced by the reddish limestone in the area. Popularly the *Chan el Ahmar* is pointed out, but the spot is really off the road farther, perhaps at *Qal’at ed damm*.

The garrison in the area between Jerusalem and Jericho is reported elsewhere in *Notitia Dignitatum* (74:47-48). Baldi suggests that Jerome reflects the present scattered tradition. The ascent of blood seems to refer to the geographic position; the fort of blood to the Roman fort, and the supposed sites of the parable *Chan el Hatrūn* and of the Inn *Chan el Ahmar*.

⁷¹ Amam. Joshua 15:26; K. 24:12; L. 240:92.

Textual variant: Amem (Greek).

A simple listing of the tribal allotment occurs frequently, especially in the Joshua entries. Jouda more frequently localized than other tribes suggesting the early source of *Onomasticon* was developed in Jewish times in Jerusalem.

⁷² Aser. Joshua 15:27; K. 24:12; L. 240:93.

In Mt.Hezron and Hazor are equated and located on southern border of Judah (cp. K. 20:3 above). In Eusebius’ time it was a large village but location is uncertain.

⁷³ Asarsoual (Asarsual). Joshua 15:28; K. 24:14; L. 240:95.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “home of foxes” (90).

⁷⁴ Ain. Joshua 15:32; K. 24:15; L. 240:96.

Textual variants: Baithanin, Bēithanin, Bēthcnim (K. 94:20 Greek) and cf. ēnaim also.

Located with two mileage markers from the terebinth (K. 76:1) and Chebron (K. 170:25) two well-used referents (cf. Josh 21:16). This Bēethanin is probably the same as *Beit ‘ainun*, north of Hebron. This is probably the real location of either Bethalōth (K. 50:17) or Bēthenim (K. 94:20). In the MT it is quite probable that *Ain* was only a prefix to Rimmon (K. 144:11)

Interpretation of Hebrew Names “eye or well” (89); “well” (79); “well or eye” (118); but “interrogation” (88).

⁷⁵ Asthaōl. Joshua 15:33; K. 24:18; L. 240:99.

Asthō is not a proper identification for Asthaōl. At Asthō there may have been a Roman garrison (*Notitia Dignitatum* 73:35-36) but its remains are undefinable. A border town in the *Onomasticon* but not clearly located.

⁷⁶ Asna. Joshua 15:35; K. 24:20; L. 240:1.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 26:4).

⁷⁷ Adolam (Adollam). Joshua 15:35; K. 24:21; L. 240:2.

The size of this village seems in debate between Eusebius and Jerome or it changed in the century. It is dependent upon Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but is not on a major Roman road. In the MT it is in the Shephelah and probably located at *Tell esh sheikh Madkur* (cf. K. 84:22 and K. 140:20).

The Vulgate has variants Adullam. Odullam and Odollam (cf. K. 84:22 where such a village is twelve miles east of Eleutheropolis) and K. 172:7 near Chasbi also in the region of Eleutheropolis) at *Kh id el Minya* south of Chasbi.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Adollamin, their society” (89) and Adollam also (106).

⁷⁸ Adiathaim (Adithaim). Joshua 15:36; K. 24:23; L. 240:4.

Textual variants: Adatha and Adiathaeim (Greek).

In the Madaba Map we find Adlathim which now is Aditha, east of Diospolis. Adia does not appear as the name of the village near Gaza in the Greek texts. The Latin texts vary as to Adia a village or little village and Aditha around or near Diospolis. On the *Tabula Peutinger* there is an Addianim which may or may not be related to this entry.

Apparently Aditha is added here by confusion of sounds. This town in Eusebius and on the Madaba Map is northeast of Lydd at *el Haditha* (cf. I Maccabees 12:38 and Ezra 2:33).

The original Adiathain is located at another *el Haditeh*, north of Yalu (Ajalōn). This may be stretched as a location “near Gaza” but probably, the first village Adia is unknown.

⁷⁹ Adasa. Joshua 15:37; K. 26:1; L. 240:6.

Textual variants: Gouphna, Gophna, Taphnōn, Gophnōn (Greek cf. K. 168:16, K. 74:2) and Gofnesem (Latin).

The biblical reference is to a town in the Shephelah which is not clearly identified, but *Kh el judeideh* has been suggested. Eusebius has been confused and Jerome says so in clear fashion (cf. Josh 16:5 and *Onomasticon* K. 29:7). Probably the village Eusebius would locate for us is *Kh ‘Adaseh* near Beth Horon referred to in I Maccabees 7:40. Gouphōn comes into the picture because of Josephus *Wars* I, I, 5-6 which connects Nicanor’s retreat and fall with Gophonitikē.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Adasa, new” (89).

⁸⁰ Ather. Joshua 15:42; K. 26:3; L. 240:8.

Textual variants: Atherei, Ether and Acherei (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Athar, depreciating” (89).

⁸¹ Asan. Joshua 15:42; K. 26:4; L. 240:9.

Textual variant: Theuasa (Greek). Latin omits “to the west.”

Bethasan is a dependent village of Jerusalem. In MT it should be found in the Shephelah. This may be Adasa of I Maccabees 7:40. It is probably *beit shenna* near ‘amwas. The Old Testament site is *Kh ‘Asan* northwest of Beersheba. Perhaps Eusebius is locating here the Ashna of Joshua 15:23 which is only listed in the *Onomasticon* at K. 24:20.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Asam, smoke” (90) or “smoking” (102).

⁸² Asema. Joshua 15:43; K. 26:6; L. 240:11.

A simple tribal listing. Possibly related to Iedna K. 106:15.

⁸³ Achzeib (Agzif). Joshua 15:44; K. 26:7; L. 240:13.

Textual variant: Azeib (Greek).

A simple tribal listing.

⁸⁴ Anab. Joshua 15:50; K. 26:8; L. 240:14.

This entry is probably identical to K. 20:15. The Anab located by Eusebius in the territory of Eleutheropolis is appropriate. The reference to Annia is confusing (cf. Bethanatha K. 52:24). This is another of the villages inhabited by Jews, most of which are in southern Judah (K. 22:9). A neighboring town is all Christian (K. 26:14). This twin city has been identified with *Kh Juweim el Jarbiya* southwest of Hebron. The higher one to the east is Christian and the

lower Jewish. Nine miles marks off from main road.

The Daroma is a region south of Judah and southwest of Edom. Daroma is one of the many Hebrew words for “South” [(cf. Negeb (K. 136:14) and Theman (K. 137:15)]. At least 15 towns are in the Daroma according to the *Onomasticon* (K. 26:12, 60:8, 68:19, 70:11, 78:21, 86:9, 86:21, 88:4, 88:18, 92:15, 98:27, 108:3, 108:10, 110:18, 120:22, 146:25, 156:12, 172:21).

⁸⁵ Asthemō (Asthemof). Joshua 15:50; K. 26:11; L. 240:17.

Textual variants: Ansoema, cp. Esthemo (K. 86:20), Esthama (K. 90:2) and Ansim for the contemporary site (Greek), Anem (Latin).

Only Jerome notes this to be a Jewish village and probably it is *es semu’a* where remains of a synagogue have been found. It is near Anaia (K. 26:9) another Jewish village (cf. Note on K. 22:9). The Greek K. 86:20 notes it is a large Jewish village in the Daroma (Appendix II).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Esthamoe, woman of the womb” (93) and “Esthamma, passion” (93).

⁸⁶ Aneim (Anim). Joshua 15:50; K. 26:13; L. 240:19.

This entry is related to K. 26:8 above. This is the twin of the Jewish village which probably continued on the Old Testament site. This Christian village is new and upper *Kh Juwein el Foqa* also called *Juwien esh-Shargiya*. There are only three wholly Christian villages in the *Onomasticon* over against almost a dozen wholly Jewish ones listed (cf. K. 112:16 Kariatha). Very close in the west is Ietheira (K. 108:3).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Anem, circles or crowns or singing” (89).

⁸⁷ Aphaka (Afeca). Joshua 15:53; K. 26:15; L. 240:22.

A simple tribal listing, but one of the many related to Aphek in both the Old Testament and the *Onomasticon* (cf. K. 22:19).

⁸⁸ Amata (Ammata). Joshua 15:54; K. 26:16; L. 240:23.

Textual variants: Ammata (Greek), Ammeta (Latin) and Athmatha (Vulgate).

A simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ammeta, light” (89).

⁸⁹ Arebba. Joshua 15:60; K. 26:17; L. 240:24.

Textual variant: Aremba for MT rabbah (Greek).

A simple tribal listing.

⁹⁰ Archiatarōth (Ataroth). Joshua 16:2; K. 26:18; L. 241:25.

Textual variant: Ramam (Latin).

The Greek calls this a biblical city, which the Latin text omits. The Latin gives a vague location while the Greek has none. The Greek combines this entry with the next as is done by the LXX.

⁹¹ Atarōth. Joshua 16:5; K. 26:19; L. 241:26.

The Old Testament site is not clearly located by scholars. Some see the name as persisting near Bir Zeit in *Kh 'Attarah*.

In Eusebius' time there were two Atarōths dependent on Jerusalem (K. 26:26, K. 112:6). The *Onomasticon* errs in locating it four miles north of Sebastē (K. 154:21) at '*attara*. But the 4 miles marks the turn off from main road to the contemporary village there. This is one of the few places in the Greek text where the word *miliōn* is used for "mile." The usual word is "semeiōn" for "sign" indicating milestone or marker. In Latin the most frequent term for milestone is *lapis* but occasionally *miliarius* is used. More infrequently *milus* and *millus* for 1000 paces or mile "between" or "from" a site. In K. 27:24 *lapis* has a textual variant *miliarius*.

Sebastē is the Roman city of Samaria (K. 162:13, K. 154:21) and is used as a referent the Bible and *Onomasticon*. Dothaeim is also north of Sebastē (K. 76:13).

⁹² Adar. Joshua 16:5; K. 26:21; L. 241:28.

A simple tribal listing.

⁹³ Asēr. Joshua 17:10; K. 26:22; L. 241:29.

See also Aser above (K. 24:13) in Judah.

Many of the pilgrims located the home of Job fifteen miles from Nablus on the main road from the Jordan Valley (cf. *PPT* I, 18, 67) and it probably is the present *tajasir*. In the *Onomasticon* the home of Job is far away (K. 112:6, K. 142:3).

⁹⁴ Atarōth. Joshua 18:13; K. 26:25; L. 241:32.

The two villages are probably both called now *Kh 'attara*, one near Bir Zeit (above K. 26:19) and the other east of Hizma dependent upon Jerusalem (K. 112:6). These may only be retaining the name and the Old Testament sites are to be located elsewhere.

⁹⁵ Anathōth. Joshua 21:18; K. 26:27; L. 241:34.

Jerome in *Commentary on Jeremiah* 11:21 agrees with the three miles given here. The Roman-Byzantine site for the home of Jeremiah was the present village of '*Anata*. Josephus has it 20 stadia from Jerusalem (*Antiquities* X, 7, 3). There are more ancient remains but not as many at nearby *Ras el Harrubeh* which may be the Old Testament site.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Anathoth, obeying or responding to signs" (90) and "response or responding to signs or obedience" (125).

⁹⁶ Adar (Addar). Joshua 18:13; K. 26:30; L. 241:37.

A simple tribal listing. This may be an addition if the previous entry is correct.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Adar, splendid or coverlet” (89).

⁹⁷ Ailmōn (Aelomon). Joshua 21:18; K. 28:1; L. 241:38.

Textual variant Ailōn (Greek).

Cf. also K. 18:13. This is out of the biblical order.

⁹⁸ Amekkasis (Amez-casis). Joshua 18:21; K. 28:2; L. 241:39.

Textual variant Amekasis (Greek).

The Latin has proper MT translation of Amek or emek “valley” but the location is unknown.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Emeccasis, valley of breaking up” (93).

⁹⁹ Aueim (Avim). Joshua 18:23; K. 28:3; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text.

Not in Vatican Manuscript.

A simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Encam, behold you or behold they are” (93).

¹⁰⁰ Aphra. Joshua 18:23; K. 28:4; L. 241:40.

Textual variant Effrem (Latin).

The village Aiphraim fits this location. A textual variant has six for five miles. Madaba Map with “Ephron or Ephraia” may reflect Jerome’s spelling. Seems that Eusebius has the correct location at *et tayibe* (cf. K. 86:1). For Ophra, Ephron, Ephraim and Aphra. Madaba map notes the New Testament event as in K. 90:18. A strong Maccabean city (I Maccabees 5:46). It was occupied by Vespasian (*Antiquities* IV, 9, 9).

¹⁰¹ Ammōenia (Ammoeniam). Joshua 18:24; K. 28:6; L. 241:42.

A simple tribal listing. Vulgate has Emona for MT Ammonah.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ammona, his people” (90).

¹⁰² Aphnei (Afnī). Joshua 18:24; K. 28:7; L. 241:43.

Simple tribal listing, probably the same as the Gophna (*jifna*) of the pilgrims. Cf. K. 168:16.

¹⁰³ Alph. Joshua 18:28; K. 28:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek text.

Simple tribal listing. Missing in the Latin text.

¹⁰⁴ Arēm (Arim). Joshua 18:28; K. 28:9; L. 241:45.

This is a Greek transliteration for “villages” in the MT. The Bēthariph near Diospolis (K. 8:14) may be *dair tarif* near Lydda and off the main road. The Greek has been emended here from the Latin text.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Eram, sublime life” (94).

¹⁰⁵ Amsa. Joshua 18:26; K. 28:11; L. 241:47.

Textual variant Ampsa (Latin).

Simple tribal listing. Possibly out of order and suspect.

¹⁰⁶ Asar. Joshua 19:3; K. 28:12; L. 241:48.

Simple tribal listing.

¹⁰⁷ Asan. Joshua 19:3; K. 28:13; L. 241:49.

Textual variant Aaon (Latin).

A simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Asan, smoke” (90).

¹⁰⁸ Amarchabob. Joshua 19:5; K. 28:14; L. 241:50.

Textual variant Amarchabōn (Greek).

A simple tribal listing.

¹⁰⁹ Ain. Joshua 19:7; K. 28:15; L. 241:51.

A simple tribal listing with editorial addition from the list of priestly cities. Thus a tribe could be given to two tribes as on the border. Loyalty may have shifted (cp. K. 50:1, 88:11, 98:22, 130:6, 144:11, etc.).

¹¹⁰ Asenna. Joshua 19:7; K. 28:16; L. 241:52.

A simple tribal listing.

¹¹¹ Ammathar. Joshua 19:13; K. 28:17; L. 241:53.

Textual variant Amatha (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

¹¹² Anoua (Anua). Joshua 19:13; K. 28:18; L. 241:54.

Textual variants: Anoua apioutōn, Anouabōr kai and Anoua boreēthen. Josephus has Anouathon Borkaios (*Wars* III 3, 5). Vatican manuscript also has Anouan for Ailian an obvious scribal error. There is a variation of 5 miles between the Greek and Latin Text.

Location is unknown for the Roman-Byzantine site.

¹¹³ Anathōn. Joshua 19:14; K. 28:21; L. 241:57.

Textual variants: Anathōth (Greek) and Annathon (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ennathon, giving favor” (93).

¹¹⁴ Achselōth (Achaseloth). Joshua 19:18; K. 28:22; L. 241:58.

Textual variants: Achaseluth and (for contemporary site) Chaslus (Latin).

Cf. K. 22:4 for similar location of Chaslous probably at *iksal* southeast of Nazareth (K. 138:24) which preserves part of the ancient name. Probably to be equated with Chaselath Thabor (K. 174:11).

¹¹⁵ Aiphraim (Aefraim). Joshua 19:19; K. 28:25; L. 241:61.

Textual variant Afraim (Latin).

The biblical site is unknown since *et taiyebeh* suggested by some is really Ophra (cf. K. 28:4 above). The Byzantine Aphraia is probably *Kh Fareir* northwest of Legeōn (K. 14:21) and properly measured in distance to turn off from main road.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Efraim, growing or fruitful” (81, cf. 65) “fertile or growth which we are not able to call Augentium, from growing.” (142).

¹¹⁶ Anerth (Anereth). Joshua 19:19; K. 28:27; L. 242:64.

A simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Enarath, behold he takes hold” (93).

¹¹⁷ Aims (Aemes). Joshua 19:20; K. 28:28; L. 242:65.

Textual variant Aim (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ames, powerful” (90).

¹¹⁸ Achsaph (Achsaf). Joshua 19:25; K. 30:1; L. 242:66.

Textual variant Achiam (Greek).

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 22:3).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Acsa, limping or dead” (89).

¹¹⁹ Alimelech. Joshua 19:26; K. 30:2; L. 242:67.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 22:3).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ekunekech, my god is king” (102).

¹²⁰ Amod (Amath). Joshua 19:26; K. 30:3; L. 242:68.

Textual variant in LXX Amad.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Amath, these people” (90).

¹²¹ Abdōn. Joshua 19:28; K. 30:4; L. 242:69.

Textual variants: Ardōn (Greek) and Dabbōn (LXX B).

Simple tribal listing. The Latin has added from the list of Levitical cities and the Greek could be emended so, but such listings are a later editing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Abdo, his slave” (90) “Abdon, slave of the wall” (99).

¹²² Aneiēl (Aniel). Joshua 19:27; K. 30:5; L. 242:70.

Textual variants: Aneir and Aniel (Greek).

The Byzantine Baitoannaia (cf. K. 52:24) is ‘*Anin*, off the road to Legeōn, east of Caesarea the mileage is mark for leaving main highway. It has nothing to do with the identity of the Old Testament site. In K. 70:8 a Gabe is 16 miles east of Caesarea but this is no problem since a quadrant is involved, not the same road. It is peculiar that an anonymous report on the healing qualities is recorded by an author from nearby Caesarea. Did Eusebius doubt the volcanic baths’ power? Or is this indication of an editor? (Cp. K. 52:24.)

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Enihel, god is my grace” (81).

¹²³ Achran. Joshua 19:28; K. 30:8; L. 242:73.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Achran, he disturbed them” (78).

¹²⁴ Ammōn. Joshua 19:28; K. 30:9; L. 242:74.

Textual variant Amon (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ammnon, people of the wall” (90).

¹²⁵ Akchō (Accho). Joshua 19:30; K. 30:10; L. 242:75.

Textual variant Akko (Greek).

Procopius 1048A has “Agcho, it is now said to be Ptolemais.” The identity is repeated by Jerome’s *Epistle* 108:f. (cf. Paula *PPT* I, 4) *Tabula Peutinger* has Ptolemais 32 miles from Tyre end 20 from Dor. There was a bishop from here at the Council of Nicea. The ancient city is east of the modern town of Acre. A whole complex of Roman roads led there. It is often used as a referent in the *Onomasticon*. It was a territory as described in Josephus *Wars* II, 10, 2. The reference to Israel’s incomplete conquest is from Judges 1:31 (cf. below K. 30:12, 16).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Accho, up to this or hook or his submissiveness” (98).

¹²⁶ Achzeiph (Achzif). Joshua 19:29; K. 30:12; L. 242:77.

The first portion of this entry is not in the Vatican manuscript but has been emended on the basis of the Latin. The mileage is also missing in Vatican. Vulgate variant has Achazib.

All agree with Eusebius that Ekdippa was the same as Achzib (Josephus *Wars* I, 13, 4 (*Itin. Bourd* 19, 5). Many Roman-Byzantine-Arab artifacts found here. The distance is exact for *ez zib* which still reflects the same name. Some itineraries have 8 miles for Eusebius' 9. This reflects difference in counting: from center of city or first milestone from edge, etc. Israel's failure noted in Judges 1:31(cf. K. 30:10).

¹²⁷ Amma. Joshua 19:30; K. 30:15; L. 242:79.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Amma, his people" (90).

¹²⁸ Aphek (Afec). Joshua 19:30; K. 30:16; L. 242:80.

Another of the many Apheks. Israel's failure in Judges 1:31 (cf. K. 30:10, 12).

¹²⁹ Ademmei (Ademme). Joshua 19:33; K. 30:18; L. 242:82.

Textual variants Armai (LXX) and Aderni (Syr.). Confusing Hebrew *daleth* and *resh*.

Simple tribal listing.

¹³⁰ Asedeim (Aseddim). Joshua 19:35; K. 30:19; L. 242:83.

This is a name based on a LXX variant which has incorporated the Hebrew article into the transliteration. LXX also confused the Hebrew *daleth* and *resh*. The Vulgate Assedim appears. *Onomasticon* correct with *d* from Hebrew.

Simple tribal listing.

¹³¹ Amath. Joshua 19:35; K. 30:20; L. 242:84.

Textual variants: Amathi (Greek) and Ematha (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Amath, this people" (90).

¹³² Adami. Joshua 19:36; K. 30:21; L. 242:85.

Simple tribal listing.

¹³³ Asōr. Joshua 19:36; K. 30:22; L. 242:86.

Simple tribal listing plus II Kings 15:29. Cp. K. 20:1 above.

Possibly these five Nephtheim entries are from a late list added or else the following entry is an addition out of order.

¹³⁴ Azanōth. Joshua 19:34; K. 30:24; L. 242:88.

Textual variant Azananōth (Greek).

Another of the villages dependent on Diokaesareia but Eusebius is not sure about the location.

¹³⁵ Ailōn. Joshua 19:43; K. 30:26; L. 242:90.

Textual variants: Ahialon and Ahilon (Latin).

Eusebius seems to be confused here. Perhaps this is the Aialon of Jerome 19:16. Nikopolis is in the Valley of Aialon. In 220/1 A.D. Emaus was given the name Nikopolis (cf. K. 90:1.5). It was a famous city and a regional free city including both Aislon and Gezer (K. 66:21) in its territory. There was a bishop at the Council of Nicea from this chief city of the district. Jerome's *Epistle* 108 reports a church here. It is present day 'Amwas. Alous is the located at *Yalu*.

JUDGES

¹³⁶ Arad. Judges 1:16; K. 32:2; L. 242:94.

Textual variant Arab (Greek).

See above K. 14:1f.

¹³⁷ Ared. Joshua Judges 7:1; K. 32:4; L. 242:96.

Rivers, wells, mountains are all suspect entries in the *Onomasticon*. This is also out of order in the biblical sequence of things and suspect for that second reason also (cf. K. 36:4, 54:21, 72:22, 116:23, 116:25, 118:11).

¹³⁸ Arisōth. Judges 4:2; K. 32:5; L. 242:97.

Textual variant Asiroth (Latin).

Eusebius identifies erroneously this with Iabeia Galaad (cf. K. 110:11f). Iabis is located six miles from Pella (K. 14:19) in both entries and this points to vicinity of *Tell el Maqlub*, which is the Old Testament site. Byzantine site is *Kh Isna* exactly six miles from Pella. By Procopius' time (1049A) it was a village, no longer a great city. But Procopius has confused the distance - 20 miles from Pella and 60 from Gerasa. (The Greek of Procopius has been corrected from the *Onomasticon* to read six, but only in Latin is the text complete for Procopius on this item.). Perhaps a corrected distance would be six from Pella and 20 from Gerasa. Harosheth of Old Testament is not located by the *Onomasticon*.

¹³⁹ Ares. Judges 8:13; K. 32:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Text missing in Greek Vatican manuscript.

There seems to be a confusion of the Greek and Hebrew biblical texts.

¹⁴⁰ Aroueir (Aruir). Judges 11:33; K. 32:9; L. 243:00.

Textual variant Arouei (Greek).

The scene seems to be in Transjordan but the homecoming has confused Eusebius (cf. K. 12:5). The Greek, if not an error, points to the vicinity of *er Ram*, possibly *Kh arajanj*. If Jerome is followed, as many prefer to do in order to arrive closer to Mizpeh (K. 130:1), it must be located at *Kh 'arūra*. The 20 is in conjunction of main road north from Jerusalem. A

branch goes west to *Kh 'arūra*.

¹⁴¹ Arima. Judges 9:41; K. 32:11; L. 243:2.

A simple report of Scripture (cf. K. 144:27)

¹⁴² Aialon (Aialin). Judges 12:12; K. 32:12; L. 243:3.

The judge of Israel (Judges 12:11) has a name which sounds almost the same as that of the clan. Probably Ailon or Elon would be proper for both. Biblical information only.

¹⁴³ Abel of the vineyards. Judges 11:33; K. 32:14; L. 243:5.

Textual variants: Abel (Greek) and Abila (Latin).

The biblical site is located by Eusebius in the region of Philadelphia (K. 16:15) and seems to be in the vicinity of *Na 'ur*, perhaps even *Na 'ur* or *Qom Yajus* or else closer to Heshbon at *Kh es Suq*. The Greek text makes this very vague (cp. K. 10:28).

Abela near Gadara (cf. K. 74:10) is the large town of the Decapolis (K. 80:16) which is to be located at *Tell Abil*. A few scholars would locate it at nearby *Muges*.

Abela of the Phoenicians is not identified as to size by Eusebius. Possibly following the *Tabula Peutinger* which has it 18 miles from Damascus (K. 76:4) it is possibly located at *suk wadi barada* on the way to Paneas (K. 16:4).

In Eusebius' day Phoenicia was a distinct 'Roman province not to be confused with Palestine or Syria. This was true from about 194-381 A.D. According to Eusebius it includes Damascus, Abela, Byblos and Sidon with Tyro as its chief city.

KINGS

¹⁴⁴ Armthem Seipha (Sofim). I Samuel 1:1; K. 32:21; L. 243:12.

The New Testament identification (Matthew 21:51) here may be the first real work of the Christian author (whether Eusebius or not) who compiled and collected several Jewish and biblical lists (cp. K. 144:29).

For Diospolis see K. 8:14 and Thamnitikē see K. 24:4. In 200 Diospolis took over the region earlier called Thamna.

The Madaba Map has both names and follows Eusebius in identifying the two Old Testament and New Testament places but does not clearly follow Eusebius in the location. "Armathem or Arimathea" seems to be due north of Jerusalem near *Nebi Samwil* and Ramalla while Eusebius and other Christian traditions locate Arimathea at *Rentis*, northeast of Diospolis. Both the map and Eusebius seem to separate these two names from Ramah (I Samuel 1:19 cf. K. 144:14). The Armthem in Greek reflects the transcription of the Hebrew article. Jerome writes in *Epistle* 108:8 (Paula *PPT* I, p. 4) "not far from it (Diospolis) is Arimathiam the little village of Joseph who buried the Lord" (cf. Luke 23:5). The Old Testament Rama of Samuel is uncertain.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Armathaim, their height” (102).

¹⁴⁵ Abenezzer. I Samuel 4:1; K. 32:24; L. 243:15.

This is a “place” and possibly textually suspect as well. Etymology (K. 56:6) plus a biblical reference and a vague location. Since the *Survey of Western Palestine* it has been suggested that Eusebius had in mind *Deir Aban* near Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but all agree that is not the Old Testament site.

Bethsamys or Bēthsames (K. 54:11) is probably ‘*ain Shema* near *beit jibrin*.

¹⁴⁶ Aphetdomeim (Afesdomim). I Samuel 17:1; K. 34:1; L. 243:18.

Textual variant Afesdommim (Latin).

Biblical and Hexaplaric information only.

¹⁴⁷ Anegb (Annegeb). I Samuel 20:41; K. 34:3; L. 243:20.

Textual variant Aneka (Greek). The Greek text has again transliterated the Hebrew article. Two synonyms for the southern quadrant are used in the Greek and two in the Latin. Only Hexaplaric information (cp. K. 136:14, 137:16f.).

¹⁴⁸ Arith. I Samuel 22:5; K. 34:4; L. 243:21.

The LXX is followed by our Greek text and makes this a city while in the New Testament we find “forest.” It is a region west of Jerusalem. Eusebius’ *Arath* which is not the forest may be perpetuated in *Kh Hareish*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Arith, delay” (102).

¹⁴⁹ Aialim. I Samuel 24:3; K. 34:6; L. 243:23.

Textual variants: Aalim, Abialeim (Greek), Achia, Ala, Ahialim (Latin).

The *Onomasticon* makes a proper name out of the MT phrase. Theodotion is more literal. Only Hexaplaric information.

¹⁵⁰ Aendōr. I Samuel 29:1; K. 34:8; L. 243:25.

Textual variant Iesrael (Greek).

The LXX has this place name where the MT only has “fountain in Israel.” It is in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor (K. 22:4, 98:23). The name is perpetuated at ‘*Andūr*. Perhaps the same as Eddēr (K. 94:22) of Saul which is located near Nain and so also near Thabōr. ‘*Andūr* has no ancient ruins and is not a tell. It has been suggested that nearby *Kh es safsafeh* is the place and it does have evidence of lengthy occupation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Aendor, eye or well of the generation” (102) and “Endor well of the generation” (93).

¹⁵¹ Aphek (Afec). I Samuel 29:1; K. 34:11; L. 243:28.

Textual variant Apher (Greek).

One of the many confused Apheks in Scripture and the *Onomasticon*. By inference this is said to be near the above Aendōr. Eusebius gives no location data which is not directly from the Bible.

¹⁵² Arma. I Samuel 30:26, 30; K. 34:13; L. 243:30.

In Samuel there are a number of towns which are listed in the *Onomasticon* with no other information than the biblical reference to David's spoils (I Samuel 30:26f.). This may possibly be identical with K. 88:1 below.

¹⁵³ Athach. I Samuel 30:26, 30; K. 34:14; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Textual variant Athlac (Latin).

This entry is missing in the Vatican manuscript. Only information is on the spoils as in the above Arma. LXX also has Athach for Ether (K. 88:3) in Joshua 15:42.

¹⁵⁴ Amma. II Samuel 2:24; K. 34:15; L. 243:31.

One of the entries where only the Scripture is quoted for location and identity.

¹⁵⁵ Aeththam Adassai (Aethon Adasai). II Samuel 24:6; K. 34:16; L. 243:32.

Textual variant Arnmeiththa (Greek).

Perhaps the same as Thaad in K. 100:19. Only Hexaplaric information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Ammeta, light" (89) and "Adasa, new" (89).

¹⁵⁶ Alōn Area Orna. II Samuel 24:16; K. 34:17; L. 243:33.

Textual variant 'orion (Greek).

This is not a place in the MT but refers to a person who is a Jebusite and is connected with Jerusalem. The identification of Eusebius is in the biblical passage Joshua 18:28 (cf. K. 106:7 below). 'Alōn and Area both are proper translations of MT "threshing floor."

¹⁵⁷ Assour. I Kings 9:15; K. 34:18; L. 243:34.

This item is out of order and may be an editorial addition. The Roman Ioudaia is indicated here rather than the Old Testament Jouda. If this is one of the cities Solomon built it is a textual variant for Hazōr (K. 20:1). This same annotation occurs in K. 90:9, 132:2 and 134:1, 3.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Assur, directing or beauty or stepping or accusing" (60) and "Assur beauty or step" (78).

¹⁵⁸ Abelmaelai (Abelmaula). I Kings 4:12; K. 34:20; L. 243:35.

Textual variant Bethaula (Latin).

Eusebius is not sure of the location of this village. He knows only two possibilities with

similar sounds. Josephus' *Antiquities* VIII 13, 7 notes, "Elisha of the city of Abela" (cf. I Kings 19:16). This could be Beeleōn (K. 44:21) which is also the large village from which Elissaios came (K. 46:2) but that is nine miles from Esbus which would put it in the southeastern section of the Aulōn (K. 14:22).

Bethmaela is 10 miles from Skythopolis (K. 16:2) but only Jerome has "south." Such a milestone has been reported at *Tell Abu Sus*. Other scholars would locate Eusebius' site near 'Ain el helweh or *Tell Abu Sifri* but the latter has no Roman-Byzantine remains. The former has Roman-Byzantine remains but no clear evidence. *Tell Abu Sus* is Old Testament site, *Kh es Sakut* nearby is Byzantine.

Abelmea is perhaps in the other direction on the way west and up to Neapolis (K. 4:28) but only seen from the road. There are remains of a Roman bath, etc. near the source of the *Wadi el Malih* so perhaps 'ain malih is correct for this Eusebius site, but not for the Old Testament location.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Abimahel, my father from God" (61).

¹⁵⁹ Auothiaeir (Avothiair). I Kings 4:13; K. 34:24; L. 244:39.

Textual variant Auōthēnaēr (Greek).

Simple biblical summary.

¹⁶⁰ Ailath. I Kings 9:26; K. 34:25; L. 244:40.

Textual variant. Latin omits Ailas.

The first part of the entry quotes the biblical text. Ailas probably refers to Ailam (K. 6:17 cp. K. 36:1 and K. 62:13).

¹⁶¹ Ailōth (Aeloth). II Kings 14:22; K. 34:27; L. 244:42.

Textual variant Ailōn (Greek) Aloth (Latin).

This is out of order and seems to be an editorial addition to the previous entry and the one in K. 36:1. It gives an additional item of biblical information.

¹⁶² Ainda (Aenda). I Kings 15:20; K. 34:28; L. 244:43.

Textual variant Ain of Dan (Greek). The MT has only Dan.

This biblical information is repeated in K. 148:15 also with the Greek of the LXX text which varies from the MT.

¹⁶³ Asiōn Babai (Asiongaber). I Kings 22:49; K. 36:1; L. 244:44.

Additional biblical information is given for the site on the Gulf of Aqabah. Eusebius seems to try to distinguish two sites nearby: Aisia (K. 62:15) and Alla (K. 6:17, 34:25, 62:16). The Bible does not distinguish too clearly between Ezion Geber and Elath (cf. II Chronicles 20:36). A bishop from Ailath at Nicea.

Tell el Kheleifeh is usually identified with Old Testament Ezion Geber after Glueck, but it has no ruins later than the Israelite captivity. Possible location may be *Jirzere Farra'un*. Aila-Aqabah-Elath has Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab occupation.

Another small settlement Aisia between the coast and the Old Testament site seems to be indicated in Eusebius. Modern Israeli Eilat is a new town.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Esopmgaber, a wish or council of sorrow” (111).

¹⁶⁴ Alae (Alle), Abor, Gozan. II Kings 17:6; K. 36:4; L. 244:47.

Textual variant Abar (Latin).

This is outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land. It is out of the proper biblical order. All rivers are suspect as additions to the text.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Abur, livid spot or wound” (114) and “Gozan their tone or their courage” (111).

The next four entries are all late editorial additions to the test.

¹⁶⁵ Abena (Abana). II Kings 5:12; K. 36:6; L. 244:49.

Suspect on the same grounds as above - a river.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Abana, his stones” (114).

¹⁶⁶ Aophsith (Aofsithe). II Kings 15:5; K. 36:7; L. 244:50.

LXX variants of Aphphōsoth and Aophasōth, Hexaplaric elements.

¹⁶⁷ Aian. II Kings 15:29; K. 36:8; L. 244:51.

Vulgate has Ahion.

Simple biblical report.

¹⁶⁸ Aia. II Kings 17:24; K. 36:9; L. 244:52.

Vulgate has Ava.

This and the next entry are probably beyond the geographical limits of the Holy Land in Syria (cf. K. 36:10 below and K. 174:17).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Aia, vulture” (105).

¹⁶⁹ Ainath (Ameth). II Kings 17:24; K. 36:10; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Textual variant Amech (Latin). Probably same as Aemath of K. 23:30.

Part of these two successive entries K. 36:9 & 10 are missing from the Vatican manuscript.

¹⁷⁰ Asimath (Asima). II Kings 17:30; K. 36:11; L. 244:53.

One of the few uses of “oppidum” in Latin (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix II). No such

designation in Greek.

There seems to be an error in the Vatican manuscript with Idoumaia and Ioudaia.

¹⁷¹ Arkem (Arcem). II Kings 17:30; K. 36:13; L. 244:55.

The name is not in the New Testament but is from the LXX. On the basis of Josephus *Antiquities* IV, 4, 7 it has been identified with Petra “came to a place in Arabia which the Arabs have deemed their metropolis, formerly called Arce (Arkēn Greek) today named Petra” (K. 142:7, 144:7). Personal name in Numbers 31:8 may have influenced Josephus.

Palestine is here apparently used for the whole country since Petra would not fit the old Roman province of Palestine. If the later use of I, II and II Palestine is intended then of course we have evidence of later editing of the text.

Usually when topography is given, some biblical history is also summarized. Other exceptions are in K. 124:20, 126:14, 126:19, 132:3, 140:4, 146:23, and 170:23.

¹⁷² Adramelech. II Kings 17:31; K. 36:15; L. 244:57.

This obviously is not within the original purview of a book on place names! Other idols noted are Bel (K. 58:9 cf. K. 44:13), Molchom (K. 134:17), Nesarach (K. 138:19), Chamos (K. 174:22), and Remnan (K. 146:26). A Roman god is mentioned below in K. 36:26 (cf. K. 8:15 and Appendix II).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Adramelech, stola of the king or the comeliness of the king” (144).

¹⁷³ Arōneim (Aroniim). Isaiah 15:5; K. 36:17; L. 244:59.

Textual variants: Aōronaim (Greek), Arona (Greek A’); Arnomim, Armonum, Oronaim (Latin). The Vulgate has Oronacum and Oronaim. The Moabite Stone has Hauranein. There was a Roman garrison nearby according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (81:18).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Oronaim, opening of the wall” (121).

It is quite possible that all the prophets listings are a separate editorial addition or separate source.

¹⁷⁴ Agalleim (Agallim). Isaiah 15:8; K. 36:19; L. 244:61.

The first of the entry is missing in Vatican manuscript and is restored from the Latin. Another Latin variant is Agallim.

The Byzantine ruin and name is found at *rujm el jilimeh* called Aegalim. This is at the proper distance from Areopolis (K. 10:13) but probably is not Old Testament site.

¹⁷⁵ Aileim (Aelim). Isaiah 15:8; K. 36:22; L. 244:64.

The Vulgate has “well of Elim” which is for the MT birelim. It has been equated with Dimon (Isaiah 15:9) which may be the same Madōn (K. 126:26) but can hardly be Deimona of Jodda

(K.73:16).

¹⁷⁶ Arina (omitted in Latin) or also Ariel. Isaiah 15:9; K. 36:24; L. 244:66.

In the MT text the word “lion” is used as noted in *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “lion of God” (106 and 114). Jerome *Epistle* 108:9 (Paula *PPT* I, 6) has, “Woe to thee, city of Ariel, that is lion of God, once most strong, which David took by storm.” In *Commentary on Isaiah* 29:1 Jerome writes, “Therefore Arihel, that is lion of God, once most strong is called Jerusalem, out it is preferred by others temple and altar of God which was in Jerusalem.” His *Commentary on Isaiah* 15:1 is more apropos, “This metropolis, the city of Ar, which today is called Areopolis by the combination of Hebrew and Greek words, not as many think because it is the city of Ares, that is Mars” (cf. K. 10:13). Procopius 2097A follows this identification and calls it a great village. A number of entries have double names (cf. K. 25, 48:11, 58:3, 64:6, 76:1, 76:7, 90:10, 132:8, 160:19, etc.). Reference to idols is not uncommon (cf. 36:15 and Appendix)

¹⁷⁷ Adama. Isaiah 15:9; K. 38:1; L. 244:70.

Textual variant in Vatican manuscript where Theodotion is misplaced with Aquila and Symmachus. This is not a proper name in MT. Only Hexaplaric information given.

¹⁷⁸ Agros (Ager). Isaiah 7:3; K. 38:2; L. 244:71.

The fuller’s field is referred to again in K. 102:16. This is one of several entries detailing Jerusalem areas. Out of order and suspect as later addition.

¹⁷⁹ Asedek (Asedec). Isaiah 19:18; K. 38:4; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Textual variant Asedech (Latin).

The entry is missing in Vatican manuscript. Since it is out of the geographical limits of the Holy Land, it probably is not to be emended from the Latin. Jerome’s *Commentary on Isaiah* 19:18 also indicates the ambiguous etymology from either “clay” or “sun.”

Ostracine is out of the *Tabula Peutinger* 23 miles beyond Rinokoura (K. 148:3).

Heliopolis is identified with ὄν (K. 176:2).

¹⁸⁰ Arphad (Arfad). Isaiah 36:19, 37:13; K. 38:7; L. 244:73.

Simple biblical summary.

The additional notes are to Jeremiah 49:23 and II Kings 18:34. This kind of addenda could be a marginal gloss when it appears at the end of an entry.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Arpath, healing” (126) or “Arfath, healing or cure” (114).

¹⁸¹ Anaeougaua (Aneugaua). Isaiah 37:13; K. 38:9; L. 245:75.

This is a Greek combination of two Hebrew names. Textual variants: Anathoysau and Ane and Gaye (Greek).

These may be out of the geographical limit of the Holy Land. Jerome's *Epistle* (?)39:13 notes the possibility that the *ou* refers to the Hebrew conjunctive *wav*. So also in his *Commentary on Isaiah* 37: 13 he says, "Ana and Aua which the LXX mixed up calling it Anauegaua with the conjunction and, that is wav, between two nations which in Hebrew are Ana and Aua."

The added reference is to II Kings 18:34 as a gloss or later editing.

¹⁸² Armenia. Isaiah 37:38; K. 38:11; L. 245:77.

Also outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land as is the first entry Ararat (K. 2:23). Sarasa is probably a scribal error written as a variant Arasa, but it could possibly be confused with a marginal gloss on Sharezer who killed Sennacherib and escaped to Armenia (Isaiah 37:38).

¹⁸³ Asel (Asael). Zechariah 14:5; K. 38:12; L. 245:78.

Textual variant Asaēl (Greek).

In *Commentary on Zechariah* 14:5 Jerome writes, "The LXX transliterates Asael. Aquila puts the Hebrew word as Asel with a short letter *e* but Theodotion has a long."

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Asahel, deed of God" (125).

¹⁸⁴ Anamaēl (Anameel). Zechariah 14:10; K. 38:13; L. 245:79.

The LXX has changed the *N* of Hebrew into an *M* (cf. Jeremiah 31:36).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Ananahel, grace of God."

¹⁸⁵ Asademōth (Assaremoth). Jeremiah 31:40; K. 38:14; L. 245:80.

Possible variant in Greek would agree with the Latin form.

Jerome's *Commentary on Jeremiah* 31:40 also notes Aquila's translation of Sademoth "suburban." This is probably not a proper name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Asarmoth, entrance way of the dead." (61).

¹⁸⁶ Aeniōth. Jeremiah 37:16; K. 38:16; L. 245:82.

Simple entry with Aquila for evidence that this is not a proper name. LXX also translated the Hebrew MT.

¹⁸⁷ Alōth (Alaoth). Jeremiah 48:5; K. 38:17; L. 245:83.

The Vatican manuscript does not have the notation on the MT Loyith. This name appears in K. 122:29 as Loyeitha (Vulgate Luit), but the location between Arcopolis and Zoara is vague.

¹⁸⁸ Aitham (Aethan). Jeremiah 49:19; K. 38:18; L. 245:84.

Textual variant Aetham (Greek).

Probably not a proper name. Hexaplaric information noted.

THE GOSPELS

¹⁸⁹ Akeldama (Aceldama). Matthew 27:8; K. 38:20; L. 245:86.

The New Testament places are rather limited but may be the only major part of the work done by Eusebius himself after compiling and collating various Jewish lists. Later editors added other lists to the work.

Textual variants: Acheldema and Acheldemag (Latin).

This is said to be the earliest non-biblical reference to this site. In K. 102:14 it is written Acheldamax. In the Madaba Map it is Akeldama following this *Onomasticon* entry. Jerome locates it south and Eusebius north of Jerusalem. The pilgrim text suggests southeast of Silwan and it is probably *Deir Abu Tor* near *Hagg ed Dam* which preserves the etymology.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Acheldemach, field of blood” (134, 143) which is a quote from Matthew.

¹⁹⁰ Ainōn (Aenon). John 3:23; K. 40:1; L. 245:88.

Textual variants: Aleim (Greek) and Salem (Latin).

As in previous New Testament entry the first note after the place name is a quotation from the Gospel. It is not a city or town in the fourth century but only a “place” which is “near Saleim” (cf. K. 153:6). Aion of *Onomasticon* is just north of *Umm el ‘umdan*.

The Madaba map places the words “Ainōn which in near Salim” at a spring south of Skythopolis (K. 16:2) following Eusebius. This is probably along the main road to Ierichō. Possibly the spring is *‘Ain el Deir*. It should be near to Bethmaoula (K. 34:22) which is 10 miles South of Beisan. This all seems to place the tradition on the west bank of the Jordan, so some even suggest the waters of the *Wadi Far’ah* are intended.

But the Madaba map also has on the east bank an Aion, possibly pointing to the *Wadi el Harrer* cf. Bēthaabara for still another tradition (K. 58:13).

SECTION B

GENESIS

¹⁹¹ Babel (Which is also) Babylon. Genesis 11:9; K. 40:7; L. 245:94.

The first entry in “B” is quite outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land just as Ararat, the first entry in “A,” and is therefore suspect. This is often true of first alphabetic entries. Probably a marginal addition.

It has been noted before that occasionally Eusebius gives etymology. It is quite possible that all the non-biblical etymologies given are the result of an editor’s work or the inclusion of marginal glosses by a copyist. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* this item is paralleled: “Babylon or Babel, confusion” (62).

The simple summary of the biblical story is here recorded as in Ararat which likewise in turn

is filled out from Josephus *Antiquities* I, 4, 3. The text in the *Onomasticon* is only slightly different from that used by Thackeray in the Loeb series “The place where they built is now called Babylon from the confusion of that primitive speech once intelligible to all, for the Hebrews call confusion ‘Babel.’ This tower and the confusion of the tongues of men are mentioned also by the Sybl in the following terms: ‘When all men spoke a common language, certain of them built an exceeding high tower, thinking thereby to mount to heaven. But the gods sent winds against it and overturned the tower and gave to every man a peculiar language; whence it comes that the city was called Babylon’” (I p. 177f.). The Syriac text has still other minor variations.

Procopius 309B “Nebrōd was a giant hunter, one of the gods. Joseph tells the story of the contriving of the tower in the Antiquities.”

192 Baithēl (Bethel). Genesis 12:8, K. 40:20; L. 245:9.

Textual variant. Ullamculus (Latin). The Syriac text seems to follow the Latin and adds weight perhaps to Klostermann’s emendations.

Jerome has the etymology of the name Baithēl as “house of God” (cf. *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* 62 and cf. below K. 43:7 as well as *Epistle* 108:13 and Paula *PPT* I, 12): “of Bethel, the house of God, in which Jacob, naked and poor slept upon the bare ground and placing under his head a stone, which in *Zacharias* 3:9 is said to have seven eyes in *Isaiah* 28:16 is called the stone of the corner, saw a ladder reaching to heaven above which the Lord leaned offering His hand to those who climbed and casting down those who were negligent.”

As in this entry (cf. K. 43:6) Jerome in the *Commentary on Hosea* 4:15 notes the identity of Bethel and Bethaven: “it (Bethel) was first called ‘house of God’ but after the calves were placed there it is named Bethaven, i.e. house of folly or house of idols.” However (K. 50:24) suggests a separate location which Jerome denies in (51:24).

The identity with Luza (K. 120:8) is also affirmed by Jerome’s note (K. 43:3). Luza means “nut or almond” according to *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (34). The Madaba Map makes this same identification: “*loyza* which is also Bethēl” located a bit farther east because of the crowding of the map at this point, but still *beitin*. This site has been excavated several times. Some still believe Bethel should be a shrine separated from a village of Louza. The biblical information is summarized from Genesis 28:19, Joshua 18:13, Judges 1:23, Joshua 18:22, also Joshua 7:2 and 12:16.

The peculiar word Oulamma (K. 140:15) is ridiculed by Jerome with his famous Hebrew knowledge (K. 41: 21). Also in *Hebrew Questions* he says, “it is absurd to think Hebrew ulam is the name of a city since ulam means ‘former’” (34).

Locating it near Aggai (K. 4:27) is of no help since neither the *Onomasticon* nor biblical site is certain today. Why no mention is made here of the church is curious. Jerome did note it in relation to Aggai (7:2). Incidentally the Church is not on the Madaba Map either. The church is located a mile east of *beitin*.

The pilgrims all agree with the 12 miles from Jerusalem. Procopius 320A writes, “Baithēl

which was earlier called Oulammoaus is at the 12th mile on the right going from Jerusalem to Neapolis. Also Louza, tribe of Benjamin.” This means the path leading up from Ailias to Bethel leaves the main road at the 12th milestone. Curiously Procopius 1020A has what must be a scribal error, “Baithēl is located on the road going up from Ailias to Neopolis on the left of the road at the 12th mile from Ailias.” All other itineraries agree with Paula on the 12 mile figure (*PPT* I 16, 19).

¹⁹³ Bala. Genesis 14:2; K. 42:1; L. 246:13.

Textual variants: Babla, Balak (LXX), Balaa (Latin), Zōora (Greek).

The Madaba Map copies Eusebius with all three names listed: “Balak which is also Sēgōr or now Zoora” and picturing a fortress with palm trees. Zoora is also Soora (K. 15:19) and Zogera (K. 94:1) and is used at times as a referent in the *Onomasticon* (K. 112:19, 168:10 etc.). It is located on the Dead Sea (K. 100:4) where there was a garrison stationed in *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:26) and a colony of Jews. A bishop was known in the fourth century as the bishop of Sodom but he must have been from Zoar.

At *Kh Sheikh 'isa* Byzantine remains may indicate the city with its nearby fort. This location southeast of the Dead Sea fits the early geographers and the concept of Moab identity (Isaiah 15:5 and *Onomasticon* 94:1 for Jerome 48:4). Ptolemy has it 35 miles from Petra, which seems to be an error.

On the Pentapolis of Sodom see K. 8:4 (Genesis 19:21). Jerome’s etymological parallel is repeated in *Hebrew Questions*: indeed Segor means little which in the Syriac is Zoara. However, the Valley of Salt, where formerly they worked pits of bitumin, after the wrath of God and the sulphuric rain, became the Dead Sea which in Greek is called limnē asphaltitis (i.e. lake of Bitumin)” (117).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bale, casting down or devouring: (62) cf. *Hebrew Questions* “Bale in the Hebrew is gulping or devouring” (17).

¹⁹⁴ Belanos (Belanus). Genesis 35:8; K. 42:6; L. 246:18.

Simple translation of Hebrew with biblical summary. Not properly a place name.

¹⁹⁵ Barad. Genesis 16:14; K. 42:8; L. 246:20.

The latter part of this entry and the beginning of the next are missing in the Vatican manuscript by an obvious scribal error easily corrected by the Latin. The Syriac text agrees with the Latin.

Apparently quoting Genesis 16:14 the tradition of a well was perpetuated into the fourth century. There is a *jebel Umm el Bared* in the Negeb which perpetuates the name. Some would see the site at *Bir Ma 'in*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Barad, hail” (62).

¹⁹⁶ Bēthlehem. Genesis 35:19; K.42:10; L. 246:22.

Textual variant Bethlehem (Latin).

There are two startling facts about this entry: 1 - The Greek text has none of the New Testament references. But the Syriac has an addition “city of David where our Savior was born, of the tribe of Judah.” 2 - Neither Greek nor Latin mention the Church which was important spiritually and economically (also not mentioned for Jerusalem K. 106:1). But Eusebius knew of the building in Bethlehem (*Laud. Const.* ix and *Vita Const.* iii, 25, 43). The itinerary mentions “a basilica built by command of Constantine” (*Itin. Bourd* 25: 3, *PPT* I, 12). The Madaba Map shows a Basillica with the tomb of Rachel not far away.

The *Onomasticon* has no reference to Bethlehem’s size. Josephus reports only on pre-exile Bethlehem. It may be of interest that Origen reports on a cave near Bethlem where Christ was born (*Contra Celsum* I, 51) which tradition Eusebius also knows (*Laud. Const.* ix and *Vita Const.* iii, 41. Jerome knows of this in his *Epistle* 46.

Bethlehem is six miles from Jerusalem in the *Onomasticon* which agrees with the *Bourdeaux Itinerary* which notes: Bethlehem is off “to the left of the road” going to Hebron.

The tradition of the tombs is overwhelming in the pilgrims. In addition to Tessai and David, they report that Ezechikel, Asaph and Solomon are also buried nearby. The reference to Archalaeus is unique. The town of Archalaeus is 12 miles from Ierichō in *Tabula Peutinger* but no strong tradition of burial recorded there. Perhaps refers to Herodium.

The name Ephratha for Bēthleem region covers the Tomb of Rachel one or two miles away from Bēthleem itself (K. 82:12, K. 83:14, K 148:1, K. 172:4, cp LXX of Joshua 15:59a). *Itin. Bourd.* also has the two mile distance.

The tower of Ader is possibly equated by the Greek with Geder of Joshua (K. 68:11 but note Jerome on the absence of the guttural K. 63:3). The tower and the real tomb of Rachel most likely should be looked for north of Jerusalem toward Bethel. The tradition of Eusebius is maintained in Jerome’s *Epistle* 108: 10 (Paula *PPT* I, 8) “Not far from there (Bethlehem) she descended to the tower of Ader, i.e. of the flock, near which Jacob fed his flocks and the shepherds watching at night were worthy to hear the Gloria.” The mystery of the shepherds receiving the news before the event is noted by Jerome here and in *Hebrew Questions* (43).

EXODUS

¹⁹⁷ Beelsephōn (Beelrefon). Exodus 14:2; K. 44:2; L. 246:27.

Textual variant “through the waters” is not in the Latin.

Many of the stations are from a separate list and probably were not in the original Eusebius text since for the most part they are out of the geographical range of the Holy Land. Occasionally in the early writers this is the boundary of Palestine. Old Testament site probably *Ras Baron*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Beelsefon, having hope” (74) and “Beelsofon Ascent of hope” (79).

¹⁹⁸ Banēiakan (Baneiacan). Numbers 33:31f.; K. 44:5; L. 246:31.

Simple entry of station but out of biblical order.

¹⁹⁹ Banōth. Numbers 21:19, 20; K. 44:7; L. 246:33.

Textual variant Babōth (Greek).

In the Vatican manuscript the entry does not start on a new line but follows *laou* of the previous one. On Arnon cf. K. 10:25 (Josua 13:17)

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Banoth, in death or high” (79).

²⁰⁰ Basan. Numbers 21:33; K. 44:9; L. 246:35.

Textual variants of substitute “kingdom” for “king” or add kingdom to king. The Latin addendum is confusing. Basan has not been mentioned “above” as an entry, but in a similar type of reference (cp. K. 13:11 and K. 18:4). It is Auoth Iaeir (K. 18:4) and also Machathi (K. 128:9). Only the Latin gives the etymology of Auoth. The biblical summary is from Deuteronomy 3:14, Numbers 32:33, and Joshua 13:30.

The region of Galaad (cf. K. 60:15f.) is here called Basanitē or Batanaia, regions of Transjordan. Basan usually is the area between the Jarmuk and a line between Hermon and Damascus. It is very similar to the Arabic Hauran. Galaad varies in size from all the hill country of Transjordan, to the territory of Manasseh, to that which is equal to Basan. Jerome in *Commentary on Isaiah* 2:13 writes, “The region of Basan is Arabia which Og who is called king of Basan ruled.” In the *Onomasticon* it includes Cerasa (K. 64:1) and possibly Nemra (K. 138:10). Galaad is the biblical name of the area of Basan. Batanaea is apparently the contemporary name for the village on the site of Basan (K. 64:8) from which the region is named (K. 138:7).

²⁰¹ Beelphegōr (Baelfegor). Numbers 25:3; K. 44:12; L. 246:38.

Another of the references to idols (cf. K. 36:15) in the *Onomasticon* which technically should be listing only place names (Appendix II). Jerome in *Commentary on Hosea* 9:10 also makes the identity, “Beelphegor, idol of the Moabites, which we call Priapus” (cf. identity of Ariel K. 37:24). Priapus was the god of gardens and vineyards. It is probably, for our text, the same as Bethphogor (K. 48:3). The location of Mt. Phogō is in Moab (K. 168:25).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Behelfegor, bone having skin” (79) and “Behelfegor, bone having skin or bone covered with skin” (86).

²⁰² Baian (Bacan). Numbers 32:3; K. 44:14; L. 246:40.

Simple biblical summary, cp. K. 44:21.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Baian, in wickedness” (79).

²⁰³ Bēthnamran (Bethamnaram). Numbers 32:36; K. 44:19; L. 246:42.

Textual variants for the contemporary village Bēthnabran (Greek), Bethamnaris (Latin).

This site has moved three times (see Introduction). *Tell Nimrin* retains the name and represents the Roman-Byzantine city. The Old Testament site is farther northeast up the wadi (cf. Bethnemra K. 48:6 and Nemra K. 138:10).

Tell Nimrin is 5 miles from *Tell er Rameh* which is said to be Livias and was used frequently as a referent (K. 12:22, K. 16:126, K. 48:4, K. 48:17, and K. 168:26). The name was given to the restored Roman town in honor of Augustus' wife (K. 49:13). In Jerome's *Commentary on Joel* 3:18 he places Livias (Iulias) at 6 miles from the Dead Sea. The change in name is reported by Josephus in *Wars* II, 13, 2 and IV, 7, 6. There was a bishop from here at Nicea. Livias may be Old Testament Bethharan (K. 48:13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bethanamra, house of the panther or house of bitterness" (79).

²⁰⁴ Betharran. Across the Jordan. Numbers 32:36; K. 44:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This item is missing in the Vatican manuscript. It seems also to be Bēetharam (K. 48:13) the first part of which is also missing in the Vatican manuscript.

This is closely related to the previous entry and some see Livias as the site for Old Testament Betharran at *Tell er Rameh* but better at *Tell Iktanu* where more ancient remains are found. Rameh does preserve the ancient name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Betharan, house of the ark or mountains or ascent of the ground" (79).

²⁰⁵ Beelmeōn. Numbers 32:38; K. 44:21; L. 246:45.

Textual variant for contemporary village Baarau and Barum (Latin). Vulgate Baalmaon and Baalmeon. Probably identical with next entry Baal (K. 46:3).

The *Onomasticon* confused this site with Abelmaelai (K. 34:21) of which Elissaios is also a native (I Kings 19:16). The city of Ma 'in southwest of Madela (K. 128:9) fits the location given from Esbous (84:1). It is close enough to the hot springs of *hamman ez Zerqa Ma* 'in which could be Baarou. The Madaba map has Baarou at this location following Eusebius. Another healing spring is reported at Balthainaia (K. 30:7). Some think Barēn (K. 112:17) is the same as Baaron.

Arabia (K. 10:17) is a frequent designation for this area. In Ptolemy's *Arabia Petraia* there is a town near Esbous and Madela called Magouza which could reflect the Old Testament name with G for the Hebrew guttural.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bahalmeon, having little habitations" (79).

²⁰⁶ Baal. Numbers 32:38; K. 46:3; L. 247:50.

The same as previous entry. Simple biblical information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew* Baal, having" (90) and "Baal, have judgement or superior or

having a brawl” (100).

²⁰⁷ Bouthan (Buthan). Numbers 33:6; K. 46:4; L. 247:51.

Textual variants: Atham and possibly ētham (Greek cf. K. 94:15) and Butham (Latin).

Apparently both entries are transliteration for “in” which is the letter *B* in Hebrew then followed by an alef. (cp. Exodus 13:20).

²⁰⁸ Bēla. Numbers 34:11; K. 46:6; L. 247:53.

Simple entry of biblical information. For Arbēla see K. 14:18 above.

²⁰⁹ Bosor. Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 46:8; L. 247:55.

The *Onomasticon* confuses the city of refuge Bezer (Joshua 20:8, 21:36) with the metropolis of Bostra (K. 12:14). This was a bishop’s seat at the time of Council of Nicea. It was a metropolis of Arabia from the 2nd century and an important military post according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (81:21) as well as main transportation center. It is 25 miles east of *Der ‘a* and is the modern Arabic Busra (cf. K. 166:3). It is in the Trachonites area (K. 112:22).

The Edomite city (Isaiah 63:1) is probably to be located at the rich site *Buseirah* south of *Taffilah*. II Maccabees 12:8 notes Timotheus has a garrison there. It was not too significant in the fourth century but was very important in the Iron Age. In the *Onomasticon* Edom usually refers to the biblical area and era; Idoumaia to the Roman period; while Gaibalene or Gebalitikē to Eusebius’ time (cf. K. 102:23).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bosor, in distress” (86).

²¹⁰ Bēroth. Deuteronomy 10:6; K. 46:14; L. 247:61.

This is not a contemporary village only a place. It is located in reference to Petra (K. 8:11, K. 142:7 etc.). This puts it on a mountain near the outlet of the Wadi Musa perhaps at *Biyar et Taiyibe*. The mountain is also called ʾr (K. 176:7).

This is to be distinguished from the Bērōth (K. 48:9) near Babaōn (K. 66:11).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Beroth, wells” (86).

JOSUE

²¹¹ Bounos. Joshua 5:3; K. 46:18; L. 247:65.

The Latin translation is perhaps better than a Greek place name. Galgala (K. 64:24, cf. 64:18) is a complicated problem (Joshua 4:3) but it seems likely that Josephus and Eusebius identified the “hill” of Gilgal with *Tell es Sultan* which is two miles from New Testament or Roman Iericho (K.104:25). See K. 104:20 on the Jordan.

²¹² Bēthōrōn. Joshua 10:10; K. 46:21; L. 247:69.

Summary of biblical information interrupted by a location. This order suggests several hands have been at work on the entry. The Levitical city (Joshua 21:22) is another addition by an

editor.

The Madaba map has Bēthōrōn following Eusebius on the road from Jerusalem to Diospolis (K. 8:14). Paula ascended from Emmaus along this road, “beholding Ajalon (K. 18:13) and Gabson (K. 66:11) on her right.” She adds from Kings the fact also that Solomon founded the two cities, (Jerome’s *Epistle* 108:8, *PPT* 1, 5) later destroyed by the fortunes of war (I Maccabees 3:16, Josephus *Wars* II, 5, 16). They are on the map as one of the stations for Roman couriers.

The distance in the *Onomasticon* is appropriate for *Beit Ur el Foqa* and *Beit Ur et Tahta* twin towns which retain the sound of the old name. A milestone 14 from Aelia has been found half way between the two villages, the upper being nearer Jerusalem.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethoron, house of wrath” (106) and “Betharan, house or wrath or house of mountain” (90).

²¹³ Barnē. Joshua 10:41; K. 46:26; L. 247:74.

Identified with the desert stretching south of Petra (K. 142:7) and more frequently Kadēs Barnē (K. 112:8).

²¹⁴ Baalgad. Joshua 11:17; K. 48:1; L. 247:76.

Textual variants. Baalgōd (Greek). Procopius 1024A has Balgad but otherwise quotes Eusebius. It is probably also Algad (K. 22:22).

It is located only generally on the basis of biblical information (cf. Libanon (K. 122:27) and Hermon (K. 20:6). Some suggest this could be Baalbek.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Baalgad, he had equipment or man of arms or pirate or man of fortune” (90).

²¹⁵ Bethphogor (Bethfogor). Joshua 13:20; K. 48:3; L. 247:78.

The location of this place depends in Eusebius on Livias (K. 44:17 and K.48:15) and Phogōr (K. 16:4 and K. 168:25) which is only 6 miles from Livias. It is quite possible that Eusebius has in mind *Kh Ajan Musa*, but other scholars hold to *Kh sheikh jayil*, for the Old Testament site.

²¹⁶ Bēthasimouth (Bethsimuth). Joshua 12:3; K. 48:6; L. 247:81.

Textual variants: Bethaisimouth (Greek) and Bethsimouth (Greek and Syriac) reflect the occasional insertion of the Hebrew article between two elements when transcribed into Greek. It is Bēsīmō in Josephus’ *Wars* IV, 7, 6 and a “city” located near Iulias (Livias 44:17). In the Madaba map a palm tree is here but no name in the vicinity.

The nearby sites of *Tell el ‘Azeimeh* and *Kh sweimeh* are candidates for the biblical site. *Sweimeh* contains some reminiscence of the name and may be Isimouth (or Isemouth) of the *Onomasticon* while the Tell closer to the edge of the mountains may be the biblical site.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethaisimouth, desert home or home bringing death” (90).

217 Bērōth (Beeroth). Joshua 9:17, 18:25; K. 48:8; L. 247:83.

A number of towns in the *Onomasticon* are related to Gabaon (K. 66:11, cf. 172:15) but even its location at *el jib* is contested. Here Bērōth is near Jerusalem while Gabaon is usually located with respect to Bethel. Eusebius’ biblical remark on Gabaon, however, is more political and economic than geographic.

Archaeologists and geographers have had a lively debate over Bērōth and Gabaon which was not ended with excavations of *el-jib*. The Madaba Map is inconclusive because it requires emendation. Only *erouta* is written. It could be for Berouta and northwest of Jerusalem could fit our entry. But it has also been related to Capheruta which is not in the *Onomasticon*.

For some reason Jerome has a different road than Eusebius. Procopius 1020C follows the Greek text with a Bēthōr on the road to Nikopolis (K. 30:27) at the seventh milestone. Neither say from where, but it is usually assumed from Ailia since it is “near.” Jerome has Neapolis (K. 4:18) either as a correction of the Greek or because his Greek manuscript was in error. The correction could be based on Josephus *Wars* II 5, 16. This Latin text is one of the few using “stone” for “mile.”

If the Neapolis road is intended the majority of scholars fix Jerome’s Beroth at *el bire* which has carried that name at least since the Middle Ages but as far as archaeological remains are evident it cannot be the Old Testament site. More recently it has been suggested at *Tell en Nasbeh* which is often identified as the Old Testament Mizpeh, and closer to the 7 miles than *el bire*.

On the basis of Nikopolis in the Greek text many possibilities are suggested. Some scholars give up the puzzle. It must be in the vicinity of *el jib*. Pritchard has no objections to Roman-Byzantine Beroth at *el jib*, but feels the evidence that it is the Old Testament Gabaon is determinative. Others suggest *Kh ‘id* and *Nebi Samwil*. A possible solution is that the Greek text does not locate Bērōth except as in the vicinity of Gabaon which then is properly located 7 miles from (“near”) Jerusalem on the Nikopolis road at *el-jib*.

218 Botnia (Bothnim). Joshua 13:26; K. 48:11; L. 247:85.

Textual variants: Botanin (LXX) and Bothnin (Latin).

The location of Old Testament and Byzantine site is probably at *Kh Batneh* which has the proper sherds.

The “also Poteein” is omitted in the Latin text. Variant is Botenein.

219 Bētharam. Joshua 13:27; K. 48:13; L. 247:87.

The first part of this entry is missing in Vatican manuscript. Curiously so is its parallel Bētharran (K. 44:19). As in the note on Livias (K. 44:17) this is possibly at *Tell er Rameh*. Recent Iron Age pottery in the vicinity makes it possible that it could be the Old Testament

site as well. But *Tel Iktanu* is still to be preferred.

²²⁰ Bethnema. Joshua 13:27; K. 48:16; L. 247:89.

Textual variants: Bethramta and Bethramthit (Latin).

See K. 44:16 and K. 138:10.

²²¹ Bethagla. Joshua 15:6; K. 48:18; L. 248:91.

Part of the beginning of this entry is missing in the Vatican manuscript. This is not to be confused with Bēthagla (K. 8:19) in the Jordan valley.

One site which the *Onomasticon* equates with Bēthagla is the village Agla. It is 10 miles from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) probably at *Kh 'Ajian*. Text notes turn off from main Roman road.

The second site closer to Gaza (K. 62:22) called Bethagla is probably *Tell el 'Ajjul*, considered by some to be old Gaza (K. 63:23) but probably Eusebius is wrong in both instances for the Old Testament site. This is one of the few entries where the Latin uses “milestone.”

The Madaba map has a Bēthagidea which could have confused a Delta for a Lambda and seems to fit *Tell el 'Ajjul* south of Gaza.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethaglan, house of their festivities” (91).

²²² Bētharaba. Joshua 15:6; K 48:21; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Not in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Betharaba, house of earth or evening” (91).

²²³ Baal. Joshua 15:9; K. 48:22; L. 248:94.

The same as Kariathiareim (K. 114:23). In that latter entry it is nine miles instead of ten as here on the road to Diospolis (K. 8:14), at *joryat al Inab*.

²²⁴ Baala. Joshua 15:11; K. 48:25; L. 248:97.

The alternative is not in the Latin text but occurs in some manuscript variants.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Baala, it or above” (91).

²²⁵ Balōth. Joshua 15:24; K. 48:26; L. 248:98.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Baaloth, on the ascent or ascents in the plural” (91).

²²⁶ Bethphalei (Bethfali). Joshua 15:27; K. 48:27; L. 248:99.

The alternative is not in the Latin text. LXX has Baithphaleth.

Textual variant is Belphelei (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethafelet, house of health” (91).

²²⁷ Bērsabee. Joshua 15:28, 19:2; K. 50:1; L. 248:00.

The Madaba Map, following the *Onomasticon* and the Old Testament (Genesis 21:32, 26:33) has its limits north and south expressed by Dan and Bērsabee. “Bersabee which is now Berossaba. The borders of Jordan extend this far to the south from Dan (K. 16:6) near Paneas (K. 16:14) which forms the border to the North.” This is the limit of Palestine. The west is the sea and the east Damascus (K. 16:4), Bostra (K. 66:3), Petra (K. 142:7) and Ailath (K. 34:25). These limits for Eusebius and the Madaba map may come from Josephus’ *Wars* I, 12, 1.

The location twenty miles south of Chebron (K. 6:8) is repeated in Jerome’s *Epistle* 103:32. This is about six miles short of the present Beersheba. The derivation of the name is reported in K. 166:20 which also notes it to be in the Geraritikē. The Geraritikē has wells (K. 166:21, 24; and K. 168:3).

Bersabee was an administrative headquarters of the Negev region. It is called a large village in Eusebius, with a garrison in *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:18). Ruins of the Roman fort have been found. In *Questions on Genesis* 21:30 Jerome called it an “oppidum.” A camp seems to be on the Madaba map about 20 miles from Chebrōn to the south.

Jerome notes a political and military reason why a town could be allotted to two different tribes.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bersabee, well of abundance and seven wells” (63) and “Bersabee, well of abundance” (63).

²²⁸ Balaam (Balam). Joshua 15:29; K. 50:13; L. 248:12.

Simple tribal listing. See K. 48:25.

²²⁹ Baskōth (Bascath). Joshua 15:39, 19:2; K. 50:14; L. 248:13.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Basecoth, soft fat or defecation” (91).

²³⁰ Bethdagōn. Joshua 15:41; K. 50:15; L. 248:14.

Textual variant Bēdagōn and Kai paradagōn (Greek) a scribal error for the contemporary site.

On the Madaba Map is a Bēthodegana which could be the present *Kh Dajun* retaining part of the name and fitting Eusebius’ location if the road runs from Ioppa (K. 110:24) to Diospolis (K. 8:14) rather than from Iamnia (K. 106:20). It is off the Roman road.

The Roman-Byzantine site must be at *Beit Dajun*. The Greek kepara or kapher reflect the

Hebrew kapher for “village” (cf. 52:21).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethdagan, house of wheat” (91).

²³¹ Bēthalōth. Joshua 15:59; K. 50:17; L. 248:16.

Simple tribal listing. This seems to be a scribal error for Bethanōth and is located near Chebrōn is Bethenim (K. 94:20). Out of order and suspect.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethanoth, house of prediction” (91).

²³² Bēthphou (Bathaffu). Joshua 15:53; K. 50:18; L. 248:17.

Textual variant Bethtaphou (Greek) follows the MT.

This entry is about the same as Tapphou (K. 98:7) but may be mixing up two Old Testament sites. It is on the road to Egypt on the border of Palestine beyond Raphia (only mentioned here) but before Rinokoura (K. 148:3). The site is perhaps near *Sheih Zuweiyd*. Raphia is another change point on the Roman-Byzantine itineraries and is probably at *Tell Rifah*. The Madaba map has a Raphia to cover this point on the sea as well as an inland city. Just below it is the wording on the map “Border of Egypt and Palestine.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Beththafue, house of apple tree not evil, but we understood a tree” (91).

²³³ Betharaba. Joshua 15:61; K. 50:21; L. 248:20.

Hexaplaric information only. Vatican manuscript faulty in several spots here.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Betharaba, house of many or grand” (91).

²³⁴ Beesthara. Joshua 21:27; K. 50:22; L. 248:21.

Summary of biblical information. On Basanite see K. 44:11. Out of order.

²³⁵ Bethaun. Joshua 18:12; K. 50:24; L. 249:23.

Cf. the etymology and identification with Baithēl in K. 43:3. LXX has Baithōn. On Gai (K. 4:27). The identity of the two is not clearly accepted in K. 66:8 where Gai is near Bēthau and Beithēl. Some suggest it is the enigmatic ruin of *et Tell*. If Eusebius knew a real location with late occupation it could be *Tell Mirjam*.

For Machmas see K. 132:3. Jerome has confused the issue of location by adding Bethel (K. 51:23) but refers to the previous identification.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethauen, home of futility” (90).

²³⁶ Baliloth. Joshua 18:17; K. 50:26; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing which has a *G* not a *B* in the MT and may be same as Galeilōoth of K. 70:17.

²³⁷ Bethsour (Bethaur). Joshua 15:58; K. 52:1; L. 249:25.

Textual variants: Bedsour (Greek), Bethsor and Bethsoron (Latin).

All the witnesses combine Philippos' well with Bethsour (Acts 8:38). In the Madaba map they are adjacent: "Bethsoura, the shrine of Philip where they say Candacē the eunuch was baptized." This follows the error of the Greek which confused the name of the queen with that of her eunuch. Jerome corrects this.

The pilgrim texts note the well of Philip at Bethasora, fourteen miles from Bethlehem (*Itin. Bourd.* and *PTT I*, 21). The road to Gaza went by the well. "From there she turned to the right through Bethsur and came to Escol" (Jerome's *Epistle* 108:11 (Paula *PPT I*, 9). It is the border of Juda and Edam.

The Madaba map and Eusebius point to the vicinity of modern Beit sur. Since *Kh et Tabeiqah* the Old Testament site has no Byzantine or Roman remains and was apparently abandoned in the second century before Christ, the *Burj es Sur* may be the *Onomasticon's* Bethsōrō. The well is 18 miles from Jerusalem. The Burj is to the west as Paula noted.

The "other" Bethsour is also linked with Iouda. The distance from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) is missing from the Vatican manuscript. This site is not identified but could be *deir esh shur*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bethsur, house of strength" (91).

²³⁸ Boon. Joshua 18:17; K. 52:6; L. 249:31.

Simple tribal listing.

²³⁹ Bēthalōn. Joshua 18:19; K. 52:7; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The first part of this entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. A variant is Betholon (Latin).

Simple tribal listing plus Hexaplaric data. Not in MT of Hebrew.

²⁴⁰ Bēthagla (Bethalla). Joshua 18:19, 21; K. 52:8; L. 249:32.

A simple tribal listing cf. K. 48:18, K. 8:11.

²⁴¹ Bērōth. Joshua 18:25; K. 52:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript.

A simple tribal listing cf. K. 48:9.

²⁴² Bola. Joshua 19:3; K. 52:10; L. 249:33.

Textual variant Bala (Latin).

Simple tribal listing cf. K. 130:6.

²⁴³ Bathoul. Joshua 19:4; K. 52:11; L. 249:34.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethula, virgin” (91).

²⁴⁴ Bēth. Joshua 19:5; K. 52:12; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript. Variant Bethis (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

²⁴⁵ Baaeth. Joshua 19:8; K. 52: 13; L. 249:35.

Simple tribal listing cf. K. 54:20.

²⁴⁶ Bērammōth. Joshua 19:8; K. 52:14; L. 249:36.

The Greek has separated the previous entry and this one differently. At times the Beer is the suffix to Baaeth and at times prefix to Ramoth.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Beram, well of the heights” (91).

²⁴⁷ Bēthlabaōth. Joshua 19:6; K. 52:15; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Vatican manuscript and is out of order in the text.

Simple tribal listing cf. K. 122:4.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethlebaoth, house of coming” (91).

²⁴⁸ Bethleem. Joshua 19:15; K. 52:16; L. 249:37.

A simple tribal listing plus a note to distinguish it from the more renowned Bethleem of Iouda (K. 42:10). The note may be an addition. This other Bethleem according to Jerome’s *Commentary on Matthew 2: 5* is in Galilaea.

²⁴⁹ Bēthphasis (Bethfases). Joshua 19:21; K. 52:18; L. 249:39.

Textual variant in Vatican manuscript has this listed for Iouda not Issachar.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethfese, house of the flowing mouth” (91).

²⁵⁰ Batnai (Batnae). Joshua 19:25; K. 52:19; L. 249:40.

Textual variant for contemporary village Bebeten (Greek).

The site is really unknown despite many suggestions. Name recurs in *Abtun* southeast of Acre Ptolemais (K. 30:10) is Akehō and is a territory or a region.

²⁵¹ Bēthdagōn. Joshua 19:27; K. 52:21; L. 249:42.

Textual variants: Bēthphagōn (Greek) and Bethdago (Latin).

Simple tribal listing cf. K. 50:15. Jerome gives a second reason why a site could be listed for two tribes (cf. K. 50:10f.). It could be a different town and in the Nablus area, either *Ras ed Diyar* or *Shuweiha*.

²⁵² Bēthaemec (Bethemec). Joshua 19:27; K. 52:23; L. 249:44.

Symmachus note plus late gloss on tribal history.

²⁵³ Bēthanatha (Bethana). Joshua 19:38; K. 52:24; L. 249:45.

The text has confused several sites. But clearly 'anin is intended cf. K. 30:5, K. 26:9, 13. Note the caution on healing baths, almost a rumor.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bethanath, house of humiliation or house of answering" (91).

²⁵⁴ Banē. Joshua 19:45; K. 54:1; L. 249:48.

Simple tribal listing that perhaps should be combined with the next into one entry.

²⁵⁵ Barakai (Barac). Joshua 19:45; K. 54:1; L. 249:49.

Textual variant Bare (Latin) and in Greek for the contemporary site Barēka and Barba. LXX has Barak.

Eusebius' identity of the Old Testament site errs, but he intended *barqa* near Ashdod.

JUDGES

²⁵⁶ Bezek (Bezec). Judges 1:4; K. 54:5; L. 249:52.

Two sites about a mile apart are clearly the *Onomasticon*'s Bezek. One was a Roman road station. Perhaps *Kh Ibziq* and *Kh Jebrish* with good Roman and Byzantine sherds. But which of these has any Iron Age pottery needs study so the Old Testament site is elsewhere. Perhaps this site moved three times as did Nimrin (see Introduction).

²⁵⁷ Bēthsan. Joshua 1:27; K. 54:8; L. 249:55.

This is a famous city of Palestine in the Jordan Valley (K. 16:2). The identity of Bethshan with Skythopolis is clearly made. It is used as a referent by the *Onomasticon* and has been well excavated at *Tell el Husn*, near Beisan revealing heavy third to sixth century occupation (see Appendices VII and VIII). There was a bishop present at the Council of Nicea. The road from Skythopolis to Neapolis (K. 4:28) was important to Eusebius (K. 26:23, K. 34:23, K. 54:7, K. 100:13 etc.). The eastern portion toward Damascus (K. 76:4) is not mentioned as frequently.

The etymology is added almost as a later gloss and without the usual formula (I Samuel 31:10 and I Kings 4:12).

In Latin it is both *urbs* and *oppidum* (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I).

²⁵⁸ Bethsames. Joshua 1:33; K. 54:11; L. 249:59.

In K. 32:26 it is Bethsamys (cf. 158:20) located at 'ain Shema. A garrison was located there according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:22). The 10 miles marks turn off from the main road.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethsames, house of the sun” (110).

²⁵⁹ Bathma (Bethnath). Judges 1:33; K. 54:11; L. 250:62.

In LXX Baithanath.

A simple biblical report.

²⁶⁰ Bethsames. Judges 1:33; K. 54:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript by simple haplography. This is to be distinguished from the one above in K. 54:11.

²⁶¹ Baalermōn. Judges 3:3; K. 54:18; L. 250:64.

Simple biblical reference (cf. K. 20:9). Note Jerome's use of *Allofylorum* rather than translating to Filistine (see Appendix I).

²⁶² Baleth (Baaeth). Judges 19:44; K. 54:20; L. 250:66.

Textual variants: Baalōn and Gebeelan (LXX) and Baalech (Latin).

Simple tribal listing which seems to be out of order (cf. K. 52:13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Baaloth, on the heights or heights in the plural" (91).

²⁶³ Bethbēra. Judges 7:24; K. 54:21; L. 250:67.

Etymology plus simple biblical note. Perhaps reference to the fords of the Jordan (cp. K. 54:26 below).

²⁶⁴ Bēthasetta. Joshua 7:22; K. 54:22; L. 250:68.

Variants Betthasetta (LXX) Bethtasetta and Bethasepta (Latin).

Simple biblical note.

²⁶⁵ Balanos (i.e., oak of) Sikimōn. Judges 9:6; K. 54:23; L. 250:69.

This is the oak of Sychem (K. 150:1 and K.158:1) near Neopolis (K. 4:28) at *Tell Balata*. The grave of Joseph is still pointed out south of *Balata*. The Madaba map indicates the "shrine of Iosēph." Another oak is recorded in K. 42:6 and the terebinth in Sikimos in K. 164:11. Out of order, so this or next entry is suspect.

²⁶⁶ Borkonneim (Borconni). Judges 8:7, 16; K. 54:25; L. 250:71.

Simple Hexaplatc information, repeated by Procopius 1069A. Not a place.

²⁶⁷ Bēra. Judges 9:21; K. 54:26; L. 250:73.

The *Onomasticon* locates the Old Testament site in the wrong region. The Byzantine Bera is probably *Kh el Bireh* near 'ain shems. Bera of Old Testament is in the area of Bethbera (K. 54:21 above).

²⁶⁸ Baalthamar. Judges 20:33, 16; K. 56:1; L. 250:75.

Textual variant for the contemporary site Bethamari (Latin).

Apparently the *Onomasticon* locates this near *Tell el Ful* a little village for Jerome which may be *Ras et Tawel* where there are Byzantine remains. Uncertain!

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Baalthamar, having palms" (99).

KINGS

²⁶⁹ Bēthchōr (Bethchur). I Samuel 7:11f.; K. 56:5; L. 250:79.

Simple biblical notation. *Onomasticon* equates this with Ebenezer (I Samuel 7:12 and cf. K. 32:24 above).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethcar, house of lambs or house of lamb” (103).

²⁷⁰ Bama. I Samuel 9:12; K. 56:7; L. 250:81.

Simple biblical note plus Hexaplaric information.

The Aquila meaning is more exact than Jerome’s *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rama in which” (103).

²⁷¹ Bōsēs. I Samuel 14:4; K. 56:10; L. 250:84.

Simple biblical note. As is frequently the case Jerome refers to *Hebrew Questions* but nothing new is given there, suggesting this is not the Church Father’s reference for more information but a marginal gloss cross-reference.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Boses it flourishes in it or precipitous” (103).

²⁷² Basōr (Besor). I Samuel 30:9; K. 56:11; L. 250:85.

Simple biblical note. There are several wadies or torrents listed in the present text of the *Onomasticon* which were probably not original with Eusebius. It is difficult to distinguish the two Greek words being used (cp. K. 92:10, K. 102:19, K. 116:23, 25, K. 118:11, K. 160:2. K. 168:15,20, K. 174:16 etc.).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bosori, announcement or flesh” (103).

²⁷³ Bōrasan. I Samuel 30:30; K. 56:12; L. 250:87.

Textual Variant Bōsasan (Greek).

Simple report on David’s spoils (cf. K. 34:13).

²⁷⁴ Baoureim (Baurim). II Samuel 3:16; K. 56:13; L. 250:88.

Simple biblical note.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Baurim, choices” (106).

²⁷⁵ Baalasōr. II Samuel 13:23; K. 56:15; L. 250:89.

Simple biblical quotation. The Greek omits “sheep” and perhaps can be emended.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Balasor, having arrows of light or ascent of the hall” (106).

²⁷⁶ Bēthmacha. II Samuel 20:14; K. 56:17; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript (cf. II Kings 15:29). The Latin suggests it is to be identified with Macham 8 miles from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) possibly at *Kh Mekeuma*. Not

the Old Testament site.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethmacha, house of ground or of forum or of tax” (106).

²⁷⁷ Balth (Balaath). I Kings 9:18; K. 56:20; L. 250:91.

LXX has Balath.

Simple biblical note.

²⁷⁸ Baithsarisa (Bethsarisa). II Kings 4:42; K. 56:21; L. 250:92.

Textual variant Baithsarisath (Greek).

In the region of Diospolis (K. 8:14) is the Thamnitikē (K. 24:4). At the proper distance for turn off from main road is *Kh Sirisiah* and a bit farther on the Old Testament site at *Kefr tilt*, which retains the name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Baalsalisa, having three” (114).

²⁷⁹ Baithaggan (Bethagan). II Kings 9:27; K. 56:24; L. 251:95.

Simple biblical entry. Perhaps not a proper name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* ““Bethagan, house of the garden.”

²⁸⁰ Basekath (Bazeoath). II Kings 22:1; K. 56:25; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Greek Vatican manuscript and is out of the proper order and therefore is suspect as a late intrusion. LXX has Basourōth but the spelling of *Onomasticon* is closer to MT.

²⁸¹ Baithakath (Bethacath). II Kings 10:12; K. 56:26; L. 251:96.

Textual variant Bazechath (Latin).

The region of Samaria or the Samaritans is frequently mentioned in the *Onomasticon*. In this instance it said to be in the area of village dependent upon Samaria (K. 162:13). Legeōn is here called an “oppidum” in Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix).

This village is located by reference to Legeōn (K. 14:21) and a similar sounding name is still to be heard at *Beit Qad* east of Jenin. It is probably not the Old Testament site.

The Vulgate and other versions do not have a proper name here. It has “chamber of the shepherds” (cf. Hexaplaric data also with more detail in Latin).

²⁸² Baithannē (Baenith). II Kings 17:30; K. 58:3; L. 251:99.

The Latin gives only one form for this entry which appears in several variations in the Greek and LXX.

A simple biblical fact is presented.

²⁸³ Bublos (Byblus). Ezekiel 27:9; K. 58:5; L. 251:1.

This is almost out of the geographical limits of the Holy Land. It is the most northern identifiable site in the text. It is listed as a Phoenician city but it is unclear whether this refers to biblical or Byzantine terminology, probably the earlier. The *Tabula Peutinger* has it seven miles from Beirut and 206 from Aelia. The distances are not quite correct but the present well-excavated site seems to be intended. It is never used for any other purpose in the *Onomasticon*. The difference comes to the vicinity of *Nahr Qelb*.

²⁸⁴ Boubastos (Bubastus). Ezekiel 30:17; K. 58:7; L. 251:3.

Textual variant Boubatos (Greek).

This is out of the area of the *Onomasticon*'s interest in the Holy Land. Perhaps most of the entries from the prophetic books are suspect as incidental addenda by a later editor. Other sites in Egypt are K. 80:11, K. 134:4, K. 148:3, K. 162:17, K. 164:23,24.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bubastus, mouth or lip of experience" (13).

²⁸⁵ Bōz. Jeremiah 25:23; K. 58:8; L. 251:4.

Textual variant Bōzan (Greek).

This is just on the edge of the limits of the Holy Land as defined by the *Onomasticon*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Buz, despising or contempt" (126).

²⁸⁶ Bēl. Jeremiah 50:2; K. 58:9; L. 251:5.

Another of the "idols" included by a later editor among the place names (cf. K. 36:15 and Appendix II).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Bel age" (126).

THE GOSPELS

²⁸⁷ Bēthsaida. Matthew 11:21; K. 58:11; L. 251:7.

Textual variants: Bethsaidan (Latin) and also Genesar and Genessareth (Latin).

The location is given largely from the New Testament. In Joseph *Wars* II, 9, 1 and *Antiquities* XVIII, 2, 1 he notes it was later also called Ioulias after Augustus' daughter. Formerly only a village it seems to be raised in status. In the New Testament it is called both terms (Matthew 8:26 and John 1:44). Probably *et Tell* on northeast side of the Sea of Galilee with the port at *Kh el 'Araj* (cf. John 1:44).

Galilaia is the northern portion of the land west of the Jordan (K. 72:18). It includes the hill country above the great plain and is sometimes "upper" and "lower" in the LXX and Vulgate. In *Onomasticon* it includes Bēthsaida, Capharnaoum (K. 120:2), Nazareth (K. 138:24) and Chorazein (K. 174:23).

Gennēsarit is used only twice in the *Onomasticon* (cf. K. 120:2). The term Tiberias is

preferred (cf. K. 16:1).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethsaida, house of fruits or house of hunters” (135).

²⁸⁸ Bēthphagē (Bethfage). Matthew 21:1; K. 58:13; L. 251:9.

The conclusion of this entry and the beginning of the next are missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript but properly supplied from the Latin.

Traditionally this is located at *Kefr et Tur* where the Palm Sunday processions begin, coming down the Mt. of Olives (*jebel et Tur*) in Bible and *Onomasticon* as a referent (K. 58:16, K. 74:17, K. 118:19, K. 175:28). There was intense Roman-Byzantine occupation on the area from 2nd BC to 8th A.D. Eusebius describes the Mt. of Olives in other writings also as in *Vita Const.* iii, 41; *Laud. Const.* IX, 17 and *Demonstratio Evangelica* IV, 18, etc.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Bethfage, house of the mouth of the valley or house of cheeks” (135).

²⁸⁹ Bēthania. Matthew 21:17; K. 58:15; L. 251:10.

The continued identity of Bethany in the present Arabic *el ‘Azariyeh* is uncontested. It is on the Mt. of Olives approximately two miles from Jerusalem. The present Arabic name is an approximation of the late Byzantine Lazarium.

The church known by Jerome (K. 59:17), but not by Eusebius, has been excavated (Note on other churches K. 7:3). The older city is up the slope farther near the medieval tower.

Paula (Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus* 22, 888) following the Lord went from Bethany to Bethfage (K. 58:13). The later pilgrims point to both a church and a place of the tomb (John 11:1).

²⁹⁰ Bēthaabara (Bethabara). John 1:28; K. 58:18; L. 251:12.

Textual variant Bethtabera (Latin).

This place is sometimes called the “other Bethany,” or the “Bethany across the Jordan.” The location is not precisely given, possibly because it was as well known as the previous New Testament villages to the authors. Origen probably began the written tradition of Bethaabara combining the crossing of the Israelites into the Promised Land and the baptism of John. Jerome and Eusebius follow this East bank tradition which by the time of the Madaba map had come to the present traditional location on the West bank near *Bethagla* (K. 8:19). Madaba map reads, “Bēthabara the place of St. John the Baptist.” Origen in his *Commentary on John* writes, “But the place named Bethania is across the Jordan. It is said that a Bethabara is pointed out beside the bank of the Jordan where as it is reported John Baptized” (Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus*, 14, 269). Perhaps *Kh el Medesh* near the *Wadi Nimrin* is the place. Some believe the Madaba map refers to two locations, but the influence of Origen and Eusebius is still seen. On the tradition of Aïnon for place of Baptism see K. 40:1.

The “brothers” of course mean in general Christians, but it is unclear whether *loutron* refers

to general bathing, liturgical renewals of baptism or the original baptism of each Christian. In spite of Constantine there are only three Christian “towns” in the *Onomasticon*: Anaia (K. 26:14, Ietheira (K. 108:3) and Kariatha (K. 112:16).

²⁹¹ Bēzatha (Bethsaida). John 5:2; K. 58:21; L. 251:15.

Textual variants: Bethesda (Latin), Josephus has Bezatha.

Eusebius again follows Origen (Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus* 14, 269) in his description of the twin pools and in the general location. The pools apparently gave their name to the quarter of the city. The Church of St. Ann is in the general area of the church on the Madaba map.

This explanation is curious. Such explanations are not common in the *Onomasticon*. In Eusebius only one of the twin pools is involved in the miracle. The pilgrims report similar happenings. “There are in Jerusalem two large pools at the north side of the temple, that is one upon the right hand and one upon the left where were made by Solomon; and further in the city are twin pools with five porticoes which are called Bethsaida. There persons who have been sick for many years are cured; the pools contain water which is red when it is disturbed” (*Itin. Bourd. PPT* 1, 20).

SECTION G

GENESIS

²⁹² Gaiōn (Geon). Genesis 2:13; K. 60:3; L. 251:24.

This entry is out of the geographical range of the Holy Land as perceived in the *Onomasticon* just as entries appearing first in *A* and *B* sections also. This is a river which makes it doubly suspect.

The information is dependent on Scripture and Josephus. “Lastly (of the 4 rivers in Paradise) Geon which flows through Egypt means ‘that which wells up to us from the opposite world’ and by the Greeks is called the Nile” (*Antiquities* I, 1, 3). For another such river see K. 82:7, K. 164:7, and K. 166:7).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Geon, breast or broken off” (66).

²⁹³ Gomorra. Genesis 10:19; K. 60:5; L. 251:26.

Biblical information on the Pentapolis of Sodom (K. 150:10). Jerome in *Hebrew Questions* seems to suggest the vicinity of the hot springs of Callirhoe (14).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* he notes that the Latin *G* is not here but rather a vowel should be used to begin these words (cf. his note on Gader (K. 63:4). “Gomorra, fear of the people or sedition” (67).

²⁹⁴ Gerara. Genesis 20:1; K. 60:7; L. 251:28.

Procopius 309C follows the first sentence almost exactly but shortened the remainder into “a royal city of the Phylistiems located between the deserts of Sour and Kadēs.” The Madaba

map also follows Eusebius “Gerara-once a royal city of the Phylistia and the southern border of the Chananaia thence the salton Geraritikon.”

Gerara is located from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) in the southwest area of Palestinē. A vignette on the Madaba map fits the legend and the *Onomasticon's* information. The name is still to be found at *Kh Um Jerrar* but this is not the location for either the Old Testament site or that of the *Onomasticon*. The biblical site is possibly at *Tell Abu Hureira*. Eusebius does not say if he knows a village or city existing there in his day so he could have had this tell in mind. But if a Byzantine town is needed it may be *Tell ash Shari'a* on the wadi of the same name which is largely a Roman-Byzantine site.

The area was named for the city back in patriarchal times (Genesis 26:1). It is on the border of Chananite territory (Genesis 10:19). The Geraritikē is probably the same area south of the region of Eleutheropolis and west of the Daroma (K. 26:10) or Negeb (K. 136:14). It may be parallel to Barsama a military area. Later this was a bishop's seat.

Apparently Sur is the southern and western portion of the Sinai Peninsula (K. 152:6). Kades (K. 112:8) is central and eastern while that belonging to the Saracees is the northern caravan area which in Transjordan probably extended to the Syrian Desert (K. 118:21 and K. 124:10). The biblical information is here summarized from I Samuel 15:7, Exodus 15:22, and Numbers 27:14.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gerara, he saw a chewing of the cud or a garden wall” (66).

²⁹⁵ Galaad. Genesis 31:21; K. 60:15; L. 252:36.

Originally the area was just south of the Jabboq. In the widest use as in the *Onomasticon* it included all the Transjordanian territory ever claimed by ancient Israel. Procopius 1060B has, “Galaad is located back of Phoenikē and Arabia, linked with the Libanon and extending through the desert beyond the Iordan Peraia (to Petra?). Here Sēon the Amorite dwelled. It was received by the two half tribes. In Jeremiah it says, “You are to me like the peak of Lebanon.” There is also a mountain Galaad with a city set upon it which Galaad the son of Macheir, son of Manassē took from the Amorites.” Jerome in *Commentary on Ezekeil* 14:18 writes, “Galaad, which is connected by hills with Mt. Leban fell by lot to Ruben and Gad and the half tribe of Manassē. It is back of Phoenice and Arabia. To this mountain Jacob came fleeing from Charran and was caught by Laban. Jeremiah says of it, ‘Galaad, you are to be the beginning of Libani.’ Galaad the son of Machir, the son of Manassē took this from the Amorites.” Jerome repeats this in *Commentary on Jeremiah* 22:6.

The hill country today includes a *jebel jel'ad* which is near *Kh Jel 'ad*, the probable town Eusebius had in mind. It has Roman-Byzantine sherds but the Old Testament site must be elsewhere.

The biblical information is from Deuteronomy 3:16, Joshua 13:8.11, Jeremiah 22:6 and Numbers 32:39. Charran although out of the *Onomasticon's* area is discussed in K. 170:23.

There is a Latin variant Charris.

Mesopotamia is probably here used as the Roman province which includes Euphratēs (K. 82:7, Phathourra (K. 168:22) and the above Charran (K. 170:23).

Arabia is confusing in the *Onomasticon* since it is not always the Roman province. Different editors may be using it differently.

Libanon (K. 10:24), Iordan (K. 104:20) and Petra (K. 142:7).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Galaad, heap of evidence or migration of evidence” (67).

²⁹⁶ Gader. Genesis 35:21; K. 62:5; L. 252:45.

Textual variant Adda (Syriac).

A simple biblical report.

Apparently in K. 68:11 the *Onomasticon* confuses this with the Canaanite royal city. The Tower or Migdal is in the Chebrōnrea (K. 43:23). In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome locates it near Bethlehem (43). Jerome’s text frequently makes note of transliteration problems from Hebrew to Greek and Latin.

²⁹⁷ Gethem (Gethaim). Genesis 36:35; K. 62:7; L. 252:47.

Textual variants: Gethea (Greek), Geththaim, and Adda (LXX).

Here Idumaia is identified with the Gebalēne (cf. K. 26:10 and K. 102:23).

Gethem without the *G* in Hebrew is Avith but location still unknown.

²⁹⁸ Gesem. Genesis 45:10; K. 62:10; L. 252:50.

Textual variant Gesen (Latin).

This is also out of the geographical area of the Holy Land.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* ““Gesem, approaching flatteries or vicinity” (67). But, “If as in our codices the final *M* is written Gesem, which doesn’t please me at all. it signifies fall land” (49).

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

²⁹⁹ Gasiōn (Gaber). Numbers 33:35; K. 62:13; L. 252:53.

Cf. K. 36:1. The *Onomasticon* has only a report on Asian not personal identification. Cf. the Latin variants Esaia and Aialam and cf. also Deuteronomy 2:8.

³⁰⁰ Gai. Numbers 33:44; K. 62:17; L. 252:57.

Gaia is called a city of Petra (K. 142:7) but lacks any other identification or location.

³⁰¹ Gelmōn Deblathaeim (Gelmōn Deblathaim). Numbers 33:46; K. 62:19; L. 252:59.

Biblical note on the station but a different formula from the usual.

Also out of order.

³⁰² Gadgad. Numbers 33:23; K. 62:20; L. 252:60.

Another note on the station. Probably a confusion of Dibongad (K. 76:23) Numbers 33:46.

³⁰³ Gaza. Deuteronomy 2:23; K. 62:22; L. 252:62.

Gaza has always been a significant or famous city of Palestine. It once formed the border of the Chanaanites (Genesis 10:19). It was one of the Philistine cities (K. 22:6, 11, 15 and K. 68:4). They (foreigners-Philistines usually) were not driven out by Israel (Joshua 15:47, Judges 1:18)

The Madaba Map locates Gaza and describes it as a splendid town with columned streets and a basilica.

Tabula Peutinger locates it 15 miles from Askalon (K. 22:15).

It had suffered under Diocletian but had a bishop at Nicea (*Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII, 13, 5).

The region of Gaza was important in the *Onomasticon* and the Roman road system (cf. Jerome's *Epistle* 108:11). The city is probably still *ghazze*.

The Greeks and after them, Jerome, seems to have distinguished another older Gaza. Jerome for some literalistic theological reasons does not expect such a splendid city to still exist after all the prophetic woes pronounced against it. Some suggest this old site was Bethaglaim (K. 48:19).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Gaza his strength" (66) and "Gaza strength, but probably one should know that the Hebrews do not have as the first letter a consonant, but the word begins with a vowel and is pronounced Aza" (87).

³⁰⁴ Gergasei (Gergasi). Deuteronomy 7:1; K. 64:1; L. 252:68.

Textual variants: Gergesa (Greek) and Gargasi (Latin).

This is equated with an important city in Arabia (Coele Syria) called Gerasa. Some falsely equate it with Gadara (K. 74:10). Both were cities of the Dekapolis (K. 80:16). The equation with Gerasa, probably modern Jerash, seems more correct than with the city Galaad (K. 62:2) since the *Onomasticon* locates it as near Galaad (Josh 12:5). This Gergasei is distinct in the *Onomasticon* from the New Testament site (K. 74:13) (cf. Mark 5:1).

Gerasa has been well excavated to become known as the "Pompeii of Palestine." According to the *Onomasticon* the Jabbok flowed between it and Philadelphia only four miles from Gerasa (K.102:22). Many villages depended on it in Roman-Byzantine times.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Gergesaeum, attached to the farm" (87).

³⁰⁵ Gadgada. Deuteronomy 10:7; K. 64:5; L. 253:73.

A simple entry with no real identity or location (cp. Gadgad (K. 62:20)).

Either this or the next entry out of order and suspect as late additions.

³⁰⁶ Gaulōn or Gōlan (Gōlam). Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 64:6; L. 253:75.

The city gave its name to a region in Roman times, but is not used as such by the *Onomasticon* since it apparently overlaps the region Batauaia (K. 44:10). The city may possibly be located at *Sahem el Jolan* cf. Joshua 20:8. See previous entry.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gaulon, his rolling about” (87).

³⁰⁷ Gaibal (Gebal). Deuteronomy 11:29; K. 64:9; L. 253:79.

Textual variant Gebal (Greek).

This and the following entry can be treated together. The *Onomasticon* begins by recording the simple biblical information here.

The generally accepted tradition is to follow the Samaritan tradition as given here. The two mountains are on either side of Neapolis (K. 4:28) and are *Jebel es-Slamiyeh* and *Jebel et Tur*. The Madaba Map reflects this tradition by having them near Shechem (K. 150:1) called Garizin and Göbel. The pilgrims also recognize this identity. “At Neapolis is Mt. Agazaren where the Samaritans say Abraham brought the sacrifice. And to ascend up to the summit are 300 steps. At the foot of the mountain is located a place by the name of Shechem” (*Itin. Bourd. PPT* I, 18). Zeno and Justinian built churches on Garizein according to Procopius *Buildings* V, vii, 5-17. Excavation of this area is going on.

But Eusebius and Jerome prefer to follow an anti-Samaritan location. The Madaba map hesitates between the two opinions and so locates Gebal Garizeini near Ierichō (K. 104:25). The use of the LXX names in Ierichō region and the Aramaic in the Neapolis area may signify some preference. Since Josephus and the later Byzantines had the correct tradition, this rabbinic tradition must have developed in the late first and early second centuries. Procopius 905C is also confused: “This is situated at the Eastern part of Ierichō beyond Galgal” and he continues by denying the Samaritan tradition. Yet in 908A he seems to accept the Samaritan location and tradition. The two mountains near Jericho are probably those above *Aqaba jabr* sometimes called Tyros and Thrax. The Roman road to Jerusalem passed between them.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gebal, ancient abyss or stone building” (87).

³⁰⁸ Garizein (Garizin). Deuteronomy 11:29; K. 64:16; L. 242.

See previous entry.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Garizin, division or stranger” (87).

³⁰⁹ Golgol or Galgal. Deuteronomy 11:30; K. 64:18; L. 253:88.

Textual variants: Golgōn and Galgan (Greek).

The argument of the previous two entries is continued here in Greek and developed by Jerome. A Galgal could be located near Neapolis on the basis of the text quoted (K. 66:7) but the *Onomasticon* uses the Galgala (K. 64:24) on the Jordan to move mountains.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Galgai, wheel or revelation” (87).

³¹⁰ Gai. Deuteronomy 34:6; K. 64:21; L. 253:91.

This is not a proper name. It is equated with Bēthphogōr (K. 48:3) with Beth translated “house” of Phogor (K. 168:7, 25). On the Madaba map there is “AIA” which could be related to Bethpeor.

The general area could include the Gai near Petra as in K. 62:17 but it probably does not. The Gai of K. 66:8 is the same as Aggai (K. 4:27).

Here and in K. 70:1 it is better simply “valley.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gai, chasm” (87).

JOSUE

³¹¹ Galgala. Joshua 4:19; K. 64:24; L. 253:94.

Textual variant. The distance is omitted in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Gilgal has been a problem for the *Onomasticon*’s editors, pilgrims and modern scholars. “East of Jericho” is a biblical reference not a contemporary geographical one (cf. Joshua 5:11f., Joshua 15:7, I Samuel 7:16, Amos 5:5, II Kings 2:1, and 4:38 etc.). Even if it were being used the quadrant NE to SE could be involved. But the location two miles from Ierichō does not include direction or road. The Madaba map locates it slightly NE of Jericho and records “Galgala also dōdekalithon” (12 stones). Procopius 1009C records the etymology “wheel” and the location at second mile from Ierichō. The 12 stones were said to be visible according to K. 46:20 and Procopius reaffirms this evidence. Paula only contemplated the “field” of Gilgal on her way from Jericho to the Jordan (*PPT* 1, 4 cf. Jerome’s *Epistle* 108, 2).

Biblical Gilgal is not certain but the measurements of Josephus and Eusebius taken from *tubul abu Aliviq* (New Testament Jericho) suggest *Tell es Sultan* was the revered site of Gilgal, the “hill of foreskins” where stones were pointed out.

The Galgala near Bethel could be the same- on the road to Bethel- or it could be one of sites in the hill country related to Garizein and Gaibal (cf. K. 64:18).

³¹² Gai. Joshua 7:2; K. 66:8; L. 253:2.

Textual variants: Bēthaunōn (Greek) and Bethan (Latin).

The same as Aggai (K. 4:27) probably already in the 4th century the tradition was settled on the ruined place *et Tell*. In this entry the identity of Bethayn with Baithēl is not made clear (K. 43:3 and Joshua 12:9).

³¹³ Gabaon. Joshua 9:9ff.; K. 66:11; L. 253:6.

The complications on Gabaon have been noted in discussion of Bērōth (K. 48:9). It is further complicated here by 4 miles west of Baithel (K. 40:20). Both the Latin of Jerome and Procopius 1020C accept this reading. This would make the Gabaon in *Onomasticon* near

Ramallah. In the *Onomasticon* Gabaon, Rama, Galgala, Ailon and Aggai are near Baithēl (cf. Joshua 10:2, 18:25, 21:17; I Kings 3:4).

The Madaba map has a Gabaon at the location generally preferred for the Old Testament site *el jib*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gabaon, hill of walls” (94).

³¹⁴ Gaibe (Gaba). Joshua 18:24; K. 66:17; L. 254:13.

Textual variants: Gabaa (LXX), Gebe (Latin) and Gabe (Syriac).

A simple biblical note (Joshua 21:7) but it is out of order. The last part has been emended from the Latin since it is missing in the Vatican manuscript along with the first part of the next entry. However, Hebrew, Greek and Latin names with *G-B* are all confused in parts of all the versions.

³¹⁵ Gazer. Joshua 10:33; K. 64:19; L. 254:14.

The first part of this entry is missing in Vatican manuscript along with the end of the above.

A summary of biblical information from Joshua 21:21, I Kings 9:17, Joshua 16:10, and Judges 1:29. Josephus, Eusebius and the Madaba map seem to be confused about Gazara (K. 72:12), Gedour (K. 68:22) and this Gazer.

The Old Testament site is being excavated at *Tell jezer*. Seems to have ceased being important before the time of Constantine. But the direction of 4 miles north of Nikopolis (K. 30:27) cannot fit unless WNW is the quadrant. Some have corrected it to be west and then it would be about 5 miles from ‘*Amwas*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gazer, mutilation or division” (94).

³¹⁶ Goson. Joshua 10:41; K. 68:3; L. 254:19.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gosnam, next to him or located near” (94).

³¹⁷ Geth. Joshua 11:22; K. 68:4; L. 254:20.

Another of the Philistine cities (cf. K. 22:6, 11, 15; K. 62:22). Since “foreigners” has been used for ‘Enakeim’ this is one of the few places in the *Onomasticon* where it is clearly stated Philistaiοi were not driven out.

Madaba map has “Geth now Gitta once one of the Satrapies.” The Bible and the *Onomasticon* as well as the Amarna letters are confusing with several spellings of similar names (or of the same?) (cp. K. 48:28; K. 70:14; K. 72:2, 4 etc.). The Madaba map has combined Geth with Geththa (K. 72:2) in the vicinity of Ramle which may be at *Tell Ras Abu Hamid*.

The *Onomasticon* has 5 miles from Eleutheropolis which points northwest to *Kh Dikrin* (Dikkriya) others see it at *Tell es Safi* a bit farther away at 8 miles. This cannot be Canaanite or Philistine Gath (if they are the same?). The latest suggestions for Old Testament Gath are

Tell en Najilah which has no Philistine remains and *Tell esh sheri'a* which does. Jerome's *Commentary on Micah* 1:10 says, "Geth one of the five cities of Palestine a village on the border of Judaea. There is now a large hamlet on the road from Eleutherpolis to Gaza, home of Goliath the Gethite." This points to one of the many earlier candidates for Philistine Gath, *Araq el Manshijeh* (but see K. 160:9).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Geth, wine press" (94).

³¹⁸ Gesoureim (Gesom). Joshua 12:5; K. 68:8; L. 254:24.

Textual variants: Gegassi and Gergasi (Latin)(cf. K. 64:1 and K. 74:14).

³¹⁹ Gader. Joshua 12:13; K. 68:11; L. 254:27.

Textual variant in Latin we find "torrentem" (wadi) for "tower."

This unknown Canaanite city is equated by the *Onomasticon* with the Tower of Genesis 35:16, 22 (cf. K. 62:5). The Hebrew MT is itself questionable.

³²⁰ Gōein of Gelgel (Goim in Gelgel). Joshua 12:23; K. 68:13; L. 254:30.

Textual variant Galgalis (Latin).

Simple Hexaplaric information. See next entry.

³²¹ Gelgel. Joshua 12:23; K. 68:14; L. 254:31.

Textual variant Galboulis (Greek).

This points to the road going north from Antipatris and is perhaps indicative of *Jaljuliya* which is about 5 miles north. Paula reports Antipatris "a small half ruined town" (*PPT* I, 4). It is on the road between Diospolis (K. 8:14) and Caesaria according to the *Tabula Peutinger* 12 miles from the former. Today this is *Ras el 'ain*. It was a station on the Roman courier route. It was redeveloped by Herod, and seems to have been less significant for our editors than it was in 4th century A. D.

³²² Golathmaeim (Golathmaim). Joshua 15:19; K. 68:17; L. 254:34.

The interpretation is missing in Vatican manuscript but properly emended from the Latin. This is a "place" but not a proper name. The etymology is from the translation of Symmachus.

³²³ Gadda. Joshua 15:27; K. 68:18; L. 254:35.

Another border village of Judaea in the Daroma (K. 26:10). The *Onomasticon* equates it with an unidentifiable village which is nameless in the Engaddi region (cf. K. 86:16 and K. 96:9).

³²⁴ Gadeira (Gadera). Joshua 15:36; K. 68:20; L. 254:37.

Textual variants for the contemporary village Gadara, Gedora (Latin).

About 5 miles from the Terebinth (K. 6:8 and K. 76:1) is *Kh Jedur* which must be the site the

Onomasticon’s writer has in mind for Gidora but it is not Old Testament Gadeira, which is in the Jerusalem region, near Gezer and Latrun probably at *Kh Jederah* (see K. 68:22).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gadera, his hedge” (94).

³²⁵ Gedour (Gedur). Joshua 15:58; K. 68:22; L. 254:39.

Textual variants: Gedrous (Greek), Gahedur and Cedrus (Latin).

This is often located at the same spot as the previous entry but not according to the *Onomasticon* which probably has *Qatra* in view. So Old Testament Gedour at *Kh Jedur* (K. 68: 20). The Madaba map conflates these sites after the *Onomasticon* and has “Gedour which is also Gidirtha” in the general vicinity of Gezer (K. 66:19). Perhaps Gazara (K. 72:13) and Gedrous have been confused with Gezer. This site fits the general distance given here but could also point to *Abu Shusha*.

³²⁶ Gabli. Joshua 13:5; K. 68:24; L. 254:41.

Textual variants: Gabbli and Gamblē (Greek).

Note again rare use of transliteration of *Allofylorum* in Latin (cf. K. 23:14; see Appendix I).

³²⁷ Gisōn. Joshua 15:51; K. 68:25; L. 254:42.

Simple tribal listing.

³²⁸ Gelōn. Joshua 15:51; K. 68:26; L. 254:43.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 172:24).

³²⁹ Gadērōth. Joshua 15:41; K. 68:27; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Textual variant Geddōr (LXX) and Gederoth (Latin).

This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript (cf. K. 68: 22). Out of order and suspect.

³³⁰ Gethemmōn. Joshua 21:25; K. 68:28; L. 255:44.

This entry in Manassē is distinct from that of Dan (K. 70:14).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gethremmon, high press or elevated press” (94).

³³¹ Gai. Joshua 18:16; K. 70:1; L. 255:46.

Simple etymology. See next entry. A number of wadies or ravines are listed in the present text but do not belong to the original manuscript (K. 168:15, 20 etc.).

³³² Galennoum (Geennom). Joshua 18:16; K. 70:2; L. 255:47.

Variant Enom (Latin).

One of several detailed notes about Jerusalem. The etymology is from the Hebrew (cf. K. 170:8). The valley forms the border of Benjamin and Jouda. In Byzantine tradition as here, it is equated with the Kedron (K. 118:11 and K. 174:26).

³³³ Geththepher. Joshua 19:13; K. 70:5; L. 255:50.

Textual variant Geththepha (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gethhaafer, his press of ground or excavated” (94).

³³⁴ Gēepthael. Joshua 19:14; K. 70:6; L. 255:52.

The name is missing in Vatican manuscript but supplied correctly from Latin (cp. K. 110:1).

³³⁵ Gabathōn. Joshua 19:14; K. 70:7; L. 255:53.

The *Onomasticon* has added a number of items from the confused Old Testament Geba concordance.

a) The *Onomasticon* identified Gabathon of Dan with the city (polichnē in Greek cp. K. 22:11) of Gabe near Kaisareia. This is probably in error. This Gabe is accurately located southeast of Mt.Karmel at present *Jeba*.

b) A little farther located generally east in the Great Plain of Legeōn is the first Gabatha at *Jebata* (or Gevat) southwest of Nazareth.

c) In the Daroma (K. 26:10) the *Onomasticon* has a Gabaa and Gabatha. Possibly these are double names for the same village (plural only in Latin). Perhaps this is same as Gabatha (K. 70:23) twelve miles from Eleutheropolis but this is toward Jerusalem and not in the Daroma. Possible near Ziph.

d) The Gabatha of Benjamin and Saoul (Joshua 18:28 and I Samuel 10:26) is located by our text and is not the Old Testament site *Tell al Ful* which had no Byzantine remains, but the nearby *Jaba* which is close to *er-Ram* and fits Jerome’s location of Gabaa of Saul next to Rama (*Commentary on Hosea* 5:8).

e) The Babathon of the heathen (I Kings 16:15) may be the region of Dor half-way between Kaisareia and Mt.Karmel. The Latin is confusing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gabathon, height or high press” (94).

³³⁶ Gethremmōn. Joshua 19:45; K. 70:14; L. 255:58.

This is one of several instances where “another” is in its proper biblical order (Joshua 21:24). Usually in the *Onomasticon* “another” is out of order and suggests some late marginal gloss has been incorporated into our manuscripts (cf. K. 68:28 above). The confusion suggested it is equated with K. 72:3.

The contemporary city is hardly from Dan. There is a possibility the direction of the road has been reversed, but 12 miles is almost midway, so little is changed, possibly *Ras abu Hamid*. If it is to be distinguished from the Madaba map site near Ramle, it could well be *Tell es safi*, long a candidate for Philistine Gath which is 8 Roman miles north of Eleutheropolis, but biblical Gethaemmon is located way north at *Tell Jerishe*.

³³⁷ Gaileilōth (Galiloth). Joshua 22:10; K. 70:17; L. 255:61.

Textual variants: Galiloth, Gaiciloth (Greek).

Since the LXX transliterates the Hebrew for “borders” it is listed here as a “place” but not a contemporary village (cf. Josh 18:17).

³³⁸ Gaas. Joshua 24:30; K. 70:19; L. 255:63.

A mountain and so properly not original in the *Onomasticon*’s text.

There are several references to tombs. This Thamna (cf. K. 96:24) is northwest of Ramalla at Tibne. Paula viewed the “tombs on Mt. Ephraim of Joshua, son of Naue and of Eliazar, son of Aron, the priest, one of whom is buried in Thamathsare on the north side of Mt. Gass and the other in Gabaa of Phinees” (*PPT* I, 12 and Jerome’s *Epistle* 108:13). On Thamathaare (cf. *Thannathsara* 100:1) Thamna is near Gouphna (K. 76:2 in Josephus *Antiquities* V, 1, 29).

³³⁹ Gabass (Gabath). Joshua 24:33; K. 70:22; L. 255:66.

Textual variants: Gabaath (Greek) and Ambacuc (Latin).

The tomb tradition of Paula is recorded in the note on the previous entry. This Gabatha may be the same as that in the Daroma (K. 70:10). But it is best at *el jeba*’ north of Eleutheropolis. For another tradition of the tomb of Ambakoyim see K. 88:22 and K. 114:17. Probably the first and last parts of this entry refer to the Gabatha (K. 70:6) of Saul and Benjamin located by the *Onomasticon* and Paula as near *er-Ram*. Ephraim and Benjamin have also been confused (Joshua 18:24).

³⁴⁰ Gabaan (Gabaam). Joshua 21:17; K. 70:26; L. 255:70.

This is either the above Gabatha of Saul or another Geba of Benjamin (cf. K. 70:7). “In Gabas, a city destroyed even to the ground, she stayed for a short time remembering its sins and the concubine cut into pieces and the 300 men of the tribe of Benjamin reserved for the sake of the Apostle Paul” (Jerome’s *Epistle* 108:8; Paula *PPT* I, 5; cf. Judges 20:43). It is out of order and a late addition.

KINGS

³⁴¹ Geththa. I Samuel 5:8; K. 72:2; L. 255:73.

Textual variant for the second contemporary town Giththim (Latin).

The biblical information on Gath is confused (cf. K. 68:4). There is debate whether Canaanite and Philistine Gath are identical or not. In the *Onomasticon* Giththam is equated with Geththa, but probably also with the previously discussed Geth (K. 70:14) or Gethremmon (K. 68:20).

The road between Antipatris (K. 68:15) and Iamnia (K. 106:21) is not very important in the *Onomasticon* so some have tried to emend to Antipatris to Ioppa (K. 110:24). If the text is correct then the Madaba map Gitta has followed that road and placed it near Ramle at *Tell Ras Abu Hamid*. If we emend the text and change the road it may be *Saqya*.

The second Geththeim is not located. It may be related to Gethem (K. 62:7).

³⁴² Gallei (Gallim). I Samuel 25:44; K. 72:5; L. 255:77.

A biblical note (Isaiah 10:30) and then a tradition of a similar sounding name Gallaia. This may be reflected in *Jilya* half way between Akkarōn (K. 22:6) and Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) beyond the area of Benjamin and which has no relationship to the biblical site at *Kh Kakul*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gallim, transmigration or revelations” (104).

³⁴³ Gelamsour (Gelamsur). I Samuel 27:8; K. 72:8; L. 255:80.

Simple record of an enemy city.

Jerome does not translate as usual and does not equate with Philistines but simply transliterates. The entry is the result of a poor LXX transcription.

³⁴⁴ Gelboue (Gelbua). I Samuel 28:4; K. 72:9; L. 256:81.

Textual variant Geboue (Greek).

The mountain is not proper for *Onomasticon*. The village of Gelbous is probably *Jelbun* southwest of *Beisan*. The mountain is *Jebel Fuqua* but our text errs in the equations.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gelboe, rolling about or running around or flowing heap” (104).

³⁴⁵ Geddour (Gedud). I Samuel 30:8; K. 72:11; L. 256:83.

Textual variants: Geddar (Greek) and Gedur (Latin).

Another transcription confusion from the LXX. Not properly a place name as the Hexaplaric notes show and therefore suspect.

³⁴⁶ Gazēra. II Samuel 5:25; K. 72:13; L. 256:85.

Simple biblical note (cf 66:19).

³⁴⁷ Gessour (Gessur). II Samuel 15:8; K. 72:15; L. 256:87.

In region of Syria.

³⁴⁸ Gilōn. II Samuel 15:12; K. 72:16; L. 256:88.

Textual variant Achittophel (Greek).

Simple biblical note.

³⁴⁹ Gob. II Samuel 21:19; K. 72:17; L. 256:89.

Simple biblical note.

³⁵⁰ Gailaia (Gailaea). I Kings 9:11; K. 72:18; L. 256:90.

Textual variants: Gennesar and Gennesareth (Latin).

Summary of biblical information from Isaiah 9:1 and Job 20:7.

On the lake see K. 58:12. The latter part of this entry seems to be an addenda after “another.”

³⁵¹ Geiōn (Gion). I Kings 1:33; K. 72:22; L. 256:95.

Simple biblical note. Out of order and suspect late addition.

³⁵² Gēr. II Kings 9:27; K. 72:23; L. 256:96.

Simple biblical note with biblical location (cf. K. 56:26).

The LXX has the Gur of MT transcribed as it is here. It also appears in variant form as Gair. Ibleaam (K. 108:24) is probably *Tell bel ‘ameh* just south of Jenin. Only a “place” in the *Onomasticon*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gir, division or broken off” (111).

³⁵³ Geththachopher. II Kings 14:25; K. 72:25; L. 256:97.

Textual variant Geththarchopher (Greek).

Jerome in *Commentary on Jonah* writes “Geth which is in Ofer, about two miles from Saphorim which is Diocaesarea, is a not large hamlet on the way to Tiberias where his tomb is shown. There is another near Diospolis, i.e., Lyddat.” This village is just east of Diocaesarea near *Mash-had* where a shrine is still shown. This is out of biblical order and a late addition.

³⁵⁴ Gaddei (Gaddi). II Kings 12:18; K. 72:26; L. 256:98.

Simple biblical note (cf. K. 68:18) with no location possible for either. But also see K. 86:16 Engaddi.

³⁵⁵ Gēmela. II Kings 14:7; K. 72:28; L. 256:00.

Generalized biblical location in Edom (K. 102:23) with Hexaplaric information.

³⁵⁶ Gebein (Gebin). Isaiah 10:31; K. 74:1; L. 256:2.

Onomasticon is confused with Geba (K. 70:7). The town falsely equated with Gebim is north of *Jifneh*, which is this Gouphna (cp. K. 26:2 and K. 168:16). This town is *et tell* on the *Wadi el jib* which preserves the Byzantine name. The biblical site was in vicinity of Mt.Scopus.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gebim, cisterns” (121).

³⁵⁷ Gōzan. Isaiah 37:12; K. 74:3; L. 256:4.

Textual variant Gōzath (Greek).

This is outside the normal limits of the Holy Land. Probably an addition.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gozan, their nut” (121).

³⁵⁸ Garēb. Jeremiah 31:39; K. 74:5; L. 256:6.

Textual variant Garēy (Greek).

Simple biblical note. The next 3 entries and this are late additions.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Garab, scabs or many people” (127).

³⁵⁹ Gēbarōth (Gebarth). Jeremiah 41:17; K. 74:6; L. 256:7.

Textual variant Gebaroth (Latin).

Simple Hexaplaric information. Not properly a place name. One of a series of late additions.

³⁶⁰ Gaimōd (Gemen or Gamon). Isaiah 60:6; K. 74:9; L. 256:8.

Textual variants: Gaimōn or Gaimōl (Greek) and Gamen or Gamol (Latin).

Simple reference to a dubious place. Only the Latin text has the double tradition of spelling (cf. K. 78:20 and K. 138:8). One of a series of late additions.

³⁶¹ Gaipha (Gefa). Isaiah 60:6; K. 74:9; L. 256:8.

The order of these last two entries is reversed in the Latin. This is also out of the territory of the Holy Land and is suspect as are many of the prophetic entries. Called a region (cp. K. 138:22) perhaps by interpretation in a marginal gloss.

THE GOSPELS

³⁶² Gadara. Matthew 8:28; K. 74:10; L. 256:11.

This is a city of the Decapolis (K. 80:16) which is generally located at *Umm Qeis* overlooking the Yarmuq. On the *Tabula Peutinger* it is 16 miles from Tiberias. It was a strong military city. A bishop was at the Council of Nicea. The hot baths of Amatha are not far away (K. 22:26). Origen in his *Commentary on John* 6:4 remarks about the renowned hot baths of Gadara (cf. K. 64:1 where it is confused with Gerasa).

³⁶³ Gergesa. Matthew 5:1; K. 74:13; L. 256:14.

Textual variant Gergessa, Gerges (Latin).

At this point we have a distinction made with Gerasa (K. 64:1). Procopius 349B follows Eusebius “Gergasenes lived near Gadara. Now Gergesau the desert reaching Lake Tiberias.” This location is dependent upon Origen who in his *Commentary on John* 6:4 remarks “The Gergasenes are from an old city near Lake Tiberias on a cliff extending down to the Lake. Nearby they show (the hill) of the pigs thrown down by the demons.” This probably is present Chorsia (*el Kursi*) on the East shore of the Sea above Hippos (K. 22:21).

³⁶⁴ Gethsimanē (Gethsimani). Matthew 26:36; K. 74:16; L. 257:18.

Another site on the Mt. of Olives (cf. Bēthania (K. 58:15) and Bethphagē (K. 58:13)). The “faithful” are the Christians who bath at Bethabara and here are called “brothers” (K. 58:18). Helen planned a church there and Eusebius knew of it but only the Latin text (cf. Note on K. 7:3) reports the church (cf. *Vita Const.* iii, 43 and *Demonstratio Evangelica* vi, 18). In the itinerary it is across the Valley of Josafath (*Itin. Bourd. PPT* I, 25). The Madaba map has

“Geths” and the remainder must be emended. Perhaps two locations are involved: the betrayal spot and the place of prayer, one at the foot and another higher up.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Gethsemani, valley of fatness” (136).

³⁶⁵ Golgotha. Matthew 27:33; K. 74:19; L. 257:21.

The tradition of Golgotha has been of long standing. Some feel it was never lost sight of. The Itinerary notes “on the left side is the little hill Golgotha” (*PPT* I, 22). This means a short distance from the Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In *Vita Const.* iii, 25f., Eusebius describes the pagan temple to Venus on the site of the Holy Sepulchre and the subsequent work of Constantine. Curiously he does not speak of Golgotha. Here it is in the area north of Mt. Zion (K. 162:12) which is not clearly located in the *Onomasticon*, perhaps because the tradition continued strong to the 4th century A. D.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Golgotha, skulls” (136).

SECTION D

GENESIS

³⁶⁶ Dasem. Genesis 10:12; K. 74:24; L. 257:25.

The LXX has misread the MT with a *D* for an *R* (cp. K. 142:21). This is also outside the area of the Holy Land and so is doubly suspect, as are many first entries in these alphabetic sections.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dasem, bridle” (64).

³⁶⁷ Drus (Drys i.e., oak). Genesis 13:18; K. 76:1; L. 257:23.

The emended reading of the Madaba map is “drus mambre and terebinthos.” The first name is in black letters and the second in red, but no tradition that they were really separated. It is near Chebrōn (K. 6:8) on the map and also here in the *Onomasticon*. The pilgrims place it 8 miles from Bethsur (K. 52:1) and two miles from Chebrōn (*Itin. Bourd. PPT* I, 27). Constantine built a church there which Eusebius knew about (*Vita Const.* iii, 51) but only Jerome mentions it in the *Onomasticon* (K. 7:2). It is probably the excavated site of *Ramet el Khalil*. Mamre (K. 124:5) and the terebinth are frequently used for referents (K. 6:13, K. 24:16, K. 68:21 and K. 94:21).

³⁶⁸ Damaskos (Damascus). Genesis 15:2; K. 76:4; L. 257:30.

This city is the limit of the *Onomasticon* on the east along with Bostra (K.46:10). Damaskos is one of the Dekapolis (K. 80:16). In *Tabula Peutinger* it is 56 miles from Caecarea Paneas. It was a seat of a bishop at the time of Council of Nicea. Later pilgrims locate Paul’s conversion as a few miles out of the city. In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* (15:3) Jerome notes that Hebrew is quite different and lacks the idea of a proper name for a slave.

³⁶⁹ Dan. Genesis 14:14; K. 76:6; L. 257:18.

The border of Joudaia went from Dan to Bērsaba (K. 50:1). It is in the general region of the sources of the Jordan (K. 104:20 and cf. Josephus' *Antiquities* I, 10, etc.). Jerome calls one of the sources Dan and the other Ior close by (*Interpretation of Hebrew Names* 19). He also gives Greek etymology in an unusual way. The Syriac text and Procopius 333A have the little village of Dan 14 miles from Paneas on the road to Tyre which would be almost midway and so, much too far. In *Commentary on Ezekiel* 48:18, Jerome identifies Dan with Paneas (cp. K. 16:4).

The site is probably *Tell el Qadi* which preserves reminiscences of the meaning of the Hebrew *Dan*, namely “judge.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dan, judgment or judging” (64).

³⁷⁰ Danaba (Dannaba). Genesis 36:32; K. 76:9; L. 257:35.

Part of this entry has been emended from the Latin since it is missing in the Vatican manuscript. The Old Testament site is not identified.

The village of Dannea is probably *Kh ed denn* about the proper distance north of Areopolis (K. 10:13). The other Danaba comes near Mt. Nebo (K. 136:6) but its location is uncertain. Silva speaks of a city of Job called Dennaba which is Carneas now (*PPT* I, 29). This may relate to Karnaea or Karnaeim (K. 112:3-4).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dennaba, bringing judgment” (65).

³⁷¹ Dōthaeim (Dothaim). Genesis 37:17; K. 76:13; L. 257:38.

This well excavated site is on the Samaria to Jenin road at *Tell Dothan*. It has extensive Roman-Byzantine remains, it was junction for the road east to Merrous (K. 128:4).

For Sebaste-Samaria see K. 162:13.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dothaim, food or his greens or successful rebellion” (65).

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

³⁷² Daibōn (Debon) or Dibon. Numbers 21:26f., 30; K. 76:17; L. 257:42.

Textual variant Dabōn (Greek).

Biblical information from Joshua 13:26, Isaiah 15:2, and Jeremiah 48:18.

The *Onomasticon* does not equate the station of the Israelites with the Moabite Dibōn (K. 80:5). But no doubt the large village was Dhiban which has been excavated. Probably a garrison was there according to *Notitia Dignitatum* (81:27). But curiously it is not on the *Tabula Peutinger*. This is the only listing of this important town unless Dēbous (K. 104:12) is equated with Dibōn rather than Hesbous (K. 84:4).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dibon, sufficient intelligence or abundant understanding” (80).

³⁷³ Daibōngad (Dabira). Numbers 33:45; K. 76:23; L. 257:48.

Simple listing of station of Israel. This and next are late additions.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dibongad, intelligence is sufficient for the test” (80).

³⁷⁴ Dusmai Moab (Dysmae Moab i.e., to the west of Moab). Numbers 22:1ff.; K. 78:1; L. 257:49.

Textual variants: Balaak (Greek) and Balaac (Latin).

Not a place and out of order so this is quite suspect is a late editing or marginal gloss. The “plain” of Moab is northwest of the Dead Sea in the Aulōn (K. 14:22 and cf. Deuteronomy 31:9, 32:49, 34:1).

JOSUE

³⁷⁵ Dabeira (Dabira). Joshua 10:38; K. 78:5; L. 257:53.

The *Onomasticon* does not see a village near Chebrōn (see below K. 78:12). In the north another village is a dependent of Diokaisarea (K. 16:131) and reported near Mt.Thabōr (K. 98:23). It is another village of the Jews (cf. Note in K. 22:9 and Appendix II) but remains unidentified but possibly *Daburyeh*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dabir, speaking or speech or fearing the bear” (92).

³⁷⁶ Dor of Naphath (Nafeth). Joshua 11:2; K. 78:8; L. 258:56.

The *Tabula Peutinger* locates it 8 miles from Kaisarea and 20 miles from Ptolemais. The directions and mileage are missing in the Vatican Greek manuscript of the *Onomasticon* but are properly emended from the Latin and from K. 136:16. Paula visited the ruins (*Epistle* 108:8). These are either the site of ancient Dor at *Tantura* or just north of it at *Kh el burj* where Iron Age and Hellenistic remains are evident (cf. Joshua 17:11).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dor, generation” (92).

³⁷⁷ Dabeir (Dabir). Joshua 11:21; K. 78:12; L. 258:59.

The city of letters is also Iabeir (K. 106:22 and cf. K. 78:18).

Summary of biblical information with no Byzantine location (Joshua 15:15, 21: and Judges 1:11). The Old Testament site is contested for identification with *Tell Beit Mirsim* most preferred.

³⁷⁸ Dabeir (Dabir). Joshua 13:26; K. 78:15; L. 258:62.

Simple biblical notation.

³⁷⁹ Deimōna (Dimona). Joshua 15:22; K. 78:16; L. 258:63.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dimona, full count or high” (93).

³⁸⁰ Dalaan (Dadan). Joshua 15:38; K. 78:17; L. 258:64.

Textual variant Daian (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dalani, needy pauper” (93).

³⁸¹ Denna. Joshua 15:49; K. 78:18; L. 258:65.

Another form using the biblical equation with Dabir (cf. K. 78:12).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dana, cause or his judgment” (93).

³⁸² Dauid (Dauia). Joshua 15:49; K. 78:20; L. 258:67.

Textual variants: Dad (Greek) and Dabuia and Dauhid (Latin).

Here Jerome has two forms of the name and the Greek only one. Possibly also the same as the above Dabir as confused in the LXX.

³⁸³ Douma (Duma). Joshua 15:52; K. 78:21; L. 258:68.

This is in the Daroma (K. 26:10) 17 miles from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) and probably located at *Kh dumah ed deir*, just north of *dhahiriyyeh* which is southwest of Chebrōn (K. 6:8).

In Jerome’s *Commentary on Isaiah* 21:14 he locates Idumaea to the south of Duma and locates the village 20 miles from Eleutheropolis. The 17 marks turn off from main road.

³⁸⁴ Damna. Joshua 19:13; K. 78:23; L. 258:70.

Simple tribal listing plus Levitical addition. This and K. 78:25 may be late additions.

On Levitical city see Joshua 21:35.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Domna, silence” (93).

³⁸⁵ Dabasthe (Dasbath). Joshua 19:11; K. 78:24; L. 258:71.

Textual variants: Dabasse, Damasse (Greek) and Dabasthe (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dabbasth, slope” (93).

³⁸⁶ Dabrath. Joshua 19:22; K. 78:25; L. 258:72.

Simple tribal listing plus Levitical addition (cf. Joshua 21:28).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dabrath, speech” (93).

JUDGES

³⁸⁷ Drus. Judges 6:11; K. 80:2; L. 258:74.

Not a legitimate entry for the place names, but see Oak of Mambre (K. 76:1) and terebinthos (K. 164:11) for similar items.

Simple biblical information with no location.

KINGS

³⁸⁸ Deibon (Dibon). Isaiah 15:2; K. 80:5; L. 258:77.

Cf. K. 76:17.

³⁸⁹ Deseth. Isaiah 16:7; K. 80:7; L. 258:79.

Textual variant Desek (Greek).

Simple Hexaplaric information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Deseth, shoe or anointing” (120).

³⁹⁰ Dōdaneim (Dodanim). Isaiah 21:13; K. 80:8; L. 258:80.

Textual variant Dodaneimi (Greek).

This must be distinguished from Daidan of K. 80:14. Possibly *ed dedan*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dodanim, cousin” (120).

³⁹¹ Darōm. Ezekiel 20:46; K. 80:10; L. 258:82.

Hexaplaric information. One of the several words for the southern quadrant (cf. Daroma (K. 26:10), Negeb (K. 136:14) and Theman (K. 137:16).

³⁹² Diospolis. Ezekiel 30:14; K. 80:11; L. 258:83.

Outside the geographical limits of the Holy Land. Not to be confused with the Diospolis of the Palestinē (K. 8:14). On Egypt sites see K. 58:7.

³⁹³ Dadan. Jeremiah 25:23; K. 80:12; L. 258:84.

Probably also outside the limits of the Holy Land. Both suspect.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Dedan, this judgment or such judgment” (126).

³⁹⁴ Deblathaeim (Deblathaim). Jeremiah 48:22; K. 80:13; L. 258:85.

Textual variant Debaōthaeim (Greek).

Simple biblical location.

³⁹⁵ Daidan (Daedan). Jeremiah 49:8; K. 80:14; L. 258:86.

Textual variants: Foenō (Latin) also Seno for Faeno.

The mines are at Phainon (K. 114:3 and K. 168:8) near Petra (K. 142:7). The *Onomasticon*’s site is uncertain.

THE GOSPELS

³⁹⁶ Dekapolis (Decapolis). Matthew 4:25; K. 80:16; L. 258:89.

Only three of the ten cities are named in this list. No complete list is in Josephus either but he lists Hippos (K. 22:21), Pella (K. 14:18), Gadara (K. 74:10) along with Dion and Skythopolis (K. 16:2). There are Twelve (sig.) cities that are usually accepted as part of the Dekapolis, but Ptolemy lists 18.

SECTION E

GENESIS

³⁹⁷ Edem (Eden). Genesis 2:8; K. 80:20; L. 259:95.

Outside the normal limits of the Holy Land just as each first entry in the previous alphabetic sections.

The etymology is not introduced as Hexaplaric material, but is from Aquila.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Eden, pleasure or delicacies or embellishments” (65).

³⁹⁸ Eueilat (Euila). Genesis 2:11f.; K. 80:22; L. 259:95.

Textual variants: Euēlat (Greek) also Cepene and Cephene (Latin).

Also outside the normal limits of the Holy Land (Genesis 10:29, 25:18). The Latin has Hebrew etymology as explanation of the Scriptural annotation. The quotation is from Josephus’ *Antiquities* I, 6, 4 and is repeated in K. 150:15 and K. 176:15.

Phisōn is also Pheisōn (K. 166:7). The Gaion (K. 60:3), Euphratēs (K. 82:7) and Tigris (K. 164:7) are also rivers outside the Holy Land.

On Kophenos and Sērias see reference in K. 150:15.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Evila, sorrowing or bringing forth” (65).

³⁹⁹ Euphrates. Genesis 2:14; K. 82:7; L. 259:4.

River outside the Holy Land. See previous entry. For rivers of Eden see Note on K. 60:3.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Euphrates, fertile or waxing” (65).

⁴⁰⁰ Ellasar. Genesis 14:1; K. 82:9; L. 259:6.

Outside the Holy Land. Syriac had Telarsar.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ellasar, turning aside of God or his separating” (69).

⁴⁰¹ Ephratha. Genesis 35:16, 19; K. 82:10; L. 259:6.

Summary of biblical information from I Samuel 10:2, Genesis 48:7 and I Chronicles 2:50, 4:4. Ephratha on the Madaba map may be separated from Bēthleem (K. 42:10). But Eusebius may be identifying them here (cp. K. 172:5). The Tomb of Rachel is located differently in the Greek and Latin texts. The Syriac text and the Latin agree with “tribe of Iuda” but Syriac omits Benjamim. Some doubt if Rachel died here rather than north near Ramah.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Efratha, fruitfulness or dust” (65).

EXODUS

⁴⁰² Eirōth (Iroth). Exodus 14:2; K. 82:16; L. 259:13.

Outside the normal limits of the *Onomasticon*'s Holy Land. Only a "place" not even a station.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁴⁰³ Empurismos (Conflagration. i.e., empurismos). Numbers 11:3; K. 82:19; L. 259:16.

Another "place" rather than a station. The Latin does not have this as a proper name by transliteration of the Greek or Hebrew, but rather from a translation.

⁴⁰⁴ Enthaaath (Inthaath). Numbers 33:26; K. 82:21; L. 259:18.

Simple biblical notation. The *b* of Hebrew is translated (cf. K. 98:4). Out of order. Probably a gloss.

⁴⁰⁵ Ebrōna. Numbers 33:34; K. 82:22; L. 259:19.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Ebrona, going over or passage" (K. 81). Out of order. Late addition.

⁴⁰⁶ Emath. Numbers 13:22; K. 82:23; L. 259:20.

Simple biblical notation.

⁴⁰⁷ Ermana (Errma). Numbers 14:45; K. 82:24; L. 259:21.

Summary of biblical information, Deuteronomy 1:44.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Erma, his condemnation" (61).

⁴⁰⁸ Essebōn. Numbers 21:26; K. 84:1; L. 259:24.

Summary of biblical information from Joshua 21:38, Isaiah 15:4, Jeremiah 48:2, Numbers 32:37, and Joshua 21:39. A frequent referent in the *Onomasticon*. An autonomous famous city in the Roman Province of Arabia from 106 A.D. on. Esbous now *Hesban* between Philadelphi (K. 16:15) and Madaba (K. 128:19). It had a bishop at Council of Nicea and is being excavated.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Esebon, thinking or girdle of the wall" (81).

⁴⁰⁹ Edraei (Edrai). Numbers 21:33; K. 84:7; L. 259:30.

Eusebius seems to identify this with Adra (K. 12:13) west of Bostra (K. 46:10). It is 24 or 25 miles away. It is also 16 miles from Capitolias on *Tabula Peutinger*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Edraim, descent of shepherds" (81).

⁴¹⁰ Elealē. Numbers 32:3; K. 84:10; L. 260:33.

Summary of biblical information from Numbers 32:37, Isaiah 15:4, and Jeremiah 48:34.

About one mile north of Esbous (K. 84:1) is a site of this large village and nearby *Tell el 'Al*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Elale, to the height” (81).

⁴¹¹ Enna. Numbers 34:4; K. 84:14; L. 260:37.

Simple biblical notation.

⁴¹² Erman. Deuteronomy 3:9; K. 84:15; L. 260:38.

Cf. K. 20:9.

JOSUE (of Naue)

⁴¹³ Emekachōr. Joshua 7:26; K. 84:18; L. 260:41.

Etymology plus location. Notes taken by Jerome of the problem of popular etymology (cf. K. 18:17).

⁴¹⁴ Eglōm. Joshua 10:3, 12:12; K. 84:22; L. 260:45.

Biblical information plus location. Greek and Latin disagreement on the distance (cf. K. 24:22 and K. 40:20). Ten is in agreement with K. 24:22 but that is probably not Old Testament Eglon.

⁴¹⁵ Enemek (Inemec). Joshua 10:12; K. 84:25; L. 260:49.

Hexaplaric information.

Hebrew *b* is translated “in” or En (cf. K. 18:13).

⁴¹⁶ Esōr (Esrom) also Asor. Joshua 11:1; K. 84:26; L. 260:50.

Simple biblical notation (Joshua 15:23 and cf. K. 20:1).

⁴¹⁷ Enakeim (Enacim). Joshua 11:21; K. 84:28; L. 260:52.

Probably a people and not a place as Jerome correctly indicates.

⁴¹⁸ Ephrōn. Joshua 15:9; K. 86:1; L. 260:54.

Textual variant. For north of Ailia the Vatican manuscript has “region of” Ailia.

This appears in both the Bible and the *Onomasticon* with several similar names: e.g. Ephraim, Ophrah, Ephron, and Aphaerema. Probably the same as K. 28:4 which is five miles from Baithēl (K. 40:20) and to be found at *et tayibeh*. However, Baithēl is must less than 16 miles from Ailia. In K. 90:19 Eusebius’ cross reference seems to distinguish this entry from Ephraim (K. 90:18). In the Ephraim New Testament entry (K. 90:18) it may be referring to the area or province around the village.

⁴¹⁹ Edrai (Edre). Joshua 15:21; K. 86:3; L. 260:56.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Edrai, a flood supports men” (81).

⁴²⁰ Ethnan. Joshua 15:23; K. 86:4; L. 260:57.

Textual variants: Ethman (Greek), Ethnam and Ethna (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

⁴²¹ Ebeziouthia. Joshua 15:28; K. 86:5; L. 260:58.

Several Hexaplaric variants are not given. This Greek form apparently confuses the Hebrew conjunction before the Hebrew proper names which begins with a *B*.

Simple tribal listing.

⁴²² Euein (Euim). Joshua 15:29; K. 86:6; L. 260:59.

Simple tribal listing.

⁴²³ Elthōlad (Elthōlath). Joshua 15:30; K. 86:7; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Not in the Greek Vatican Manuscript. Latin variant Elolath.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 98:22).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Eltholeth, to the birth” (93).

⁴²⁴ Ereb. Joshua 15:52; K. 86:8; L. 260:60.

Textual variants: Erem (Greek), for the contemporary village Heremetitha and Eremetatha (Latin).

Jerome gives the etymology for Daroma i.e. “south.” It may be at *Kh er-rabiyeh* southwest of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). It must be distinguished from K. 16:13, but the Vatican manuscript has noted “this is in Galilee of the nations. Kadesh (for Kana?) of tribe of Nephthaleim, former priestly city.”

⁴²⁵ Essan (Esan). Joshua 15:52; K. 86:10; L. 260:33.

Simple tribal listing. Vulgate has Esaan. Possibly same as K. 164:16.

⁴²⁶ Eloul (Elul). Joshua 15:58; K. 86:11; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Greek. The Latin seems to point to the present *Halhul* just north of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). A Moslem memorial to the prophet Jonas is located there. Probably the Alouros or Alulos of Josephus *Wars* IV, 9, 6.

⁴²⁷ Eltheke. Joshua 15:59; K. 86:13; L. 260:63.

The first part of this entry is missing in Greek but properly emended from the Latin. Textual variant for the contemporary village Theka (Greek). The Greek also lacks note about dependence on Ailia. Greek has 12 miles east and Latin has 9 miles south. It is almost due

south at present *Tequ* but about 12 miles, so both entries seem to be confused even if quadrants are assumed. Latin reflects turn off from main road. Jerome's *Commentary on Jeremiah* 6 "A little village in the hills 12 miles from Jerusalem which we can still see. But in his introduction to *Commentary on Amos*, "a town (oppidum) six miles from Bethlehem to the south next to the desert." The Madaba map has Thekoya near Bethsur (K. 52:l). This is spelling of the contemporary site but not the *Onomasticon*'s spelling for the biblical site (cf. K. 98:17).

This records another of several "tombs" or memorials in the *Onomasticon*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Elthecem, he brought forth" (93).

⁴²⁸ Engaddi. Joshua 15:62; K. 86:16; L. 260:66.

Textual variant Latin for the contemporary city- Engaddia, Engadila.

Probably also in K. 68:18, K. 72:26, and K. 96:10. The Aulon is described in K. 14:22. This is another of the "large" villages noted by Eusebius (cf. Notes on 22:9; cp. Appendix II; K. 86:20 and K. 88:17). There are Persian, Roman and Byzantine ruins. Josephus' *Antiquities* IX, 1, 2 locates it 300 stadia from Jerusalem. Jerome in *Commentary on Ezekiel* 47:6 locates it on the Dead Sea where the Jordan enters. He also identifies it with Asasonthamar (8:6). It must be the present 'ain jidi. The notation on palms and balsams is also from Josephus where it is called a "city" (cf. I Samuel 24:1ff.). It has been excavated.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Engaddi, well of goat" (93).

⁴²⁹ Esthemō. Joshua 15:50; K. 86:20; L. 261:70.

Textual variant Esthema (Greek).

Cf. K. 26:11 and Job 21:19 Asthemō.

⁴³⁰ Emekraphaeim (Emecrafaim). Joshua 18:16; K. 86:22; L. 261:72.

Simple tribal listing with Hexaplaric information. Emek for "valley" as Gai also several times in LXX and *Onomasticon*.

⁴³¹ Edōmim (Edomia). Joshua 18:17; K. 86:24; L. 261:74.

The first part of the entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Textual variants: Edomaia and Edumea (Latin).

This is probably at *ed Duma* to the southeast. Note that K. 108:21 Ianō is also 12 miles east of Neapolis. Edouma is off main road from Akkrabbein.

⁴³² Erma. Joshua 19:4; K. 88:1; L. 261:76.

Simple biblical summary. Possibly same as K. 34:13.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Ermon, his condemnation" (93).

⁴³³ Ether. Joshua 19:7; K. 88:3; L. 261:78.

Textual variants: Ieththira and Malatham (Latin) for contemporary sites.

Madaba map has “Iethora which is Iethēra.” Eusebius identifies Ether of Simeon with that of Iouda. It is possibly at *Kh ‘Attir*. The Ietheira is probably found in K. 108:3 and K. 110:18. Malaatha is used as a referent in K. 14:3 and K. 108:3. It is south of Chebrōn (K. 6:8) in the Daroma (K. 86:8) at *Tell Milh*.

⁴³⁴ Eththa. Joshua 19:13; K. 88:5; L. 261:80.

Simple tribal listing. LXX has confused the Hebrew here.

⁴³⁵ Elkath. Joshua 19:25; K. 88:6; L. 261:81.

Textual variant Ethaē (Greek).

Simple tribal listing plus added Levitical city of Job 21:31. Sometimes identified with *Tell Harbij*.

⁴³⁶ Elkōk (Icoc). Joshua 19:34; K. 88:7; L. 261:83.

LXX has Ikak and Iakak.

Simple tribal location from Scripture.

⁴³⁷ Edraei (Edrai). Joshua 19:37; K. 88:10; L. 261:86.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 86:3 in Iouda).

⁴³⁸ Elthekō. Joshua 19:44; K. 88:11; L. 261:86.

Simple tribal listing plus added Levitical city (cf. Joshua 21:23).

⁴³⁹ Esthaol. Joshua 19:41; K. 88:12; L. 261:87.

Summary of biblical information of Judges 13:25.

This and the previous entry are inverted in the Latin text. Latin is in the biblical order but both Latin and Greek are out of order for the next entries. In K. 106:10 it is located near Ierimouth. The 10 miles is too short for the distance to *‘Ishwa*, but may mark turn off from main road to a lesser road (cf. Saraa also 10 miles north (K. 156:15) and Iermochos (K. 106:24).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Esthahol, pregnant with fire.” (93).

⁴⁴⁰ Elba. Joshua 19:28; K. 88:15; L. 261:90.

Simple biblical summary of Judges 1:31. Out of order.

⁴⁴¹ Eremmōn. Joshua 19:7; K. 88:17; L. 261:92.

Textual variant: Erembrōn (Greek). The direction “South in Daroma” is missing from Vatican manuscript. Another of the villages inhabited by Jews (cf. Note on K. 22:9; Appendix II; cp. K. 86:16). It is probably the same as Remma (K. 146:24). It is located at *Umm er ramamin*

between Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) and Bērsaba (50:11) about 15 1/2 miles away. Out of order.

⁴⁴² Emmathdōr. Joshua 21:32; K. 88:19; L. 261:94.

Textual variants: Emmachdōr (Greek) and Chamōth (LXX).

Simple tribal listing plus added Levitical city. The Vatican manuscript Emmachdor may have confused this with Emekachōr (K. 84:18).

⁴⁴³ Emath. Judges 3:3; K. 88:00; L. 261:96.

Another instance where “foreigners” is transliterated by Jerome rather than translated and identified as Filistines. Simple biblical location (cf. 122:10).

Possibly the same as K. 96:12; cf. 23:30 and K. 90:4.

⁴⁴⁴ Enlechi (Inlechi). Judges 15:16, 19; K. 88:21; L. 261:97.

Textual variant in Lechi (Greek).

Simple Hexaplaric data. The Greek has translated Hebrew *B* (cf. K. 122:16). Out of order. This and next entry are glosses.

⁴⁴⁵ Eniakebzēb (Inaczeb). Judges 7:25; K. 88:22; L. 261:99.

Textual variants: Eniam and zēm. The LXX again has “in” for the Hebrew *B* and so “In iakebzēb.” Perhaps the same as K. 94:3 (see K. 88:21, a gloss).

KINGS

⁴⁴⁶ Ergab. I Samuel 20:19; K. 88:24; L. 261:00.

Biblical summary plus Hexaplaric data.

⁴⁴⁷ Echela. I Samuel 23:19; K. 88:26; L. 261:3.

Textual variant Eccla (Latin) for contemporary village.

A different tradition for the tomb at Gabatha (K. 70:22). The site must be *Kh Kilah* (cf. K. 114:15) where it is 8 miles compared with the 7 here, Keeila.

⁴⁴⁸ Elmōni. I Samuel 21:2; K. 90:1; L. 262:6.

Out of the biblical order. In Hebrew this means “such and such a place.” Jerome repeats his philosophy for a translator rather than a corrector (cp. his preface 3:10f).

⁴⁴⁹ Esthama. I Samuel 30:26, 28; K. 90:2; L. 262:7.

Textual variant Esthma (Greek).

Simple biblical note on the spoils (cf. K. 34:13, 14).

Probably the same as Asthemō (K. 26:11).

⁴⁵⁰ Elōth. II Kings 14:22; K. 90:3; L. 262:8.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 6:16; K. 26:11; K. 36:1 and K. 62:13).

⁴⁵¹ Emath. II Kings 14:25; K. 90:4; L. 262:9.

These are all the same as Aemath (K. 23:30 and K. 88:20) the present Syriac Hamath (cf. K. 36:10). Jerome in *Commentary on Amos* 6:2 distinguishes “little Emath” which is Epiphania and “great Emath, which is now called Antiochia.”

Summary of biblical information from Isaiah 36:19; Zachariah 9:5; Ezekiel 47:16 and Amos 6:2.

⁴⁵² Eser. II Kings 15:29; K. 90:9; L. 262:14.

Simple biblical notation. Same as K. 20:1, etc.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Eser, falsehood” (65).

⁴⁵³ Enacheim (Inachim) or Enbachein (Inbachim). Micah 1:10; K. 90:10; L. 262:15.

Textual variant en bachein (Greek).

Simple Hexaplaric information. Another instance of Greek en for Hebrew *B*. LXX has en Akeim.

⁴⁵⁴ Enaraba (Inaraba). II Samuel 2:29; K. 90:11; L. 262:17.

Textual variant en araba (Greek).

Out of order and again as previous entry Greek en for Hebrew *B*.

Hexaplaric information only (cf. K. 12:25 and K. 16:12).

⁴⁵⁵ Elkese. Nahum 1:1; K. 90:12; L. 262:18.

Vulgate has elcessaeus.

In Jerome’s *Commentary on Nahum*, Introduction, he knows a little village in Galilaea called Elcesi which has old ruins around it, but this site should be in Judaea.

⁴⁵⁶ Emakeim (Emacim). Jeremiah 49:4; K. 90:13; L. 262:19.

Textual variants: Enakeim (Greek) and Enacim (Latin). Symmachus missing in Vatican manuscript.

Simple Hexaplaric information.

THE GOSPELS

⁴⁵⁷ Emmaous (Emmaus). Luke 24:13; K. 90:15; L. 262:28.

The identification with Nikopolis (K. 30:26) at Amwas is clearly made here as well as in Jerome’s *Epistle* 108:8 (Paula PPT I, 4). In the *Epistle* Jerome remarks ambiguously on a church consecrated at the house of Cleopha. A bishop was at the Council of Nicea. Since

Jerome, sometimes adds such information to the Greek *Onomasticon* it is surprising that he does not do so here. “Emmaous” is not on the Madaba map but Nikopolis is. On the *Tabula Peutinger* it is 12 miles from Diospolis and 19 miles from Gophna. In *Itin. Bourd.* it is 10 miles from Diospolis and 22 from Jerusalem. The distance in Luke does not agree with this location since it is too near to Jerusalem. Some feel the New Testament text has been changed from 160 to 60 stadia (also 60 in the Vulgate).

⁴⁵⁸ Ephraim. John 11:54; K. 90:18; L. 262:24.

Cf. K. 28:4 and K. 86:1. The Madaba map has “Ephron and Ephraia, where the Lord went.” Probably the Map and Eusebius have the village at *Et-tayibeh* in mind as the nearest village to the wilderness.

SECTION Z

GENESIS

⁴⁵⁹ Zaphōeim (Zafoim). Genesis 36:43; K. 92:3; L. 262:28.

Textual variant Zofoim (Latin).

Simple biblical information plus general location.

On Gabalenē see K. 10:62.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁴⁶⁰ Zoob. Numbers 21:14; K. 92:6; L. 262:31.

Quotation from Scripture and a biblical location (cf. K. 81:22).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Zoob, gold” (85).

⁴⁶¹ Zephrona. Numbers 34:9; K. 92:9; L. 262:34.

Textual variant Idoumaia for Ioudaia (Greek).

Simple border notation from Scripture.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Zeferuna, you saw this face, from mouth not from bone” (85).

⁴⁶² Zared. Deuteronomy 2:13; K. 92:10; L. 262:35.

The Madaba map has Zarea but the *A* must be an error for *D*. One of several ravines in the *Onomasticon* and of course suspect (cf. K. 168:20).

JOSUE

⁴⁶³ Zeiph (Zif). Joshua 15:24; K. 92:12; L. 262:37.

Textual variant Zit (Latin). Also in Greek Vatican manuscript this entry comes before the Jēshua division (cp. Below K. 92:15).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Zif, sprouting” (98).

⁴⁶⁴ Zanaoua (Zannoua). Joshua 15:56; K. 92:13; L. 262:38.

Textual variant Zanaoua (Greek) for contemporary town Zannua (Latin).

The village is dependent on Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) and probably at *Kh Zanu’a*. The last part of this entry and the first part of the next entry are missing because of the scribal error of shifting his eyes to the second occurrence of Eleutheropolis. It is also out of order and may be a late addition.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Zanoe, he drove back or he threw yours back” (98).

⁴⁶⁵ Ziph. Joshua 15:55; K. 92:15; L. 263:40.

Latin reverses the order of information in the Greek text.

The distance is double that for *tell Zif* but it is more south than east of Hebron. It is southeast of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) and could be considered in the East Quadrant. Perhaps the text meant to give mileage from Chebrōn (K. 6:8) but the distance seems to be taken from Eleutheropolis (cf. I Samuel 23:14). It could refer to a second village with the same name in the Negev.

KINGS

⁴⁶⁶ Zeib (Zif). I Samuel 23:14; K. 92:19; L. 263:43.

Cf. previous entry Ziph. Region or hill country nearby are intended (cf. I Samuel 26:2 and I Chronicles 2:42).

Karmelos (K. 118:5) is about 10 miles south of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). It is another village of the Jews (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix II). It is probably at *Kh el Kamel*, where Roman fort is found.

⁴⁶⁷ Zogera (Zogora). Jeremiah 48:34; K. 94:1; L. 263:48.

One of the Pentapolis of Sodam (cf. K. 42:4).

⁴⁶⁸ Zēb. Jeremiah 49:4; K. 94:3; L. 263:51.

The Mīa of Josephus *Antiquities* XX, 1,1 and XIV, 8,1. An important battle took place in the area. The site *Kh Zeiy* is on the old Roman road near *es Salt* (cf. K. 88:22).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Zeb, wolf” (101).

⁴⁶⁹ Zōeleth. I Kings 1:9; K. 94:5; L. 263:53.

Out of order and not a true place name so suspect as an editorial addition or marginal gloss. The words “spring of Rōgēl” are not in Greek Vatican manuscript (see Rōgēl K. 144:13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Zoeleth, dragging or dragging forth” (103).

GENESIS

⁴⁷⁰ Ēlath. Genesis 36:41; K. 94:9; L. 263:57.

Possibly related to K. 6:16 and K. 90:3 but that is south southwest not east of Petra (K. 142:7). More probably *Udruh* which is east at the proper distance.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Elath, terebinth or trees” (87).

⁴⁷¹ ‘Erōōn (Eroum). Genesis 46:28f.; K. 94:11; L. 263:59.

In Egypt and out of the Holy Land proper for the *Onomasticon* (see Note on K. 58:7). Out of order as well, so doubly suspect as late addition.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Eroon, i.e. heroum, in his form or of sorrowful watch” (68).

⁴⁷² Elioupolis (Eliopolis, city of the sun). Genesis 41:45; K. 94:13; L. 263:61.

In Egypt and out of the Holy Land proper for the *Onomasticon* (cf. K. 176:3; cf. Genesis 41:50 and Exodus 30:17).

⁴⁷³ Etham. Exodus 13:20; K. 94:15; L. 263:64.

Textual variants: Ebuthan (Latin) and Buthan (Syriac).

Simple listing of station as Numbers 33:6 (cf. *Onomasticon* K. 46:4 above).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Etham, complete or respecting ships” (75).

JOSUE

⁴⁷⁴ Ēngannim. Joshua 15:34; K. 94:18; L. 263:67.

Textual variant Egannim (Latin). The long *E* is used here after the LXX.

This is a faulty identification. Perhaps the *Onomasticon* had ‘*ain Sinjah* north of Baithēl (K. 40:20) and Gophna (K. 26:2) in mind.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Engannim, well of gardens” (93).

⁴⁷⁵ Ēnaim. Joshua 15:34; K. 94:20; L. 263:68.

Cf. K. 24:16 above.

⁴⁷⁶ Ēndōr. Joshua 17:11; K. 94:22; L. 263:70.

Summary of biblical information of I Samuel 28:7 and Luke 7:11. The New Testament material must be a later addition here but is not in K. 34:8 (q. v.). Located close to Nain (K. 140:3). If this text is correct in Joshua, ‘*Andur* is the location.

⁴⁷⁷ Ēnganni. Joshua 19:21; K. 94:25; L. 263:73.

Textual variant Eganni (Greek).

The one city has only biblical information Joshua 21:29.

The other is near Gerasa (K.64:2) perhaps near 'ain jenna or 'arjam (cf. K. 16:21).

478 Ēnada. Joshua 19:21; K. 94:28; L. 263:76.

The distance puts Ēnadab at *Beit Nettif* if miles are measured as the road is here described. If coming the other way, the 10th milestone is from Jerusalem and points to location at '*Beit Itab*'. Neither have anything to do with the biblical site. The Madaba map has an "enetabe" between Diospolis (K. 8:14) and Iamneia (K. 22:10), but that is not this site.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Enadda, accurate well" (94).

479 Ēnasōr. Joshua 19:37; K. 96:1; L. 264:79.

Cf. K. 84:26; K. 20:1 etc. LXX has "spring" but again the *Onomasticon* has Ēn. q.v. also Ain K. 24:15.

480 Ērakōn (Erecon). Joshua 19:46; K. 96:3; L. 264:81.

Simple tribal border listing.

The Greek perhaps has *E* for the MT definite article or conjunction wav. (cf. K. 110:10).

JUDGES

481 Ētam. Judges 15:8; K. 96:5; L. 264:83.

Textual variant Etham (Latin).

Simple biblical information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Etam, their bird." (100).

KINGS

482 Ēla. I Samuel 17:2; K. 96:9; L. 264:86.

Textual variant Ēlath (Greek).

Simple Hexaplaric information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Ela, curse or self" (111).

483 Ēngaddi. I Kings 24:1; K. 96:9; L. 264:87.

Cf. K. 86:16.

484 Ēmath. II Samuel 8:9; K. 96:12; L. 264:90.

Another instance of transliteration by Latin of "foreigners" (cf. K. 88:20 and Jeremiah 49:23).

485 Ēnan. Ezekiel 47:17, 19; K. 96:14; L. 264:92.

Out of the Holy Land proper for the *Onomasticon* but part of the Promised Land boundary in Ezechiël. The reference to Thamar is perhaps properly K. 8:6 with the same prefixed Hazar (cf. K. 14:16). For Thaiman see next entry (K. 96:18 and K. 102:7)

The city of Palm Trees is probably Palmyra (K. 100:21) northeast of Damascus (Latin variant has *Palmetis*). But Jericho also was called by this descriptive phrase (K. 104:25).

SECTION TH

GENESIS

⁴⁸⁶ Thaiman (Theman). Genesis 36:11; K. 96:18; L. 264:96.

Summary of biblical information of Job 2:11 and Genesis 25:15.

The village Thafman may be in the same region as that of the princes of Edom (cf. K. 102:7). The distance of 25 miles brings us to *Shobek* which is 22 miles from Petra. Often thought to be at Tawilan but recent excavation has Iron through Hellenistic remains there and no Roman-Byzantine. The southern region in Hebrew is also called Daroma (K. 26:1); Negeb (K. 136:14) (see Jerome on K. 137:15 and *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* 44). If this is Thamana the garrison is verified by *Notitia Dignitatum* (74:46). In *Tabula Peutinger* Theman. Perhaps the 15 and 5 of the Greek and Latin texts respectively are both scribal errors.

⁴⁸⁷ Thamna. Genesis 38:12; K. 96:24; L. 264:3.

Simple biblical note of Joshua 19:43 and 15:57

The Madaba map seems to be quoting Eusebius, “Thamna where Ioudas sheared his sheep.” It is a village dependent on Diospolis (K. 8:14) and one of three villages called “great” (cf. Apbeka K. 22:20 and Magdiël 130:21). The biblical site has been held to be *Kh Tibnē bur* some claim to find no Israelite remains so *Tell Batashi* has been suggested. *Kh Tibnah* which retains the name has Roman-Byzantine remains and is southeast, that is in the Southern Quadrant from Diospolis and could approximate the location on the crowded map. Others on basis of K. 8:13 and K. 24:5 suggest it is northeast of Diospolis near Remphis (K. 144:28) and Aenam (K. 9:11 etc. cp. K. 70:20 and K. 100:1). Three sites combined in one place.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thanna, forbidding or failing” (73).

⁴⁸⁸ Thamna. Genesis 36:40; K. 96:27; L. 264:6.

Biblical summary of Genesis 36:12. “Another” is out of order and a late addition.

Cf. Thaiman as a son of Esau in K. 96:19.

DEUTERONOMY

⁴⁸⁹ Thophol (Thafol). Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 98:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The next three entries are missing in the Vatican Manuscript. This is also the only place where the section heading records “Deuteronomy” by itself rather than all under Pentateuch, or under Numbers. Here entries from Numbers follow one from Deuteronomy and may all be an

editorial insertion.

Summary of biblical information and location.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thofel, tastelessness” (88).

⁴⁹⁰ Thaath. Numbers 33:26f.; K. 98:4; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple biblical list of station (cf. K. 82:21). Missing in Vatican manuscript.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Theeth, beneath” (85).

⁴⁹¹ Thara. Numbers 33:27f.; K. 98:5; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple biblical list of station (cf. K. 82:21). Missing in Vatican manuscript.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thare, investigation or pasture or worthlessness” (85).

JOSUE

⁴⁹² Thaphphou (Thaffu). Joshua 12:17; K. 98:7; L. 264:10.

Simple biblical summary. Probably falsely equated with each other cf. Joshua 15:34

Cf. Bēthaphou K. 50:18. Variants Betthaffu and Bethaffu (Latin).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thaffue, apple from a tree not from wickedness or open drum” (98).

⁴⁹³ Thanak (Thaanac). Joshua 12:21; K. 98:10; L. 264:14.

Summary of biblical information of Joshua 17:11, 21:25.

The *Onomasticon*’s data agree with the biblical location of the important mound retaining its name *Tell Ta’anak* recently re-excavated. Byzantine city in the plain rather than on the tell (cf. K. 100:10) where it is three, not four, miles from Legeōn (K. 14:21).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thaanach, answering or shallow” (98) and “Thanach, shallow or he answered you” (101) and “Thanach, “he answered you” (K. 113).

⁴⁹⁴ Thēnath. Joshua 16:6; K. 98:13; L. 265:16.

The direction and the distance suggest *Kh Ta’na* which contains part of the old name. The upper ruin is not far enough to be Eusebius’ site Thēna which is at *Kh Ta’na et tahta* where much Roman-Byzantine remains are found. The Old Testament site may be *Kh Ta’aa el foqa*. Whether this is related to Silo (K. 156:28) is unclear from Eusebius.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thenath, fig tree” (98).

In Vatican manuscript these two entries are conflated. Simple tribal listings (cp. K. 98:7 above).

⁴⁹⁵ Thaphphoue (Thaffue). Joshua 16:8, 17:8; K. 98:15; L. 265:19.

Simple tribal listings (cp. K. 98:7 above).

⁴⁹⁶ Thaphphouth (Thaffuth). Joshua 17:8; K. 98:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple tribal listings (cp. K. 98:7 above).

⁴⁹⁷ Thekō. Joshua 15:59; K. 98:17; L. 265:20.

Cf. K. 86:13. It is out of order of biblical texts (cf. Amos 1:1).

⁴⁹⁸ Thersa. Joshua 12:24; K. 98:19; L. 265:23.

Simple biblical notation. Order of several entries mixed up.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thersa, pleasing which is what the Greeks call satisfying” (98).

⁴⁹⁹ Therama. Joshua 18:27; K. 98:21; L. 265:25.

Simple tribal listing.

⁵⁰⁰ Thōlad. Joshua 15:30; K. 98:22; L. 265:26.

Textual variant Thōdlad (Greek).

Simple tribal listing (Joshua 19:4 and cf. K. 86:7 above). Perhaps out of order.

⁵⁰¹ Thabōr. Joshua 19:22; K. 98:23; L. 265:27.

This mountain is out of order so is suspect as a later editorial addition even if it were a town (cf. K. 118:8 and K. 150:14). All the traditions point to the same as Mt. Itabyrium in the *Greek Fathers* (110:20). Jerome in *Commentary on Hosea* 5:1 writes, “Thabor which the LXX interprets Itaburion” a mountain in the plain in Galilaea, “very round and high with all sides equal” (cf. Joshua 19:34). There is some evidence of a late fourth century church on Mt. Tabor. Procopius 1049A quotes our text accurately. Jerome’s *Epistle* 108:13 (Paula Migne PL 22, 889) notes that Paula could see Aermion from here. There and in *Epistle* 108:13 (Paula, Migne PL 22:491) Jerome remarks on the tradition of the Transfiguration. But Eusebius and Origen are not yet sure which of the two mountains is the Mt. of Transfiguration.

For Diokaisareia see K. 16:13.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thabor, coming light” (98).

⁵⁰² Thalcha. Joshua 19:7; K. 98:26; L. 265:30.

Simple tribal listing together with note on contemporary Jewish town (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix II) which fits the evidence for *Kh* or *Tell Khuweilife*. In Jerome K. 99:27 one variant has “east” instead of “south,” but quadrant is acceptable (cf. *Sikelak*, 156:1).

For Eleutheropolis see K. 18:2.

⁵⁰³ Thamnathsara. Joshua 19:50; K. 100:1; L. 265:33.

Summary of biblical information of Joshua 19:43. Probably equated with Thanna (K. 70:20) where the tomb is also mentioned (cf. K. 96:24). Paula remarks on “one who is buried in

Thamnathsare on the north side of Mt. Gaas" in Jerome's *Epistle* 103:13 (*PPT* I, 12). Now identified with *Tibne*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thamnathsare, measure of a cover" (98) and "Thamnathares, enumeration of the sun" (101).

⁵⁰⁴ Thalassa. Joshua 18:19; K. 100:4; L. 265:36.

Out of order and not a place name but a sea and so suspect as late editorial addition. On Madaba map the three names all appear: Salt, Asphalt and Dead. In Jerome's *Commentary on Ezekiel* 47:6 "Bitter sea which in Greek is called AsphaltLake, i.e. pool of bitumen." Both lakes come at end of sections (cp. K. 172:12).

On Zoara see K. 42:1 above.

JUDGES

⁵⁰⁵ Thaanach. Judges 1:27; K. 100:7; L. 265:39.

Cf. K. 98:10 above where the distance is 4 miles. Procopius 1061A quotes this entry here accurately except for the name Thennach (cp. Judges 5:19 and Joshua 21:25).

⁵⁰⁶ Thēbēs. Judges 9:50; K. 100:11; L. 265:44.

Summary of biblical information of Judges 9:53.

A village dependent upon Neapolis (K. 4:28). In Old Testament times a "city." This is an accurate location from milestones which have been found. It is at modern *Tubas*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thebes, a turning around or having an egg" (101) and "Thebes, they were in it or my deed" (109).

⁵⁰⁷ Thamnatha. Judges 14:1; K. 100:15; L. 265:49.

Textual variant Thamnam (Latin) (see above K. 96:24 and K. 100:2).

KINGS

⁵⁰⁸ Thēlamou land of (Thelamuge). II Samuel 3:12; K. 100:17; L. 265:51.

Simple biblical notation with Hexaplaric information. A name only in LXX.

⁵⁰⁹ Thaad. II Samuel 24:6; K. 100:19; L. 265:53.

Only a biblical location. A confused entry (cf. K. 34:16 above).

⁵¹⁰ Thamsa. I Kings 4:24; K. 100:20; L. 266:54.

Only a biblical location.

⁵¹¹ Thermōth. I Kings 9:18; K. 100:21; L. 266:55.

Biblical notation and location only. This is probably Palmyra (cf. K. 96:15).

⁵¹² Tharseis (Tharsis). I Kings 10:22; K. 100:23; L. 266:57.

This is out of the Holy Land proper (Ezekiel 27:25). Josephus *Antiquities* I, 6, 1 is interpreted in several of Jerome's commentaries as referring to Tarsus in Cilicia (cf. *Commentary on Jeremiah* 10:6 and *Commentary on Isaiah* 2:16). The LXX interprets it as Carthage (cf. K. 119:12), In *Epistle* 37:2ff. Jerome repeats his argument used here.

⁵¹³ Tharsa. I Kings 15:21; K. 102:3; L. 266:61.

A confusion in LXX but here a simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thersa, pleasing" (113).

⁵¹⁴ Thersila. II Kings 15:14; K. 102:4; L. 266:62.

This is out of order and perhaps identical with K. 98:19 above as well as the previous entry K. 102:3 to which this may actually be a marginal gloss. It is located at *Tsil* northwest of Dera now in the Batanea (K. 44:11). The only contemporary Samaritan village reported in the text.

⁵¹⁵ Thesba. I Kings 17:1; K. 102:6; L. 266:65.

Simple biblical notation. Elijah is also referred to in K. 162:1 and K. 175:16.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thesbi, capturing or revolving" (113).

⁵¹⁶ Thaiman (Theman). Ezekiel 20:46; K. 102:7; L. 266:66.

An accumulation of biblical information from Ezekiel 25:13; Isaiah 21:14; Jeremiah 49:7; Obadiah 9, and Genesis 36:11. One cannot help wondering if these are editorial additions when they are so mixed up in order (cf. K.96: 18). Perhaps all Ezekiel references are late since many are out of biblical order in the text of the *Onomasticon*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Theman, south" (123).

⁵¹⁷ Tharthak. II Kings 17:31; K. 102:11; L. 266:69.

Textual variant Tharak (Greek).

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Tharthac, overthrown which is better in the Greek, upset" (118).

⁵¹⁸ Thalasar. II Kings 19:12; K. 102:12; L. 266:70.

Textual variant Thalassar (Latin).

Syria does not occur often in the *Onomasticon*. It was a Roman province in 3rd and 4th centuries but it is not clear if that entity is intended here (cf. K. 72:15, K. 146:13 and K. 146:19).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Thalasar, first weight" (118).

⁵¹⁹ Thogarma. Ezekiel 27:14; K. 102:13; L. 266:71.

Textual variant Thourama (Greek).

Simple biblical reference but also perhaps out of the Holy Land proper and possibly out of order. A suspect entry.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thogorma, tearing away or a certain kind of people” (133).

⁵²⁰ Thapheth (Thafeth). Jeremiah 7:32; K. 102:14; L. 266:72.

Textual variants: Tapheth (Greek, K. 164:21) and for the other site Acheldema (Latin) and Acheldama (Latin cf. K. 38:20).

The fuller’s field in K. 38:2. In Jerome’s *Commentary on Jeremiah* 7:30 Topheth is the Valley of Ennom which is watered by the springs of Siloe. The name survived for a place or area in the valley southeast of Jerusalem.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Tof gehenna (cf. K. 70:2), or cover of eyes” (128).

SECTION I

GENESIS

⁵²¹ Iabōk (Iabōc). Genesis 32:23ff.; K. 102:19; L. 266:78.

The distance is missing from the Vatican manuscript and several other confusions occur (Deuteronomy 3:16). This is a river and not properly a place name as the *Onomasticon*. Possibly also it is out of order. Just as the first entry under many alphabetic sections it is highly suspect as a late editorial addition.

For Gerasa see K. 64:1.

This tributary to the Jordan is the Zerqa. Syriac and Latin agree on the 4 mile distance. The Vatican manuscript added note that some think this is the territory of Job while others say the land of Job is Arabia (see next entry).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iaboc, sand or wrestling” (68).

⁵²² Idoumaia (Idumaea). Genesis 36:16; K. 102:23; L. 266:82.

Possibly the annotation of the Vatican manuscript as noted in the previous entry is really a marginal gloss on this entry. Edom is frequently mentioned in the *Onomasticon*; Idoumaia, less frequently. Petra (K. 142:7) is used as a referent often. The Gebalēnē (K.8:10) approximates the area.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Idumaea, red or earthy” (139).

⁵²³ Iather. Genesis 36:40; K. 104:1; L. 266:87.

Textual variant Ietheth (Latin).

Simple biblical notation. For Gabalenē see K. 8:10 as editor suggests.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁵²⁴ Iatabatha. Numbers 33:33; K. 104:4; L. 267:90.

Textual variant Iegabath (Latin).

Simple listing of station. This one is out of order suggesting an editor may have added the list of stations (cf. K. 104:23 also).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Etebatha, of goodness or he turned aside to come” (82).

⁵²⁵ Ianna. Numbers 21:20; K. 104:6; L. 267:91.

Textual variant has Phasga (Greek) as also the Latin Fasga.

Summary of biblical verse to give location.

⁵²⁶ Iessa (Iassa). Numbers 21:23; K. 104:9; L. 267:94.

Textual variant Medaban (Latin).

Summary of biblical notations from Isaia 15:1 and Jeremiah 48:21, 34 with a very generalized location perhaps on border of the two regions. Vulgate has Iasa, Iassa and Iaser. Perhaps *Khel Lirr* for the *Onomasticon*’s site and nearby *Kh Iskander* or *‘Aleiyān* for Iron Age.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iassa, halved or make a charge” (82).

⁵²⁷ Iazēr. Numbers 21:32; K. 104:13; L. 267:98.

Detailed location and summary of biblical information from Joshua 13:25, Isaiah 16:8, Jeremiah 48:32, and Joshua 21:37. Usually Perea (K. 12:28) is used for Transjordan not for the specific province. In K. 12:3 a lazer is 8 rather than 10 miles from Philadelphia. The Latin omits the “of Palistinē.” Did some editor, in his time, know that Perea should not be called Palestinē? Perhaps *Onomasticon*’s location is at *Kh sar*, but *Kh jazzir* is biblical site. Others see *Tell ‘areme* as Eusebius’ site. All are near present *Nau ‘r*.

⁵²⁸ Iordanēs. Numbers 22:1; K. 104:20; L. 267:6.

The rivers as noted before are all suspect in the *Onomasticon* but this one is in the proper order. The Jordan valley is the Aulon (K.14:22).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iordania, their descent or their possession or seeing judgment” (140).

⁵²⁹ Ietabatha. Deuteronomy 10:7; K. 104:23; L. 267:9.

Simple biblical notation (see K. 104:4).

⁵³⁰ ‘Ierichō. Deuteronomy 32:49; K. 104:25; L. 267:10.

Summary of biblical events including New Testament times (I Kings 16:34 and Matthew 20:29) with incidental archaeological concern. No locations are given. The New Testament data may be an original contribution of Eusebius or may be a still later editor.

Procopius 905C says 52 miles to Neapolis. But in 1016A he quotes this entry exactly. The Madaba map follows Eusebius' spelling and location. In *Tabula Peutinger* it is 12 miles from Archelaud (K. 45:1) and 32 miles to Neapolis (K. 4:28). A bishop was present at the Council of Nicea.

The three cities are not clearly located or identified. The New Testament one was at *Tell abu Aliyiq* and spread out to the flats nearby and has been partially excavated. The later Byzantine was in the general location of present *er-riha* extending westward toward Aliyiq. Usually *Tell es-sultan* is called Old Testament Ierichō. But it has its archaeological problems in spite of being twice thoroughly excavated. *Tell es-sultan* is for Josephus and the *Onomasticon* not Jericho but Gilgal (K. 64:24). What the *Onomasticon* pointed out as Old Testament Iericho is uncertain but perhaps no ruins. Paula however reports as did Josephus that after Joshua destroyed it, up to her time "nothing is to be seen of it except the place where the Ark of the Covenant stood and the 12 stones which the children of Israel brought out of the Jordan" (*PPT* I, 25). Obviously this refers to Gilgal as the near obliterated Ierichō. Only the site of Gilgal was seen. In the *Onomasticon* many sites are located in reference to the Roman-Byzantine Jericho region.

JOSUE

⁵³¹ 'Ierusalēm. Joshua 10:1; K. 106:2; L. 267:18.

Adonibezek is LXX form for Adonsedek.

A summary of biblical information from Josua 15:63, Judges 1:21, 19:10, II Samuel 5:6, Genesis 14:18 and Joshua 18:28. Identification is made with Iebous (K. 106:7) and Salēm (K. 153: 4). It is also called 'Alōn Orna (K. 34:17). The Greek text on the later entry about Salēm is corrupt. *Onomasticon* mentions Ailia more frequently than any other name (see Appendices VII and VIII). It is not listed in this entry because it was still a contemporary name. In 135 A.D. Hadrian began the use of Ailia Kapitōlia. Paula writes "entered Jerusalem, the city of three names - Jebus, Salem, Jerusalem - which by Aelius, afterwards Hadrianus, was raised from its ruins and ashes into Ailia" (Jerome's *Epistle* 108:9 and *PPT* I, 5).

The Madaba map has a recognizable vignette and the "Holy City Ierusalēm." No mention is made to Church (cf. Note on K. 7:13 and Appendix I) in this entry although Eusebius knows of them (*Vita Const.* III, 31ff.) as did Paula (*PPT* I, 6). Some think Eusebius' praise of Constantine sermon was delivered in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Jerusalem or Ailia is often used as a referent in Eusebius and some details are given of its surroundings.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Iērusalem, vision of peace" (121).

⁵³² Iebous. Joshua 18:28; K. 106:7; L. 267:23.

Simple biblical quote to identify it with the above (K. 106:2). It is out of order and probably a gloss on the previous entry later incorporated by a scribe.

⁵³³ Iareim (Iarim). Joshua 9:17; K. 106:8; L. 267:24.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 114:19 and K. 114:23).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iarim, salt or of the woods” (94).

⁵³⁴ Ierimouth (Iarimuth). Joshua 12:11; K. 106:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The first part of this entry and the end of the previous entry are missing in the Vatican manuscript. The distance is also corrupted with 7 appearing in the Vatican and 4 in the Latin. Some emend to 14 on the basis of Procopius 1020C [cf. K. 106:24 which locates an Iermochōs 10 miles away from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12)]. If near Esthaol (K. 88:12) it is on the way to Nikopolis (K. 30:27) rather than Jerusalem and must be at least 7 miles since Eathaol is 10 miles from Eleutheropolis. The turn off from the main road may be indicated. Probably *Kh Marmita*, south of *Ishwa* is intended by the *Onomasticon* but it is not the Old Testament site which is probably *Kh Yarmuk* (cf. Joshua 15:35).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ieritnoth, fearing death or to the heights of death” (94).

⁵³⁵ Isimōth. Joshua 12:3; K. 106:11; L. 268:26.

Biblical information with Hexaplaric data (cf. K. 48:6 and I Samuel 23:19).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Isimoth, he brought death” (82).

⁵³⁶ Iedna. Joshua 15:23; K. 106:15; L. 268:30.

This may be out of order. About halfway between the two major referents is *Idna*, the site which the *Onomasticon* has in mind.

⁵³⁷ Iekkomam (Ieconam). Joshua 12:22; K. 106:17; L. 268:32.

Simple biblical information (perhaps see K. 116:21).

⁵³⁸ Iaeir. Joshua 13:30; K. 106:19; L. 268:34.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 18:4).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iair, making clear” (94).

⁵³⁹ Iamneia (Iamnel). Joshua 15:11; K. 106:20; L. 268:35.

Called a “polichne” and “oppidum” both relatively infrequent terms in the *Onomasticon* (K. 22:11, K. 10:25 and Appendix I and II). It was made into a municipality by Vespasian. *Tabula Peutinger* has it 10 miles from Azotus (K. 20:18) and 12 miles from Ioppē (K. 110:24). Its former name was Iabnēl and this name appears with Iamnia on the Madaba map at the generally agreed on location. There was a maritime Iamnia also but that is not the one intended here. A bishop was present at the Council of Nicea.

It is used as a referent in the *Onomasticon* (K. 22:10, K. 50:16 and K. 72:4). It is the present *Iebna*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iabnehel, building of God” (94).

⁵⁴⁰ Iabeir (Iabir). Joshua 15:15; K. 106:22; L. 268:37.

Confused entry probably for Dabeir (K. 78:12). A similar confusion is in K. 78:2 Dayid.

⁵⁴¹ Iagour (Iagur). Joshua 15:21; K. 106:23; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iagur, colony or stranger” (94).

⁵⁴² Iermous (Iermus). Joshua 15:35; K. 106:24; L. 268:38.

Just north of *Beit Nettif* is *Kh Jarmuk* which preserves part of the name and is about 10 miles from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) to the turn off from main road. It is probably to be distinguished from Ierimouth (K. 106:9) nearer to Nikopolis (K. 30:27).

⁵⁴³ Iechthaēl. Joshua 15:38; K. 106:26; L. 268:40.

Textual variants: Iechthael and Iethael (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iecthahel, honor of God” (94).

⁵⁴⁴ Iephtan (Iecthan). Joshua 15:43; K. 106:27; L. 268:41.

Simple tribal listing

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iepte, opening or uncovered” (94).

⁵⁴⁵ Iether. Joshua 15:48; K. 108:1; L. 268:42.

Textual variant Malatham (Latin).

Eusebius erroneously identifies this with Ether (K. 88:3) of Symeon (Joshua 21:14). Here the information is added that it is entirely Christian, one of two such in the south (K. 26:13). *Kh Attir* is probably this Christian town. Not on the main road (cf. K. 110:18), represented on the Madaba map as a small tower south of Gerara.

For Malathen see K. 14:3 and Appendix II.

⁵⁴⁶ Ianoun (Ianum). Joshua 15:53; K. 108:5; L. 268:46.

Textual variant Ianun (Latin). The strange addendum may be an editor’s questioning the source.

The biblical site is not clearly identifiable but near *Kh Gile ‘adi* with Iron and Persian evidence. But Ianoua is perhaps *el Yamun* south of Taanach (K. 100:7) about 5 miles instead of 3 from Legeōn (K. 14:21) or *Kh Niba* with some Roman sherds. The 3 miles may be where one left the main road via Taanach.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ianum, sleeping” (94).

⁵⁴⁷ Iettan. Joshua 15:55; K. 108:8; L. 268:49.

Textual variant Iethan (Latin).

Another of the all Jewish towns of the fourth century (cf. Note on 22:9 and Appendix II). The localization points to the present *Yatta* 6 miles south of Chebrōn (K. 180:25). It is southeast of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but within the Eastern quadrant (cf. Joshua 21:16).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ietta, they will stretch out” (94).

⁵⁴⁸ Iezrael. Joshua 15:56; K. 108:11; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. Jerome’s notation is obscure. What entry “above” is intended? Possibly 34:11? A marginal gloss?

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iezrahel, seed of God” (95).

⁵⁴⁹ Iezrael. Joshua 17:16; K. 108:12; L. 268:52.

Textual variant Efratae (Latin).

This entry is out of order unless confused with the previous one from Iouda. The Greek Vatican manuscript perhaps conflated the two. In the *Commentary on Hosea* 1:5. Jerome identifies Jezraelem as near Maximianopolis which is Legeōn (K. 14:21). The plain or valley was named after this town. The *Itin. Bourd.* 1, 19 (*PPT* I, 17) locates it 10 miles from Maximianopolis and 12 miles from Skythopolis (K. 16:2). This points directly to *Zir* ‘in (cf. Joshua 19:18 and I Chronicles 4:3).

⁵⁵⁰ Iekdaan. Joshua 15:56; K. 108:17; L. 268:57.

Textual variant Iekdaad (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iecdom, the people dwelled in” (95).

⁵⁵¹ Iephliithi (Ierflethi). Joshua 16:3; K. 108:18; L. 268:58.

Textual variant Iefleti (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

⁵⁵² Iano. Joshua 16:6; K. 108:19; L. 268:59.

Summary of biblical information (cf. II Kings 15:29). Very close to Akrabbein (K. 14:7) is modern *Yanum* which fits the location and retains the sound of the *Onomasticon*’s place name. Just north is *Kh Yanum* with Roman-Byzantine remains.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ianua, rest” (95).

⁵⁵³ Iamein (Iamin). Joshua 17:7; K. 108:22; L. 268:62.

Hexaplaric information. In LXX this is a place name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iamin, right hand” (96).

⁵⁵⁴ Iasēb. Joshua 17:16; K. 108:23; L. 268:63.

Hexaplaric information. Out of order and doubly suspect as a gloss.

⁵⁵⁵ Ieblaam. Joshua 17:11; K. 108:24; L. 268:64.

Textual variant Iebalam (Greek).

Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 72:24).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ieblaam, foolish people” (95).

⁵⁵⁶ Ierphēl. Joshua 18:27; K. 108:26; L. 268:66.

Textual variant Ierdēl (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ierfel, God sent forth” (95).

⁵⁵⁷ Ieknal. Joshua 19:11; K. 108:27; L. 269:67.

Simple biblical notation (Joshua 21:34).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iecnaam, possession of the people” (95).

⁵⁵⁸ Iapheth (Iafthie). Joshua 19:12; K. 108:29; L. 269:69.

Iapheth is said to be the coastal port of Ioppē. Apparently it was sometimes confused with ‘ēpha or Sykaminos around Mt.Karmēl. Neither ‘ēpha nor Sykaminos are important to the *Onomasticon* but Ioppē is (cf. 110:24).

In Joshua 19 an Iaphia in v.12 and an Iapho in v.46. The former is in Zebulōn and the latter in Dan. The *Onomasticon* conflates the two in this entry unless they switched loyalty in biblical times. Iaphia-Iapheth is falsely equated with Ioppē. The identity of Iaphia and ‘Epha are not made clear.

Four sites are involved. Iaphia of Zabulōn is not really localized in the *Onomasticon*. It is probably *Yafe* near Nazareth. Ioppē was a well known port and referent for the *Onomasticon* and needed no localization. Sykaminos is located near Mt.Karmēl identified with ‘ēpha but Sykaminos is probably south of Mt.Karmēl, *Tell es Samak* and Epha is north and is ancient area of present day Haifa. Sykaminos is an “oppidum” in Latin (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). Iapho which is probably Ioppē is not mentioned here or in the entry at K. 110:24. But Vespasian made Ioppē a municipality.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iafie, open or exposed or surface” (95).

⁵⁵⁹ Iephthaēl. Joshua 19:14; K. 110:1; L. 269:72.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 10:6).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iafthehel, God reveals” (95).

⁵⁶⁰ Iadela. Joshua 19:15; K. 110:2; L. 269:73.

Textual variant Ioudēla (Greek)

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iedala, abuse of the hand” (95).

⁵⁶¹ Iermoth. Joshua 19:21; K. 110:3; L. 269:74.

Summary of biblical information from Joshua 21:29 and Hosea 5:8 (cf. K. 106:9).

⁵⁶² Iamnēl (Iabnel). Joshua 19:33; K. 110:5; L. 269:76.

Textual variant Iamel (Latin).

Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 106:20).

⁵⁶³ Ierōn. Joshua 19:38; K. 110:6; L. 269:77.

Textual variant Ierron (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ieraon, they will fear” (95).

⁵⁶⁴ Iethlan (Iethlam). Joshua 19:42; K. 110:7; L. 269:78.

Jethela (Vulgate) Seilatha (LXX).

Simple tribal listing.

⁵⁶⁵ Iēlōn. Joshua 19:43; K. 110:8; L. 269:79.

Simple tribal listing.

⁵⁶⁶ Ioud (Iud). Joshua 19:45; K. 110:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry missing in Greek Vatican Manuscript

Simple tribal listing.

⁵⁶⁷ ‘Ierakō (Ieracon). Joshua 19:46; K. 110:10; L. 269:80.

Some take “waters” *me* (*mai*) as the first syllable of a proper name.

Simple tribal listing. This may be the same as K. 96:3, but the Greek may have conflated or confused two Hebrew place names. LXX has “sea of Ierakōn with border near Ioppē.” The words border and mountain are quite similar in Greek and Hebrew for mountain is *har* which could be found in MT *harakkon*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ieracon, yellowish which Greeks call jaundiced” (95).

⁵⁶⁸ Iabeis Galaad. Judges 21:8; K. 110:11; L. 269:81.

In K. 32:6 Iabis is a large city, but a village of Iabeis here. Procopius 1049A has the distance 20 from Pella (K. 14:19) and 60 from Gerasa (K. 64:2) which are obviously wrong unless the milestones were taken from other referents than those now in our text.

The name continues in the *Wadi Yabis*. *Onomasticon* seems to point to *Kir Isna* or nearby *Deir el Halaweh*, with the former a Roman-Byzantine site to be preferred. This is not necessarily the identification of the biblical site, which may be *Tell Maqlub*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iabes, dry or dryness” (100).

KINGS

⁵⁶⁹ Iaar. I Samuel 14:25; K. 110:15; L. 269:86.

The etymology is in the LXX. This is not a proper name in the MT.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iaare, salt” (108).

⁵⁷⁰ ‘Ieramēlei. I Samuel 30:29; K. 110:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript and out of order in Latin. Jerome transliterates rather than translates the “foreigners.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ierameheli, God have mercy on me” (104).

⁵⁷¹ Iether. I Samuel 30:26; K. 110:17; L. 269:87.

Textual variants: Iethoeira (Greek) and Ieththira (Latin).

Onomasticon identifies this with K. 88:3 and K. 108:2.

⁵⁷² Iekmaan. I Kings 4:12; K. 110:19; L. 269:89.

Simple biblical notation.

⁵⁷³ Itaburion. Joshua 5:1; K. 110:20; L. 269:90.

Cf. K. 98:23. Thabor, perhaps out of order and suspect.

⁵⁷⁴ Iekthoēl. II Kings 14:7; K. 110:22; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Interpretative biblical comment (cf. K. 142:7).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ieethel, meeting God or help of God” (116).

⁵⁷⁵ Ietaba. II Kings 21:19; K. 110:23; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Iothaba, sinning in him” (116).

⁵⁷⁶ Ioppē. Jonah 1:3; K. 110:24; L. 269:92.

Madaba map notes this was the home of Jonah. So also does Paula (*PTT* I, 4) (cf. K. 108:30

and Joshua 19:46. No details regarded as necessary for a flourishing “oppidum” (cf. K. 10:25; K. 163:6 and Appendix I).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ioppe, beauty” (124).

THE GOSPELS

⁵⁷⁷ Itouraia, Also Trachonitis. Luke 3:1; K. 110:27; L. 269:93.

This is the extreme northeast of the *Onomasticon*. On Trachonitis see K. 166:1. It is related to Basan (K. 44:9) and Batanaia (cf. K. 12:11). Arabia (K. 10:17) is the most frequently used of these geographical names but they are not clearly delineated in the *Onomasticon*, probably because the lists developed over several centuries of Jewish compilers, Eusebius and later editors and glossators. In the early fourth century there was an important town Maximianopolis not to be confused with the similarly named town in Jesreel.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ituraeae, mountainous; this in Syria” (140).

SECTION K

GENESIS

K. 112:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

In Greek the sub-division under this alphabetic section is “Genesis” but in Latin it is more correct as “Pentateuch.”

⁵⁷⁸ Karnaeim. Astaroth Karnaeim. Genesis 14:5; K. 112:3; L. 269:98.

The large village in Batanaia is one of the two villages of K. 6:4. The probability is that it is *Sheikh Sa'ad* about 16 miles northwest of Dera near *Tell 'ashtarah* (K. 12:11). The home of Job is noted in K. 142:3 and such a tradition from pilgrim times continued into the 20th century at *Sheikh Sa'ad* (cf. K. 76:10)

For Batanaia see K. 44:11.

The second Karnaia (I Maccabees 5:27ff.) belonging to Ailia perhaps is Ataroth (K. 26:25). Nine miles marks the turn off from main road northwest toward Bethoron from Jerusalem. All these are to be distinguished from Ataroth of Ephraim (K. 26:19) near *Bir Zeit*.

⁵⁷⁹ Kadēs. Genesis 14:7; K. 112:7; L. 269:3.

Simple biblical notation. In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome says “Cades is a place near Petra called the spring of judgment where God judged the people” (18).

⁵⁸⁰ Kadēa Barnē. Numbers 32:8; K. 112:8; L. 270:4.

Textual variant city of Palestinē (Greek) instead of Arabia. This reflects again the uncertainty of editorial additions and of the use of Arabia in the *Onomasticon* (K. 110:27). Latin combines K. 112:7 and K. 112:8. Some confusion in order of this and the next three entries.

A summary of biblical information from Numbers 21:1, 11; Numbers 27:14 and Genesis 14:7.

A tomb tradition is here. No location is given other than near Petra (K. 142:7). Procopius repeats the entry in 332D and 1021D. It also is reaffirmed by Jerome in *Commentary on Ezekiel* 38:23(cf. K. 46:26).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cades, holy or change” (63); “Cades, alteration or holy” (80); “Cadesbarne, selected change or changeableness” (80).

⁵⁸¹ Kenaz. Genesis 36:11; K. 112:13; L. 270:9.

Simple biblical notation. In *Hebrew Questions* (44) Jerome equated Theman (K. 96:18), Cenaz, Amalec (K. 16:5) with Idumaia (K. 46:11).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cenez, jealous or his possession” (63).

⁵⁸² Kariathaeim. Numbers 32:37; K. 112:14; L. 270:10.

Textual variants: Kariathieim (Greek). For contemporary site Coroiath and Eoraiat (Latin).

Another wholly Christian town (cf. K. 26:14) is located west of Madaba and probably indicates *Kh el Qureiyat* which is near the hot springs of Barē (cf. K. 44:22). Mileage indicates turn off from main Roman highway. Must be distinct from Kariathiarim of Jerusalem (K. 14:23).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cariathaim, towns or their city (oppidum)” (80).

⁵⁸³ Kariatharbo. Genesis 23:2; K. 112:18; L. 270:14.

Textual variants: Kariathirbo (Greek) and Ceriath arbae (Latin).

Etymological information and identification with Chebrōn (K. 6:8 and K. 170:25). It is out of regular order and probably suspect as addition. See all three entries above.

⁵⁸⁴ Kanath. Numbers 32:42; K. 112:20; L. 270:15.

Vatican manuscript is incomplete here. Textual variants: Cannatha and Chanatha (Latin).

Summary of biblical information and generalized location. The village is probably *el Kanawat* and along with Damascus and Bostra forms the eastern limit of the *Onomasticon*. In *Tabula Peutinger* it is 20 Miles from Bostra.

Onomasticon confused Nabo (Numbers 32:42) and Naboth (Numbers 32:3, 78 and K. 136:6, 9) and perhaps is too far northeast for the biblical site. The Syriac has this “near Petra” which is an attempted correction getting nearer to Kerak.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Canath, striving after or zealous” (80).

⁵⁸⁵ Kata ta Krusea (Catatachrysea, i.e. to gold). Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 114:1; L. 270:19.

Vatican manuscript adds “Deuteronomy” division marker here.

The LXX and Vulgate translate the biblical Dizahab. The area is located by the *Onomasticon* as near Phainon (K. 81:16 and K. 168:8) in the Arabah (K.12:25) somewhere near Aqabah (cf. Deuteronomy 1:5 and Numbers 33:42). Perhaps *Umm el Dahab* which retains the sound

and etymology. The mines were worked in Roman-Byzantine times as well as earlier. Smelters also in later era.

⁵⁸⁶ Kadēmōth. Deuteronomy 2:26; K. 114:5; L. 270:23.

Simple biblical summary (cf. K. 114:10 below).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cademoth, beginning of death” (86).

⁵⁸⁷ Kariath. Joshua 9:17; K. 114:7; L. 270:25.

Simple biblical summary (cf. K. 114:23, K. 48:9, K. 48:24, and K.172:15). And for Gabaon see K. 66:11.

⁵⁸⁸ Kades. Joshua 12:22; K. 114:8; L. 270:26.

Simple biblical notation (cf. Joshua 15:3).

⁵⁸⁹ Kademoth. Joshua 13:18; K. 114:10; L. 270:28.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 114:5). Here “another” is in the proper order. One of six only in the *Onomasticon*. All others are out of order.

⁵⁹⁰ Kedsōn. Joshua 21:37; K. 114:11; L. 270:29.

Part of this entry missing in Vatican manuscript possibly by scribal homoioteleuton after Roubin. Gloss.

JOSUE

⁵⁹¹ Kapseēl. Joshua 15:21; K. 114:13; L. 270:31.

Note “Iesoue” division here but four previous entries were from that book.

Simple tribal listing. Possibly the same as K. 118:10.

⁵⁹² Kina. Joshua 15:22; K. 114:14; L. 270:32.

Simple tribal listing (cf. Tina (K. 164:14)).

⁵⁹³ Keeila. Joshua 15:44; K. 114:15; L. 270:33.

Textual variant in Vatican manuscript 17 miles.

Probably at *Kh Qila* today about 7 miles east of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) but 7 miles more properly a turn off. The tomb is also indicated as elsewhere (K. 70:24 and K. 88:27). This is also called Enkēla (K. 88:26).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cena, throw a slingstone or arousing him or bearing oneself” (92).

⁵⁹⁴ Kariathbaal. Joshua 15:60; K. 114:19; L. 270:37.

A simple biblical notation (cf. K. 106:8, K. 114:23 and K. 48:24).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cariathbaal, he possessed cities or had possessed cities” (92).

⁵⁹⁵ Kana. Joshua 16:8; K. 114:20; L. 270:38.

Simple tribal listing. A river (cf. K. 114:22).

⁵⁹⁶ Kabsaeim (Capsaim). Joshua 21:22; K. 114:21; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Not in Vatican manuscript and out of order. Textual variant Camsaim (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

⁵⁹⁷ Kane. Joshua 17:9; K. 114:22; L. 270:39.

Simple tribal listing. A river (cf. K. 114:20).

⁵⁹⁸ Kariathiareim (Kariathbaal). Joshua 18:14; K. 114:23; L. 271:40.

Summary of biblical items which are divided into two sections by a location indication. The additions after are perhaps from a later hand (Joshua 26:22, I Chronicles 2:50, Joshua 15:60, and Judges 10:4). Same as K. 114:19 above.

Procopius 1024A agrees with the location and distance. In K. 48:24 however it is 12 miles not 9 as here (cf. K. 106:8 and K. 128:1). This location generally points to *Qaryat al 'Inab* area for the Byzantine site; possibly *Deir el Azhar* (cf. K. 116:20).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cariathiarim, city or village of the woods” (91).

⁵⁹⁹ Kisōn (Kision). Joshua 19:20; K. 114:28; L. 271:46.

Simple biblical notation (Joshua 21:28).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cison, they drive against or their hardness or joy” (99).

⁶⁰⁰ Kartha. Joshua 21:34; K. 116:1; L. 271:47.

Simple biblical notation, possibly out of order.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cartham, complete a summons” (92).

⁶⁰¹ Katta. Joshua 19:15; K. 116:2; L. 271:48.

Textual variants: Kouta (Greek) and Cotta (Latin).

Simple biblical notation, also possibly out of order.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Catath or Caath, bite or society” (92).

⁶⁰² Kana. Joshua 19:28; K. 116:4; L. 271:50.

Summary of biblical information including New Testament (John 21:1,2 and John 1:48). Only a general location is given. The Latin text calls the contemporary town an “oppidum” (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). The *Onomasticon* equates Kanah with Cana. Kanah of Asher should be near Aidōn and possibly is at *Qanah* 6-7 miles southeast of Tyre (K. 162:15). The New

Testament site is quite older, being in Galilee. It is close to Nazareth (K. 138:24) and Kapharnaum (K. 120:2), according to Jerome's *Epistle* 108 (*Migne PL* 22, 889 and *PPT* I, 15). In *Epistle* 46 (*Migne PL* 22, 91) it is very near Nazareth. It is probably to be located at *Kh Qana* but could possibly be *Kefr Kenna* closer to Nazareth. A late 4th century church is there.

Some scholars think Jerome's note on greater and lesser refer to Kana rather than to Sidōn. If so, the greater is the New Testament site and the lesser the Old Testament site. However, the text hardly supports this opinion.

⁶⁰³ Kades (Cades). Joshua 19:37; K. 116:8; L. 271:53.

Summary of biblical information (Joshua 21:32, Joshua 20:7 and II Kings 15:29). Procopius 1049A has the first part of the entry only.

Kydisos probably also known as Cadasa is located southeast of Tyre (K. 162:15) and is still known as Qades in Upper Galilee, north of *Safed*.

⁶⁰⁴ Kartham. Joshua 21:32; K. 116:12; L. 271:57.

Simple biblical notation.

JUDGES

⁶⁰⁵ Ketrōn. Judges 1:30; K. 116:15; L. 271:60.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Cetron, their darkness or incense" (99).

⁶⁰⁶ Karka (Carcar). Judges 8:10; K. 116:17; L. 271:62.

Biblical summary plus location. No direction is given. If north, it is near Shobek but it could just as well refer to south or southeast area (cf. Kerak sound).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Carcar, investigation" (99).

⁶⁰⁷ Kamōn. Judges 10:5; K. 116:20; L. 271:65.

The identification by the *Onomasticon* is probably erroneous for the biblical site which should be in Transjordan. Kammona is near present *Qamun* which retains the sound of the name and is approximately 8 miles northwest of Legeōn (K. 14:21) and may be the Jokneam of the Old Testament for Iaeip (see K. 48:24 and K. 114:23).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Camon, unprofitable reappearance" (99).

The next four entries are all out of order and are not really names of places so are suspect as later editorial or scribal additions.

⁶⁰⁸ Kisōn. Judges 4:7; K. 116:23; L. 271:69.

Simple biblical summary for the Wadi (cf. K. 114:28).

⁶⁰⁹ Kadēmim (Cademi). Judges 5:21; K. 116:25; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Procopius 1061B puts these two places together and notes the possible confusion of Kisōn and Kadēmim in the Sisara and Debbōra story.

⁶¹⁰ Koilas of the Titans (i.e. valley of giants). Judges 1:19; K. 116:26; L. 271:71.

Procopius 1125C suggests “valley of the giants who are called Titans” (cf. II Samuel 5:18ff.). A gloss.

⁶¹¹ Klauthmōn. Judges 2:1; K. 118:1; L. 271:72.

Etymological information not customary in the *Onomasticon*. This and the previous three entries are suspect on various grounds.

KINGS

⁶¹² Keni. I Samuel 27:10; K. 118:4; L. 271:75.

The order of entries in this entire section on “Kingdoms” is confused. Here the Latin identifies the “foreigners” as *Pylistii*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ceni, my copper or my bereaved or passion” (80).

⁶¹³ Karmēlos. I Samuel 25:2; K. 118:5; L. 271:76.

In the Vatican manuscript this and the following item have been conflated.

The village still retains its old name at *Kermela* 10 miles south (not east) of Chebrōn (K. 6:8). This direction in the *Onomasticon* is obviously an error since even the East quadrant which is sometimes intended in directions in the *Onomasticon* would not cover the road to Malatha. The “South” is in the entry for Chermel (K. 172:20 and cf. K. 92:21). Near Zeif is the home of Nabal at Chermela. Chermala probably had been fortified by Herod along with Zelph. The garrison is reaffirmed by *Notitia Dignitatum* (72:6 and 73:20)(cp. Procopius 1020C). Chebrōn is an “oppidum” in Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I).

⁶¹⁴ Karmēlos. Mountain. I Kings 18:42; K. 118:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The confusion with the above is possible because most mountains are suspect entries in the *Onomasticon*. The Greek manuscript lacks the first two words. The Latin does not have this entry. Jerome in *Commentary on Amos* 1:2 sees two mountains: one the home of Nabal, the other near Ptolemais. He repeats this distinction in *Commentary on Isaiah* 29:17. The home of Nabal near Chebrōn (K. 6:8) is in the previous entry as well as K. 172:20. This item is one of the few entries in the *Onomasticon* giving borders of the Roman-Byzantine period. The northern boundary of the Province of Palestinē is marked by the mountain.

⁶¹⁵ Kabseēl II Samuel 15:23; K. 118:10; L. 272:81.

Simple biblical notation not in the Latin text. Perhaps same as K. 116:13.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cabseel, assembly of God” (107).

⁶¹⁶ Kedrōn. I Samuel 15:23; K. 118:11; L. 272:82.

Not originally a place name entry. The Latin adds New Testament John 18:1 note.

Simple biblical location (cf. K. 174:26 and K. 70:2).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cedron, sadness or sorrow” (126).

⁶¹⁷ Kurinē (Cyrene). II Kings 16:9; K. 118:13; L. 272:84.

Probably outside the *Onomasticon*’s limits for Holy Land.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cyrene, heir” (144).

⁶¹⁸ Kōa. I Kings 10:28; K. 118:15; L. 272:87.

Textual variant Kōd (Greek). Not in MT, an LXX word.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Caue, endurance or sound of trumpet” (110).

⁶¹⁹ Karchēdon (i.e. Carthage). Isaiah 23:1; K. 118:16; L. 272:88.

Probably outside of the *Onomasticon*’s limits for Holy Land (Ezekiel 27:12 and cp. K. 100:25). The reference to Hebrew Tharseis is repeated by Jerome in *Commentary on Isaiah* 33:1 and *Commentary on Ezekiel* 37:12. The Latin makes the clear identification with Carthago.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Carthaginiis, investigation” (120).

⁶²⁰ Kollas Iōsaphat. Joel 13:2; K. 118:18; L. 272:89.

Another detail of Jerusalem. The location given is the same as that for the Chebrōn (cf. K. 70:2, K. 118:11, and K. 174:26).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome adds nothing new. This is possibly only a marginal gloss in the Latin text.

⁶²¹ Kedam. Ezekiel 25:4; K. 118:20; L. 272:91.

Hexaplaric information.

⁶²² Kēdar. Ezekiel 27:21; K. 118:21; L. 272:92.

Summary of biblical information (Jeremiah 49:28, Isaiah 21:16 and Genesis 25:13) and a generalized location. The desert of Sarakēnē (K. 60:13) is related to the area of the Ishmaelites by Jerome in his *Commentary on Jeremiah* 2:10.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cedar, sad or dark” (130).

⁶²³ Kariōth. Jeremiah 48:24, 41; K. 120:1; L. 272:95.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Carioth, meeting of signs” (126).

⁶²⁴ Kapharnaoum. Matthew 4:13; K. 120:2; L. 272:96.

No special section in this listing for New Testament text. This is an “oppidum” in Jerome (see Appendix I). Localization is general because in Eusebius’ time this city at *Tell Hum* was flourishing. It was two miles from Chōrazein (K. 174:25). There is debate as to whether the New Testament site was here. Paula and the pilgrims visited this site (*Epistle* 108; *PPT* I, 16; *Epistle* 46 and *Migne PL* 22, 491).

Here ends our reading for the letter *C* i.e. the Greek Kappa the rest are under the letter *Chi*, which has aspiration in itself and of which there is very little use in Latin. At the end of this alphabetic section Jerome adds another of his linguistic notes differentiating Greek and Hebrew letters and pronunciation.

SECTION L

GENESIS

⁶²⁵ Lasan. Genesis 10:19; K. 120:7; L. 272:1.

Simple biblical location.

Jerome in *Hebrew Questions* has “Lece which is not Callirhoe where the hot water pours out and flows into the dead sea” (14).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lesa, in salt” (68).

⁶²⁶ Louza (Luza). Genesis 28:19; K. 120:8; L. 272:2.

Textual variant Louzan (Greek).

General directions for Baithel-Louza are correct (K. 40:20ff and cf. Joshua 18:13). The road described in opposite direction in K. 40:20. Site is east and off the main road.

⁶²⁷ Louza (Luza). Judges 1:23; K. 120:11; L. 272:5.

This “another” entry is out of order as frequently appears and seems to be a marginal gloss on the previous entry which has been incorporated into the text by a later scribe. The *Onomasticon* confuses a contemporary, continuing city with the above. The Greek has 9 miles and the Latin 3 miles from Neapolis (K. 4:28). The Latin is probably correct for Luza on Mt. Garisim still known as *Kh al-loze*. The 9 miles northeast may point to *at talluza*.

⁶²⁸ Lōtan. Genesis 36:20; K. 120:13; L. 272:7.

Textual variant Lōtam (Greek).

Possibly a name of a person has been confused with a place.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Loyan, their chain or he was confined” (82).

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁶²⁹ Lebōna. Numbers 33:20; K. 120:15; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This and the next entry are missing in Vatican Greek manuscript.

Simple listing of station.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lobna, white or shining white” (82).

⁶³⁰ Lobon. Deuteronomy 1:1; K. 120:16; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This and the previous entry are missing in Vatican Greek manuscript.

Simple biblical notation.

⁶³¹ Lacheis. Joshua 10:3; K. 120:19; L. 272:9.

Summary of biblical information (Isaiah 36:2, Jeremiah 34:7, Joshua 15:19). The Old Testament Lachish being re-excavated at *Tell ed Duweir* is not Lacheis as far as the *Onomasticon* indicates. The Old Testament site is about four and half miles, from Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). *Tell el Hesi* (once identified as Old Testament Lachish) is almost twice the distance as here in the *Onomasticon*. A Byzantine site at *Daweima* is about 7 miles southeast and could be the one intended by Eusebius. Near *Tell ed Duweir* is an *el Qubeibe* which is more likely intended. Procopius 1020e repeats the Greek material here.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lachis, it is march or man himself” (95).

⁶³² Lebna. Joshua 10:29; K. 120:23; L. 273:13.

Textual variant Leena (Greek).

After the biblical summary (Joshua 15:42, Joshua 21:13 and Isaiah 37:8) only a generalized location is given. The Old Testament may be *Tell Judeidah* or *Tell es-Safi*. The later is Saphitha for the Madaba map. Lobana is not on the map. Eusebius may see *Tell Bernat*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lohna, dazzling white or tiles” (95).

⁶³³ Laserōn (Lasaran). Joshua 12:18; K. 122:1; L. 273:17.

Simple biblical notation.

⁶³⁴ Lithos Boen. Joshua 15:6; K. 122:3; L. 273:19.

Textual variant Boethou (Greek).

The “stone” has been translated into a proper name.

⁶³⁵ Labōth. Joshua 15:32; K. 122:4; L. 273:20.

Textual variant Labōn (Greek).

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 52:15).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lebo, entrance or coming” (5).

⁶³⁶ Lamas. Joshua 15:40; K. 122:5; L. 273:21.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Laamas, to iniquity” (95).

⁶³⁷ Labōth. Joshua 19:6; K. 122:6; L. 273:22.

Textual variant Laboth (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

⁶³⁸ Labanath. Joshua 19:26; K. 122:7; L. 273:23.

Simple tribal listing.

⁶³⁹ Lakoum. Joshua 19:33; K. 122:8; L. 273:24.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lacum, to honor” (95).

JUDGES

⁶⁴⁰ Labōemath. Judges 3:3; K. 122:10; L. 273:26.

Textual variant Lamoemath (Greek).

Hexaplaric information (cf. K. 88:20). Note order shift in these entries.

⁶⁴¹ Lesem. Joshua 19:47; K. 122:11; L. 273:27.

Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 76:6). Order confused.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lesem, to name” (95).

⁶⁴² Louza. Judges 1:26; K. 122:12; L. 273:29.

“Another” is frequently suspect but if previous entries are confused this is one of the few in the proper biblical order (cf. K. 120:8, 11 and Baithēl K. 40:20).

⁶⁴³ Lechei. Judges 15:19; K. 122:16; L. 273:32.

Hexaplaric Information. The Latin lacks the first “in jaw” but it may stand for Enlechi and is not a translation (cf. K. 88:21).

⁶⁴⁴ Laisa. Judges 18:27ff.; K. 122:17; L. 273:33.

Textual variant Leisa (Greek).

Summary of biblical information and geography (Judges 20:1, Isaiah 10:30. Old Testament Laia probably *Tell el Qadi*. Perhaps refers to K. 122:11 and K. 76:6 (*Tell Dan*) or else to other references to Paneas and sources of the Jordan.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Laisa, lion” (121).

KINGS

⁶⁴⁵ Lemattara. I Samuel 20:20; K. 122:23; L. 273:38.

Procopius 1108A has Lamattaran.

Simple biblical notation and Hexaplaric information. Hebrew has become a proper name through transliteration (cf. K. 88:24).

⁶⁴⁶ Ladabar. II Samuel 9:4; K. 122:25; L. 273:40.

Textual variants: Lakamer (Greek) and Memphybosthe and Miphilosesthe (Latin).

Simple biblical notation.

⁶⁴⁷ Lōdabar. II Samuel 17:27; K. 122:26; L. 273:41.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Lodabar, the word itself” (108).

⁶⁴⁸ Libanos. I Kings 5:9; K. 122:27; L. 273:42.

A mountain, therefore a suspect entry (cf. K. 18:8).

⁶⁴⁹ Loueith (Luith). Isaiah 15:5; K. 122:28; L. 273:43.

The location is very general. Some identify Loueitha near Mt. Nebo and others nearer Areopolis (K. 10:17). Perhaps still best at *Kh Fas*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Luith, jaw or cheek” (121).

SECTION M

GENESIS

⁶⁵⁰ Manassē. Genesis 10:30; K. 124:3; L. 273:47.

Simple biblical notation. Outside of Holy Land proper according to *Onomasticon*’s limits. Procopius 312B says “Massē territory in India is called thus”.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mesa, infrequent water or from the Lord” (69).

⁶⁵¹ Mambre. Genesis 13:18; K. 124:5; L. 273:49.

Identified with Chebrōn (K. 170:25) and Arboc (K. 6:8) (cf. also Oak of Mamrē in K. 76:1). The “see above” interrupts the biblical information so the later notations after that are suspect (Genesis 14:13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mamre, division or clear” (69).

⁶⁵² Madiam. Genesis 25:2; K. 124:8; L. 274:52.

Textual variants: Cethura and Cettura (Latin). Greek lacks “near Arnon.”

Procopius 405A says, “City Madiam extends beyond the Arabian desert, formerly Pharan, to the east of the Red Sea. Whence the Madianites, the people of Madiam, son of Abraam and Chettoura as is clear. Iothor, the father-in-law of Mōuses was descended from Abraam and of the family of Madiam” (cf. Exodus 2:16 and Numbers 10:29). Josephus *Antiquities* II, 2, 1 reports a town of Madiam situated by the Red Sea “named after one of Abraham’s sons by Katura (cf. Jerome’s *Commentary on Isaiah* 60: 6 “now Saba” is added by way of identification. Text does not really locate this city.

The second deserted city near the Arnonas (K. 10:15) and Areopolis (10:17) is perhaps *el middin* southeast of Kerak.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Madan, measuring or answering” (69).

⁶⁵³ Mōab. Genesis 36:35; K. 124:15; L. 274:59.

Genealogical reference to Genesis 19:37.

Moab is around Areopolis (10:17) which is also called Rabbath Moab (cf. K. 10:13 and K. 36:24). In Jerome’s *Commentary on Amos* 2:1 “Moab or metropolis of the Moabites which is applied to the whole complete province.” In his *Commentary on Zephaniah* 8 “Moab which is now called Areopolis.” Probably the present town of *Rabba*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Moab, from the father” (69).

⁶⁵⁴ Masrēka. Genesis 36:36; K. 124:18; L. 274:62.

Textual variant Maasrēka (Greek).

A personal name becomes a place name. Located in general Gebalēnē (K. 10:62). The name may be preserved in *jebel mushraq*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Masreca, void tax or hissing or dragging” (69).

⁶⁵⁵ Mabsar. Genesis 36:42; K. 124:20; L. 274:63.

Textual variant Masaris (Greek).

A large village dependent upon Petra (K. 142:7) in the Gebalēnē (K. 8:10). This may be a bastardization of Bosor (K. 46:11) in Idumaea, not Bostra north toward Damascus.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mabsar, fort” (69).

⁶⁵⁶ Magediēl. Genesis 36:43; K. 124:22; L. 274:65.

A proper name of a person given to a place (cf. K. 124:18 above).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Magdihel, from promise of God or tower of God or God

makes me great” (69).

EXODUS

⁶⁵⁷ Magdolos. Exodus 14:2; K. 124:25; L. 274:68.

Vatican manuscript lacks the name at beginning of the entry.

A station (cf. K. 44:2) with additional biblical information (Ezekiel 29:10, Jeremiah 44:1 and Jeremiah 46:14). Possibly two places are combined in this entry. For Soene see K. 162:16.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Magdolon, how great or tower” (76).

⁶⁵⁸ Merra. Exodus 15:23ff.; K. 126:3; L. 274:73.

Summary of biblical information after etymology. No location given.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mara or Merra, bitterness” (76).

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁶⁵⁹ Mnemata epithumias. Numbers 11:34; K. 126:6; L. 274:76.

The MT proper name has been translated into Greek and etymology given.

Simple station listing.

⁶⁶⁰ Makēlōth. Numbers 33:25; K. 126:8; L. 274:78.

Simple station listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maceloth, church” (82).

⁶⁶¹ Mathekka. Numbers 33:28; K. 126:10; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple station listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mathca, sweetness or satiated” (82).

⁶⁶² Masourouth. Numbers 33:30; K. 126:12; L. 274:80.

Simple station listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maseroth, excluding or chains or succeeding or of discipline. In our codex we read Mazureth” (82).

⁶⁶³ Maththanem. Numbers 21:18; K. 126:14; L. 274:82.

This entry is out of order and is therefore suspect.

The location is on the edge of the desert. *Kh* or *Tell el Medeiyyineh* is approximately at this indicated location and would be the eastern outpost for Madaba (K. 128:19).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mathana, gift” (82).

⁶⁶⁴ Misōr. Deuteronomy 3:10; K. 126:16; L. 274:84.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 128:17).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Misor, straight or plain or field” (87).

⁶⁶⁵ Machanarath. Deuteronomy 3:7; K. 126:17; L. 274:85.

Simple biblical notation. The *MA* may be the Hebrew “from.” The LXX also has this form.

⁶⁶⁶ Madbaris. Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 126:18; L. 275:86.

Textual variant Mambrēs (Greek).

An etymological entry.

⁶⁶⁷ Misadai. Deuteronomy 10:6; K. 126:19; L. 275:87.

Greek confused the Hebrew *R* for *D*. *Onomasticon* and LXX often make this error.

Is this distinguished from K. 176:71? Bible and *Onomasticon* are not clear.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mosera, teaching or his instruction” (87).

JOSUE

⁶⁶⁸ Makēda. Joshua 10:10; K. 126:22; L. 275:90.

Procopius 1021A includes this same location. Eusebius does not agree with the biblical information on location. He seems to locate it southeast at *Kh Beit Maqдум* off the main road. Some think the text should read “North.” *Tell es Safi* is northwest at this distance and may be the ancient Makkedah. The Old Testament site is still unidentified with scholarly debate.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maceda, burning or east or antecedent, that is prior” (95).

⁶⁶⁹ Madōn. Joshua 11:1; K. 126:26; L. 275:94.

Textual variant Modad (Greek) (cf. LXX Mōdōn).

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Madon, contradiction or habitation” (95).

⁶⁷⁰ Massepha. Joshua 11:3; K. 128:1; L. 275:96.

A confused summary of biblical information (Joshua 15:38; I Samuel 7:1; Jeremiah 40:6 and Judges 20:1) seems to combine several different sites into this one entry (Judah, Galaad and Benjamin). It is quoted by Procopius 1024A (cf. K. 130:2 Masseba).

For Kariathiareim see K. 114:23.I

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Masefa, watchtower” (95).

⁶⁷¹ Merran. Joshua 11:7; K. 128:4; L. 275:99.

The identity of this site is not known by the *Onomasticon*. Eusebius seems to be confused by the similar sound of Merrous (cf. Marous below K. 128:13). The distance is quoted exactly by Procopius 1021D. Probably just east of *Dothan* (K. 76:13) at *Qasr Mahrūn*, in Sebaste Territory. *Dothan* is also “12 miles” so perhaps this was turn off to the east.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Marom, high or from height” (95).

⁶⁷² Mastraiphōth Maim. Joshua 11:8; K. 128:7; L. 275:2.

Hexaplaric information. Procopius 1021D notes others call it the water or sea of Massepha (cf. above K. 128:1).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Masarfoth, fire or from the tribulation of the platform” (96).

⁶⁷³ Machathi. Joshua 12:5; K. 128:9; L. 275:4.

Simple biblical summary (Joshua 13:11, 13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maachathi, cut belly or broken by me” (96).

⁶⁷⁴ Marōm. Joshua 12:20; K. 128:12; L. 275:7.

Simple biblical notation. Perhaps “above” refers to K. 128:15. Most of this entry missing in Vatican manuscript.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Marom, another unpleasant or sadness” (96).

⁶⁷⁵ Maggedo. Joshua 12:21; K. 128:14; L. 275:9.

Textual variant Magsddō (Greek).

Simple biblical information. Jerome speaks of the plain of Megiddo in *Epistle* 103:8 (*PPT* I, 4). In his *Commentary on Zachariah* 12:11 he notes Hadadrimmon is in valley of Megiddo. Ancient Megiddo has been well excavated. No indication here is made of its connection with Legeōn (K. 14:21) or the Byzantine name Maximianopolis. Procopius also only summarizes biblical material without location (1048A and 1061A).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mageddo, of his fruit or his disgrace” (96).

⁶⁷⁶ Misōr. Joshua 13:9, 16; K. 128:17; L. 275:11.

Hexaplaric information plus biblical summary (Joshua 20:8 and 21:36). On Meddaba (cf. K. 128:19 and K. 126:16).

⁶⁷⁷ Meddaba. Joshua 13:9; K. 128:19; L. 275:13.

An important referent for the *Onomasticon*. It is an autonomous city in the province of Arabia between Esebōn (K. 84:1) and Dibōn (K. 76:17). The Valley (K. 128:17) may be the plain from Meddaba to Dibōn. The famous Madaba map is here, recently cleaned and in part restored. There are vast ruins at *Medaha*. The source of the Madaba map may have been the sketch Eusebius claims to have prepared for this work plus of course the entries of this work

itself (cf. K. 2:8 and Introduction).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Medab, hunger of water” (96) and “Madaba, nativity” (96).

⁶⁷⁸ Mēphaath. Joshua 13:18; K. 128:21; L. 275:15.

Two sites combined here. One only a tribal listing. The other a similar sounding name in Transjordan. The second may be Mophath (K. 134:14). A garrison reported by *Notitia Dignitatum* (81:19) at a place called Mefa. This is near the Syrian or Arabian desert probably at *Nefa’a* northeast of Esebōn (K. 84:1) which in part preserves the name but it is not pre-Christian in date.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mefaath, motion of matter or from this time” (96 and 127).

⁶⁷⁹ Maspha. Joshua 13:26; K. 130:1; L. 275:18.

Textual variants: Massēma (Greek) and Messafa, Masafa, and Masfas (Latin).

Three items are combined in one in Greek. A simple tribal listing (Josh 21:36). A contemporary town near Eleutheropolis (18:12) and another near Aelia (Joshua 15:38). Jerome corrects this to make one separate item of the last. The best identification is *Kh Safiyeh* just over a mile northeast of Eleutheropolis. The biblical Mizpeh is most complicated and perhaps led to the confusion in this entry as well as in K. 128:1.

⁶⁸⁰ Manacim. Joshua 13:26; K. 130:4; L. 275:21.

Textual variant Maanaim (Latin).

Simple biblical summary with generalized location (Joshua 21:36).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Manaim, camps” (96).

⁶⁸¹ Mōlada (Moladab). Joshua 15:26; K. 130:6; L. 275:23.

Simple tribal listing (Joshua 19:2).

Perhaps same as Malaatha (K. 14:3).

⁶⁸² Medebēna (Medemena). Joshua 15:31; K. 130:7; L. 276:24.

Textual variant kōmē (village) Noeis (Greek).

Eusebius makes an identity here which is followed by the Madaba map: “Madebēna which is now Mēnois.” He has probably confused two similar Hebrew names with the contemporary site (Isaiah 10:31).

Madmannah is in the Negev northeast of Bērsaba and falsely equated with Menois.

Madmenah is near Jerusalem but not clearly identified as yet.

Menois is 11 miles southwest of Gaza just off the way to Raphia (K. 50:18). Probably it is at

Kh Ma'in. It is possible that “near Gaza” reflects still a fourth site that increases the confusion of the *Onomasticon* perhaps pointing to Maiumas, the port of Gaza. At Menois the *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:19) reports a Roman garrison which is overlooked in our text. Called “oppidum” in the Latin (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I while Greek has Gaza *polichne*, a rare use (cf. K. 22:11 and Appendix II).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Medabena, from burden” (96).

⁶⁸³ Magdala. Joshua 15:37; K. 130:9; L. 276:26.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Magdalgad, tower of pirate or tower of armed” (96).

⁶⁸⁴ Marēsa. Joshua 15:44; K. 130:10; L. 276:27.

The village no longer existed but ruins were identifiable in Eusebius’ time just south of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) at *Tell Sandahannah*. No direction is given in the *Onomasticon*. Only five other villages are in ruins or deserted according to the *Onomasticon*. Near the Tell is *Kh Mar'ash* which retains the name. This town was destroyed in 40 B.C. and from then on the site which became Eleutheropolis began to be developed.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maresa, from the head” (96).

⁶⁸⁵ Maōn. Joshua 15:55; K. 130:12; L. 276:29.

Textual variant Manōn (Greek). Also by dittography from above K. 130:10 “it is now deserted” but could be correct information also (cf. K. 134:16).

The tribal entry has only a general localization. Possibly *Tell* or *Kh Ma'in* south of Chermēla (K. 92:20) and Chebrōn (K. 6:8). Perhaps border of Daroma (K. 26:10).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maon, little habitation” (96).

⁶⁸⁶ Marōth. Joshua 15:59; K. 130:13; L. 276:31.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maaroth, canes” (96).

⁶⁸⁷ Maddei (Maddi). Joshua 15:61; K. 130:14; L. 276:32.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Meddin, judgement” (96).

⁶⁸⁸ Maspha. Joshua 18:26; K. 130:15; L. 276:33.

Simple tribal listing. Possibly out of order.

⁶⁸⁹ Machtrōth. Joshua 17:7; K. 130:16; L. 276:34.

Textual variants in Greek sometimes ascribed to Zaboulōn or Benjamin.

Simple tribal listing.

⁶⁹⁰ Marala. Joshua 19:11; K. 130:17; L. 276:35.

Textual variants in Greek sometimes ascribed to Manassē or Benjamin.

Biblical information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Marala, bitter embarkation” (96).

⁶⁹¹ Masan. Joshua 19:26; K. 130:18; L. 276:36.

Tribal listing plus biblical information and location (Joshua 21:30).

⁶⁹² Meeleph (Maeleb). Joshua 19:33; K. 130:20; L. 276:38.

Textual variant Methlem (Greek).

Simple tribal listing but the Greek confused the Hebrew *M* of “from” with the proper name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maalaf, from thousand or from teaching” (96).

⁶⁹³ Magdiel. Joshua 19:38; K. 130:21; L. 276:39.

One of the few villages in the *Onomasticon* called “Great” in the Greek text (K. 22:10 and K. 96:25). Did the size of the town change in the century between Eusebius and Jerome or is it all a matter of relativity? The location is in error. Some Greek texts have 9 miles but the Latin 5 miles is well attested in Greek also. At 5 miles is *Kh Maliha* which is Migdal Malha of the Talmud. Nine miles brings one slightly beyond Atlit where road could have turn off to *mitilia*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Magdalahel, tower of my God” (96).

JUDGES

⁶⁹⁴ Mosphetham (Mosfethaim). Joshua 5:16; K. 130:24; L. 276:42.

Textual variants: Mosphethaim (Greek) and Mosfethain, Mosfetham (Latin).

Hexaplaric information which is reflected in Procopius 1060A.

⁶⁹⁵ Mōre. Judges 7:1; K. 130:25; L. 276:43.

Biblical information only.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Mere, manifest or lightened or opening” (100).

⁶⁹⁶ Mannēth. Judges 11:33; K. 132:1; L. 276:44.

Textual variants Mensēth (Greek), Manith (Latin).

The geography in the biblical account itself is difficult to understand. The identity with Maanith by the *Onomasticon* is questionable since it is a battle area not a village. Some suggest *Umm el Hanafish* but the location is most uncertain especially since the Vulgate does not make the name that of a town but merely translates the Hebrew word.

⁶⁹⁷ Machmas. I Samuel 13:2; K. 132:3; L. 276:47.

Textual variant Machma (Greek).

Geographical identity made with present *Mukhmas* northwest of *er-Ram*. The distance given from Jerusalem is accurate for this identification.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Machemas, submission or misappropriated” (104).

KINGS

⁶⁹⁸ Messab. I Samuel 14:1; K. 132:6; L. 276:50.

Textual variant Greek adds Gaba of Saoul.

Even though biblical information, Jerome calls this “oppidum.” Here he is literally right since it is a fortified town. It is however difficult to consistently relate his use of “oppidum to fortified city” or “shrine with suburbs” in most other entries (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I).

⁶⁹⁹ Magdōn (Magrōn). I Samuel 14:2; K. 132:8; L. 276:51.

Textual variant Magaōn in Greek after LXX.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Margeddon, holding on” (104).

⁷⁰⁰ Massēpha “of Moab.” I Samuel 22:3; K. 132:9; L. 276:52.

Simple biblical information.

Another of the many biblical Mizpeh’s (cf. K. 128:1 and K. 130:1,15).

⁷⁰¹ Masereth. I Samuel 23:14; K. 132:11; L. 276:54.

Biblical information plus Hexaplaric.

It is deserted in the 4th century according to the Latin. Greek may suggest biblical “wilderness.”

⁷⁰² Masbak. II Samuel 8:8; K. 132:13; L. 276:56.

The MT is confused but the Greek again seems to have used the Hebrew *M* “from” as part of the proper name. LXX has Masbach.

⁷⁰³ Mela (i.e.,) Gemela. II Samuel 8:13; K. 132:14; L. 276:57.

Textual variants: Malagēmala, Mala ē Gēmala (Greek), Latin has “valley of salts.”

Hexaplaric information only (cf. K. 72:28).

⁷⁰⁴ Maacha. II Samuel 10:6; K. 132:15; L. 276:58.

Textual variant Malaka (Greek).

The text is confused in MT and LXX. It seems as if a personal name has been made into a

place name.

705 Mōdeeim. I Maccabees 2:1; K. 132:16; L. 276:59.

Out of the order of the text. Madaba map has “Mōdeeim which is now Mōditha home of the Makkabai” located east of Diospolis (K. 8:14). This location fits *el Midjeh*. The interest in graves is high in our text but possibly not with the original text of Eusebius. The Madaba map alternate name is a late Aramaic name for this most significant site.

706 Mapsar Turou. II Samuel 24:7; K. 132:18; L. 276:61.

Textual variants are many and so are suggested emendations.

Hexaplaric information. It is the Fort of Tyre (K. 162:15).

707 Masa. I Kings 2:35 and I Kings 9:15; K. 132:20; L. 277:63.

Textual variants: Magaō and Magdō (Greek).

Simple biblical notation. Difficult to relate this to Megiddo in its present form (cp. K. 128:14). Possibly relates to Hazor (K. 34:18 and K. 90:9).

708 Meebra. I Kings 4:12; K. 132:21; L. 277:64.

Hexaplaric information. Perhaps emend to Meeber. A gloss.

709 Makes. I Kings 4:9; K. 132:22; L. 277:65.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Maces, from the end” (111).

710 Melō (Mello). I Kings 9:15; K. 134:1; L. 277:66.

Textual variant Melo (Latin).

Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplaric information.

Perhaps related to similar Millo at Shechem as in Judges 9:6, 20.

711 Maidan. I Kings 9:15; K. 134:3; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 132:20). Maidan often used for the eastern country beyond the desert but not here.

712 Memphis. Hosea 9:6; K. 134:4; L. 277:67.

Out of the proper *Onomasticon*’s limits of the Holy Land.

Summary of biblical information (Ezekiel 30:13; Jeremiah 2:16 and Jeremiah 44:1).

On Egyptian sites see K. 58:7.

713 Macha. Hosea 9:16; K. 134:6; L. 277:70.

Hexaplaric information. Perhaps same as above. LXX text confused (cf. K. 164:24).

⁷¹⁴ Milētos. Ezekiel 27:18; K. 134:7; L. 277:71.

This is from the LXX only and is not MT. It is also outside the proper *Onomasticon*'s boundaries for the Holy Land and is therefore suspect as an entry from a later hand.

⁷¹⁵ Maribōth. Ezekiel 48:28; K. 134:8; L. 277:72.

Textual variant Marimōth (Greek) and Marimoth (Latin).

Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplaric information.

These are near Kadēs (K. 112:8).

⁷¹⁶ Mōrathei (Morasthi). Micah 1:1; K. 134:10; L. 277:74.

The village is northeast of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) as in the Madaba map, but the *Onomasticon* "east" means the quadrant and the road can be located in the eastern quadrant from Eleutheropolis. The map quotes Eusebius. The tomb was known in Jerome's day and was visited by Paula (*Epistle* 108:14 and *PPT* I, 15). In *Commentary on Micah* Jerome notes "Morasthia a little village near Eleutheropolis." The Madaba map notes a church which was built later than the time of Eusebius. The Byzantine site *Kh Umm el Basak* is not the Old Testament site which is more likely at *Tell el judeideh*. This is distinct from Marēsa (K. 130:10).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Morasthi, my heir" (123 and 127).

⁷¹⁷ Masogam. Jeremiah 48:1; K. 134:12; L. 277:76.

Taken from the New Testament Qere reading. Not in LSX

Simple biblical notation.

⁷¹⁸ Misōr. Jeremiah 48:21; K. 134:13; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This and the next entry are missing in Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple biblical notation.

⁷¹⁹ Mōphath. Jeremiah 48:21; K. 134:14; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This and the previous entry are missing from Greek Vatican manuscript (cf. K. 128:21).

Simple biblical notation.

⁷²⁰ Maōn. Jeremiah 48:23; K. 134:16; L. 277:78.

Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 130:12).

⁷²¹ Molchom. Jeremiah 49:1; K. 134:17; L. 277:79.

Textual variants: Melchon and Melconi (Latin).

Not an original entry. Other idols are also additions to the *Onomasticon* (see K. 36:15; K. 58:9; K. 138:19; K. 146:26 and Appendix II).

⁷²² Magedan. Matthew 15:39; K. 134:18; L. 277:81.

No Gospel section division indicated here. Textual variant Magaidanē (Greek).

Summary of New Testament information. In the New Testament Magedan, Magdala and Dalmanoutha are all related. The Hebrew sound Migdol (K. 130:9) is suspected as background. In Matthew 15:39 there is a region of Magadan or Magdala. In Mark 8:10 it is a district of Dalmanutha located by the *Onomasticon* as near Gerasa (K. 64:2) but in New Testament times it seems to be in Galilea. The New Testament site is on the west side of the Sea at *Mejdel*. What site Eusebius had intended is unknown. This is one of three references to Mark in the *Onomasticon* (K. 64:4 and K. 74:13).

SECTION N

GENESIS

(Five Books of Moses)

Greek has the subsection division for Genesis but Latin for five books of Moses.

⁷²³ Naid. Genesis 4:16; K. 134:23; L. 277:86.

Textual variant Nain (Greek).

Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplatc information. Procopius 253A and Jerome in *Hebrew Questions* (7) follow the etymology of the bible.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Naid, motion or fluctuation” (69).

⁷²⁴ Nineve. Genesis 10:11; K. 136:1; L. 277:88.

Textual variants for the last line: Neneuen, Ninewen and Neuen (Latin).

Outside the normal limits of the Holy Land for the *Onomasticon*. The second city, one of the Jews, is the only contemporary Jewish city called a *polis* in the *Onomasticon* (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix IX). This probably is *nawa* 36 miles from Capitolias in the pilgrim itineraries. The Gōnia is part of the Hauron but not clearly identified.

In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome notes the derivation of the name Nineve and identifies it as Rooboth (K. 142:11).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ninive beauty or bud of beauty” (69).

⁷²⁵ Naaliēl. Numbers 21:19; K. 136:4; L. 277:91.

Textual variant Naaniēl (Greek).

Biblical location and station listing.

⁷²⁶ Nabau. Numbers 32:3; K. 136:6; L. 277:93.

Textual variant. Syriac lacks “where Moses died.” Suspected entry.

Biblical summary (Deuteronomy 34:1) and location west of Esbous. The city of Naboth (K.

136:9) below is the 8 miles south. This could mean southwest since quadrants are involved. Agri specula (K. 12:16), Phasga (K. 168:28) and Phogōr (K. 168:7, 25) are names also in this general area. The Mt. of *Siyahah* with the Byzantine church fits the 6 miles distance. It could also be located at *jebel Nebo*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nabau, we will come or in conclusion” (83).

⁷²⁷ Nabōth (Nabo). Numbers 32:38; K. 136:9; L. 277:96.

Textual variant Nabōr (Greek).

Summary of biblical information (Deuteronomy 32:49; Isaiah 15:2; Jeremiah 48:1 and Numbers 32:42). The city is in a different quadrant and is 2 miles farther than the mountain above (K. 136:6). It is abandoned or in ruins by the time of Eusebius. The city is probably *Kh Mehaiyet*. It was rebuilt as a shrine after the time of Jerome.

⁷²⁸ Nageb. Numbers 34:3; K. 136:14; L. 278:10.

Textual variant. Syriac lacks the Symmachus reference.

The etymology and the Hexaplaric information. The equation of Hebrew’ names with the Latin and Greek is difficult. In Vitruvius on *Architecture* I, vi, 12, 13 Auster and Meridia are the southern half quadrant. Africas is southwest and Eurus is southeast. No evidence that Jerome and Fuschius were this scientific. Any name could be the entire quadrant from southwest through southeast or even from west-southwest and east-southeast.

JOSUE

⁷²⁹ Naphethdor (Nafeddor). Joshua 11:2; K. 136:16; L. 278:3.

Dor is located properly by the *Onomasticon* about 9 miles north of Caesarea. The emphasis in Latin suggests some change may have taken place in the fourth century since it is then deserted. An “oppidum” (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). Naphoth really means “hilly region” rather than Maritime (cf. K. 78:8)

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nafeddor, change of generations” (96).

⁷³⁰ Naphthō. Joshua 15:9; K. 136:18; L. 278:5.

Textual variant Naphthae (Greek).

Summary of biblical information and tribal listing (Joshua 18:15).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Neptoe, of destruction or beguiling” (96).

⁷³¹ Naam. Joshua 15:41; K. 136:20; L. 278:7.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Naama, comeliness” (112).

⁷³² Nesib. Joshua 15:43; K. 136:21; L. 278:8.

Textual variant Negib (Latin).

The distance varies between Greek and Latin. The 7 miles brings the location to *Kh Beit Nesib* due east of Marisa off the main road. The 9 miles seems an error since it brings the location to Tricomias.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nasib, title or station” (96).

⁷³³ Nebpsan. Joshua 15:62; K. 136:23; L. 278:10.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Naabsan or Nabas, dried up” (96).

⁷³⁴ Naaratha. Joshua 16:7; K. 136:24; L. 278:11.

Textual variants: Narath, Naarta and Naurath (Latin).

The location fits ‘*Ain Duq* better than ‘*Aujah* which may be Archalais and is too far away. Perhaps the synagogue a few miles from *Duq* is Noorath. It is another of the all Jewish cities of the *Onomasticon* (cf. Note on K. 22:9 and Appendix II). This site does not fit the Old Testament location archaeologically.

⁷³⁵ Napheth. Joshua 17:11; K. 138:1; L. 278:13.

Simple tribal listing.

The word Napheth (see K. 136:16) becomes a proper name.

⁷³⁶ Naalōl. Joshua 19:15; K. 138:2; L. 278:14.

Summary of biblical information (Joshua 21:35 and cf. K. 138:6).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Naalal, they praise” (96).

⁷³⁷ Nakeb. Joshua 19:33; K. 138:4; L. 278:16.

Textual variant Nekem (cf. Annekem) (Greek).

Simple tribal listing.

JUDGES

⁷³⁸ Neala. Judges 1:30; K. 138:6; L. 278:18.

The Greek is closer to the MT than the LXX.

Perhaps entry is the same as K. 138:2 but falsely equated with a Transjordan Neeila, perhaps at *Kh en Nile* where the name is preserved.

For Batandea see K. 144:11.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nahellel, praise, hymns” (101).

⁷³⁹ Nobba (Nabe or Nobba). Judges 8:11; K. 138:8; L. 278:20.

Textual variant Nomba (Greek).

Summary of biblical information confusing two sites (I Samuel 22:19). In *Epistle* 108:8 (*PPT* I, 4) Jerome notes the tomb of those killed near *Beit Nuba*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nobe, barking” (101).

⁷⁴⁰ Nemra. Joshua 13:27; K. 138:10; L. 278:22.

This seems related to the earlier entries K. 44:16; K. 48:16 and possibly K.138:20).

The location is vague and no evidence that the *Onomasticon* made an identification. The Batanaea usually does not include the valley. The large village maybe in the northern region at *Nimra*. This item is out of order.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Namra, panther or bitterness” (183).

⁷⁴¹ Naniōth. I Samuel 19:18; K. 138:13; L. 278:25.

Summary of biblical information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nuath, beauty” (104).

⁷⁴² Nachōn. II Samuel 6:6; K. 138:14; L. 278:26.

Hexaplaric information. At best a personal name is indicated.

⁷⁴³ Naphath. I Kings 4:11; K. 138:15; L. 278:27.

Simple biblical notation. Confused again with “region” (cf. K. 136:15 and K. 138:1).

⁷⁴⁴ Nērigel. II Kings 17:30; K. 138:16; L. 278:28.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nergal, lamp of the many” (117).

⁷⁴⁵ Nazez. II Kings 17:31; K. 138:18; L. 278:30.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nabaz, he prophesied thus or futile session” (117).

⁷⁴⁶ Nasarach. II Kings 19:37; K. 138:19; L. 278:31.

Textual variant Nesareth (Latin).

Another idol not original to the *Onomasticon* (cf. K. 134:17; K. 146:26; K. 58:4; K. 36:15 and Appendix II).

⁷⁴⁷ Nebēreim (Nemerim). Isaiah 15:6; K. 138:20; L. 278:32.

Textual variants: Memerein, Nebērein (Greek), Benamerim (Latin) for contemporary site.

Summary of biblical information (Jeremiah 43:34.). The wadi or waters of Nimrin. Perhaps related to K. 138:1; K. 44:16; and K. 48:16. Jerome in *Commentary on Isaiah* 15:6 locates it

by the Dead Sea and calls it there an “oppidum” (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). *Tell Nimrin* is Bennamareim (see Introduction).

⁷⁴⁸ Nabeōth. Isaiah 60:7; K. 138:22; L. 278:35.

Simple biblical notation. Perhaps out of limits of Holy Land. Region is an interpretation, perhaps from a marginal gloss (K. 74:9).

THE GOSPELS

⁷⁴⁹ Nazareth. Matthew 2:23; K. 138:24; L. 278:37.

The Vatican manuscript does not have the “Gospel” division marker before this entry.

Textual variant for Christians in Latin is “Nazorei.”

In *Historia Ecclesiastica* I, 7, 14 Eusebius notes that after the fall of Jerusalem the relatives of Jesus scattered throughout the countryside. It was a Jewish town in the third century. In the 4th century a few shrines were built by Christians but the Jews were dominant. A city Helenopolis was located in the general region, named after Constantine’s mother, but it is never referred to in the *Onomasticon* any more than the two towns named after his sister Constantia. Origen didn’t know of it. No church was built here by Constantine. First reference to a church is 355 A. D. Paula visited it but no church noted there either (*PPT* I, 15). It was near Cana (K. 116:4) and Caphernaum (K. 120:2) on the itinerary of Paula. It is adequately located at *en Nasireh* which was in the region of Legeōn (K. 14:21).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Nazareth, flower or his slip or of cleanness or separate or guardian.” In *Epistle* 46 (*Migne PE* 22, 49) Jerome’s etymology has “his flower.”

⁷⁵⁰ Naein (Naim). Luke 7:11; K. 140:3; L. 279:41.

This name continues near Aendōr (K. 34:8). Region is not indicated. The location next is repeated by Jerome in *Epistle* 108:13 (*PPT* I, 14) Jerome in 141:4 calls it an “oppidum” (cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). In *Epistle* 46 (*Migne PL* 22:49) it can be seen from Thabōr. The distance in Greek 12 miles is erroneous if present *Nein* is involved. The Latin has 2 miles from Thabōr points to *Nein*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Naa, beauty” (111).

SECTION X

JUDGES

⁷⁵¹ Xil. Joshua 15:30; K. 140:8; L. 279:46.

Vulgate has Cesil.

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 172:18).

SECTION O

GENESIS

⁷⁵² Orech. Genesis 10:10; K. 140:11; L. 279:49.

Outside limits of the Holy Land and therefore suspect. Arach is identified in *Hebrew Questions* as Edessa (13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Orech, length” (70).

⁷⁵³ Our of the Chaldees. Genesis 11:28; K. 140:12; L. 279:50.

Also outside the limits of the Holy Land and therefore suspect. Josephus in *Antiquities* I, vi, 5 notes the sepulchre is still in Ur of the Chaldees. In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome notes “region of Chaldaea really is ‘in Ur Casdim’ in Hebrew and means fire of Chaldaea” (15).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ur, fire or light” (77).

⁷⁵⁴ Oulammaous. Genesis 28:19; K. 140:15; L. 279:53.

Textual variant Ulamma for the other site in Latin text.

For the Baithēl-Louza equation see K. 40:20. For the other east of Nazareth there is ‘Ulam which has Byzantine remains. The distance is incorrect and short. In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome notes “Ulam is not a name of a city, but means ‘former’” (34).

⁷⁵⁵ Olibama. Genesis 36:14; K. 140:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Olibama, my tabernacle somewhere, or high tabernacle” (70).

⁷⁵⁶ Odollam. Genesis 38:11; K. 140:20; L. 279:57.

Cf. K. 84:22; K. 24:21 and Micah 1:25.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Odollamites, contesting somewhat or witness in water” (70).

EXODUS

⁷⁵⁷ Othom (Othon). Exodus 13:20; K. 140:23; L. 279:60.

Summary of biblical information on station.

JOSUE

⁷⁵⁸ Opher. Joshua 12:17; K. 140:26; L. 279:63.

Simple biblical notation.

Could be Joshua 19:12 and so cf. K. 108:29, Ephra.

⁷⁵⁹ Oolei. Joshua 19:25; K. 142:1; L. 279:65.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Oli, weakness” (90).

⁷⁶⁰ Ophra. I Samuel 13:17; K. 142:2; L. 279:66.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 29:4 and K. 86:1).

[Here we read through O the short letter, later we record the long vowel.]

⁷⁶¹ Ous. Job 1:1; K. 142:3; L. 279:67.

Before this entry the Latin notes the end of the short O but this entry still follows, possibly an editor’s edition.

Summary of biblical information (Genesis 36: 28). Other references to Job are in K. 76:10 and K. 112:3.

SECTION P

THE PENTATEUCH

⁷⁶² Petra. Judges 1:36; K. 142:7; L. 279:71.

No letter division in the Vatican Greek manuscript here.

Procopius 1048B has Petra in Idumala (K. 102:23). On *Tabula Peutinger* it is 48 miles south of Theman (K. 96:18). It is an important referent for the *Onomasticon* and all the Roman road systems. It is also called Rekem (K. 144:7 and K. 36:13). Mt. Nor (K. 176:7) is nearby. The Nabatean influence lasted into the Roman period of the *Onomasticon*. Petra was one of the Nabatean cities given autonomy about 106 A.D. with the establishment of the Roman Province of Arabia. It was a great city in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The Christians of Petra were persecuted by Diocletian.

SECTION R

THE PENTATEUCH

⁷⁶³ Roōbōth. Genesis 10:11; K. 142:11; L. 280:75.

Outside the limits of Holy Land proper as so often the first entry in a new alphabetic section. In *Hebrew Questions* (13) Jerome believes this is the same as Nineve (K. 136:1)

⁷⁶⁴ Roōbōth. Genesis 36:37; K. 142:13; L. 280:77.

Textual variant Assyrian for Idoumaïen (Greek).

This is probably the Rabath where the *Notitia Dignitatum* (73:27) locates a garrison. Jerome sees a large town but the Greek apparently only a garrison. Some scholars relate this to Areopolis and Rabbath Moab (K. 10:17). The *Onomasticon* is too vague to ascertain a location. Some suggest *Kh Musrab*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rooboth, bending or streets” (70).

⁷⁶⁵ Ramesse. Exodus 1:11; K. 142:15; L. 280:79.

Outside the Holy Land proper (cf. Gen 47:11).

⁷⁶⁶ Roōb. Numbers 13:21; K. 142:18; L. 280:82.

Summary of biblical event, location and added item Levitical city (K. 144:22 and Joshua 21:31. This is not an accurate identification. Two sites seem confused. Contemporary site is located four miles south of Scythopolis (K.16:2) may be at *Tell es aa'ram* or *Sheik er rahab* which has Roman-Byzantine sherds.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Roob, streets or wide” (83).

⁷⁶⁷ Raphaka. Numbers 33:12; K. 142:21; L. 280:85.

Station listing. The Greek confused Hebrew *D* with *R*.

⁷⁶⁸ Raphidim. Numbers 33:14; K. 142:22; L. 280:86.

Summary of biblical information (Exodus 17:6f., 13). The Madaba Map has a “Raphidinn where Israel and Amalak fought.” It is near Mt.Sinai (K. 154:1) or Paran (K. 166:12).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rafidim, wide hands or good judgment or eye sight or his suffering” (77).

⁷⁶⁹ Ratima. Numbers 33:18; K. 144:1; L. 280:90.

Simple listing of station.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rathma, complete vision or juniper or sound.” (83).

⁷⁷⁰ Remmen Prares. Numbers 33:19; K. 144:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple listing of station.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Remmonfares, very bad division or high division” (83).

⁷⁷¹ Ressa. Numbers 33:21; K. 144:3; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Simple listing of station.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Recsa, bridle” (83).

⁷⁷² Ramōth. Deuteronomy 4:43; K. 144:4; L. 280:91.

Summary of biblical information (Joshua 13:26 and 21:37).

The Latin has east for the Greek west. The Syriac agrees with the Greek in this entry while usually it follows the Latin text. The ruin of biblical site, *Tell er Rumeith* could fit the *Onomasticon*, especially if this is the same as (K. 146:4) where it is located near Iabbok (K. 102:19). There is little Roman evidence. Better Roman site at *Kh jal'ad*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ramoth, high sign or he say death or height” (87).

⁷⁷³ Rekem. Numbers 31:8; K. 144:7; L. 280:94.

Identity and summary of biblical information (Joshua 13:21; Numbers 31:8; cf. K. 142:7 and K.36:13, for Petra, named Rekim by Josephus).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Recem, variety or painting” (83).

JOSUE

⁷⁷⁴ Remmōn. Joshua 15:32; K. 144:11; L. 280:98.

The Madaba map follows Eusebius and has a Remmōn northeast of Jerusalem. This is an error for the Old Testament border town (Joshua 19:7). The name for the *Onomasticon*’s site continues today at Rammun 3 1/2 miles east of Bethel (K. 40:20) which is 12 miles south of *et-taiyibeh*. This fits the 15 miles of the *Onomasticon* and may be the biblical Rimmon of Benjamin.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Remmon, heights” (97).

⁷⁷⁵ Rōgēl. Joshua 18:16; K. 144:13; L. 280:00.

A spring and so not a proper entry for the *Onomasticon*. Near Zōeleth according to K. 94:6.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rogal, foot or bearing down” (97).

⁷⁷⁶ Rama. Joshua 18:25; K. 144:14; L. 280:01.

In *Commentary on Hosea* 5:8 Jerome reconfirms this location. Not a city of Saul (cf. Isaiah 10:24). On the Madaba map Rama is a bit farther north because of crowding. It is near Gabaon (K. 66:11) and Michmas (K. 132:3) and probably the name continues in *er-Ram*. The “opposite” Baithel is from the biblical text and doesn’t contradict the Jerusalem location (cf. Jeremiah 31:15).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rama, high” (97).

⁷⁷⁷ Rekēm. Joshua 18:27; K. 144:16; L. 280:03.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Recem, variety or of death” (97).

⁷⁷⁸ Remmōn. Joshua 19:13; K. 144:17; L. 280:04.

Biblical information and tribal listing. Probably related to K. 144:11.

⁷⁷⁹ Rabbōth. Joshua 19:20; K. 144:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Textual variants: Raboth and Rabooth (Latin).

This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. No identity is made here. Robbo or Rebbo is only vaguely located in the region of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). About 7 miles northeast is *Kh Ribba*, not on a Roman road, which retains the name. Perhaps same as K. 26:17.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rabboth, many” (97).

⁷⁸⁰ Rethōm. Joshua 19:21; K. 144:21; L. 280:06.

The first part of this entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing.

⁷⁸¹ Roōb. Joshua 19:28; K. 144:22; L. 280:07.

The last part of this entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Summary of biblical information (Joshua 21:131, possibly *Tell Birah*).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Roob, widely” (97).

⁷⁸² Rama. Joshua 19:29; K. 144:23; L. 280:08.

First part of the entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Summary of biblical information.

⁷⁸³ Rama. Joshua 19:36; K. 144:25; L. 280:09.

Simple tribal listing. Jerome notes that K. 144:14, 23 and 25 are all similar and explains them on the differences in the Hebrew alphabet.

[Some of the names of the villages are assigned to different tribes because with us we see only one name to pronounce, when among the Hebrews they are written with various letters.]

⁷⁸⁴ Rekkath. Joshua 19:35; K. 144:26; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing from the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Raccath, jaw bones or cheeks” (97).

⁷⁸⁵ Rouma (Arima also). Judges 9:41; K. 144:27; L. 281:10.

Textual variant for contemporary site Remfthis (Latin).

The identity of this Rouma is given as present day *Rentia* and equated with Arimathaia (cf. K. 32:21) by Eusebius and Jerome but the Old Testament Arumah (K. 32:11) is probably *Kh el-’Urmeh*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ruma, high” (117).

KINGS

⁷⁸⁶ Remmōth. I Samuel 30:26f.; K. 146:2; L. 281:14.

Simple biblical notation on “spoils.”

⁷⁸⁷ Rachel. I Samuel 30:26, 29; K. 146:3; L. 281:15.

Simple biblical notation on “spoils.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Rachal, negotiation but Rachel, truly means sheep or God seeing” (104).

⁷⁸⁸ Remmōth Galaad. I Kings 4:13; K. 146:4; L. 281:16.

Textual variants: Remmōd (Greek) and Iakōb (Greek and Latin) for wadi name (cf. K. 144:4). This may be *Tell er Rumeith*. A gloss.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ramoḥ, vision of death” (112).

⁷⁸⁹ Rabbath. II Samuel 12:26; K. 146:6; L. 281:18.

Textual variant Rabba (Greek).

This identity of Rabbath Amman with Philadelphia is made by Jerome in *Commentary on Ezekiel* 21:18 (cf. Jeremiah 49:2; cp. K. 12:1 and K. 16:15 above).

⁷⁹⁰ Raōs (Roos). II Samuel 15:32; K. 146:8; L. 281:20.

Simple biblical notation plus Hexaplaric information. Not a proper name.

⁷⁹¹ Rogellein. II Samuel 17:27; K. 146:9; L. 281:21.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ragalim, feet” (108).

⁷⁹² Raphaein (Raphaeim). II Samuel 23:13; K. 146:11; L. 281:22.

Latin transliterates “foreigners” rather than translate or identify them.

Biblical information and geography.

⁷⁹³ Remman. I Kings 15:17; K. 146:13; L. 281:24.

Textual variant Remmam (Latin).

Biblical information and geography. Not clear if Syria is the Roman province or not (cf. K. 146:19).

⁷⁹⁴ Reth. I Kings 15:20; K. 146:15; L. 281:25.

Simple biblical notation.

This text is corrupt in the LXX (cf. K. 34:28).

⁷⁹⁵ Rathem. I Kings 19:4; K. 146:16; L. 281:26.

Textual variant Remth (Greek).

Hexaplaric information. This and the next entry are late additions.

⁷⁹⁶ Remmōn. Isaiah 15:9; K. 146:17; L. 281:27.

Simple biblical notation.

MT has Hebrew *D* which is confused in the Greek here with the Hebrew *R* (see above).

⁷⁹⁷ Raseph. Isaiah 37:12; K. 146:19; L. 281:28.

Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 146:13 and K. 146:20).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “‘Rasef, pavement” (121).

⁷⁹⁸ Rapheth. Isaiah 37:12; K. 146:20; L. 281:29.

Textual variant Rapheph (Greek).

Possibly the same as above K. 146:19. Syria and Assyria are occasionally equated.

⁷⁹⁹ Rebla. II Kings 23:33; K. 146:22; L. 281:31.

Textual variant Rebas (Greek).

Summary of biblical information (cf. K. 146:27).

This may be out of order or else all the prophetic entries are later addition.

For Aimath see K. 22:23.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “‘Rablai, this many or many” (117).

⁸⁰⁰ Remma. Amos 4:3; K. 146:14; L. 281:33.

Textual variants Remona (Greek) and Emous (Latin).

A mountain and not properly original to *Onomasticon*’s list. It is also out of order if the other King’s entries are correct.

Hexaplaric information indicating another error in Greek transcription.

“In Daroma” is perhaps same as Eremmo in K. 88:17 at *Umm er ramamin*. Idols of Damascus refer to II Kings 5:18, “house of Rimmon” (Appendix II).

⁸⁰¹ Reblatha. II Kings 25:6; K. 146:27; L. 281:36.

Outside of the Holy Land limits of the *Onomasticon*. Latin adds a contemporary identification.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “‘Roblath, many of you or multitude” (117).

⁸⁰² Ramade (Ramale). Zechariah 14:10; K. 146:28; L. 281:37.

Textual variant Rabede (Greek).

Hexaplaric information plus an irrelevant remark on Jeremiah 31:15 and Matthew 2:18. The Madaba map quotes the Greek text “‘Rama a voice heard in Rama.” It is located just west of Bethlehem (K. 42:10) about at the present Rachel’s tomb tradition (*PPT* I, 26 *Itin. Bourd*). The confusion is all Christian (cf. K. 82:10 and K. 172:5).

⁸⁰³ Rinokoroura. Isaiah 27:12; K. 148:3; L. 281:40.

The border or river of Egypt in MT. One of the few additions from LXX noted in *Onomasticon* by Jerome as such. Procopius 1025B has “Wadi of Aigyptos is said to be the Romokorouros. Together in the Madaba map are the borders of Aegyptos and Palaistinē, Rinokoroura.” Jerome locates Ostracine in the same area (K. 39:9). In *Tabula Peutinger* Ostraciana is 24 miles and Rinocura 34 miles from Rafia (K. 50:19). The Madaba map has followed Josephus *Wars* IV, ii, 5 here. Probably *el ‘arish* today.

For other sites in Egypt see note on K. 58:7.

SECTION S

[What we have said in the book on *Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, even now in the heading of the letter S we see that among the Hebrews there are three S’s: Samech, Sade and Sin. Yet these are pronounced as one sound among the Greek and Latin which in the Hebrew language are differentiated. So it is that each name appears to us to sound differently, and further each has another letter. Not only from one but from three letters places and cities and villages are described.]

⁸⁰⁴ K. 148.4

The Latin again inserts remarks about the difference in the alphabets. The three S’s in Hebrew are all under one section in Greek and Latin.

GENESIS

⁸⁰⁵ Sidōn. Genesis 10:15; K. 148:6; L. 281:43.

Summary of biblical information Judges 1:31. This city is not located but occasionally is used as a referent. Jerome here translated “foreigners” of the Greek text into “enemy.”

⁸⁰⁶ Sennaar. Genesis 11:2f.; K. 148:11; L.

This entry is out of the Holy Land proper (Genesis 10:11). It includes a quotation from Josephus *Antiquities* I, 4, 3 after a simple biblical summary. Procopius 312B has the same information but calls it a “city” as well as a “plain.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sennaar, knocking out teeth, or their stink” (71).

⁸⁰⁷ Suchem (Sikima) (Salēm). Genesis 12:6; K. 150:1; L. 282:55.

This is a much worked over entry. A simple biblical summary (Genesis 33:18) and traditional location is followed by additions from scripture including an additional town (Judges 9:45; I Kings 12:25; I Chronicles 7:28; Genesis 33:19 and Joshua 20:7). Procopius 320A practically quotes the original two items: “Suchem and Sikima and Sēlon in the suburbs of Neapolis.” Madaba map also follows Eusebius and separates “Suchem and Sikima and Salēm” from “Neapolis.” Sychar (K. 164:1) seems to be to the left and Jacob’s well to the right on the map. An entry on Salēm is incomplete in the Greek text at K. 152:4. The church at Jacob’s well is seen on the Madaba map and affirmed by Jerome (K. 165:3). That entry does not say, however, that the well is at Sychar but around Neapolis. Paula “passed through Sichem, not as

most travellers spell it, Sichar, which now is named Neapolis and entered the church built upon the side of Mt. Gerizim round about Jacob's well" (*Epistle* 108: 13 and *PPT* I, 13).

In the time of Eusebius and Jerome the traditional site of Shechem was "a deserted place." It seems correct to point this to the well-excavated site of *Tell Balata* in the pass between Ebal and Garizim east-southeast of Nablus. The pilgrims followed Eusebius and locate the tomb of Joseph in Shechem (not in Neapolis) and about a mile from it they locate Sechar (*Itin. Bourd.* and *PPT* I, 18).

The oak of Sikimon and the tomb of Joseph are located in the suburbs of Neapolis in K. 54:23 also. Not until much later does the Christian tradition identify Neapolis with Shechem. The terebinth of Sikimon (K. 164:11) is located near Neapolis.

In Genesis 33:18 Shalem is not identified with Shechem itself but is "a city of Shechem." Eusebius seems to make this identification. The present village of Salim has many Roman-Byzantine remains with some earlier artifacts as well. A late 4th century church has been discovered near the well of Jacob.

For the other Suchem see the confusion in K. 158:1 below.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sichem, of the shoulder or labor" (71).

⁸⁰⁸ Sennaar. Genesis 14:1; K. 150:8; L. 282:63.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 148:11).

⁸⁰⁹ Sodoma. Genesis 14:2; K. 150:10; L. 282:65.

The chief city of the Pentopolis with only biblical location.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sodoma, silent beast or blindness or their likeness" 71).

⁸¹⁰ Sebōeim. Genesis 14:2; K. 150:12; L. 282:67.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Seboim, of the roes or of damages or his place on the sea or place of the sea" (71).

⁸¹¹ Sōpheira. Genesis 10:30; K. 150:14; L. 282:69.

This entry is outside the proper limits of the Holy Land and out of order. Josephus *Antiquities* I, 6, 4 plus summary of the biblical information (I Kings 10:11 and cf. K. 160:20 below). This same quotation from Josephus appears in K. 82:2 and K. 176:14. Josephus' *Antiquities* VII, 6, 4 had, "These (ships) Solomon ordered to sail along with his own stewards to the land anciently called Sopheir but not the land of gold; it belongs to India."

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sefar, story or book" (71).

⁸¹² Soora. Genesis 14:2; K. 150:19; L. 282:74.

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 42:4; K. 94:2 and K. 152:8).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* we find “Segor, which is called Zoara in the Syrian language” (17). This is repeated in Procopius 373B.

⁸¹³ Sauē. Genesis 14:5; K. 150:21; L. 282:76.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sau or Saube, worthy or high” (72).

⁸¹⁴ Sēcir. Genesis 14:6; K. 150:23; L. 282:78.

Procopius 332C quotes the entry entirely which in part depends on Josephus’ *Antiquities* 1, 20, 3. Jerome in *Commentary on Obadiah* 1 repeats the etymology and the location. This is a summary of biblical information (Genesis 32:1, 14:6, 25:25, 27:11 and Isaiah 21:11) and no specific location.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Seir, covered with hair or hairy” (72).

⁸¹⁵ Salēm. Genesis 14:18; K. 152:4; L. 282:84.

The beginning of this entry is only a revision of K. 150:1. The use of Salēm as identical to Shechem seems to be the result of the LXX text for Joshua 24:1, 25. There the LXX has Sēlō. Procopius 333A has the Greek of Eusebius word for word and then continues following Jerome.

Another village west of Ailia is unidentifiable, perhaps *Kh Selma* preserves the name, but perhaps represents the Josephus’ tradition that Jebus, Salem and Jerusalem are all one place. In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome says “Salem is the name of the king of Jerusalem which was formerly called Salem” (19).

Salumias is located 8 miles south (direction not given in the text) of Scythopolis (K. 16:2) at *Umm el ‘umdan* or on the Jordan at *Tell Rijba* where there is a *Sheik Salim* nearby. This could be the tradition of Salem-Aenon (K. 40:1). In Jerome’s *Epistle* 73:7 he attaches the tradition of Melchizedek to this site called an “oppidum” (see Appendix I), where the ruins were shown (*Migne PL* 22, 680). The archaeological remains are not decisive.

The Salim which belongs to Shechem is perhaps in the plain about 4 miles east of Shechem at present *Salim*. But Eusebius does not make a distinction here (cp. Judith 4:4). This is probably because LXX and Syriac identify Salem and Shechem as above in K. 150:1 and the first part of this entry.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Salem, peace or returning” (72).

⁸¹⁶ Sour. Genesis 16:7; K. 152:6; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The Greek text is lost.

The Greek of Procopius 352D says, “The desert of Sour extends opposite Egypt where the Hebrews came when about to cross the Red Sea, as Exodus says.” In *Hebrew Questions* (20) Jerome notes the Way of Sur “leads through the desert to Egypt.”

For Kades see K. 112:7, 8. Jerome seems to be correcting Eusebius on the basis of scripture.

⁸¹⁷ Sēgōr. Genesis 19:22; K. 152:8; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The first part of the Greek is lost (Isaiah 15:5). No real place is pointed here.

In *Hebrew Questions* (23) Jerome writes, “Segor which is frequently earth and more frequently destroyed, was first called Bale and later Salissa” (cf. K. 150:19; K. 42:4 and K. 94:2).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Segor, poor. It is the same as Seor above” (72).

⁸¹⁸ Skēnai (Scenae). Genesis 33:17; K. 152:13; L. 283:87.

Simple biblical notation.

EXODUS

⁸¹⁹ Sokchōth. Exodus 12:37; K. 152:16; L. 283:90.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Socchoth, tabernacle” (77).

⁸²⁰ Sin. Exodus 16:1; K. 152:18; L. 283:93.

Summary of biblical information (Exodus 17:1, 19:1 and Numbers 33:36). LXX and MT texts disagree as noted in the *Onomasticon*. Probably this extends from Red Sea to Sinai. On the Madaba map the desert of Sin is also: “the place of Manna and quails.”

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁸²¹ Selmona. Numbers 33:41; K. 154:5; L. 283:00.

Last part of this entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript.

A Simple listing of station.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Salmona, shade of the part or he reckoned the shade or his image” (85).

⁸²² Saphar. Numbers 33:23; K. 154:7; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

First part of this entry is missing in Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple listing of station.

⁸²³ Sattein (Sattim). Numbers 25:1; K. 154:9; L. 283:01.

Summary of biblical information and geography (Numbers 25:3 and Joshua 2:1)

On Phogōr see K. 18:1 and K. 168:25.

This and the next entry seem to be late editorial additions.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Settim, thorns” (84).

⁸²⁴ Sabama. Numbers 32:3, 38; K. 154:12; L. 283:04.

Textual variant Saba (Greek).

Summary of biblical information (Joshua 13:19 and Isaiah 16:8).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sabama, turning around of someone, or lift on him or lifted high” (85).

⁸²⁵ Selcha. Deuteronomy 3:10; K. 154:15; L. 283:07.

Simple biblical notation.

⁸²⁶ Senna. Numbers 34:4; K. 154:16; L. 283:08.

A border listing (Joshua 15:3).

The mileage in the two texts is different. This could be the result of the older Jewish text locating from Roman Jericho (K. 104:25) and Jerome’s from *er-riha*.

The Magdalsenna is hardly in Ioudaia with this location. On the Madaba map east of Archelais is a small unlabeled town which could be Magdalsenna but cannot be the Zin of Numbers (cf. K. 84:14) but could be identified with Sennaah of Ezra. This is possibly located now at *Kh el Beiyudat*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Senna, wished or his teeth” (85).

⁸²⁷ Sephama. Numbers 34:10; K. 154:18; L. 283:10.

Textual variant Sephema (Greek).

Simple biblical listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Safan, life or hair on the upper lip which the Greeks call a moustache” (85).

⁸²⁸ Sadada. Numbers 34:8; K. 154:19; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Not in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “from his tile” (85).

JOSUE

⁸²⁹ Somerōn. Joshua 12:20; K. 154:21; L. 283:12.

A biblical note and identification followed by additional biblical information probably added by a later hand (I Kings 16:24). *Onomasticon* recognizes a region of Sebastē called *polichnē* (cf. K. 22:11; Appendix II), Samaria was called Sebastē in honor of Augustus (*Epistle* 108:13, *Migne PL* 22, 889; *PPT* I, 13 and cf. K. 162:13). Herod had much to do with its redevelopment. Jerome notes the graves of Obadiah, Elisha, and St. John the Baptist are traditionally located here (*Epistle* 46; *Migne PL* 22, 491 and *Commentary on Obadia Migne*

PL 25, 1099 etc.). In this entry only the Latin text notes the relics of John. Also called an “oppidum” (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). A bishop was present from here at the Council of Nicea.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Semronmaron, custodian of the bitter walls” (97).

⁸³⁰ Sēaira. Joshua 11:17; K. 156:1; L. 283:17.

Simple biblical notation.

⁸³¹ Selcha. Joshua 13:11; K. 156:2; L. 283:18.

Simple biblical notation.

⁸³² Siōr. Joshua 15:54; K. 154:21; L. 283:19.

Two sites are involved in this entry. Sior is from the *Onomasticon* perhaps located at Siler north-northeast of Chebrōn (K. 6:8) on the border of Eleutheropolis and Aelia regions.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sior, very small or disturbed” (97).

⁸³³ Saorth. Joshua 13:19; K. 156:5; L. 283:21.

Textual variants: Saor (Greek) and Saorh (Latin).

Simple tribal listing and biblical location.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sarth, chains or his narrowness” (97).

⁸³⁴ Sachoth. Joshua 13:27; K. 156:6; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing and biblical location.

⁸³⁵ Saphōn. Joshua 13:27; K. 156:7; L. 283:22.

Simple tribal listing and biblical location.

⁸³⁶ Sachōron. Joshua 15:11; K. 156:8; L. 284:23.

Textual variant Sachorona (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sechrona, intoxicated or tabernacle” (97).

⁸³⁷ Sama (Samen). Joshua 15:26; K. 156:9; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is not in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Seme, hearing” (97).

⁸³⁸ Soual. Joshua 15:28; K. 156:10; L. 284:24.

Double tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sualim, foxes” (97).

⁸³⁹ Sikelag (Secelec). Joshua 15:31; K. 156:11; L. 284:25.

Textual variant Sicelec (Latin).

Summary of biblical information (I Samuel 27:6; Joshua 19:5 and cp. Thalcha 98:26).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sicileq, clearing a tight voice or pouring forth the sixth part” (97).

⁸⁴⁰ Sansana. Joshua 15:31; K. 156:31; L. 284:27.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Senesanna, bearing a bramble or holding” (97).

⁸⁴¹ Saleei. Joshua 15:32; K. 156:14; L. 284:28.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Saloim, comings forth or emissions” (97).

⁸⁴² Saraa. Joshua 15:33; K. 156:15; L. 284:29.

Textual variant Sarda (Greek).

Tribal listing of Joshua 19:41 (cf. K. 160:4).

Esthaol (K. 88:2) is also 10 miles north of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). The distance is somewhat short for both Eathaol and Saraa unless it marks turn off from the main road to lesser road. They are near each other about 14-15 miles north. Today at *sar'a* southeast of Nicopolis (K. 30:27).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Saraa, hornets or shortness of evil” (97).

⁸⁴³ Sokchō. Joshua 15:35; K. 156:18; L. 284:32.

Twin villages. The Madaba Map has only one Sōchō on the edge of the valley. They are a few miles west-southwest of *Bait Nettif* at *Kh Abbad* and *Kh Shuweikeh*. The sound of the name may survive in the second, where there are late remains.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Socha, little tabernacle or shady arbor” (97).

⁸⁴⁴ Saraein. Joshua 15:36; K. 156:21; L. 284:35.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Saarim, doors” (97).

⁸⁴⁵ Sennaan (Senam). Joshua 15:37; K. 156:22; L. 284:36.

Textual variant Senna (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sanam, abundant or their departure” (97).

⁸⁴⁶ Sapheir. Joshua 15:48; K. 156:23; L. 284:37.

This is not located along any main road and does not seem to be the Sapharea of the Madaba map. It is best located at *Sawafir* 10 miles northeast of Ascalōn (K. 22:15) on the road to Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). Perhaps on the border.

⁸⁴⁷ Sokchō. Joshua 15:48; K. 156:25; L. 284:39.

Textual variant Socho (Latin).

Cf. II Kings 17:30 and cp. K. 156:18 above.

⁸⁴⁸ Skacha. Joshua 15:61; K. 156:27; L. 284:41.

Textual variants: Sakcho (Greek) and Scaca and Scatha (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

⁸⁴⁹ Selo. Joshua 16:6; K. 156:28; L. 284:42.

Two biblical items (Genesis 38:5) separated by a location. The distance varies by two miles between Latin and Greek. In the Madaba map “Silo where the ark was” following Eusebius. The present *Kh Seilun* is over 12 miles from Neapolis (K. 4:28). But turn off from the main road is at 12th milestone. Paula saw a destroyed altar there (*Epistle* 108:13, *PPT* I, 13). Perhaps the 10 miles of Jerome locates Akkrabein.

⁸⁵⁰ Suchem (Sechem). Joshua 17:7; K. 158:1; L. 284:46.

Manssseh and Ephraim both hold biblical Shechem. K. 150:7 seems to distinguish Joshua 20:7, Joshua 21:21 from the area around Neapolis. Yet this entry has been corrected and the same site is the Ephraim city of refuge and the Manasseh city with the tomb of Joseph. No location is given here other than reference back to K. 150:1 which is probably a marginal gloss.

⁸⁵¹ Sama. Joshua 18:17; K. 158:4; L. 284:49.

Textual variant “spring of Sam” (Greek).

Biblical and Hexaplaric information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sames, sun” (97).

⁸⁵² Semreim. Joshua 18:22; K. 158:5; L. 284:50.

Textual variants: Sereim (Greek) and Semeri (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

⁸⁵³ Sela. Joshua 18:28; K. 158:6; L. 284:51.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sela, bear from, to bear, not from breadth” (97).

⁸⁵⁴ Sabe (Sabēe). Joshua 19:2; K. 158:7; L. 284:52.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sabe, seven or seven times” (97).

⁸⁵⁵ Sarith (Sarid). Joshua 19:10; K. 158:8; L. 284:53.

Textual variant Sarith (Latin).

Simple tribal border.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sarith, remains” (97).

⁸⁵⁶ Sams. Joshua 19:12; K. 158:9; L. 284:54.

Textual variants: Sam (Greek) and Samis, Samus (Latin).

Hexaplaric information.

⁸⁵⁷ Semerōn. Joshua 19:15; K. 158:10; L. 284:55.

Simple tribal listing.

⁸⁵⁸ Sounēm (Sunem). Joshua 19:18; K. 158:11; L. 284:56.

Textual variant Soubēn (Greek).

Perhaps the tradition confuses this with the Shulamite of Canticles.

It is at *Sulem* about 3 miles south of Naim (K. 140:3) and correctly located 5 miles from Thabor.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sonim, scarlet colored” (97).

⁸⁵⁹ Sion (Seon or Soen). Joshua 19:19; K. 158:13; L. 284:58.

Vague location may point to ‘*ajun esh sha’en*, but it could be the same as the previous location. Jerome alone gives an alternate. A’ has Seian.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Seon, his seeds” (97).

⁸⁶⁰ Sasima. Joshua 19:22; K. 158:15; L. 284:60.

Simple border listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sassim, going out he stayed” (97).

⁸⁶¹ Sior. Joshua 19:26; K. 158:16; L. 284:61.

Simple tribal listing.

⁸⁶² Sennanein. Joshua 19:33; K. 158:17; L. 284:62.

Textual variant Sennanim (Latin).

Biblical notation and tribal listing. A corrupt LXX text wherein two Hebrew names in the MT become coalesced into one.

⁸⁶³ Sorek (Sorec). Joshua 19:41; K. 158:18; L. 285:63.

Summary of biblical information and geography (Judges 13:25 and cf. K. 88:12).

This form is from the MT not from the LXX (cf. K. 160:2).

⁸⁶⁴ Sames. Joshua 19:41; K. 158:20; L. 285:65.

Textual variant Samer (Greek).

Cf. K. 54:11 and K. 32:26.

⁸⁶⁵ Salabein (Salabeim). Joshua 19:41; K. 158:21; L. 285:66.

Salaba is only vaguely located, perhaps *Onomasticon* points to site (not the Old Testament site) at *Kh Selhab* north of *Tubas* (cf. K. 100:11).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Salabin, growing intelligence” (91).

⁸⁶⁶ Sepheth. Judges 1:17; K. 158:23; L. 285:68.

Textual variants: Sephet, Seth and Sapeth (Latin).

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Safeth, watchtower” (101).

JUDGES

⁸⁶⁷ Seirōtha. Judges 3:26; K. 158:25; L. 285:70.

Textual variants: Ahod, Aioth and Ahud (Latin).

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 156:1 related to Mt.*Se 'ir*)

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sairath, she goat” (101).

⁸⁶⁸ Sour Oreb. Judges 7:25; K. 158:27; L. 285:72.

Textual variant. A' is lacking in Vatican Greek manuscript.

Hexaplaric information.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Suroreb, rock of the raven” (101).

⁸⁶⁹ Selmon. Judges 9:48; K. 158:28; L. 285:73.

Simple biblical notation. This is not Shechem but Sikima near Haifa (K. 108: 30). It is probably located at *Tell es Samak*.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Salmana, preventing shade or shade of movements”

(101) and “Salma, feeling or perfect or peace making” (101).

⁸⁷⁰ Sephina. Judges 12:1; K. 160:1; L. 285:75.

Hexaplaric information.

⁸⁷¹ Sōrēch. Judges 16:4; K. 160:2; L. 285:76.

Identified with Cafarsorech northwest of Saraa (K. 56:15) possibly Eusebius points to *Kh Surik* (not the Old Testament site) Judges 13:2, 25. It is not on a Roman road.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sorec, best choice” (101).

KINGS

⁸⁷² Sōpheim. I Samuel 1:1; K. 160:6; L. 285:80.

Textual variants: Armathe and Armathaim (Latin).

Simple biblical location.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sofim, watchtower or crag.” (105).

⁸⁷³ Salisa. I Samuel 9:4; K. 160:7; L. 285:81.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Salisa, third” (105).

⁸⁷⁴ Senna. I Samuel 14:4; K. 160:8; L. 285:82.

Textual variant Sanna (Latin).

This entry and part of the next are missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript. As a rock it does not belong to the place names. It is also out of proper order and doubly suspect (cf. K. 94:5).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sena, borne or narrowness or good” (105).

⁸⁷⁵ Saaleim. I Samuel 9:4; K. 160:11; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

The first part of this entry and the previous one are missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript (cp. K. 156:14). Probably *Kh Shaikha* 7 miles due west of Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). Some scholars see it on the road at *Araq el Manshiya* but Eusebius’ location seems to be off the road (cf. K. 68:4).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Salim, foxes but better written Sualim” (105).

⁸⁷⁶ Seiph (Sthif). I Samuel 9:5; K. 160:11; L. 285:84.

Textual variant Seim (Greek).

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Suf, watchtower or pouring forth” (105).

⁸⁷⁷ Sabeim. I Samuel 13:18; K. 160:12; L. 285:85.

Simple biblical notation.

⁸⁷⁸ Sōnam. I Samuel 28:4; K. 160:13; L. 285:86.

Cf. K. 158:11 and K. 158:13. Perhaps also Salim east of Nablus is intended, in the Akrabattinē (I Kings 1:3 and Song of Solomon 6:12). It could be *sanur* north of Samaria as well. Neither site is the Old Testament location.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sonaim, scarlet colored or his standing.”

⁸⁷⁹ Saphamōth. I Samuel 30:28; K. 160:15; L. 285:89.

Textual variant Sophamoth (Latin).

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Safathmoth, lip of death.” (105).

⁸⁸⁰ Seeira. II Samuel 3:26; K. 160:16; L. 285:90.

Simple biblical notation.

⁸⁸¹ Souba. II Samuel 8:3; K. 160:17; L. 285:91.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Soba, divided from cutting, not from following” (105).

⁸⁸² Sarthan. I Kings 4:12; K. 160:18; L. 285:92.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sarthan, their tribulation or demolition or limitation” (112).

⁸⁸³ Sōpheira (Soupheir). I Kings 9:28 and I Kings 10:11; K. 160:19; L. 285:93.

Textual variant Sophira (Latin). This variant name is a LXX error.

Out of the Holy Land proper (cf. K. 150:14 and K. 176:13).

⁸⁸⁴ Serōra. I Kings 11:26; K. 160:21; L. 285:95.

Textual variant Serora (Latin).

Simple biblical notation.

⁸⁸⁵ Saba. I Kings 10:1; K. 160:22; L. 285:96.

This entry is out of the Limits of the Holy Land and out of order as well, so is quite suspect. In Josephus *Antiquities* II, 10, 2 we have “Saba, the capital of the Ethiopian realm which Cambyses later called Meroe after the name of his sister.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Saba, captured” (112).

⁸⁸⁶ Sela. II Kings 12:21; K. 160:25; L. 285:99.

Simple biblical notation.

LXX has Gaalad or Gaalla for the MT “to Silla.”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sela, always” (117).

⁸⁸⁷ Sephpharouem (Saffaruaim). II Kings 17:24; K. 160:26; L. 285:00.

Simple biblical notation (Isaiah 36:19).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Safaruahim, books or letters” (118).

⁸⁸⁸ Sademoth. II Kings 23:4; K. 160:28; L. 286:03.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sademoth, ploughed land or region” (118).

⁸⁸⁹ Sarepta. I Kings 17:9; K. 162:1; L. 286:04.

This item is perhaps out of order.

This is the only site between Tyre (K. 162:15) and Sidon (K. 148:6) mentioned in the *Onomasticon*. Jerome adds it is on the main highway. *Tabula Peutinger* locates it 9 miles from Sidon and 12 from Tyre. The Pilgrims note it is on the coast also 9 miles from Sidon (Paula *PPT* I, 4 and *Itin. Bourd.* 18:22). It is the present Sarafand (MT, cf. Luke 4:26 not noted in our text). In Latin “oppidulum” used only here, the diminutive is “oppidum” (cf. K. 10:25 and Appendix I).

⁸⁹⁰ Sarōn. Isaiah 33:9; K. 162:3; L. 286:06.

Part of this entry is missing in the Vatican manuscript.

Ioppa is an “oppidum” in Jerome here (cf. K. 111:25; cp. K. 10:25 and Appendix I). In Jerome’s *Commentary on Isaiah* 33:7 and elsewhere he describes the plain of Sharon as near Ioppa and Lidda. This may describe the limits of the plain. The added notation is more precise for biblical Sharon.

The first Saronas is connected with Aphek and Endor (K. 34:11) of the Esdraelon plain, northeast of Tabor toward the Sea of Galilee, perhaps named after a town Saruna but not the biblical site.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Saron, first wall or gloomy singing” (122).

⁸⁹¹ Sephela. Isaiah 32:19; K. 162:7; L. 286:09.

“Another” as the above plain. In Jerome’s *Commentary on Obadiah* 19 he describes this area of Diospolis (K. 8:14) to Nicopolis (K. 30:27) but notes, as in *Onomasticon* that others see it as near Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12). The *Onomasticon* locates it between Eleutheropolis and Ioppa (K. 110:24 and cp. I Maccabees 12:38).

⁸⁹² Sennaar. Micah 1:11; K. 162:10; L. 286:12.

Textual variants: Sennaan (Greek) and Sennam (Latin).

Hexaplatc information and references (cp. K. 156:22).

⁸⁹³ Sedrach. Zechariah 9:1; K. 162:11; L. 286:13.

Simple biblical notation. LXX has confused the Hebrew of MT here.

⁸⁹⁴ Siōn. Zechariah 9:9; K. 162:12; L. 286:14.

Mountain and simple biblical location. One of the details of Jerusalem but no real location given. In Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah* 1:21 he says, "Sion is the mountain on which the city of Jerusalem was founded."

⁸⁹⁵ Samareia (Samaria). Ezekiel 16:46; K. 162:13; L. 286:15.

Samaria is Sebaste and gives its name to the territory (cf. K. 154:21).

⁸⁹⁶ Sor (Tyre). Ezekiel 26:2; K. 162:15; L. 286:17.

Simple biblical summary (Joshua 19:35). The *Onomasticon* uses "metropolis" only rarely for Tyre and Jerusalem. Difficult to know if this is in reference to biblical or contemporary times. Tyre was the capital of the Roman province of Phoenicia north of Karmel and Palaistinē. It was 73 miles between Caesarea and Tyre according to *Itin. Bourd. (PPT I, 17)*. *Tabula Peutinger* has 12 miles from Sarepta, 24 from Sidon and 32 from Ptolmais. It is presently called *Sur* (perhaps cf. K. 164:17).

⁸⁹⁷ Soēne. Ezekiel 29:11; K. 162:16; L. 286:19.

This is outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. This is one of the most distant Egyptian cities mentioned (cp. K. 126: 1). Hebrew has *migdol*. Eusebius follows the LXX here.

For other sites in Egypt see note on K. 58: 1.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Soene, his circle or expected" (130).

⁸⁹⁸ Sais. Ezekiel 30:15; K. 162:17; L. 286:20.

This is outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. Greek text is corrupt.

The Madaba map has "Sais."

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sais, proof" (132).

⁸⁹⁹ Sadala. Ezekiel 47:15; K. 162:18; L. 286:21.

Simple biblical notation of border. Name follows Qere vocalization.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Sadada, has the same meaning as Sela" (132, cf. 97 also cf. K. 158: 6).

⁹⁰⁰ Sabareim. Ezekiel 47:16; K. 162:19; L. 286:23.

Simple biblical notation and geography.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sabarim, to go around the mountains” (132).

⁹⁰¹ Salisa. Jeremiah 48:34; K. 162:21; L. 286:25.

Hexaplaric information.

⁹⁰² Suchar. John 4:5; K. 164:1; L. 286:26.

This is not related to Shechem (K. 150:1) by this text. Yet it is east of Neapolis (K. 4:28) near the field of Jacob and the well where the Samaritan came. In this entry the well seems to be near or to belong to the village from which the woman came. Jerome notes a church is now built at the well (cf. Note on K. 7:13). Paula sees Sychar as near the well but one mile from Shechem (*Epistle* 108:13 and *PTT* I, 18). The Madaba map is unclear, “Sychar now Sychchōra” is usually separated from “Where the well of Jacob is” as well as from “the tomb of Joseph.” None of these is equated with Shechem. The oak of Sikimon and the tomb of Joseph however are connected in K. 54:23.

The well and church tradition has remained constant since the 4th century (Latin text). Shechem is clearly *Balata* although later pilgrims identified it with Neapolis. Sychar is the small village of Samaritans which clustered around the well a bit south of Balata. The name Sychar has been preserved perhaps in present ‘*Askar* at the foot of Mt.Ebal.

The reality of a Sychar was already questioned by Jerome. He notes that Sicima was called Sychem in Hebrew but the Gospel of John through an error wrote Sychar (*Migne PL* 23, 1055). In *Epistle* 108:13 he also remarks on this error and equates Sychem with Neapolis (*Migne PL* 22, 888). Many scholars favor this argument: Sychar is a copyist’s error or alternate form for Sychem in the New Testament. This would mean between the well and Balata were located the Samaritan inhabitants of Sychem. The fact that no Roman remains are found on *Tell Balata* does not preclude the existence of a small village around the well and under the present village of *Balata*.

After the 4th century the village north of Sychem was pointed out as Sychar. It is a Byzantine settlement.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Sichar, conclusion or twig. However in error for Sichem, which means shoulder, Schar was written.” (142).

SECTION T

GENESIS

⁹⁰³ Tigris. Genesis 2:14; K. 164:7; L. 286:32.

A river and outside the Holy Land limits proper. Also as often in the first entry to a new alphabetic section this is suspect. The rivers of Paradise are all in the *Onomasticon* (see note on K. 60:3). Josephus *Antiquities* I, 1, 3 says, “The Euphrates and Tigris end in the Red Sea” apparently meaning the Red Sea includes both gulfs. “Tigris Diglath expressing at once its narrowness and its rapidity” (Ibid.).

⁹⁰⁴ Terebinthos in Sikemon. Genesis 35:4; K. 164:11; L. 286:36.

Textual variant Tereminthos (Greek). Sikemos and other idols (see Appendix II).

Simple biblical notation (cf. the oak K. 54:23). Is it possible that terebinthos or balanos may relate to the Matzevoth?

On Sykem see K. 150:1 and K. 158:1.

JOSUE

⁹⁰⁵ Tina. Joshua 15:22; K. 164:14; L. 287:39.

Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 114:14).

⁹⁰⁶ Telem. Joshua 15:24; K. 164:15; L. 287:40.

Simple tribal listing.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Talam, their dew or moistened with dew” (97).

⁹⁰⁷ Tessem. Joshua 15:52; K. 164:16; L. 287:41.

Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 16:10. Here the guttural is expressed in Greek).

⁹⁰⁸ Turos. Joshua 19:35; K. 164:17; L. 287:42.

Simple tribal listing (cp. K. 162:15).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Tyros which is called Sor in Hebrew and interpreted tribulation or difficulty or strength” (97).

JUDGES

⁹⁰⁹ Tabath. Judges 7:22; K. 164:19; L. 287:44.

Textual variant Tabam (Greek).

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Tabath, good” (101).

⁹¹⁰ Tōb. Judges 11:3; K. 164:20; L. 287:45.

Simple biblical notation.

⁹¹¹ Tapheth (Tofeth). II Kings 23:10; K. 164:21; L. 287:46.

Simple biblical summary with generalized location (cf. K. 102:14).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Thof, protection of the face or gehenna” (118).

⁹¹² Tanis. Isaiah 19:11; K. 164:23; L. 287:48.

Located outside the proper limits of the Holy Land.

Here the Madaba map has “Tania” the only site in the delta of Egypt mentioned in the

Onomasticon.

On other sites in Egypt see K. 58:7.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Tanis, commanding humility” (122).

⁹¹³ Taphnas. Hosea 9:6; K. 164:24; L. 287:49.

Located outside the proper limits of the Holy Land.

Summary of biblical references as Ezekiel 30:14, 18 and Jeremiah 43:7.

In the Greek a confused text (cf. K. 134: 6).

On other sites in Egypt see K. 58:7.

THE GOSPELS

⁹¹⁴ Trachonitis territory or Itouraia. Luke 3:1; K. 166:1; L. 287:53.

Cp. 110:27. The limits are clear. Bostra was probably the border in Herod’s time. Eusebius equates the two regions but they are not really identical. Philip did not control up to Damascus. Josephus called the region south of Damascus Trachōn, roughly equivalent to the basalt desert.

SECTION PH

GENESIS

TH

⁹¹⁵ Jerome notes that in the Latin text the *TH* is followed next as in Hebrew and Latin alphabet.

In Greek they are already included earlier in the alphabet.

PH

⁹¹⁶ Pheisōn (Fison). Genesis 2:11; K. 166:7; L. 287:59.

A river outside the limits of Holy Land proper and again suspect as the first entry in alphabetic section. Again Josephus and the Bible are the simple sources for the entry inserted by a late editor. In *Antiquities* I, 1, 3 “one of these (four rivers) Phison, a name meaning multitude, runs toward India and falls into the sea, being called by the Greeks Ganges.” In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* Jerome repeats this identity of Fison with Ganges (4).

On rivers of Eden see note on K. 60:3.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Pison, mouth of an orphan or change of mouth” (66).

⁹¹⁷ Pharan. Genesis 14:6; K. 166:12; L. 287:64.

Summary of biblical information separated by location (Numbers 10:12 and Genesis 21:21, 14:6). Several different hands have been at work adding to this text. Procopius 332D repeats the first part of this entry. It is three days from Bluth or Aqabah (K. 6:17). It is south of the

Roman province of Arabia. In Jerome's *Commentary on Habakkuk* 3:3 he says it is near Mt.Sina. Probably generally from Aqabah to Suez.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Faran, their courage" (66).

⁹¹⁸ Pulistieim. Genesis 21:34; K. 166:18; L. 287:71.

The city is Askalōn (K. 22:15) and the territory around it. Does Eusebius mean Philistine coastal area of the five cities or does he mean Palaistinē the Roman province? Probably here it is the former although in the *Onomasticon* the usage is quite irregular. Jerome at times translated Greek "foreigners" with Filistine (K. 7:15, K. 21:2, K. 33:25 and K.119:3) but more frequently with the Greek transliteration *Allofylus*, but most often as translated into "foreigners" or "enemy" (see Appendix I).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Filistiim, double ruins" (66).

⁹¹⁹ Phrear. Genesis 21:31; K. 166:20; L. 287:73.

A series of wells all of which are additions to the text. Not all the wells of the Bible are inserted by this later scribe into the *Onomasticon*. Usually only a biblical notation and no attempt at specific location is made. The Greek is transliterated above and the Latin is translated.

Here identical with Bērosoba (K. 50:1) in the Geraritikē (K. 60:7). Confused entry.

In *Hebrew Questions* 21:30 these two are equated, perpetuating an obvious error.

⁹²⁰ Phrear. Genesis 24:62; K. 166:22; L. 287:75.

Simple biblical notation.

⁹²¹ Phrear. Genesis 26:20f.; K. 166:23; L. 288:76.

Berdan has the etymology given. It is in the Geraritikē (K. 60:7 and cf. K. 166:20 above). In the Vulgate the well is called Calumnia. The location is uncertain, perhaps *barade*.

⁹²² Phrear. Genesis 26:33; K. 168:1; L. 288:78.

Summary of biblical information and a general statement on the many wells in southwest Palaistinē. This may also be around Bēroeaba (K. 50:1 and cf. K. 166:20). Some early Christians confused this with Askalon possibly here.

⁹²³ Phanouēl. Genesis 32:30; K. 168:4; L. 288:83.

The Greek text is corrupt here.

Biblical summary of Genesis 32:24, 28. The location here is not specific, but location on the Iabok (K. 102:19).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Fanuhel, face of God" (66).

⁹²⁴ Phogōr (Fogo). Genesis 36:39; K. 168:7; L. 288:84.

Simple biblical notation and geography (cp. K. 48:3 and K. 168:25).

⁹²⁵ Phinōn. Genesis 36:41; K. 168:8; L. 288:86.

Summary of biblical information for two locations.

Phainon is probably present day *Fenan*. In K. 80:15 it is 4 miles from Daidan. On these mines see K. 114:1ff. Roman fort remains are nearby, Jerome reports on labor supply. This may be quite distinct from the station on the desert (Numbers 33:42).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Fiennon, their mouths or mastered faces” (66).

EXODUS

⁹²⁶ Phithōm. Exodus 1:11; K. 168:12; L. 288:89.

This entry is out of the limits of the Holy Land proper.

Simple biblical notation.

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁹²⁷ Pharagx. Numbers 13:24f.; K. 168:15; L. 288:92.

Several wadies or ravines are listed in this section (cf. Deuteronomy 1:25). Most of them are not in the Latin. Not all of the wadies of the Bible are in the *Onomasticon*. Just as the wells above, so the wadies are suspect as being of a later hand.

On Goughna see Gophna (K. 26:2 and K. 74:2) here wrongly equated with Eshkal. The text seems to hint of a doubt in the unknown source which makes the spies come so far North.

Fifteen miles from Jerusalem is *Jifna* on the Nablus road. It is 16 miles on the *Tabula Peutinger* and 20 from Neapolis. On the Madaba map it crowds Baithēl (K. 28:5) but “Gophna” is generally located as here (cf. Joshua 18:24).

⁹²⁸ Phin. Numbers 33:42; K. 168:19; L. 288:96.

Simple listing of station.

⁹²⁹ Pharagx Zare. Numbers 21:12; K. 168:20; L. 288:97.

Not in the Latin text.

Another wadi or ravine (cf. K. 92:10). Simple biblical notation.

⁹³⁰ Phear. Numbers 21:16; K. 168:21; L. 288:98.

Not in the Latin text.

A well. Simple biblical notation.

⁹³¹ Phathoura. Numbers 22:5; K. 168:22; L. 288:99.

This entry is outside the limits of the Holy Land. But the “another” not in the Roman province of Mesopotamia or biblical Mesopotamis is *Kh Furt* about 5 miles southwest of

Eleutheropolis (K. 18:12) off the main road.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Fethora, exploring mouth or mouthful of light or mouth of the turtle dove.” (81).

⁹³² Phogōr (Bēthphogōr). Numbers 33:28; K. 168:25; L. 288:03.

Textual variants: Phephphogōr (Greek) and Fara (Latin). Greek dittography from K. 168:24.

The city Bethphogōr, Mt.Phogōr and another village Phogōr are all combined in this entry. It is in Moab (K. 12:23; K. 44:13 and K. 64:22). Bethphogor see K. 48:3. The cities of Phogōr and Phogō (K. 168:7 and K. 170:13) are probably one and the same in the Scriptures. The mountain as located here is related to Phasga (K. 16:23; K. 18:3 and K. 168:28) and Nebo (K. 136:6). Dannaba also is near Mt.Phogōr (K. 76:9) as Sattein (K. 154:10). Bēthphogōr is on this mountain (cf. Deuteronomy 3:28, 4:46).

The one near Bethlehem is based on the LXX of Joshua 15:59 and probably located at *Kh Fajjar* or *Beit Fajjar* southwest of Tekoa (K. 98:17).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Faqr, skin of the mouth or he opened” (81).

⁹³³ Phasga. Deuteronomy 3:17; K. 168:26; L. 288:05.

Summary of biblical information and Hexaplaric data.

The city and mountain are related to Phogōr (K. 168:25) and to Nebo (K. 136:6). The equation of Phasga and Phogōr is made also in K. 18:3.

The etymology of Phasgō for cliff or cutting is also in K. 16:24 (cf. K. 12:17).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Fasga, cut off or hewn or mouth selected” (87).

JUDGES

⁹³⁴ Phanouel. I Kings 12:25; K. 170:2; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple biblical notation (I Chronicles 4:4).

⁹³⁵ Phanouēl. Judges 8:8, 17; K. 170:3; L. 288:09.

Textual variants: Hor and Cham (Latin).

Summary of biblical information (cf. K. 168:4).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Fanuhel, face of God” (100).

⁹³⁶ Phraathōn. Judges 12:13ff.; K. 170:5; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

This entry is missing in the Greek Vatican manuscript.

Simple biblical notation and geography.

KINGS

⁹³⁷ Pharagx Ennom. Judges 15:8; K. 170:8; L. 288:12.

A ravine and suspect as later addition (cf. K. 70:2; K. 164:21 and K. 102:14).

The more recent name is also reported here.

⁹³⁸ Phelmoni Almoni. I Samuel 21:2; K. 170:11; L. 289:15.

Hexaplaric information. This is not a Hebrew proper name in MT.

A vague statement of a king's right to assign his underlings where and how he sees fit.

⁹³⁹ Phogō. I Chronicles 1:50; K. 170:13; L. 289:17.

Textual variants: Phobō (Greek) and Fogor (Latin).

Simple biblical notation (cf. K. 168:7).

⁹⁴⁰ Pharphar. II Kings 5:12; K. 170:14; L. 289:18.

A River and therefore suspect.

Simple biblical geography.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Farfar, digging or scattering or moles" (115).

⁹⁴¹ Phathori. Ezekiel 29:14; K. 170:15; L. 289:19.

Textual variants: Fatore, Fature and Fathure (Latin).

Cf. Jeremiah 44:15.

SECTION X

GENESIS

⁹⁴² Chalannē. Genesis 10:10; K. 170:19; L. 289:23.

Again the first entry in an alphabetic section is outside the Holy Land proper and suspect as a late addition (Isaiah 10:9 and cf. K. 174:8 below).

Summary of biblical information and geography (cf. K. 148:11) Sennaar and K. 40:7 Babel.

In *Hebrew Questions* Jerome notes Chalaane was called later Seleucia after the name of the king and is also to be known as Ktēsiphōn (13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Chalanne, future completion or all of us." (63).

⁹⁴³ Chalak. Genesis 10:11; K. 170:21; L. 289:25.

Outside the proper limits of the Holy Land.

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* "Chalech, as if green" (63).

⁹⁴⁴ Charran. Genesis 11:31; K. 170:23; L. 289:27.

Outside the proper limits of the Holy Land. Probably still retains the name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Charran, hole or wrath or his digging” (64).

⁹⁴⁵ Chebrōn. Genesis 13:18; K. 170:25; L. 289:29.

Summary of biblical information (Genesis 23:2; Numbers 13:23 and Joshua 14:15 also cf. Arbō (K. 6:8 as well as K. 76:1)).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chebron, united or enchanted or everlasting sight” (64).

⁹⁴⁶ Chōba. Genesis 14:15; K. 172:1; L. 289:32.

Textual variants: Choba and the town Coba (Latin).

This is the only mention of the Ebionites in the *Onomasticon*. This is probably not a correct identification of the biblical site. The name is continued in at least three locations from Byzantine times. Probably Greek text pointed to today’s *kokaba* southwest of Damascus.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Choba, condemnation” (64).

⁹⁴⁷ Chabratha. Genesis 35:16; K. 172:4; L. 289:35.

The Hexaplaric information is supplemented with the late tradition of Rachel’s tomb near Bethlehem (K. 42:10 and cf. K. 146:28). In Ephata (K. 82:10) the tomb is located near a Hippodrome. In *Hebrew Questions* (54) Jerome notes Chabratha is not a proper name.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chabratha, as if chosen or heavy” (64).

⁹⁴⁸ Chasbi. Genesis 38:5; K. 172:6; L. 289:37.

Textual variants: dollōm (Greek) and Adollam (Latin).

Possible located in the region of Eleutheropolis (K. 8:12) about 10 miles northeast at ‘*Ain el Kazbeh*. No indication it was a ruin in the earlier Greek text (cf. Adullam K. 24:21). In the Hexapla (not noted here) Aquila translated this word and Jerome in *Hebrew Questions* (46) writes ‘Chasbi therefore is not the name of a place, but is a lie.’”

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chazbi, a lie” (64).

NUMBERS AND DEUTERONOMY

⁹⁴⁹ Chōrēb. Deuteronomy 1:2; K. 172:9; L. 289:40.

Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper.

The *Onomasticon* separates this from Mt.Sinai but Jerome believes Sinai and Horeb are names for the same mountain.

⁹⁵⁰ Charada. Numbers 33:24; K. 172:11; L. 289:43.

Simple listing of station.

⁹⁵¹ Chenereth. Numbers 34:11; K. 172:12; L. 289:44.

A summary of biblical information (Joshua 19:35) with added identification with Tiberias. At the death of Agrippa II Tiberias became an autonomous city. Called “oppidum” in Latin (K. 10:25 and Appendix I). This is not an exact equation since Tiberias is quite far south of the location of Chennereh, Gennesaret at *Tell el ‘Oreimeh*. No location is given in the Greek.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chenneroth, sign of lutes or as if lamps” (80).

JOSUE

⁹⁵² Chepheira. Joshua 9:17; K. 172:15; L. 289:46.

Textual variants: Chepherra (Greek) and Cheffira (Latin).

Simple biblical summary (Joshua 18:26).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chifara, his whelp or scattered hands or atonement” (92).

⁹⁵³ Chasalōn. Joshua 15:10; K. 172:16; L. 289:47.

Textual variant Chalasōn (Greek).

A large village with nothing but the biblical location written here. Perhaps this is *Kasla* southwest of Jerusalem near Esthaol (K. 88:12).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Cheslon, their revelation” (92).

⁹⁵⁴ Chsil. Joshua 15:30; K. 172:18; L. 289:49.

Textual variant Choilē (Greek).

Simple tribal listing (cf. K. 140:8).

⁹⁵⁵ Chaptheis. Joshua 15:40; K. 172:19; L. 290:50.

Textual variant Chasthis (Latin).

Simple tribal listing.

⁹⁵⁶ Chermel. Joshua 15:35; K. 172:20; L. 290:51.

Chermel is now south of Chebrōn (cf. K. 118:5 and I Samuel 25:2). *Notitia Dignitatum* 73:20 confirms the garrison (cf. Procopius 1020C).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chermel, softly or delicate or knowing the circumstances” (92).

⁹⁵⁷ Chabōn. Joshua 15:40; K. 172:23; L. 290:54.

In Latin this appears before Chermel (K. 173:25).

Simple tribal listing.

⁹⁵⁸ Cheilōn. Joshua 15:51; K. 172:24; L. 290:55.

Simple tribal listing.

⁹⁵⁹ Chephrei. Joshua 18:26; K. 174:1; L. 290:56.

Simple tribal listing.

⁹⁶⁰ Cheselath Thabor. Joshua 19:12; K. 174:2; L. 290:57.

Cf. below K. 174:11 and Chsalous K. 28:22.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chsiloth, foolish signs” (92).

KINGS

⁹⁶¹ Chettieim. Judges 1:26; K. 174:4; L. 290:59.

This entry is not in the Holy Land limits proper to the *Onomasticon*. Procopius 1047A follows the Latin here. But see K. 122:14 for possible relationship to Bethelarea.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chetim, raging or dreading or marked” (99).

⁹⁶² Charrei. II Samuel 20:14; K. 174:6; L. 290:61.

Simple biblical notation.

The *CH* in Greek seems to be for the Hebrew guttural, following the LXX.

⁹⁶³ Chomarreim. II Kings 23:5; K. 174:7; L. 290:62.

Textual variant Chōmarrei (Greek).

Simple biblical notation.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chomarim, keepers of the temple” (115).

⁹⁶⁴ Chalannē. Isaiah 10:9; K. 174:8; L. 290:63.

Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper as in *Onomasticon* (cf. K. 170:19).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chalanne, all” (115).

⁹⁶⁵ Charran. Isaiah 37:12; K. 174:10; L. n/a; Lacuna in Greek Text.

Textual variant Charan (Latin).

Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper (cf. K. 170:18).

⁹⁶⁶ Chaselath tou Thabōr. Joshua 19:12; K. 174:11; L. 290:64.

Textual variant Chaselous (Greek) cf. K. 174:2 and K. 28:22.

⁹⁶⁷ Chōbal. I Kings 9:13; K. 174:13; L. 290:66.

Textual variant Chōbar (Greek).

Simple tribal border (cf. Joshua 19:27).

⁹⁶⁸ Chalab. Judges 1:31; K. 174:14; L. 290:67.

Textual variants: Chalobter and Chalath (Latin).

Simple biblical notation.

⁹⁶⁹ Chorra. I Kings 17:3; K. 174:16; L. 290:69.

Simple biblical notation and geography.

LXX has Chorrath for the Wadi.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Charith, division or knowing” (110).

⁹⁷⁰ Chōtha. II Kings 17:24; K. 174:17; L. 290:70.

Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper (cf. K. 36:9, 10) for other regions of Assyria.

⁹⁷¹ Chōbar. Ezekiel 1:1; K. 174:18; L. 290:71.

A River and also outside the limits of the Holy Land proper and so doubly suspect as later addition.

Simple biblical notation and geography.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chobar, heaviness or heavy or near choice” (130).

⁹⁷² Charchamus. Jeremiah 46:2; K. 174:19; L. 290:72.

Outside the limits of the Holy Land proper.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Charchamos, group of sheep or recognize as if twigs” (126).

⁹⁷³ Chamōam. Jeremiah 41:17; K. 174:20; L. 290:73.

Textual variant Chamoar (Greek).

Simple biblical notation and geography.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chamoan, his likeness” (126).

⁹⁷⁴ Chelōn (Elōn). Jeremiah 48:21; K. 174:21; L. 290:74.

Textual variant Aealon (Latin) (cf. K. 176:20).

Simple biblical notation.

⁹⁷⁵ Chamōs. Jeremiah 48:7; K. 174:22; L. 290:75.

Another idol. It is out of order and suspect double. For other idols see K. 36:15; K. 44:13; K. 58:9; K. 134:17; K. 138:19; K. 146:26 etc. and Appendix II).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chamos, assembly” (126).

⁹⁷⁶ Chōrazein. Matthew 11:21; K. 174:23; L. 290:77.

No Gospel section is indicated by division here. One Latin manuscript does have it.

Textual variant has 12 miles for two.

Two miles from Kapernaoun (K. 120:2) north of the lake are the ruins of *Kh Kerazeh* which preserves the name. Deserted in the time of Eusebius and Jerome. Jerome in *Commentary on Isaiah* puts Tiberias, Bethsaida, Capharnaum and Chorazin all along the shore. Called “oppidum” in Latin (K. 10:25 and Appendix I). A synagogue of early 2nd or 3rd century testifies of the rapid decline, it was rebuilt in the 5th century A. D.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Chorazaim, this my mystery” (135).

⁹⁷⁷ Cheimarrous Kedrōn. John 18:1; K. 174:26; L. 290:80.

A wadi in Jerusalem (cf. K. 70:2 and K. 118:11).

SECTION O

PENTATEUCH

⁹⁷⁸ ōn. Exodus 1:11; K. 176:3; L. 290:84.

Outside the limits of the Holy Land. Along with Soēnē one of the most southern cities mentioned in the *Onomasticon*.

Summary of biblical information (Genesis 41:25). The form of the name is from the LXX. It is not in the MT. There is some debate therefore on its construction (cf. K. 94:13).

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “On, work or sorrow” (77).

⁹⁷⁹ ōr. Numbers 20:22, 28; K. 176:7; L. 291:88.

Mt. near Petra (K. 142:7). Cf. K. 126:19 and K. 46:14 for Aaron’s death. See K. 150:23 for Mt. Seir. Josephus *Antiquities* IV, 4, 7 tells of Aaron’s death up on the mountain range that encloses Petra.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Or, passionate” (77) and “Or, light” (83).

⁹⁸⁰ ōbōth. Numbers 21:10; K. 176:9; L. 291:91.

Simple listing of station.

JOSUE and KINGS

⁹⁸¹ Osa. Joshua 19:29; K. 176:11; L. 291:93.

Simple tribal listing. Only here are Joshua and Kings combined as a section heading.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Osa, hope” (96).

⁹⁸² Oram. Joshua 19:38; K. 176:12; L. 291:94.

Simple tribal listing.

⁹⁸³ Opheir. I Kings 9:28; K. 176:13; L. 291:95.

Outside of the Holy Land proper (cf. Genesis 10:29).

This quotation of Josephus *Antiquities* I, 6, 4 is repeated in K. 82:2 and K. 150:14.

Probably the same site as in K. 160:19 after the LXX.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Ofir, weakening” (112).

⁹⁸⁴ ὄν. Hosea 10:5; K. 176:18; L. 291:00.

Textual variants: Aun and Auna (Greek).

Probably the same as Bēthaun (K. 50:24) an epithet possibly for Baithēl (K. 40:20 cf. Joshua 21:15). Hexaplaric information on the meaning.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “On, useless or sorrow or labor or injustice” (122).

⁹⁸⁵ ὀλō. Joshua 21:15; K. 176:20; L. 291:02.

Simple biblical notation (cp. K. 174:21).

⁹⁸⁶ ὀronaeim. Jeremiah 48:34; K. 176:21; L. 291:03.

Textual variants: Oranaim and Ornaim (Latin).

Simple biblical notation and geography.

In *Interpretation of Hebrew Names* “Oronaim, opening of the wall” (128).

The Preparation of the Gospel



Translated by E.H. Gifford, 1903

Commonly known by its Latin title *Praeparatio evangelica* (Preparation for the Gospel), this treatise attempts to prove the excellence of Christianity over every pagan religion and philosophy. It consists of fifteen books, which have been completely preserved. Eusebius intended the book to be an introduction to Christianity for pagans. The book has become an invaluable treasure trove of quotations from later readers, offering numerous lively fragments from historians and philosophers, which have been preserved in no other sources. For example, Pyrrho's translation of the Buddhist Three marks of existence upon which Pyrrho based Pyrrhonism were solely preserved by Eusebius' text, as well as the writings of the Phoenician priest Sanchuniathon of which the accuracy has been shown by the mythological accounts found on the Ugaritic tables. Preparation for the Gospel reveals the contemporary literary tastes of Origen of Alexandria (c. 184-c. 253), an early Christian scholar, ascetic and theologian. A prolific writer that wrote roughly 2,000 treatises in multiple branches of theology, Origen was one of the most influential figures in early Christian theology, apologetics and asceticism. The primary aim of Origen and Pamphilus' school was to promote sacred learning. The library's biblical and theological contents were more impressive: Origen's Hexapla and Tetrapla; a copy of the original Aramaic version of the Gospel of Matthew; and many of Origen's own writings. Marginal comments in extant manuscripts note that Pamphilus and his friends and pupils, including Eusebius, corrected and revised much of the biblical text in their library. Their efforts made the hexaplaric Septuagint text increasingly popular in Syria and Palestine.



Representation of Origen writing from a manuscript, c. 1160

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INTRODUCTION

1. THE AUTHOR.

The prominent position occupied by Eusebius of Caesarea in the Arian controversy and the Council of Nicaea has given rise to so many important treatises on his life and character, that it would be quite superfluous to prefix a formal biography to the present edition of one among his many literary works. It will be sufficient to mention a few of the best sources of information accessible to the English reader.

(1) The article in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* on Eusebius of Caesarea by the late Bishop G. E. L. Cotton.

(2) *Testimonies of the Ancients*, in favour of and against Eusebius, collected by Valesius (Henri de Valois), and appended to the Prolegomena on *The Life and Writings of Eusebius* in Dr. McGiffert's English edition of the *Church History* (Parker, Oxford, 1890).

(3) The very interesting and learned *Introduction* to the Greek text of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, edited for the Clarendon Press by the late Dr. W. Bright, Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford, 1872.

(4) Bishop Lightfoot's article, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (ii. 308-48), of which Dr. McGiffert says with perfect truth: 'Lightfoot's article is a magnificent monument of patristic scholarship, and contains the best and most exhaustive treatment of the life and writings of Eusebius that has been written.'

In each of these works the student will find abundant references to earlier sources of information.

There is, however, one interesting and important question concerning Eusebius, for a satisfactory explanation of which I have sought in vain even in these copious and excellent biographies. What was the true relation of Eusebius to Pamphilus? In other words, What is the exact meaning of the title Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου?

The inquiry is interesting because it is in connexion with Pamphilus that we first hear of Eusebius; and it is not unnecessary, because the older traditional explanations are very various, while in our own more critical days we find the title sometimes rendered as 'Eusebius Pamphilus,' and even as 'Eusebius the beloved of all,' a strange designation for one who was so well

hated by his more orthodox brethren.

It will be convenient to begin with the summary account of the traditional notices given by Fabricius in his great work *Bibliographia Graeca*, Tom. vi. : ‘Eusebius *Pamphili*, not the martyr’s son, nor his sister’s son (consobrinus), nor his slave, but a friend so peculiarly intimate that he took his name from him.’

On the supposed relationship it is sufficient to quote Bishop Lightfoot’s judicious remark: ‘Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* vi. 37) makes him a nephew (ο τουτου αδελφιδου) of the martyr. Yet it is somewhat strange that he himself should never allude to this connexion, if it were so close. On the contrary, he speaks of his becoming acquainted with Pamphilus in such a manner as to suggest that there was no existing relationship which brought them together.’

In a note on the passage already quoted Fabricius defends the rendering ‘friend of Pamphilus’ by supposed examples of a similar usage. ‘Thus C. Avianus Philoxenus acquired the name Avianus from his friend Flaccus Avianus, as Cicero writes, *Epist. ad Familiares*, xiii. 35: “The name Avianus he received because there was no man with whom he was more intimate than with Flaccus Avianus, who, as I think you know, was my own most intimate friend.”’

Of this example it is enough to say that the Latin usage is no authority for the Greek.

In the same note Fabricius adds: ‘Etiam Iudas Iacobi et Petrus Damiani dictus uterque a fratre.’ On Luke vi. 16 Ιουδαν Ιακωβου Meyer remarks that it is usually rendered “‘Judas the *brother* of James,” and therefore the son of Alphaeus; but without any foundation in exegesis. . . . Hence here and in Acts i. 13, we must read “Judas *son of James*,” of which James nothing further is known’: and on Acts i. 13 Meyer again remarks that ‘The relationship is arbitrarily defined as “*brother* of (the younger) James.” It is: *son* of (an otherwise unknown) James.’ This interpretation is now almost universally accepted. Thus Huther on Jude 1 writes: ‘It is arbitrary to supply to Ιακωβου αδελφος instead of the usual supplement υιος,’ and Reuss, *Introduction to Jude*: ‘Cette dernière formule doit signifier necessairement “ *fils de Jacques*,” et non *frere de Jacques*.’ Compare Viger, *De Idiotismis Graecis*, ‘ο(vel involvit substantivum υιος aut παϊς, *filius*, vel pro illo sumitur.’ On which Hermann remarks *Annot. ad Vig. De Idiot*, ‘□□□□□□□□□□ Σωφρονισκου

significat aut hunc fuisse Sophronisci unicum, aut illum esse cui *pater* fuerit Sophroniscus, quo ab aliis Socratibus distinguatur. Σωκράτης Σωφρονισκου dicitur qui Sophroniscum, non alium, habet *patrem*.’

Even, however, if we could admit the rendering ‘*brother* of James,’ this extension of the genitive of *kindred* would not justify its further extension to the relation of ‘friend’: and the same objection applies to ‘Petrus *brother* of Damianus,’ as to whom see Fabric. Tom. viii. ; Tom. xiii. .

St. Jerome, writing about sixty years after the death of Eusebius, speaks of him as the ‘friend, eulogist, and companion’ of Pamphilus: *Apolog. adv. Rufin.* i. 9 ‘Ipse Eusebius amator et praeco et contubernalis Pamphili tres libros scripsit elegantissimos vitam Pamphili continentes.’ Again in the Preface to his translation of the work of Eusebius *On the names of places in Holy Scripture* Jerome mentions that ‘he took his surname from the blessed martyr Pamphilus’; while in the Preface to his *Commentary on Isaiah* and elsewhere he calls him simply ‘Eusebius Pamphili.’

If it seems strange that Jerome, who lived in the next generation to Eusebius, has failed to give a correct paraphrase of his adopted name, we must remember that Latin, not Greek, was Jerome’s native language, and that in the Preface to his translation of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius he speaks in the strongest terms of the difficulty of rendering ‘the peculiar and, so to speak, the native idiom of the language.’

On this point the Greek writers of Church History are better witnesses than Jerome. Socrates in the first words of his *Ecclesiastical History* (circ. 430 A. D.) calls him simply Ευσέβιος ο Παμφίλου, without any comment on the surname, which ought therefore to be taken in its usual and well-known sense.

Sozomen, a contemporary of Socrates, in his *Hist. Eccles.* i. 1. 9 writes Ευσέβιος ο επικλην Παμφίλου, where επικλην may imply a patronymic, and may be illustrated by Xenophon, *Oeconom.* vii. 3

In a much later age Photius, *Epist.* 73, begins a bitter invective against the reputed heretic with the words. Upon this the editor Baletta makes the usual remark that ‘Eusebius was the disciple and friend of the martyr Pamphilus, from whom he took his surname’: but it is evident that Photius himself either was or pretended to be ignorant of the actual meaning of the title; and his insolent insinuation, is of course rightly rejected, as we have seen, by Fabricius. Bishop Lightfoot in the article already referred to writes with just

indignation: 'It was either a blundering literalism or an ignoble sarcasm, which led Photius (*E Baletta*) to suggest the explanation that he was the *slave* of Pamphilus. Any man might have been proud to wear the slave's badge of such a devotion.'

We come at last to the positive testimony of one who at least knew the proper sense of the title ο Παμφίλου.

The oldest MS. of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Paris, n. 451) has a Scholion on the passage i. 3 (Vig. 7 c 3) which refers to the works of earlier Christian writers. 'Such,' says the Scholiast, 'as were holy Justin, Athenagoras, Tatian, Clement the author of the *Miscellanies*, Origen, and moreover Pamphilus himself the father of our present author Eusebius, Παμφίλος ο του παροντος Ευσεβιου πατηρ.'

Dr. Harnack in his description of this MS. in *Texte u. Untersuch.* i. 1. 34 remarks on this Scholion: 'It is worthy of notice that Pamphilus is described as *the father of Eusebius* (Ευσεβιος ο Παμφίλου). So obscure already was the Scholiast's historical knowledge.'

In a foot-note to this passage Dr. Harnack asks 'why Pamphilus is mentioned here at all. Did the author perhaps think of Lucian, or allow himself to be misled by the title of the *Apology for Origen*?' Again on Dr. Harnack says: 'This Scholion is of later origin. . . . Add to this that the learned Arethas cannot have supposed Pamphilus to be the father of Eusebius.'

As to Dr. Harnack's first objection, there is nothing to surprise us in the Scholiast's mention of Pamphilus as one of the 'recent authors' of whom Eusebius might have been thinking. His literary work was of a different character, less popular, and less generally known than the writings of the Apologists previously mentioned, and for these reasons, as it seems, the Scholiast in adding his name to theirs introduces it by the words καὶ αὐτος ἐστὶ Παμφίλος.

Dr. Harnack's passing remark that 'the Scholion is of later origin' is not accepted by his very learned co-editor Oscar v. Gebhardt, who made a most careful examination of the Codex, and assigned this particular Scholion to the hand of Arethas himself (*Texte u. Unters.* i. 3. 183, n. 70).

Thus, instead of an ignorant Scholiast of a later age, we have the learned Archbishop Arethas asserting that the title is to be understood in its proper sense, 'Eusebius son of Pamphilus,' and this we shall find to be consistent

with all that we know of the relations between Pamphilus and Eusebius.

Pamphilus, we know, was many years older than Eusebius, was the director as well as the partner of his studies, and is always mentioned by him in terms not only of admiration and affection but of the most profound respect. Thus he calls him ‘the great glory of the diocese of Caesarea, most admirable of the men of our time,’ of all my companions by me most fondly regretted, a man most glorious of the martyrs of our time for every virtue,’ ‘the name to me thrice dear,’ ‘a man who through his whole life shone pre-eminent in every virtue’; and when we add to such language the still more remarkable expressions quoted by Bishop Lightfoot from Cureton’s edition of the *Syriac Martyrs of Palestine*, that ‘heavenly martyr of God,’ ‘my lord Pamphilus,’ ‘for it is not meet that I should mention the name of that holy and blessed Pamphilus without styling him “my lord”’ — with such testimony of filial reverence we can hardly doubt that when Eusebius adopted the patronymic, he meant it in its full and proper significance, that henceforth he would call no man ‘father’ save this best and dearest friend of his early manhood. ‘How else,’ as Bishop Lightfoot says,’ could he express the strength of his devotion to this friend, who was more than a friend, than by adopting his name. He would henceforward be known as “Eusebius of Pamphilus.”’ Let us only complete the title, ‘Eusebius son of Pamphilus,’ and so do justice to the old Scholiast, that is, to the learned archbishop himself.

A further explanation of the patronymic may probably be found in the prevalent custom of adoption. We know that Pamphilus ‘had gathered about him a collection of books which seems to have been unrivalled in Christian circles’ (Lightfoot, *ibid.*), and of which Eusebius became the possessor and made a catalogue (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 32). It is therefore most probable that Pamphilus had made Eusebius his heir, and ‘the only way in which a childless individual could acquire an heir was by adopting him’ (Prof. W. M. Ramsay, *Expositor*, Sept. 1898,). Cf. Hermann, *Political Antiquities of Greece*, § 120 ‘The appointment of an heir, even by will, could take place only by adoption.’ This statement that the heir was necessarily an adopted son is confirmed, among other passages, by Plato, *Laws* 924 A, and by Isaeus 66. 31 εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κληρὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστάρχῳ, ‘they would not have represented that a son had been adopted by Aristarchus into this inheritance.’ If Eusebius was thus made the heir of Pamphilus, his legal and usual designation would henceforth be

‘Ευσεβιος ο Παμφιλου.’ And in any case, whether he was actually adopted, or took the patronymic as a symbol of respect and affection, the only true rendering is, I believe, ‘Eusebius son of Pamphilus.’

2. THE DATE.

The work itself contains no direct statement of the date at which it was written, and it is difficult to determine this very closely from the allusions to contemporary events, especially to the persecutions of the Christians and the subsequent prosperity of their religion.

The persecution commenced by Diocletian (February 24, A. D. 303), and continued by Galerius, ceased by his edict A. D. 311. Speaking of this persecution Eusebius says (*Eccl. Hist.* viii. 16) that having begun to decrease after the eighth year ‘through the grace of God it ceased altogether in the tenth year.’ After the defeat of Maxentius (A. D. 312) Constantine and Licinius gave freedom to the Christians, which was confirmed by the Edict of Milan late in the same year (Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* x. 5).

With these historical statements we have to compare the allusions to the condition of the Christians in the two portions of the great apologetic work of the same author.

We may notice first certain passages which seem to have been written just before, or immediately after, the final cessation of the persecution.

Praep. Ev. 584 a, b ‘Even up to the present time the noble witnesses (martyrs) of our Saviour throughout the whole inhabited world, while practising “not to seem but to be” just and devout, have suffered all things that Plato enumerated.’ Here the words εἰς δαυρο πεπονθασιν imply that the persecution if not still raging had very recently ceased.

Another passage which seems to have been written before the persecution had come to an end is found in the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, iii. 5. 78. Commenting on our Saviour’s prophecy (Matt. xxiv. 9; Luke xxi. 12) that his disciples should be brought before rulers and kings for His name’s sake, he adds ‘and shall suffer all kinds of punishment for no fault or other good reason, but all this solely for His name’s sake: and we may marvel at the prediction when we see this working up to the present time: for the confession of the name of Jesus is wont to inflame the wrath of the rulers, so that though no fault has been committed by one who confesses Christ, they punish him cruelly for His name’s sake.’

Here again the present tenses εἰς δαυρο θεωρουντας ενεργουμενον seem to imply that persecution was still raging.

A strong contrast to the language of these earlier passages is found in the *Demonstration*, v. 3. 11 ‘Who therefore on seeing the Churches of our Saviour flourishing (αυθουσας) in the midst of the cities, and in villages and country places throughout the whole inhabited world, and the peoples being ruled (κυριευομενους) by Him. . . .’

Again in the *Praep. Ev.* 9 d 7 Eusebius speaking of the Christian religion says: ‘after these many years of persecution it shines forth far more brightly, and daily becomes more conspicuous, and grows and multiplies more and more.’

From such a description it is evident that a great change had occurred in the policy of the Roman Emperors towards the Christian religion, and we may fairly conclude that the earlier passages were written shortly before or shortly after the cessation of the persecution, and the later after some years of peace and prosperity.

Considering that the *Preparation* and the *Demonstration* are the two connected portions of one great work which must have been a long time in execution, we cannot be surprised at finding indications of different dates occurring in different parts of the two treatises. And though unable to fix a precise date either for the commencement or for the completion of the whole work, we can hardly be wrong in saying that it was begun about the year 312 A.D., but not finished till a few years afterwards.

On this latter point we have an interesting note of time in *Praep. Ev.* 135 c 4 ‘many of the most highly inspired even of their chief hierophants, and theologians, and prophets, who were celebrated for this kind of theosophy, not only in former times but also recently in our own day, under cruel tortures (διὰ βασανων αικιας) before the Roman courts declared that the whole delusion was produced by human frauds.’ The passage evidently refers to the punishment of the false prophets and hierophants described by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ix. 11 ‘Licinius on arriving at the city of Antioch made a search for impostors, and tortured (βασανοις ηκιζετο) the prophets and priests of the newly erected statue, asking them “for what reason they practised their deception.” And when under the stress of torture they were no longer able to conceal the matter, they declared that the whole mystery was a fraud contrived by the art of Theotecnus. He therefore meted out just judgement to all of them, and first put Theotecnus himself to death, and then his confederates in

the imposture, after innumerable tortures (μετα πλειστας οσας αικιας).’

These executions took place immediately after the death of Maximinus in A. D. 313, and were followed by a further decree of toleration for the Christians. We cannot be wrong therefore in saying that the words ‘recently in our time’ (εναγχος καθ ημας) were written neither before nor much after A. D. 314.

3. THE OCCASION.

The time thus indicated in the work itself was especially opportune for such a defence of Christianity as Eusebius was undertaking. Persecution had ceased for the present, and there was no immediate need of such appeals to the justice or mercy of Pagan Emperors as had formed a chief subject of the first Christian Apologists. But the remembrance of the sufferings endured especially by the martyrs of Palestine, and witnessed if not actually shared by Eusebius himself, was still fresh; nor could there be any assurance that persecution would not be renewed under emperors less favourable to Christianity or less prudent than Constantine.

The wavering attitude of the emperor himself at this period is well described by Gibbon, c. xx 'The devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleased to be represented with the symbols of the God of Light and Poetry.' . . . 'As long as Constantine exercised a limited sovereignty over the provinces of Gaul, his Christian subjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince who wisely left to the gods the care of vindicating their honour. If we may credit the assertion of Constantine himself, he had been an indignant spectator of the savage cruelties which were inflicted by the hands of Roman soldiers on those citizens whose religion was their only crime.'

If the prudent policy of the emperor was dictated by a sense of the growing power of Christianity in the State, nothing could help so much to strengthen this feeling and turn it into a permanent conviction as a full exhibition of the contrast between the effete superstitions and gross immorality of Paganism and the pure and vigorous spirit of the new religion.

The conflict was not ended, but it had assumed a new character: persecution had failed, but other weapons not less formidable remained. The old charges of atheism, apostasy, and hostility to the State though often refuted were constantly renewed. Learning and philosophy lent their aid both in attacking the supposed credulity of the Christians, and in endeavouring to infuse new life into the ancient Polytheism.

Porphyry, the most learned and able philosopher of his age and the bitterest opponent of Christianity, was but lately dead, and had left behind him a work

in fifteen books *Against the Christians*. As far as we can judge from the fragments that remain this was the most comprehensive and powerful attack that had yet been made upon the new faith. Eusebius was keenly alive both to the ability of the author, and to the dangerous character of his criticism: and there was need as well as opportunity for a new and comprehensive defence of the truth so vehemently attacked.

4. THE METHOD.

In explaining the plan of his treatise Eusebius promises (7 a 1) that his purpose shall be worked out in a way of his own, differing from the methods of the many Christian authors who had preceded him. This promise is further explained (17 a 1) as meaning that his arguments will not depend on his own statements, but will be given in the very words of the most learned and best known advocates of the Pagan religions, that so the evidence alleged may not be suspected of being invented by himself. The cogency of this mode of argument truthfully and fairly conducted is unquestionable, but it had not in this case such entire novelty as Eusebius seems to claim for it. We shall find as we proceed that many of his arguments are the same as those of the earlier Apologists, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen; that he constantly borrows long passages from their writings, including the same quotations from Greek authors, reproduced word for word with due acknowledgement. Those earlier authors had in fact adopted the very same method which Eusebius announced as distinctive of his own work. The quotations thus borrowed are however few in comparison with the great multitude gathered by Eusebius himself from all parts of the Greek literature of a thousand years, from works both known and unknown of poets, historians, and philosophers.

The peculiar value of the *Praeparatio* resulting from this wealth of quotation is universally acknowledged. 'This book is almost as important to us in the study of ancient Philosophy as the *Chronicon* is with reference to History, since in it are present specimens of the writings of almost every philosopher of any note whose works are not now extant' (G. E. L. Cotton, *Dict. Gk. and R. Biogr.*, 'Eusebius,' 116b).

'The *Preparation* exhibits the same wide range of acquaintance with the classical writers of Greece which the *History* exhibits in the domain of Christian literature. The list of writers quoted or referred to is astonishing for its length (see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* vii. 346). Some of these are known to us, even by name, only through Eusebius, and of several others he has preserved large portions which are not otherwise extant. . . . It was chiefly the impression produced by this mass of learning which led Scaliger to describe it as "divini commentarii," and Cave to call it "opus profecto nobilissimum" (*H.*

L. i.) (Lightfoot, Smith and “Wace’s *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 331).

5. THE STYLE.

It follows from the nature of the method thus described that the value of the treatise does not depend on the literary style of Eusebius. His part in the work is that of an editor or compiler rather than of an original author. His own contributions are small, except in a few places such as Book VI, chapter 6, on the subject of Fate and Free Will, and the earlier chapters of Book VII, in which he describes the religious ideas and mode of life of the original Hebrews. For the most part he is content to give short notices of the numerous authors whom he quotes, and such brief comments as serve either to connect the passages selected or to explain their meaning and force.

It is thus a matter of less importance that his own style is not attractive: the sentences are often of inordinate length, and the constructions awkward and confused. On the other hand the diction is simple, appropriate, and free from all affectation of eloquence or rhetorical artifice. Bishop Lightfoot's judgement is, as usual, very accurate when he speaks of the want of 'rhetorical vigour and expression,' but adds that 'the forcible and true conceptions which it exhibits from time to time, more especially bearing on the theme which may be briefly designated "God in history," arrest our attention now, and must have impressed his contemporaries still more strongly; while in learning and comprehensiveness it is without a rival.'

The same great critic passes a less favourable judgement on the arrangement of the contents: 'The divisions,' he says, 'are not kept distinct; the topics start up unexpectedly and out of season.' On this point I may be allowed to plead on behalf of Eusebius that if he deserves the censure, it is not from want of very careful endeavours to avoid it. His best defence is to be found in his very frequent explanations of the purpose and arrangement of his work.

6. THE CONTENTS.

In his first sentence Eusebius shows us that the proper title of his proposed work as a whole is *The Demonstration of the Gospel* (Αποδειξις Ευαγγελικη), of which the first part (Προπαρασκευη της Ευαγγελικης Αποδειξεως, or more briefly Ευαγγελικη Προπαρασκευη) is intended to explain beforehand the objections which are likely to be urged against the Christians and their religion by both Greeks and Jews.

These objections refer to three main points: —

- (i) The abandonment of the ancestral religion of the Greeks (5 a 2).
- (ii) The acceptance of the foreign doctrines of the Barbarians, i. e. Jews (5 b).
- (iii) The inconsistency of rejecting the Jewish sacrifices, rites, and general manner of life, while appropriating their sacred Scriptures and promised blessings (5 c).

The third point, however, is not included in the *Preparation* for the reason stated in the closing sentence (856 a 6), but is left for consideration in the *Demonstration*.

The fifteen books containing the discussion of the first two points are divided into five groups of three each, and this distribution is clearly indicated at the beginning of each group in Books I, IV, VII, X, XIII, while in the first chapter of Book XV we have a clear summary of the whole preceding argument, showing how the several divisions have been treated each in three books.

The first three books discuss the threefold system of Pagan Theology, Mythical, Allegorical, and Political (788 b 3-d 3). The next three, IV-VI, give an account of the chief oracles, of the worship of daemons, and of the various opinions of Greek philosophers on the doctrines of Fate and Free Will.

Books VII-IX give reasons for preferring the religion of the Hebrews founded chiefly on the testimony of various authors to the excellency of their Scriptures and the truth of their history.

In Books X-XII Eusebius argues that the Greeks had borrowed from the older theology and philosophy of the Hebrews, dwelling especially on the supposed dependence of Plato upon Moses.

In the last three books the comparison of Plato with Moses is continued, and the mutual contradictions of other Greek philosophers, especially the Peripatetics and Stoics, are exposed and criticized.

A like orderly arrangement is observed in the smaller divisions of each group.

Book I. After stating the general purpose and plan of his intended work (chapters 1-5), Eusebius takes a brief survey of the earliest notions of the origin of the world, of mankind, and of the gods from the writings of Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Xenophon, Plato, and Porphyry (chapters 6-9, 17 b-30 d), showing that a simpler worship of sun, moon, and stars had preceded the endless theogonies and bloody sacrifices of the manifold forms of superstition among the heathen nations. The remainder of the book (31 a-42 d) is occupied by Philo's translation of Sanchuniathon's account of the Phoenician theology.

In Book II the religions of Egypt and of Greece are described in the words of Diodorus and of Clement of Alexandria; after which Eusebius himself states his reasons for rejecting both the gross legends of the older mythology and the physical explanations by which later philosophers endeavoured to throw a decent veil of allegorical interpretation over the shameless obscenities of their ancestral religion, and ends the book by a description of the comparatively purer religion of Rome from Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

In Book III the physical explanations of the Greeks and the allegorical theology of the Egyptians are further described in the language of Plutarch, Diodorus, and Porphyry, with brief criticisms by Eusebius himself (chapters 1-8). Then after quoting the *Orphic Hymn*, in which Zeus is described as the All, both body and soul of the universe, with Porphyry's comments upon it, Eusebius proceeds 'to examine quietly and at leisure what after all the verses declare Zeus to be' (102 a). On this passage Gesner founded a charge of forgery against our author, whom he supposed to have introduced the verses in order to show that the Orphic poem taught the existence of the One true God, and even Cudworth strangely fell into the same error (*Intellectual System*, iv. 17). Fortunately Eusebius, while refuting Porphyry, has given us his own interpretation of the verses, showing at considerable length (102a-108a) that they represent the world as a great animal to which the name of Zeus is applied, his mind being nothing else than the ether. Compare

Valckenaer, *Diatribes de Aristobulo*, xxvi. After quoting Porphyry again on the physical theologies of Greece and Egypt (108b-117d), Eusebius himself exposes their contradictions and absurdities in the five remaining chapters of the book (118 a-127 c).

In the second group of three books (IV-VI) he passes on from the mythical and physical systems of Greek theology to the political forms of religion upheld and enforced by the laws of the several states.

Books IV and V are mainly occupied with discussions on the oracles and their pretended prophecies and healings, which are attributed both by Eusebius and by the witnesses whom he quotes to the activity of evil daemons. The evidence on these subjects is for the most part taken from Porphyry's work *On the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, fragments of which are preserved by Eusebius, and his extant and well-known work *On Abstinence from Animal Food*. The last nine chapters are devoted to the subject of human sacrifices, the chief witnesses being Porphyry, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Diodorus Siculus.

In Book V the nature and operation of daemons, the incantations by which they may be controlled, and their regard for the images in which they are supposed to be present, are described in extracts from Plutarch *On the Cessation of Oracles*, from Porphyry's works already mentioned, and from his *Epistle to Anebo*. The latter half of the book is occupied by a most interesting and witty satire upon the oracles from the work of Oenomaus entitled *The Detection of Impostors*.

Book VI is devoted to the subject of Fate and Free Will in connexion with astrology, the evidence being supplied by Porphyry, Oenomaus, Diogenianus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Bardesanes the Syrian, and Origen.

In the sixth chapter we have a good specimen of the clear argumentative style of Eusebius himself: with much force and earnestness he defends 'the freedom of the Will against the fatalism of pagan religion,' and especially of the Stoic philosophy.' By the independence with which he maintains the cause of Liberty, Morality, and Duty it is evident that no such teaching as that of Pelagius had as yet disturbed men's minds, or called forth the decisions of the Church on the doctrines of grace' (*Dictionnaire des Sciences philosophiques*, ii. 340).

The next group consisting of Books VII-IX deals with the religion of the

Hebrews.

Of Book VII the first half (298 d-322 d) is the work of Eusebius himself, describing the lives and religion of the Patriarchs, and the doctrines of Moses and the Prophets on Divine Providence, on God as the First Cause of the Universe, and on the Word as the Second Cause. In the latter half of the book the same subjects are illustrated from Jewish and Christian authors, Philo, Dionysius of Alexandria, Origen, and Methodius.

Book VIII consists of the history of the Septuagint as described by Aristeas, of quotations concerning the Exodus and the Law from Philo, Josephus, and Eleazar the High Priest, on the Biblical anthropomorphisms from Aristobulus, and two accounts of the Essenes from Philo, followed by his views of Creation, and of Providence.

Book IX contains the testimony of heathen writers who have made mention of the Jews, a third account of the Essenes by Porphyry, quotations by Josephus from Hecataeus of Abdera, Clearchus the Peripatetic, Choerilus the poet, Abydenus, author of the *Assyrian History*, the Sibyl, and others on the Deluge and Tower of Babel. The remaining twenty-six chapters of the book are chiefly occupied by several important extracts from the work of Alexander Polyhistor, *Concerning the Jews*, which include long passages from the Iambic poems of Theophrastus and Ezekiel on events in Jewish history, the spurious letters of Solomon to Vaphres king of Egypt, and Sargon (Hiram) of Tyre; with descriptions of Jerusalem and other matters by various authors.

In the next group, Books X-XII, Eusebius gives examples from Clement, Porphyry, and Diodorus of the plagiarism of Greek authors both from each other and, as they argue, from the much older Scriptures of the Hebrews. The testimony to their antiquity is drawn from the *Chronography* of Africanus, and from Tatian, Clement, and Josephus.

In Book XI Eusebius proposes to show the agreement of Plato, as the representative of Greek Philosophy, with the Hebrew Scriptures. Adopting the threefold division of Ethics, Dialectic, and Physics, he notices the moral teaching of the sacred writers, their literary methods, accurate reasoning, and correct use of significant names, their knowledge of the natural world, and their contemplation of the 'true being' of things unseen (chapters 1-9). He then quotes the comments of Numenius, and his saying, *What else is Plato than Moses speaking Attic Greek?*, and Plutarch's treatise on the *Pythia* at Delphi

(10, 11).

Other points of comparison are the ineffable nature of God, His unity, the Second Cause as contemplated by Philo, Plotinus, Numenius, and Amelius, the Third Divine Power of the Ps.-Platonic *Epinomis* (chapters 12-30).

The nature of the Good and of the Ideas, as stated by Plato in the *Republic* and *Timaeus*, is illustrated by quotations from Numenius, Philo, and Clement of Alexandria (21-25). The existence of evil powers, the immortality of the soul and the Divine image, as taught in the *Alcibiades* and *Phaedo*, and illustrated from Porphyry's answer to Boethus *On the Soul*, the creation of the world and of the heavenly bodies, the goodness of God's works, their changes and dissolution, the resurrection of the dead, and the final judgement, are all brought into the comparison, and illustrated from the *Timaeus*, *Republic*, *Politicus*, and *Phaedo*, and from a fragment of Plutarch *On the Soul*.

In Book XII the comparison of Plato with the Hebrew Scriptures is continued on the simple instruction of children, the need of faith, the qualifications of rulers as described in the *Laws*, the *Gorgias*, and the *Republic* (chapters 1-9); the picture of the just man and his fate in the *Republic*; Paradise and the garden of Zeus, and the origin of mankind male and female, in the *Symposium*; the Deluge, the right foundation of law, religious training, the use of poetry, music, and wine, and the control of the passions, all illustrated from the *Laws* (chapters 10-28).

Other subjects brought into the comparison are the contrast of true philosophy and spurious wisdom (*Theaetetus*), the education of women (*Republic*), and passages of the *Laws* and *Republic* corresponding to the Hebrew *Proverbs* and laws of Moses on 'the memory of the just,' riches and poverty, and the honour due to parents, on slaves, landmarks, and thieves (chapters 29-42). Other coincidences are found in the use of certain examples and figures of speech, in the division of a nation into twelve tribes, in the situation of the chief city, and in Plato's thoughts on faults in education (*Republic*), on atheism, on God, and Divine providence (*Laws*).

In Book XIII Eusebius quotes with approval Plato's opinions on the absurdities of Greek mythology in the *Timaeus*, *Republic*, and *Eutlyphron* (chapters 1-5), on steadfast adherence to truth even unto death in the *Crito* and the *Apology of Socrates* (chapters 6-11), adding the testimonies of Aristobulus and Clement to the agreement of Plato and other Greek philosophers with the

Hebrew Scriptures (chapters 12, 13).

The remainder of the book treats of matters in which Plato's teaching is condemned concerning the belief of the common people (*Timaeus* and *Republic*), a multitude of inferior gods and daemons, the nature of the soul (*Timaeus*) criticized by the Platonist Severus, the worship of the heavenly bodies (*Laws* and *Timaeus*), the treatment of women (*Laws* and *Republic*), unnatural vice, and the laws of murder.

In Book XIV the consistent truth of Hebrew doctrines adopted by Christians is contrasted with the contradictions and conflicts of Greek philosophers, showing how Plato criticized his predecessors in the *Theaetetus* and *Sophista*, and was himself criticized by his followers in the successive Academies, who in their turn are subjected to the keen satire of Numenius (chapters 1-9). The subject is continued in quotations from Porphyry, Xenophon, Plato, Plutarch, and especially from Aristocles *On Philosophy* against the schools of Parmenides who rejected the evidence of the senses, of Aristippus, Metrodorus, and Protagoras who believed them alone, and of the Pyr-rhonists who believed nothing at all. The doctrines of Epicurus are refuted from the writings of Aristocles, Plato, and Dionysius of Alexandria (chapters 21-47).

In Book XV the moral character of Aristotle is defended against the slanders of Epicurus and others by Aristocles; but where he differed from Plato and the Hebrews in regard to virtue and happiness, the ideas of God and His providence, the creation of the world, the fifth corporeal essence, the nature of the heavenly bodies, and the immortality of the soul, his doctrines are severely criticized by Atticus the Platonist (chapters 2-9).

His description of the soul as an enteleceia is further criticized by Plotinus, Porphyry, and Atticus (10-13); the Stoic philosophy is discussed by Aristocles, Areius Didymus, Porphyry, Longinus, and Plotinus (14-22), and the remainder of the book is occupied with a long extract from Plutarch, *De placitis Philosophorum*, on the various physical theories of the world, followed by the judgement of Socrates on such questions from the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon.

After this survey of the contents of the *Preparation* as described chiefly by Eusebius himself, I think we are in fairness bound to acquit him of the charge of confusion in the divisions of the work and the arrangement of its topics.

His occasional repetitions are for the most part confined to quotations, and especially to certain well-known and striking passages of Plato which are used more than once in different branches of the subject, and with different applications.

7. QUOTATIONS.

The literary value of the *Preparation for the Gospel* will be most fully appreciated by considering a separate list of the chief fragments of ancient authors for the preservation of which we are indebted to Eusebius in that work.

Fragments of Poetry.

1. An interesting epigram by Callimachus on the simplicity of the primitive statues (99 b): this is contained in a fragment of Plutarch, *De Daedalis Plataeensibus*.
2. A fragment of Euripides, *Melanippe Captiva*, on the characters of bad and good women (466 d).
3. Large extracts in iambic verse from the *Exodus*, a tragedy by the Jewish dramatist Ezekiel (438 c 10-446 d 2), on which see Schürer, *Jewish People*, ii. 3. 224.
4. Fragments of an epic poem *On Jerusalem* by a Jew named Philo, 421 c, d, 430 c, 453 a. Cf. Schürer, *ibid.* 222.
5. Eight extracts from the epic poem of Theodotus *On the Jews*, describing Sichem, and narrating the story of the sons of Emmor (426 b-429 a). Cf. Schürer, *ibid.* 224.
6. Many of the oracles quoted by Oenomaus in *The Detection of Impostors* (209 c-234 a).
7. All the oracles contained in the work of Porphyry *On the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles* (123 d-124 b, 145 a-146 b, 168 b, 175 c). These oracles with their contexts are carefully edited by Wolff in his work *Porph. De Philos. ex Oraculis haurienda*, of which they form the chief substance.
8. Pindar, *Fr. Incert.* 2 (105), *Paeon.* 10 (33), both in 687 b.
9. The remarkable epigram on the *Tetragrammaton* and the Name of seven vowels (520 a).

10. Part of the *Orphic Hymn to Zeus*, of which vv. 19-42 (except two or three) are found first in the fragment of Porphyry *Peri Agalmatwn* preserved by Eusebius *P. E.* 100 c 5-101 c 1.

Historical Fragments.

1. In history we have first the long extract from the translation by Philo Byblius of Sanchuniathon's *Phoenician History* contained in a fragment of Porphyry's work *Against the Christians* preserved by Eusebius (31 a-42 b). If we could fully trust Porphyry's testimony to the truthfulness of Philo, and to the genuineness and antiquity of the work of Sanchuniathon, the historical value of the extract could hardly be over-estimated: and we cannot wonder that the question of its authenticity has been a most fruitful source of criticism and controversy from the time of Scaliger and Grotius to our own days. 'Few problems, in fact, in the circle of Semitic studies and of ancient history in general are of more importance than this.' So writes M. Renan. *Memoire sur l'Origine et le Caractere veritable de l'Histoire phenicienne qui porte le nom de Sanchoniathon*, .

2. Diodorus Siculus. In 59 c 2-61 a we have an interesting fragment of the sixth book of the *Bibliotheca*, confirming his account of the sources of Greek theology from the *Ἱερά ἀναγραφῇ*, or *Sacred Record* of Euemerus, and adding the wonderful narrative of Euemerus concerning his voyage to the fabulous island of Panchaea in the Indian Ocean.

3. The large fragments of Philo Judaeus first known from Eusebius will be found in 322 d 11 on the *Word* or *Second God*, in 336 b *Concerning Providence*, in 355 c-361 b on the Exodus and the Law from a work otherwise unknown, entitled *Hypothetica*, and in 379 a-400 a a very long and important passage from the *Apology for the Jews*.

These fragments will be found placed together at the end of the sixth volume of Richter's edition of the Greek text of Philo.

4. Among the most important of the historical fragments preserved for us by Eusebius are the long extracts from the work of Alexander Polyhistor *Concerning the Jews*, which occupy the larger part of Book IX, and have been

very carefully edited in a special monograph by Dr. J. Freudenthal. The value of these extracts is much increased by quotations from lost works of authors otherwise unknown, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Molon, a certain Philo, and Demetrius, who all wrote on the history of the Jews. On the importance of the fragments see Schürer, *ibid.* ii. 3. 197.

5. The extract from the *Chronicon* of Julius Africanus (487 d-491 b) was edited from Eusebius by Dr. Routh in *Rel. Sacr.* ii. 269-78, who enlarged the text from Georgius Syncellus and added copious notes (423-37).

6. From the lost work of Abydenus *On Assyrian History* we have most interesting notices of the Flood of Sisithrus, i. e. Noah (414 d), of the Tower of Babel (416 b), of Nebuchadnezzar's madness and of his fortification of Babylon (456 d).

Philosophical Fragments.

It is in the region of Greek Philosophy that the wealth of quotation is most remarkable.

1. Among the Neo-Platonists we find Atticus, whose commentary on the *Timaeus* is sharply criticized by Proclus, but of whose own writings there remain only the important fragments preserved by Eusebius; the first of which describes the threefold division of Philosophy into Ethics, Physics, and Logic, and eulogizes Plato as 'a man from nature's mysteries new-inspired,' and 'in very truth sent down from the gods, in order that Philosophy might be seen in its full proportions,' (509 b-510 a). Also in the long and important extracts contained in Book XV, chapters 4-9, 12, 13, Atticus appears as a passionate defender of Plato against Aristotle.

2. From the *Epitome* of Areius Didymus we have a short extract on the Platonic Ideas (545 b), and several passages on the Stoic doctrines in Book XV, chapters 15, 20.

3. Numenius the Neo-Pythagorean is known almost exclusively from the long and numerous extracts preserved by Eusebius. From the contemplation of true 'Being' with Plato (525 c-527 a) he passes on to the nature of 'the First and Second God' (537 a), and to 'the only Good' transcending all essence, which

can be contemplated only apart from sense ‘in a certain, immense, ineffable, and absolutely Divine solitude’ (543 d). In 650 d we find him defending Plato for ‘preserving both life and truth’ by withdrawing from Athens; and in 727 b-739 he describes *The revolt of the Academics against Plato*, under the leaders of the three, or more, Academies.

4. The fragments of Aristocles the Peripatetic contain an interesting criticism of Socrates and Plato, and of the divergent Socratic Schools (510 b-511 c), a defence of the veracity of the senses against the Eleatics Xenophanes and Parmenides (756 b-757 d), a long refutation of the Sceptics Pyrrho and Timon (758 c-763 d), strong and able censures of the Sophists, Cyrenaics, and Epicureans (764 c-768 d), and lastly a defence of the moral character of Aristotle against the slanderous attacks of Epicurus, Timaeus of Tauromenium, Alexinus the Eristic, Eubulides, Demochares, Cephisodorus, and Lycon (791 a-793 c).

5. Of the three known fragments of Euemerus, the most important is contained in a fragment of the sixth book of Diodorus Siculus, itself preserved by Eusebius (Diod. Sic. iv. 179, Dindorf).

6. On the falsehood of oracles we have first a valuable fragment of Diogenianus directed against the fatalism of Chrysippus (136 d 3); then the vigorous and amusing invective of Oenomaus occupying no less than eighteen chapters of Book V (209 b-234 c); and the long series of extracts from the work of Porphyry *On the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, mentioned above (p. xxvi).

7. Of other works of Porphyry Eusebius has preserved many fragments of the *Epistle to Anebo* (92 a, 197 c, 740 d), on which see Parthey’s edition of Iamblichus *De Mysteriis*; a large part of the treatise *De Statuis* (97 d 2 note); several fragments of a work *On the Soul, against Boethus*; three long extracts from the *Philological Lecture*; fragments of the famous treatise *Against the Christians* (31 a, 179 d, 485 b).

8. A fragment attributed to Plotinus on the *Entelecheia* of Aristotle, which is inserted by Creuzer after *Ennead.* iv. 2.

9. From Plutarch's treatise on the *Daedala*, or primitive wooden statues at Plataeae, and the worship connected with them Eusebius has preserved two very interesting fragments (83 c, 99 b); and though the long extracts from the *Stromateis* (22 b-25 b) and the *De placitis Philosophorum* (836 a-852 c) are not the work of Plutarch, but a compilation by some unknown writer from the *Epitome* of Aetius, this very ancient error in the title does not detract from their value. We are equally indebted for their preservation to Eusebius, to whose accuracy and fidelity Diels (*Proleg.* 5-10) pays an emphatic and even enthusiastic testimony.

8. CONCLUSION.

The work which has been my chief occupation and my delight for several years is now drawing to a close. I have to renew my thanks to friends already mentioned in the Preface to vol. i; to Dr. Sanday, whose counsel and encouragement first led me to add to the English translation a revised text; to Dr. Redpath, by whose many useful suggestions and careful correction of the proof-sheets I have been aided throughout; to Dr. John Mayor, the Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge, and Dr. Joseph Mayor; to the Rev. W. R. Inge, one of the rare students of Plotinus; to Dr. H. H. Turner, F.R.S., Savilian Professor of Astronomy; and last not least to the Delegates, Secretary, and other Officers of the Clarendon Press, to whose unfailing kindness and invaluable help I am most deeply indebted.

Of the inadequacy of my own work I am painfully conscious. To do full justice to so large a compilation from all branches of ancient literature the editor himself should be historian, poet, philosopher, archaeologist, astronomer, ethnologist; and I certainly am none of these. For all errors and defects which remain un-corrected I can only trust to receive the indulgence for which old age not often pleads in vain.

BOOK I

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- IX. The ancients worshipped no other gods than the celestial luminaries, knowing nothing of the God of the universe, nor even of the erection of carved images, nor of daemons
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CHAPTER I

By the present treatise, which includes in its design the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, I purpose to show the nature of Christianity to those who know not what it means; and here with prayers I dedicate this work to thee, Theodotus, most excellent of Bishops, a man beloved of God and holy, in the hope of so gaining from thee the help of thy devout intercessions on my behalf, whereby thou mayest give me great assistance in my proposed argument on the teaching of the Gospel. But first of all, it is well to define clearly what this word ‘Gospel’ means to express. It is this then that brings ‘good tidings’ to all men of the advent of the highest and greatest blessings, which having been long since foretold have recently shone forth on all mankind — a Gospel which makes not provision for undiscerning wealth, nor for this petty and much-suffering life, nor for anything belonging to the body and corruption, but for the blessings which are dear and congenial to souls possessing an intelligent nature, and on which the interests of their bodies also depend, and follow them like a shadow.

Now the chief of these blessings must be religion, not that which is falsely so called and full of error, but that which makes a true claim to the title; and this consists in the looking up to Him, who in very truth is both acknowledged to be, and is, the One and Only God; and in the kindling of the life after God, wherein friendship also with Him is engendered; and this is followed by that thrice-blessed end of God’s true favour, which coming from on high is dependent upon that better world, and is thereto directed, and terminates again therein.

What then can be more blessed than this excellent and all-happy friendship with God? Is not He both the dispenser and provider to all men of life and light and truth and all things good? Does He not contain in Himself the cause of the being and the life of all things? To one then who has secured friendship with Him what more can be wanting? What can he lack, who has made the Creator of all true blessings his friend? Or who can be superior to him who claims in the place of a father and a guardian the great President and absolute Monarch of the universe?

Nay, it is not possible to mention anything in which he who draws near in disposition to God the absolute Monarch, and through his intelligent piety has been deemed worthy of His all-blessed friendship, can fail to be happy alike

in soul and body and all outward things.

It is then this good and saving friendship of men with God that the Word of God sent down from above, like a ray of infinite light, from the God of all goodness proclaims as good tidings to all men; and urges them to come not from this or that place but from every part out of all nations to the God of the universe, and to hasten and accept the gift with all eagerness of soul, Greeks and Barbarians together, men, women, and children, both rich and poor, wise and simple, not deeming even slaves unworthy of His call.

For indeed their Father, having constituted them all of one essence and nature, rightly admitted them all to share in His one equal bounty, bestowing the knowledge of Himself and friendship with Him upon all who were willing to hearken, and who readily welcomed His grace.

This friendship with His Father Christ's word came to preach to the whole world: for, as the divine oracles teach,

'God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them,' and 'He came,' they say, 'and preached peace to them that were far off, and peace to them that were nigh.'

These things the sons of the Hebrews were long ago inspired to prophesy to the whole world, one crying,

'All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn unto the LORD, and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Him: for the kingdom is the LORD'S, and He is the ruler over the nations'; and again, 'Tell it out among the heathen that the LORD is king, for He hath also stablished the world, which shall not be moved'; and another saith, 'The LORD will appear among them, and will utterly destroy all the gods of the nations of the earth, and men shall worship Him, every one from his place.'

These promises, having been long ago laid up in divine oracles, have now shone forth upon our own age through the teaching of our Saviour Jesus Christ; so that the knowledge of God among all nations, which was both proclaimed of old and looked for by those who were not ignorant of these matters, is duly preached to us by the Word, who has lately come from heaven, and shows that the actual fulfilment corresponds with the voices of the men of old.

But why should we hasten on to anticipate in our eagerness the due order of intermediate arguments, when we ought to take up the subject from the

beginning, and clear away all the objections? For some have supposed that Christianity has no reason to support it, but that those who desire the name confirm their opinion by an unreasoning faith and an assent without examination; and they assert that no one is able by clear demonstration to furnish evidence of the truth of the things promised, but that they require their converts to adhere to faith only, and therefore they are called ‘the Faithful,’ because of their uncritical and untested faith. With good reason therefore, in setting myself down to this treatise on the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, I think that I ought, as a preparation for the whole subject, to give brief explanations beforehand concerning the questions which may reasonably be put to us both by Greeks and by those of the Circumcision, and by every one who searches with exact inquiry into the opinions held among us.

For in this way I think my argument will proceed in due order to the more perfect teaching of the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, and to the understanding of our deeper doctrines, if my preparatory treatise should help as a guide, by occupying the place of elementary instruction and introduction, and suiting itself to our recent converts from among the heathen. But to those who have passed beyond this, and are already in a state prepared for the reception of the higher truths, the subsequent part will convey the exact knowledge of the most stringent proofs of God’s mysterious dispensation in regard to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Let us then begin the *Preparation* by bringing forward the arguments which will probably be used against us both by Greeks and by those of the Circumcision, and by every one who searches with exact inquiry into the opinions held among us.

CHAPTER II

For in the first place any one might naturally want to know who we are that have come forward to write. Are we Greeks or Barbarians? Or what can there be intermediate to these? and what do we claim to be, not in regard to the name, because this is manifest to all, but in the manner and purpose of our life? For they would see that we agree neither with the opinions of the Greeks, nor with the customs of the Barbarians.

What then may the strangeness in us be, and what the new-fangled manner of our life? And how can men fail to be in every way impious and atheistical, who have apostatized from those ancestral gods by whom every nation and every state is sustained? Or what good can they reasonably hope for, who have set themselves at enmity and at war against their preservers, and have thrust away their benefactors? For what else are they doing than fighting against the gods?

And what forgiveness shall they be thought to deserve, who have turned away from those who from the earliest time, among all Greeks and Barbarians, both in cities and in the country, are recognized as gods with all kinds of sacrifices, and initiations, and mysteries by all alike, kings law-givers and philosophers, and have chosen all that is impious and atheistical among the doctrines of men? And to what kind of punishments would they not justly be subjected, who deserting the customs of their forefathers have become zealots for the foreign mythologies of the Jews, which are of evil report among all men?

And must it not be a proof of extreme wickedness and levity lightly to put aside the customs of their own kindred, and choose with unreasoning and unquestioning faith the doctrines of the impious enemies of all nations? Nay, not even to adhere to the God who is honoured among the Jews according to their customary rites, but to cut out for themselves a new kind of track in a pathless desert, that keeps neither the ways of the Greeks nor those of the Jews?

These then are questions which any Greek might naturally put to us, having no true understanding either of his own religion or of ours. But sons of the Hebrews also would find fault with us, that being strangers and aliens we misuse their books, which do not belong to us at all, and because in an

impudent and shameless way, as they would say, we thrust ourselves in, and try violently to thrust out the true family and kindred from their own ancestral rights.

For if there was a Christ divinely foretold, they were Jewish prophets who proclaimed His advent, and also announced that He would come as Redeemer and King of the Jews, and not of alien nations: or, if the Scriptures contain any more joyful tidings, it is to Jews, they say, that these also are announced, and we do not well to misunderstand them.

Moreover they say that we very absurdly welcome with the greatest eagerness the charges against their nation for the sins they committed, but on the other hand pass over in silence the promises of good things foretold to them; or rather, that we violently pervert and transfer them to ourselves, and so plainly defraud them while we are simply deceiving ourselves. But the most unreasonable thing of all is, that though we do not observe the customs of their Law as they do, but openly break the Law, we assume to ourselves the better rewards which have been promised to those who keep the Law.

CHAPTER III

These being questions which would naturally be the first put to us, let us, after invoking the God of the universe through our Saviour, His own Word, as our High Priest, proceed to clear away the first of the objections put forward, by proving at the outset that they were false accusers who declared that we can establish nothing by demonstration, but hold to an unreasoning faith.

This then we will disprove at once, and with no long argument, both from the proofs which we employ towards those who come for instruction in our doctrines, and from our replies to those who oppose us in more argumentative discussions, and by the debates, whether written or unwritten, which we are zealous in holding both privately with each inquirer, and publicly with the multitudes; and especially by the books which we have in hand, comprising the general treatment of the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, in which is included our present discourse proclaiming to all men the good tidings of all the grace of God and His heavenly blessing, and accrediting in a more logical way by very many manifest proofs the dispensation of God concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

It is true that most of those before us have diligently pursued many other modes of treatment, at one time by composing refutations and contradictions of the arguments opposed to us, at another time by interpreting p. the inspired and sacred Scriptures by exegetical commentaries, and homilies on particular points, or again by advocating our doctrines in a more controversial manner. The purpose, however, which we have in hand is to be worked out in a way of our own. The very first indeed to deprecate deceitful and sophistical plausibilities, and to use proofs free from ambiguity, was the holy Apostle Paul, who says in one place, 'And our speech and our preaching was not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.' To which he adds: 'Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect; yet a wisdom not of this world, nor of the rulers of this world that come to nought; but we speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden.' And again: 'Our sufficiency,' he says, 'is from God, who also made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant.'

Rightly then is the exhortation addressed to all of us, 'to be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason concerning the hope that is in us.'

Hence, by recent authors also, there are, as I have said, demonstrations without number, which we may carefully read, very able and clear, written in argumentative form in defence of our doctrine, and not a few commentaries carefully made upon the sacred and inspired Scriptures, showing by mathematical demonstrations the unerring truthfulness of those who from the beginning preached to us the word of godliness.

Nevertheless all words are superfluous, when the works are more manifest and plain than words, — works which the divine and heavenly power of our Saviour distinctly exhibits even now, while preaching good tidings of the divine and heavenly life to all men.

For instance, when He prophesied that His doctrine should be preached throughout the whole world inhabited by man for a testimony to all nations, and by divine foreknowledge declared that the Church, which was afterwards gathered by His own power out of all nations, though not yet seen nor established in the times when He was living as man among men, should be invincible and undismayed, and should never be conquered by death, but stands and abides unshaken, settled, and rooted upon His own power as upon a rock that cannot be shaken or broken — the fulfilment of the prophecy must in reason be more powerful than any word to stop every gaping mouth of those who are prepared to exhibit a shameless effrontery.

For who would not acknowledge the truth of the prophecy, when the facts so manifestly all but cry out and say, that it was indeed the power of God, and not human nature, which before these things came to pass foresaw that they should happen in this way, and foretold them, and in deeds fulfilled them?

Certainly the fame of His Gospel has filled the whole world on which the sun looks down; and the proclamations concerning Him ran through all nations, and are now still increasing and advancing in a manner corresponding to His own words.

The Church also which He foretold by name stands strongly rooted, and lifted up as high as the vaults of heaven by prayers of holy men beloved of God, and day by day is glorified, flashing forth unto all men the intellectual and divine light of the religion announced by Him, and is in no way vanquished or subjected by His enemies, nay, yields not even to the gates of death, because of that one speech uttered by Himself, saying: ‘Upon the rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.’

There are also countless other sayings and prophecies of our Saviour, by collecting which in a special work, and showing that the actual events agree with His divine foreknowledge, we prove beyond all question the truth of our opinions concerning Him.

And in addition to all this, there is no small proof of the truth which we hold in the testimony of the Hebrew Scriptures, in which so vast a number of years beforehand the Hebrew prophets proclaimed the promise of blessings to all mortal life, and mentioned expressly the name of the Christ, and foretold His advent among men, and announced the novel manner of His teaching, which in its course has reached unto all nations. They predicted also the future unbelief in Him, and the gainsaying of the Jewish nation, and the deeds they wrought against Him, and the dismal fate which thereupon immediately and without delay overtook them: I mean the final siege of their royal metropolis, and the entire overthrow of the kingdom, and their own dispersion among all nations, and their bondage in the land of their enemies and adversaries, things which they are seen to have suffered after our Saviour's advent in accordance with the prophecies.

In addition to this, who can fail to be astonished at hearing the same prophets preach in clear and transparent language, that the advent of Christ and the falling away of the Jews would be followed by the call of the Gentiles? Which call itself also straightway became a fact in accordance with the prophecies, through the teaching of our Saviour.

For through Him multitudes from every race of mankind turned away from the delusion of idols, and embraced the true knowledge and worship of Him who is God over all, wellnigh ratifying the oracles of men of old, and especially that one which by Jeremy the prophet said 'O Lord my God, unto Thee shall the nations come from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Our fathers inherited false idols, and there was no profit in them. Shall a man make unto himself gods, which yet are no gods?'

CHAPTER IV

All these circumstances then confirm the story of the facts of our religion, and show that it was not contrived from any human impulse, but divinely foreknown, and divinely announced beforehand by the written oracles, and yet far more divinely proffered to all men by our Saviour; afterwards also it received power from God, and was so established, that after these many years of persecution both by the invisible daemons and by the visible rulers of each age it shines forth far more brightly, and daily becomes more conspicuous, and grows and multiplies more and more. Thus it is plain that the help which comes down from the God of the universe supplies to the teaching and name of our Saviour its irresistible and invincible force, and its victorious power against its enemies.

Also the help thence gained towards a happy life for all men, not only from His express words, but also from a secret power, was surely an indication of His divine power: for it must have been of a divine and secret power, that straightway at His word, and with the doctrine which He put forth concerning the sole sovereignty of the One God who is over all, at once the human race was set free from the delusive working of daemons, at once also from the multitude of rulers among the nations.

In fact, whereas of old in each nation numberless kings and local governors held power, and in different cities some were governed by a democracy, and some by tyrants, and some by a multitude of rulers, and hence wars of all kinds naturally arose, nations clashing against nations, and constantly rising up against their neighbours, ravaging and being ravaged, and making war in their sieges one against another, so that from these causes the whole population, both of dwellers in the cities, and labourers in the fields, from mere childhood were taught warlike exercises, and always wore swords both in the highways and in villages and fields, — when God's Christ was come all this was changed. For concerning Him it had been proclaimed of old by the prophets, 'In his days shall righteousness flourish, and abundance of peace,' and 'they shall beat their swords into plow-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks; and nation shall not take sword against nation, and they shall not learn war any more.'

In accordance with these predictions the actual events followed.

Immediately all the multitude of rulers among the Romans began to be abolished, when Augustus became sole ruler at the time of our Saviour's appearance. And from that time to the present you cannot see, as before, cities at war with cities, nor nation fighting with nation, nor life being worn away in the old confusion.

Surely there is good cause, when one considers it, to wonder why of old, when the daemons tyrannized over all the nations, and men paid them much worship, they were goaded by the gods themselves into furious wars against each other — so that now Greeks were at war with Greeks, and now Egyptians with Egyptians, and Syrians with Syrians, and Romans with Romans, and made slaves of each other and wore each other out with sieges, as in fact the histories of the ancients on these matters show — but that at the same time with our Saviour's most religious [and peaceful] teaching the destruction of polytheistic error began to be accomplished, and the dissensions of the nations at once to find rest from former troubles? This especially I consider to be a very great proof of the divine and irresistible power of our Saviour.

And of the benefit which visibly proceeds from His doctrines you may see a clear proof, if you consider, that at no other time from the beginning until now, nor by any of the illustrious men of old, but only from His utterances, and from His teaching diffused throughout the whole world, the customs of all nations are now set aright, even those customs which before were savage and barbarous; so that Persians who have become His disciples no longer marry their mothers, nor Scythians feed on human flesh, because of Christ's word which has come even unto them, nor other races of Barbarians have incestuous union with daughters and sisters, nor do men madly lust after men and pursue unnatural pleasures, nor do those, whose practice it formerly was, now expose their dead kindred to dogs and birds, nor, strangle the aged, as they did formerly, nor do they feast according to their ancient custom on the flesh of their dearest friends when dead, nor like the ancients offer human sacrifices to the daemons as to gods, nor slaughter their dearest friends, and think it piety.

For these and numberless things akin to these were what of old made havoc of human life.

'It is recorded, for instance, in history that the Massagetae and Derbices

deemed those of their kindred who died a natural death most miserable, and for this reason hastened to sacrifice and to feast upon the aged among their dearest friends. The Tibareni used to throw their old kinsmen alive down a precipice; and the Hyrcanians and Caspians threw them out to birds and dogs, the former while alive, and the latter when dead. But the Scythians used to bury them alive, and to slaughter over their funeral pyres those who were most dear to the deceased. The Bactrians also used to cast those who had grown old alive to the dogs.'

These however were customs of a former age, and are now no longer practised in the same manner, the salutary law of the power of the Gospel having alone abolished the savage and inhuman pest of all these evils.

Then there is the fact that men no longer regard as gods either the lifeless and dumb images, or the evil daemons operating in them, or the parts of the visible world, or the souls of mortals long since departed, or the most hurtful of irrational animals; but instead of all these, solely through the teaching of our Saviour in the Gospel, Greeks and Barbarians together, who sincerely and unfeignedly adhere to His word, have reached such a point of high philosophy, as to worship and praise and acknowledge as divine none but the Most High God, the very same who is above the universe, the absolute monarch and Lord of heaven and earth, and sun and stars, Creator also of the whole world. They have also learned to live a strict life, so as to be guided even in looking with their eyes, and to conceive no licentious thought from a lustful look, but to cut away the very roots of every base passion from the mind itself.

Must not then all these things help all men towards a virtuous and happy life?

What also of the fact that men, far from perjuring themselves, have no need even of a truthful oath because of learning from Him to 'swear not at all,' but in all things to be guileless and true, so as to be satisfied with 'yea' and 'nay,' making their purpose to be stronger than any oath? And then the fact that even in simple sayings and common conversation they are not indifferent, but carefully measure their words even in these, so as to utter by their voice no lie, nor railing, nor any foul and unseemly word, because again of His admonition, wherein He said, 'for every idle word ye shall give account in the day of judgement' — to what a high degree of philosophic life do these things

pertain?

Add to this that whole myriads in crowds together of men, women, and children, slaves and free, obscure and illustrious, Barbarians and Greeks alike, in every place and city and district in all nations under the sun, flock to the teaching of such lessons as we have lately learned, and lend their ears to words which persuade them to control not only licentious actions, but also foul thoughts of gluttony and wantonness in the mind: and that all mankind is trained in a divine and godly discipline, and learns to bear with a noble and lofty spirit the insults of those who rise up against them, and not to repay the wicked with like treatment, but to get the mastery over anger and wrath and every furious emotion, and moreover to share their possessions with the helpless and needy, and welcome every man as of the same race, and to acknowledge the stranger, commonly so reputed, as being by the law of nature a close kinsman and a brother.

How then could any one, taking all these things together, refuse to admit that our doctrine has brought to all men good tidings of very great and true blessings, and has supplied to human life that which is of immediate advantage towards happiness? For what thinkest thou of the fact that it induced the whole human race, not only Greeks, but also the most savage Barbarians and those who dwell in the utmost parts of the earth, to refrain from their irrational brutality and adopt the opinions of a wise philosophy? As, for example, the opinions concerning the immortality of the soul, and of the life laid up with God for His beloved after their departure hence, for the sake of which they studied to despise this temporary life; so that they showed those who were at any former time renowned for philosophy to be but children, and that death that was so much talked of and celebrated in the mouth of all philosophers to be a mere trifle; since, among us, females and young children, and barbarians and men apparently of little worth, by the power and help of our Saviour have shown by deeds rather than by words that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is true. Such also as is the fact, that all men universally in all nations are trained by our Saviour's teachings to sound and steadfast thoughts concerning God's providence as overseeing the whole world; and the fact that every soul learns the doctrine concerning the tribunal and judgement of God, and lives a thoughtful life, and keeps on guard against the practices of wickedness.

CHAPTER V

But to understand the sum of the first and greatest benefit of the word of salvation, you must take into consideration the superstitious delusion of the ancient idolatry, whereby the whole human race in times long past was ground down by the constraint of daemons: but from that most gloomy darkness, as it were, the word by its divine power delivered both Greeks and Barbarians alike, and translated them all into the bright intellectual daylight of the true worship of God the universal King.

But why need I spend time in endeavouring to show that we have not devoted ourselves to an unreasoning faith, but to wise and profitable doctrines which contain the way of true religion? As the present work is to be a complete treatise on this very subject, we exhort and beseech those who are fitly qualified to follow demonstrative arguments, that they give heed to sound sense, and receive the proofs of our doctrines more reasonably, and 'be ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us the reason of the hope that is in us.'

But since all are not so qualified, and the word is kind and benevolent, and rejects no one at all, but heals every man by remedies suitable to him, and invites the unlearned and simple to the amendment of their ways, naturally in the introductory teaching of those who are beginning with the simpler elements, women and children and the common herd, we lead them on gently to the religious life, and adopt the sound faith to serve as a remedy, and instil into them right opinions of God's providence, and the immortality of the soul, and the life of virtue.

Is it not in this way that we also see men scientifically curing those who are suffering from bodily diseases, the physicians themselves having by much practice and education acquired the doctrines of the healing art, and conducting all their operations according to reason, while those who come to them to be cured give themselves up to faith and the hope of better health, though they understand not accurately any of the scientific theories, but depend only on their good hope and faith?

And when the best of the physicians has come upon the scene, he prescribes with full knowledge both what must be avoided and what must be done, just like a ruler and master; and the patient obeys him as a king and

lawgiver, believing that what has been prescribed will be beneficial to him.

Thus scholars also accept the words of instruction from their teachers, because they believe that the lesson will be good for them: philosophy, moreover, a man would not touch before he is persuaded that the profession of it will be useful to him: and so one man straightway chooses the doctrines of Epicurus, and another emulates the Cynic mode of life, another follows the philosophy of Plato, another that of Aristotle, and yet another prefers the Stoic philosophy to all, each of them having embraced his opinion with a better hope and faith that it will be beneficial to him.

Thus also men pursue the ordinary professions, and some adopt the military and others the mercantile life, having: assumed again by faith that the pursuit will supply them with a living. In marriages also the first approaches and unions formed in the hope of begetting children had their beginnings from a good faith.

Again, a man sails forth on an uncertain voyage, without having cast out any other anchor of safety for himself than faith and good hope alone: and, again, another takes to husbandry, and after casting his seed into the earth sits waiting for the turn of the season, believing that what decayed upon the ground, and was hidden by floods of rains, will spring up again as it were from the dead to life: and, again, any one setting out from his own land on a long journey in a foreign country takes with him as good guides his hope and his faith.

And when you cannot but perceive that man's whole life depends on these two things — hope and faith — why do you wonder if also the things that are better for the soul are imparted by faith to some, who have not leisure to be taught the particulars in a more logical way, while others have opportunity to pursue the actual arguments, and to learn the proofs of the doctrines advocated? But now that we have made this short introduction, which will not be without advantage, let us go back to the first indictment, and give an answer to those who inquire who we are and whence we come. Well then, that being Greeks by race, and Greeks by sentiment, and gathered out of all sorts of nations, like the chosen men of a newly enlisted army, we have become deserters from the superstition of our ancestors, — this even we ourselves should never deny. But also that, though adhering to the Jewish books and collecting out of their prophecies the greater part of our doctrine, we no longer

think it agreeable to live in like manner with those of the Circumcision, — this too we should at once acknowledge.

It is time, therefore, to submit our explanation of these matters. In what other way then can it appear that we have done well in forsaking the customs of our forefathers, except by first setting them forth publicly and bringing them under the view of our readers? For in this way the divine power of the demonstration of the Gospel will become manifest, if it be plainly shown to all men what are the evils that it promises to cure, and of what kind they are. And how can the reasonableness of our pursuing the study of the Jewish Scriptures appear, unless their excellence also be proved? It will be right also to state fully for what reason, though gladly accepting their Scriptures, we decline to follow their mode of life: and, in conclusion, to state what is our own account of the Gospel argument, and what Christianity should properly be called, since it is neither Hellenism nor Judaism, but a new and true kind of divine philosophy, bringing evidence of its novelty from its very name.

First of all then let us carefully survey the most ancient theologies, and especially those of our own forefathers, celebrated even till now in every city, and the solemn decisions of noble philosophers concerning the constitution of the world and concerning the gods, that we may learn whether we did right or not in departing from them.

And in the clear statement of what is to be proved I shall not set down my own words, but those of the very persons who have taken the deepest interest in the worship of those whom they call gods, that so the argument may stand clear of all suspicion of being invented by us.

CHAPTER VI

It is reported then that Phoenicians and Egyptians were the first of all mankind to declare the sun and moon and stars to be gods, and to be the sole causes of both the generation and decay of the universe, and that they afterwards introduced into common life the deifications and theogonies which are matters of general notoriety.

Before these, it is said, no one made any progress in the knowledge of the celestial phenomena, except the few men mentioned among the Hebrews, who with clearest mental eyes looked beyond all the visible world, and worshipped the Maker and Creator of the universe, marvelling much at the greatness of His wisdom and power, which they represented to themselves from His works; and being persuaded that He alone was God, they naturally spake only of Him as God, son from father successively receiving and guarding this as the true, the first, and the only religion. The rest of mankind, however, having fallen away from this only true religion, and gazing in awe upon the luminaries of heaven with eyes of flesh, as mere children in mind, proclaimed them gods, and honoured them with sacrifices and acts of worship, though as yet they built no temples, nor formed likenesses of mortal men with statues and carved images, but looked up to the clear sky and to heaven itself, and in their souls reached up unto the things there seen.

Not here, however, did polytheistic error stay its course for men of later generations, but driving on into an abyss of evils wrought even greater impiety than the denial of God, the Phoenicians and then the Egyptians being the first authors of the delusion. For from them, it is said, Orpheus, son of Oeagrus, first brought over with him the mysteries of the Egyptians, and imparted them to the Greeks; just, in fact, as Cadmus brought to them the Phoenician mysteries together with the knowledge of letters: for the Greeks up to that time did not yet know the use of the alphabet.

First, therefore, let us inquire how those of whom we are speaking have judged concerning the first creation of the world; then consider their opinions about the first and most ancient superstition found in human life; and, thirdly, the opinions of the Phoenicians; fourthly, those of the Egyptians; after which, fifthly, making a distinction in the opinions of the Greeks, we will first examine their ancient and more mythical delusion, and then their more serious

and, as they say, more natural philosophy concerning the gods: and after this we will travel over the account of their admired oracles; after which we will also take a survey of the serious doctrines of the noble philosophy of the Greeks. So, when these have been thoroughly discussed, we will pass over to the doctrines of the Hebrews — I mean of the original and true Hebrews, and of those who afterwards received the name Jews. And after all these we will add our own doctrines as it were a seal set upon the whole. The history of all these we must necessarily recall, that so by comparison of the doctrines which have been admired in each country the test of the truth may be exhibited, and it may become manifest to our readers from what opinions we have departed, and what that truth is which we have chosen. But now let us pass to the first point.

From what source then shall we verify our proofs? Not, of course, from our own Scriptures, lest we should seem to show favour to our argument: but let Greeks themselves appear as our witnesses, both those of them who boast of their philosophy, and those who have investigated the history of other nations.

Well then, in recording the ancient theology of the Egyptians from the beginning, Diodorus, the Sicilian, leads the way, a man thoroughly known to the most learned of the Greeks as having collected the whole Library of History into one treatise. From him I will set forth first what he has clearly stated in the beginning of his work concerning the origin of the whole world, while recording the opinion of the ancients in the manner following.

CHAPTER VII

[DIODORUS] The full account of the ideas entertained concerning the gods by those who first taught men to honour the deity, and of the fabulous stories concerning each of the immortals, I shall endeavour to arrange in a separate work, because this subject requires a long discussion: but all that we may deem to be suitable to our present historical inquiries we shall set forth in a brief summary, that nothing worth hearing may be missed.

But concerning the descent of the whole human race, and the transactions which have occurred in the known parts of the world, we shall give as accurate an account as may be possible about matters so ancient, and shall begin from the earliest times. ‘With regard then to the first origin of mankind two explanations have been held among the most accepted physiologists and historians. For some of them, on the supposition that the universe is uncreated and imperishable, declared that the human race also has existed from eternity, their procreation of children having never had a beginning; while others, who thought the world to be created and perishable, said that, like it, mankind were first created within definite periods of time. ‘For, according to the original constitution of the universe, heaven and earth, they said, had one form, their nature being mixed: but afterwards, when their corporeal particles were separated from each other, though the cosmos embraced in itself the whole visible order, the air was subjected to continual motion. The fiery part of it gathered towards the highest regions, because fire is naturally borne upwards by reason of its lightness; and from this cause the sun and all the multitude of stars were caught and carried off in the general whirl: but the muddy and turbid part of the air, in its commixture with the moist parts, settled down together because of its heaviness, and by revolving in itself and continually contracting made the sea out of the moist parts, and out of the more solid parts made the earth, muddy and quite soft.

‘This was at first hardened from the fire round the sun shining upon it, and afterwards, when the surface was thrown into fermentation through the warmth, some of the liquid particles swelled up in many places, and tumours were formed about them surrounded by thin membranes, a thing which may still be seen going on in stagnant pools and marshy places, when upon the cooling of the ground the air becomes suddenly fiery, because the change does

not take place in it gradually.

‘The moist parts then being quickened into life by the warmth in the way mentioned, during the nights they received their nourishment direct from the mist which falls from the surrounding atmosphere, and during the days became hardened by the heat; and at last, when the pregnant cells attained their full growth, and the membranes were thoroughly heated and burst asunder, all various types of living things sprang up.

‘And those of them which had received the largest share of heat went off into the upper regions, and became birds; while those which retained an earthy consistency were counted in the order of reptiles and of the other land animals; and those which had partaken most largely of the watery element ran together to the place congenial to their nature, and were called aquatic.

‘But the earth being more and more solidified both by the fire about the sun and by the winds, at last was no longer able to quicken any of the larger creatures into life, but the several kinds of animals were generated from their union one with another.

‘It seems that even Euripides, who was a disciple of the physicist Anaxagoras, does not dissent from what has been now said concerning the nature of the universe; for he thus writes in the *Melanippe*:

“So heaven and earth at first had all one form;
But when in place dissevered each from other,
They gave to all things birth, and brought to light
Trees, birds, and beasts, and all the salt sea’s brood,
And race of mortal men.”

‘Such are the traditions which we have received concerning the first beginnings of the universe. And they say that the primitive generations of mankind, living in a disorderly and savage state, used to go wandering out over the pastures, and procure for food the tenderest herbage, and the fruits of trees that grew wild: and that when warred on by the wild beasts they were taught by their own interest to help one another, and from gathering together through fear they gradually recognized each other’s forms.

‘And though their speech was originally indistinct and confused, by degrees they articulated their words, and settling with each other signs for every object lying before them, they made their interpretation of all things

intelligible among themselves.

‘But when such associations came to be formed throughout all the inhabited world, they had not all a language of the same sounds, because they each arranged their words as it chanced; and from this cause there were originally all kinds of languages, and the associations first formed became the progenitors of all the nations.

‘So then the first generations of men, by whom none of the conveniences of life had been discovered, passed a hard time, being destitute of clothing, and unused to houses and fire, and altogether without any idea of prepared food. For not knowing even how to harvest their food that grew wild, they did not lay by any store of the fruits for their needs: and therefore in the winters many of them perished of the cold and scarcity of food.

‘But afterwards, being gradually taught by experience, they took refuge in their caves in the winter, and laid by such fruits as could be kept. And when fire became known, the usefulness of other things was gradually discovered and the arts also were invented, and all other things that could benefit their common life.

‘For necessity itself became universally men’s teacher in all things, naturally suggesting the knowledge of each to a being well endowed by nature, and having for all purposes the help of hands, and speech, and ready wit. So concerning the origin of mankind and the most primitive mode of life we will be content with what has been said, making brevity our aim.’

Thus much writes the aforesaid historian, without having mentioned God even so much as by name in his cosmogony, but having presented the arrangement of the universe as something accidental and spontaneous. And with him you will find most of the Greek philosophers agreeing, whose doctrines concerning the first principles of things, with their differences of opinion and of statement, based on conjectures not on a clear conception, I shall on the present occasion set forth from Plutarch’s *Miscellanies*. And thou, not casually but leisurely and with careful consideration, observe the mutual disagreement of the authors whom I quote.

CHAPTER VIII

[PLUTARCH] 'Thales, it is said, was the first of all who supposed that water was the original element of the universe, for that all things spring from it and return to it.

'After him Anaximander, who had been a companion of Thales, said that the Infinite contained the whole cause of both the generation and decay of all things, and out of it he says that the heavens, and, generally, all the worlds, which are infinite in number, have been brought into distinct form. He declared that decay and, long before that, generation originated in the revolution of all these worlds from infinite ages. The earth, he says, is in figure cylindrical, and its depth a third part of its breadth. He says too that the eternal generative force of heat and cold was separated at the generation of this world, and that from it a kind of sphere of flame grew round the atmosphere of the earth as bark round a tree; and that when this flame was rent asunder and shut off into certain orbits, the sun and moon and stars came into existence. Further, he says that man at first was generated from animals of other kinds, because while the other animals quickly find food of themselves, man alone needs to be nursed for a long time; and for this reason, being such as he is, he could not in the beginning have been kept alive. These then are the opinions of Anaximander.

'But Anaximenes, it is said, declared the air to be the first element of the universe, and that this is in its generic nature infinite, but is differentiated by the qualities attached to it, and that all things are generated by virtue of a certain condensation and subsequent rarefaction of this air. Its motion however subsists eternally, and when the air was compressed, first, he said, the earth was produced, and was very broad, and therefore according to reason floated upon the air; and the sun, and moon, and other heavenly bodies were originally produced out of earth. He declares, for instance, that the sun is earth, but because of its swift motion it has a great supply of heat.

'Xenophanes of Colophon has proceeded by a way of his own, diverging from all who have been previously mentioned, for he leaves neither generation nor decay, but says that the All is always alike. For, says he, if it were to begin to be, it must previously not be; but Non-being cannot begin to be, nor can Non-being make anything, nor from Non-being can anything

begin to be.

‘He declares also that the senses are fallacious, and with them altogether disparages even reason itself. Also he declares that the earth being continuously carried down little by little in time passes away into the sea. He says also that the sun is formed from a gathering of many small sparks. With regard to the gods; also he declares that there is no ruling power among them; for it is not right that any of the gods should be under a master: and none of them needs anything at all from any; and that they hear and see universally and not partially.

‘Also he declares that the earth is infinite, and not surrounded; by air on every side; and that all things are produced out of earth: the sun, however, and the other heavenly bodies he says ‘are produced out of the clouds.

‘But Parmenides the Eleatic, the companion of Xenophanes, both claimed to hold his opinions and at the same time tried to establish the opposite position. For he declares that in real truth the All is eternal and motionless; for he says it is

“Sole, of sole kind, unmoving, uncreated”

and that generation belongs to the things which upon a false assumption are thought to exist, and he denies the truth of the sensual perceptions. He says too that if anything subsists besides Being, this is Non-being, and Non-being does not exist in the universe. Thus he concludes that Being is uncreated. The earth, he says, has arisen from the dense air having settled down.

‘Zeno the Eleatic put forth nothing properly his own, but discussed these opinions more at large.

‘Democritus of Abdera supposed that the All is infinite, because there was none who could possibly have framed it: he further says that it is unchangeable; and generally, everything being such as it is, he expressly asserts that the causes of the processes now going on have no beginning, but all things absolutely, past, present, and to come, are wholly fixed beforehand by necessity from infinite time. Of the generation of the sun and moon he says, that they moved in their separate courses, when as yet they had no natural heat at all, nor generally any brightness, but on the contrary were assimilated to the nature of the earth; for each of them had been produced earlier when the world was as yet in some peculiar rudimentary condition, and

afterwards, when the orbit round the sun became enlarged, the fire was included in it.

‘Epicurus son of Neocles, an Athenian, endeavours to suppress the vain conceit about gods: but also says that nothing is produced out of Non-being, because the All always was and always will be such as it is; that nothing new is brought to pass in the All because of the infinite time which has already passed; that all is body, and not only unchangeable, but also infinite; that the *summum bonum* is pleasure.

‘Aristippus of Gyrene says that pleasure is the *summum bonum*, and pain the worst of evils; but all other physiology he excludes by saying that the only useful thing is to inquire

“What for your home is evil and what good.”

‘Empedocles of Agrigentum made four elements, fire, water, air, and earth, and their cause friendship and enmity. There was first the mixture of the elements, out of which, he says, the air was separated and diffused all around; and next to the air the fire leaped out, and having no other place was driven upwards by the freezing of the air. And there are two hemispheres, he says, moving in a circle round the earth, the one wholly of fire, the other of air and a little fire mixed, which he supposes to be night; and the beginning of their motion resulted from its having happened when the fire predominated in the combination. And the sun is in its nature not fire, but a reflexion of fire, like the reflexion formed from water. The moon, he says, was formed separately by itself out of the air left by the fire; for this air froze just like hail: but its light it has from the sun. The ruling power, he says, is neither in the head nor in the breast, but in the blood; whence also he thinks that in whatever part of the body this ruling power (the blood) is more largely diffused, in that part men excel.

‘Metrodorus of Chios says that the All is eternal, because if it were created it would have come from Non-being; and infinite, because eternal, for it had no first principle to start from, nor any limit, nor end. But neither does the All partake of motion; for it cannot be moved without changing its place; and a change of place must of necessity be either into plenum or into vacuum. The air being condensed makes clouds, then water, which also flowing down upon the sun extinguishes it: and it is rekindled again by evaporation. And in time the sun is made solid by the dryness, and forms stars out of the clear water,

and from being extinguished and rekindled makes night and day, and eclipses generally.

‘Diogenes of Apollonia supposes that air is the primary element, that all things are in motion, and that the worlds are infinite. His cosmogony is as follows: when the All was in motion, and was becoming in one part rare and in another dense, where the dense part happened to meet it formed a concretion, and so the other parts on the same principle; and the lightest having taken the highest position produced the sun.’

Such is the judgement of the all-wise Greeks, those, forsooth, who were entitled physicists and philosophers, concerning the constitution of the All and the original cosmogony; in which they did not assume any creator or maker of the universe, nay, they made no mention of God at all, but referred the cause of the All solely to irrational impulse and spontaneous motion.

So great also is their mutual opposition; for in no point have they agreed one with another, but have filled the whole subject with strife and discord. Wherefore the admirable Socrates used to convict them all of folly, and to say that they were no better than madmen, that is, if you think Xenophon a satisfactory witness, when in the *Memorabilia* he speaks thus:

[XENOPHON] ‘But no one ever yet either saw Socrates do, or heard him say, anything impious or irreligious. For even concerning the nature of all things, or other such questions, he did not discourse, as most did, speculating what is the nature of the cosmos, as the sophists call it, and by what necessary forces the heavenly bodies are each produced, but he even used to represent those who troubled their minds about such matters as talking folly.’

And presently he adds:

‘And he used to wonder, that it was not manifest to them, that it is impossible for men to discover these things; since even those who prided themselves most highly on discoursing of these subjects did not hold the same opinions one with another, but behaved to each other like mad people. For as among madmen some do not fear even things that should be feared, and others fear what is not at all fearful; ... so of those who trouble themselves about the nature of all things, some think that Being is one only, others that it is an infinite multitude; and some that all things are ever in motion, but others that nothing ever can be moved: and some that all things are created and perish, but others that nothing ever can either be created or perish.’

So says Socrates, according to the testimony of Xenophon. And Plato also agrees with this account in his dialogue *Concerning the Soul*, describing him as thus speaking:

[PLATO] ‘For in my youth, Cebes, said he, I myself had a wonderful longing for this kind of wisdom which they call Physical Research: it seemed to me a magnificent thing to know the causes of everything, why each comes into being, and why it perishes, or why it exists. And I was constantly turning my mind this way and that, in examining first such questions as these: — Is it when hot and cold have assumed a kind of putrefaction, as some used to say, — is it then that living things are bred and nourished? And is the blood that by which we think, or the air, or the fire? Or is it none of these, but is the brain that which supplies the sensation of sight, and hearing, and smell? And from these might come memory and opinion, and from memory and opinion, when they have reached a settled state, in the same manner knowledge arises. And then again I speculated on their decay, and the changes to which the heaven and the earth are subject, and at last it seemed to me that I was of all things in the world the least fitted by nature for such speculation. And I will tell you a good proof of it: I was so utterly blinded by the mere inquiry, that even what I clearly understood before, at least as I and others thought, I then unlearned, — even what I thought I knew before.’

So said Socrates, that very man so celebrated by all the Greeks. When, therefore, even this great philosopher had such an opinion of the physiological doctrines of those whom I have mentioned, I think that we too have with good reason deprecated the atheism of them all, since their polytheistic error also seems not to be unconnected with the opinions already mentioned. This, however, shall be proved on the proper occasion, when I shall show that Anaxagoras is the first of the Greeks mentioned as having set mind to preside over the cause of the All.

But now pass on with me to Diodorus, and consider what he narrates concerning the primitive theology of mankind.

CHAPTER IX

[DIODORUS] 'It is said then that the men who dwelled of old in Egypt when they looked up to the cosmos, and were struck with astonishment and admiration at the nature of the universe, supposed that the sun and moon were two eternal and primal gods, one of whom they named Osiris, and the other Isis, each name being applied from some true etymology.

'For when they are translated into the Greek form of speech, Osiris is "many eyed"; with reason, for casting his beams in every direction he beholds, as it were with many eyes, the whole earth and sea: and with this the poet's words agree:

"Thou Sun, who all things seest, and nearest all."

'But some of the ancient mythologists among the Greeks give to Osiris the additional name Dionysus, and, by a slight change in the name, Sirius. One of these, Eumolpus, speaks in his Bacchic poems thus:

"Dionysus named,

"Bright as a star, his face aflame with rays."

And Orpheus says:

"For that same cause Phanes and Dionysus him they call."

Some say also that the fawn-skin cloak is hung about him as a representation of the spangling of the stars.

"Isis" too, being interpreted, means "ancient," the name having been given to the Moon from her ancient and eternal origin. And they put horns upon her, both from the aspect with which she appears whenever she is crescent-shaped, and also from the cow which is consecrated to her among the Egyptians. And these deities they suppose to regulate the whole world.'

Such then are the statements on this subject. You find, too, in the Phoenician theology, that their first 'physical philosophers knew no other gods than the sun, the moon, and besides these the planets, the elements also, and the things connected with them'; and that to these the earliest of mankind 'consecrated the productions of the earth, and regarded them as gods, and worshipped them as the sources of sustenance to themselves and to following generations, and to all that went before them, and offered to them drink-offerings and libations.' But pity and lamentation and weeping they

consecrated to the produce of the earth when perishing, and to the generation of living creatures at first from the earth, and then to their production one from another, and to their end, when they departed from life. These their notions of worship were in accordance with their own weakness, and the want as yet of any enterprise of mind.'

Such are the statements of the Phoenician writings, as will be proved in due course. Moreover, one of our own time, that very man who gains celebrity by his abuse of us, in the treatise which he entitled *Of Abstinence from Animal Food*, makes mention of the old customs of the ancients as follows in his own words, on the testimony of Theophrastus:

[PORPHYRY] 'It is probably an incalculable time since, as Theophrastus says, the most learned race of mankind, inhabiting that most sacred land which Nilus founded, were the first to begin to offer upon the hearth to the heavenly deities not the first-fruits of myrrh nor of cassia and frankincense mingled with saffron; for these were adopted many generations later, when man becoming a wanderer in search of his necessary livelihood with many toils and tears offered drops of these tinctures as first-fruits to the gods.

“Of these then they made no offerings formerly, but of herbage, which they lifted up in their hands as the bloom of the productive power of nature. For the earth gave forth trees before animals, and long before trees the herbage which is produced year by year; and of this they culled leaves and roots and the whole shoots of their growth, and burned them, greeting thus the visible deities of heaven with their offering, and dedicating to them the honours of perpetual fire.

‘For these they also kept in their temples an undying fire, as being most especially like them. And from the fume (θυμιασμός) of the produce of the earth they formed the words θυμιατήρια (altars of incense), and θύειν (to offer), and θυσία (offerings), — words which we misunderstand as signifying the erroneous practice of later times, when we apply the term θυσία to the so-called worship which consists of animal sacrifice.

‘And so anxious were the men of old not to transgress their custom, that they cursed (αρώμα) those who neglected the old fashion and introduced another, calling their own incense-offerings αρώματα.’

After these and other statements he adds:

‘But when these beginnings of sacrifices were carried by men to a great

pitch of disorder, the adoption of the most dreadful offerings, full of cruelty, was introduced; so that the curses formerly pronounced against us seemed now to have received fulfilment, when men slaughtered victims and defiled the altars with blood.'

So far writes Porphyry, or rather Theophrastus: and we may find a seal and confirmation of the statement in what Plato in the *Cratylus*, before his remarks concerning the Greeks, says word for word as follows:

[PLATO] 'It appears to me that the first inhabitants of Hellas had only the same gods as many of the barbarians have now, namely the sun, moon, earth, stars, and heaven: as therefore they saw them always moving on in their course and running (θεοντα), from this their natural tendency to run they called them θεους (gods).'

But I think it must be evident to every one on consideration that the first and most ancient of mankind did not apply themselves either to building temples or to setting up statues, since at that time no art of painting, or modelling, [or carving], or statuary had yet been discovered, nor, indeed, were building or architecture as yet established.

Nor was there any mention among the men of that age of those who have since been denominated gods and heroes, nor had they any Zeus, nor Kronos, Poseidon, Apollo, Hera, Athena, Dionysus, nor any other deity, either male or female, such as there were afterwards in multitudes among both barbarians and Greeks; nor was there any daemon good or bad revered among men, but only the visible stars of heaven because of their running (θεειν) received, as they themselves say, the title of gods (θεων), and even these were not worshipped with animal sacrifices and the honours afterwards superstitiously invented.

This statement is not ours, but the testimony comes from within, and from the Greeks themselves, and supplies its proof by the words which have been already quoted and by those which will hereafter be set forth in due order.

This is what our holy Scriptures also teach, in which it is contained, that in the beginning the worship of the visible luminaries had been assigned to all the nations, and that to the Hebrew race alone had been entrusted the full initiation into the knowledge of God the Maker and Artificer of the universe, and of true piety towards Him. So then among the oldest of mankind there was no mention of a Theogony, either Greek or barbarian, nor any erection of

lifeless statues, nor all the silly talk that there is now about the naming of the gods both male and female.

In fact the titles and names which men have since invented were not as yet known among mankind: no, nor yet invocations of invisible daemons and spirits, nor absurd mythologies about gods and heroes, nor mysteries of secret initiations, nor anything at all of the excessive and frivolous superstition of later generations.

These then were men's inventions, and representations of our mortal nature, or rather new devices of base and licentious dispositions, according to our divine oracle which says, *The devising of idols was the beginning of fornication.*

In fact the polytheistic error of all the nations is only seen long ages afterwards, having taken its beginning from the Phoenicians and Egyptians, and passed over from them to the other nations, and even to the Greeks themselves. For this again is affirmed by the history of the earliest ages; which history itself it is now time for us to review, beginning from the Phoenician records.

Now the historian of this subject is Sanchuniathon, an author of great antiquity, and older, as they say, than the Trojan times, one whom they testify to have been approved for the accuracy and truth of his *Phoenician History*. Philo of Byblos, not the Hebrew, translated his whole work from the Phoenician language into the Greek, and published it. The author in our own day of the compilation against us mentions these things in the fourth book of his treatise *Against the Christians*, where he bears the following testimony to Sanchuniathon, word for word:

[PORPHYRY] 'Of the affairs of the Jews the truest history, because the most in accordance with their places and names, is that of Sanchuniathon of Berytus, who received the records from Hierombalus the priest of the god Ieuo; he dedicated his history to Abibalus king of Berytus, and was approved by him and by the investigators of truth in his time. Now the times of these men fall even before the date of the Trojan war, and approach nearly to the times of Moses, as is shown by the successions of the kings of Phoenicia. And Sanchuniathon, who made a complete collection of ancient history from the records in the various cities and from the registers in the temples, and wrote in the Phoenician language with a love of truth, lived in the reign of Semiramis,

the queen of the Assyrians, who is recorded to have lived before the Trojan war or in those very times. And the works of Sanchuniathon were translated into the Greek tongue by Philo of Byblos.’

So wrote the author before mentioned, bearing witness at once to the truthfulness and antiquity of the so-called theologian. But he, as he goes forward, treats as divine not the God who is over all, nor yet the gods in the heaven, but mortal men and women, not even refined in character, such as it would be right to approve for their virtue, or emulate for their love of wisdom, but involved in the dishonour of every kind of vileness and wickedness.

He testifies also that these are the very same who are still regarded as gods by all both in the cities and in country districts. But let me give you the proofs of this out of his writings.

Philo then, having divided the whole work of Sanchuniathon into nine books, in the introduction to the first book makes this preface concerning Sanchuniathon, word for word:

[PHILO] ‘These things being so, Sanchuniathon, who was a man of much learning and great curiosity, and desirous of knowing the earliest history of all nations from the creation of the world, searched out with great care the history of Taautus, knowing that of all men under the sun Taautus was the first who thought of the invention of letters, and began the writing of records: and he laid the foundation, as it were, of his history, by beginning with him, whom the Egyptians called Thoyth, and the Alexandrians Thoth, translated by the Greeks into Hermes.’

After these statements he finds fault with the more recent authors as violently and untruly reducing the legends concerning the gods to allegories and physical explanations and theories; and so he goes on to say:

‘But the most recent of the writers on religion rejected the real events from the beginning, and having invented allegories and myths, and formed a fictitious affinity to the cosmical phenomena, established mysteries, and overlaid them with a cloud of absurdity, so that one cannot easily discern what really occurred: but he having lighted upon the collections of secret writings of the Ammoneans which were discovered in the shrines and of course were not known to all men, applied himself diligently to the study of them all; and when he had completed the investigation, he put aside the original myth and the allegories, and so completed his proposed work; until the priests who

followed in later times wished to hide this away again, and to restore the mythical character; from which time mysticism began to rise up, not having previously reached the Greeks.'

Next to this he says:

'These things I have discovered in my anxious desire to know the history of the Phoenicians, and after a thorough investigation of much matter, not that which is found among the Greeks, for that is contradictory, and compiled by some in a contentious spirit rather than with a view to truth.'

And after other statements:

'And the conviction that the facts were as he has described them came to me, on seeing the disagreement among the Greeks: concerning which I have carefully composed three books bearing the title *Paradoxical History*.'

And again after other statements he adds:

'But with a view to clearness hereafter, and the determination of particulars, it is necessary to state distinctly beforehand that the most ancient of the barbarians, and especially the Phoenicians and Egyptians, from whom the rest of mankind received their traditions, regarded as the greatest gods those who had discovered the necessities of life, or in some way done good to the nations. Esteeming these as benefactors and authors of many blessings, they worshipped them also as gods after their death, and built shrines, and consecrated pillars and staves after their names: these the Phoenicians held in great reverence, and assigned to them their greatest festivals. Especially they applied the names of their kings to the elements of the cosmos, and to some of those who were regarded as gods. But they knew no other gods than those of nature, sun, and moon, and the rest of the wandering stars, and the elements and things connected with them, so that some of their gods were mortal and some immortal.'

Philo having explained these points in his preface, next begins his interpretation of Sanchuniathon by setting forth the theology of the Phoenicians as follows:

CHAPTER X

‘The first principle of the universe he supposes to have been air dark with cloud and wind, or rather a blast of cloudy air, and a turbid chaos dark as Erebus; and these were boundless and for long ages had no limit. But when the wind, says he, became enamoured of its own parents, and a mixture took place, that connexion was called Desire. This was the beginning of the creation of all things: but the wind itself had no knowledge of its own creation. From its connexion Mot was produced, which some say is mud, and others a putrescence of watery compound; and out of this came every germ of creation, and the generation of the universe. So there were certain animals which had no sensation, and out of them grew intelligent animals, and were called “Zophasemin,” that is “observers of heaven”; and they were formed like the shape of an egg. Also Mot burst forth into light, and sun, and moon, and stars, and the great constellations.’

Such was their cosmogony, introducing downright atheism. But let us see next how he states the generation of animals to have arisen. He says, then:

‘And when the air burst into light, both the sea and the land became heated, and thence arose winds and clouds, and very great downpours and floods of the waters of heaven. So after they were separated, and removed from their proper place because of the sun’s heat, and all met together again in the air dashing together one against another, thunderings and lightnings were produced, and at the rattle of the thunder the intelligent animals already described woke up, and were scared at the sound, and began to move both on land and sea, male and female.’

Such is their theory of the generation of animals. Next after this the same writer adds and says:

‘These things were found written in the cosmogony of Taautus, and in his *Commentaries*, both from conjectures, and from evidences which his intellect discerned, and discovered, and made clear to us.’

Next to this, after mentioning the names of the winds Notos and Boreas and the rest, he continues:

‘But these were the first who consecrated the productions of the earth, and regarded them as gods, and worshipped them as being the support of life both to themselves, and to those who were to come after them, and to all before

them, and they offered to them drink-offerings and libations.’

He adds also:

‘These were their notions of worship, corresponding to their own weakness, and timidity of soul. Then he says that from the wind Colpias and his wife Baau (which he translates “Night”) were born Aeon and Protogonus, mortal men, so called: and that Aeon discovered the food obtained from trees. That their offspring were called Genos and Genea, and inhabited Phoenicia: and that when droughts occurred, they stretched out their hands to heaven towards the sun; for him alone (he says) they regarded as god the lord of heaven, calling him Beelsamen, which is in the Phoenician language “lord of heaven,” and in Greek “Zeus.”’

And after this he charges the Greeks with error, saying:

‘For it is not without cause that we have explained these things in many ways, but in view of the later misinterpretations of the names in the history, which the Greeks in ignorance took in a wrong sense, being deceived by the ambiguity of the translation.’

Afterwards he says:

‘From Genos, son of Aeon and Protogonus, were begotten again mortal children, whose names are Light, and Fire, and Flame. These, says he, discovered fire from rubbing pieces of wood together, and taught the use of it. And they begat sons of surpassing size and stature, whose names were applied to the mountains which they occupied: so that from them were named mount Cassius, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and Brathy. From these, he says, were begotten Memrumus and Hypsuranius; and they got their names, he says, from their mothers, as the women in those days had free intercourse with any whom they met.’

Then he says:

‘Hypsuranius inhabited Tyre, and contrived huts out of reeds and rushes and papyrus: and he quarrelled with his brother Ousous, who first invented a covering for the body from skins of wild beasts which he was strong enough to capture. And when furious rains and winds occurred, the trees in Tyre were rubbed against each other and caught fire, and burnt down the wood that was there. And Ousous took a tree, and, having stripped off the branches, was the first who ventured to embark on the sea; and he consecrated two pillars to fire and wind, and worshipped them, and poured libations of blood upon them

from the wild beasts which he took in hunting.

‘But when Hypsuranius and Ousous were dead, those who were left, he says, consecrated staves to them, and year by year worshipped their pillars and kept festivals in their honour. But many years afterwards from the race of llypsuranius were born Agreus and Halieus, the inventors of hunting and fishing, from whom were named huntsmen and fishermen: and from them were bom two brethren, discoverers of iron and the mode of working it; the one of whom, Chrysor, practised oratory, and incantations, and divinations: and that he was Hephaestus, and invented the hook, and bait, and line, and raft, and was the first of all men to make a voyage: wherefore they revered him also as a god after his death. And he was also called Zeus Meilichios. And some say that his brothers invented walls of brick. Afterwards there sprang from their race two youths, one of whom was called Technites (Artificer), and the other Geinos Autochthon (Earth-born Aboriginal). These devised the mixing of straw with the clay of bricks, and drying them in the sun, and moreover invented roofs. From them others were born, one of whom was called Agros, and the other Agrueros or Agrotres; and of the latter there is in Phoenicia a much venerated statue, and a shrine drawn by yokes of oxen; and among the people of Byblos he is named pre-eminently the greatest of the gods.

‘These two devised the addition to houses of courts, and enclosures, and caves. From them came husbandmen and huntsmen. They are also called Aletae and Titans. From these were born Amynos and Magus, who established villages and sheepfolds. From them came Misor and Suduc, that is to say “Straight “ and “Just”: these discovered the use of salt.

‘From Misor was born Taautus, who invented the first written alphabet; the Egyptians called him Thoyth, the Alexandrians Thoth, and the Greeks Hermes.

‘From Suduc came the Dioscuri, or Cabeiri, or Corybantes, or Samothraces: these, he says, first invented a ship. From them have sprung others, who discovered herbs, and the healing of venomous bites, and charms. In their time is born a certain Elioun called “the Most High,” and a female named Beruth, and these dwelt in the neighbourhood of Byblos.

‘And from them is born Epigeius or Autochthon, whom they afterwards called Uranus; so that from him they named the element above us Uranus

because of the excellence of its beauty. And he has a sister born of the aforesaid parents, who was called Ge (earth), and from her, he says, because of her beauty, they called the earth by the same name. And their father, the Most High, died in an encounter with wild beasts, and was deified, and his children offered to him libations and sacrifices.

‘And Uranus, having succeeded to his father’s rule, takes to himself in marriage his sister Ge, and gets by her four sons, Elus who is also Kronos, and Baetylus, and Dagon who is Siton, and Atlas. Also by other wives Uranus begat a numerous progeny; on which account Ge was angry, and from jealousy began to reproach Uranus, so that they even separated from each other.

‘But Uranus, after he had left her, used to come upon her with violence, whenever he chose, and consort with her, and go away again; he used to try also to destroy his children by her; but Ge repelled him many times, having gathered to herself allies. And when Kronos had advanced to manhood, he, with the counsel and help of Hermes Trismegistus (who was his secretary), repels his father Uranus, and avenges his mother.

‘To Kronos are born children, Persephone and Athena. The former died a virgin: but by the advice of Athena and Hermes Kronos made a sickle and a spear of iron. Then Hermes talked magical words to the allies of Kronos, and inspired them with a desire of fighting against Uranus on behalf of Ge. And thus Kronos engaged in war, and drove Uranus from his government, and succeeded to the kingdom. Also there was taken in the battle the beloved concubine of Uranus, being great with child, whom Kronos gave in marriage to Dagon. And in his house she gave birth to the child begotten of Uranus, which she named Demarus.

‘ After this Kronos builds a wall round his own dwelling, and founds the first city, Byblos in Phoenicia.

‘Soon after this he became suspicious of his own brother Atlas, and, with the advice of Hermes, threw him into a deep pit and buried him. At about this time the descendants of the Dioscuri put together rafts and ships, and made voyages; and, being cast ashore near Mount Cassius, consecrated a temple there. And the allies of Elus, who is Kronos, were surnamed Eloim, as these same, who were surnamed after Kronos, would have been called Kronii.

‘And Kronos, having a son Sadidus, dispatched him with his own sword,

because he regarded him with suspicion, and deprived him of life, thus becoming the murderer of his son. In like manner he cut off the head of a daughter of his own; so that all the gods were dismayed at the disposition of Kronos.

‘But as time went on Uranus, being in banishment, secretly sends his maiden daughter Astarte with two others her sisters, Ehea and Dione, to slay Kronos by craft. But Kronos caught them, and though they were his sisters, made them his wedded wives. And when Uranus knew it, he sent Eimarmene and Hora with other allies on an expedition against Kronos. and these Kronos won over to his side and kept with him.

‘Further, he says, the god Uranus devised the Baetylia, having contrived to put life into stones. And to Kronos there were born of Astarte seven daughters, Titanides or Artemides: and again to the same there were born of Rhea seven sons, of whom the youngest was deified at his birth; and of Dione females, and of Astarte again two males, Desire and Love. And Dagon, after he discovered corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrios.

‘And one of the Titanides united to Suduc, who is named the Just, gives birth to Asclepius.

‘In Peraea also there were born to Kronos three sons, Kronos of the same name with his father, and Zeus Belus, and Apollo. In their time are born Pontus, and Typhon, and Nereus father of Pontus and son of Belus.

‘And from Pontus is born Sidon (who from the exceeding sweetness of her voice was the first to invent musical song) and Poseidon. And to Demarus is born Melcathrus, who is also called Hercules.

‘Then again Uranus makes war against Pontus, and after revolting attaches himself to Demarus, and Demarus attacks Pontus, but Pontus puts him to flight; and Demarus vowed an offering if he should escape.

‘And in the thirty-second year of his power and kingdom Elus, that is Kronos, having waylaid his father Uranus in an inland spot, and got him into his hands, emasculates him near some fountains and rivers. There Uranus was deified: and as he breathed his last, the blood from his wounds dropped into the fountains and into the waters of the rivers, and the spot is pointed out to this day.’

This, then, is the story of Kronos, and such are the glories of the mode of life, so vaunted among the Greeks, of men in the days of Kronos, whom they

also affirm to have been the first and ‘golden race of articulate speaking men,’ that blessed happiness of the olden time!

Again, the historian adds to this, after other matters:

‘But Astarte, the greatest goddess, and Zeus Demarus, and Adodus king of gods, reigned over the country with the consent of Kronos. And Astarte set the head of a bull upon her own head as a mark of royalty; and in travelling round the world she found a star that had fallen from the sky, which she took up and consecrated in the holy island Tyre. And the Phoenicians say that Astarte is Aphrodite.

‘Kronos also, in going round the world, gives the kingdom of Attica to his own daughter Athena. But on the occurrence of a pestilence and mortality Kronos offers his only begotten son as a whole burnt-offering to his father Uranus, and circumcises himself, compelling his allies also to do the same. And not long after another of his sons by Rhea, named Muth, having died, he deifies him, and the Phoenicians call him Thanatos and Pluto. And after this Kronos gives the city Byblos to the goddess Baaltis, who is also called Dione, and Berytus to Poseidon and to the Cabeiri and Agrotæ and Halieis, who also consecrated the remains of Pontus at Berytus.

‘But before this the god Tauthus imitated the features of the gods who were his companions, Kronos, and Dagon, and the rest, and gave form to the sacred characters of the letters. He also devised for Kronos as insignia of royalty four eyes in front and behind . . . but two of them quietly closed, and upon his shoulders four wings, two as spread for flying, and two as folded.

‘And the symbol meant that Kronos could see when asleep, and sleep while waking: and similarly in the case of the wings, that he flew while at rest, and was at rest when flying. But to each of the other gods he gave two wings upon the shoulders, as meaning that they accompanied Kronos in his flight. And to Kronos himself again he gave two wings upon his head, one representing the all-ruling mind, and one sensation.

‘And when Kronos came into the South country he gave all Egypt to the god Tauthus, that it might be his royal dwelling-place. And these things, he says, were recorded first by Suduc’s seven sons the Cabeiri, and their eighth brother Asclepius, as the god Tauthus commanded them.

‘All these stories Thabion, who was the very first hierophant of all the Phoenicians from the beginning, allegorized and mixed up with the physical

and cosmical phenomena, and delivered to the prophets who celebrated the orgies and inaugurated the mysteries: and they, purposing to increase their vain pretensions from every source, handed them on to their successors and to their foreign visitors: one of these was Eisirius the inventor of the three letters, brother of Chna the first who had his name changed to Phoenix.'

Then again afterwards he adds:

'But the Greeks, surpassing all in genius, appropriated most of the earliest stories, and then variously decked them out with ornaments of tragic phrase, and adorned them in every way, with the purpose of charming by the pleasant fables. Hence Hesiod and the celebrated Cyclic poets framed theogonies of their own, and battles of the giants, and battles of Titans, and castrations; and with these fables, as they travelled about, they conquered and drove out the truth.

'But our ears having grown up in familiarity with their fictions, and being for long ages pre-occupied, guard as a trust the mythology which they received, just as I said at the beginning; and this mythology, being aided by time, has made its hold difficult for us to escape from, so that the truth is thought to be nonsense, and the spurious narrative truth.'

Let these suffice as quotations from the writings of Sanchuniathon, translated by Philo of Byblos, and approved as true by the testimony of Porphyry the philosopher.

The same author, in his *History of the Jews*, further writes thus concerning Kronos:

'Tauthus, whom the Egyptians call Thoyth, excelled in wisdom among the Phoenicians, and was the first to rescue the worship of the gods from the ignorance of the vulgar, and arrange it in the order of intelligent experience. Many generations after him a god Sourmoubelos and Thuro, whose name was changed to Eusarthis, brought to light the theology of Tauthus which had been hidden and overshadowed, by allegories.'

And soon after he says:

'It was a custom of the ancients in great crises of danger for the rulers of a city or nation, in order to avert the common ruin, to give up the most beloved of their children for sacrifice as a ransom to the avenging daemons; and those who were thus given up were sacrificed with mystic rites. Kronos then, whom the Phoenicians call Elus, who was king of the country and subsequently, after

his decease, was deified as the star Saturn, had by a nymph of the country named Anobret an only begotten son, whom they on this account called Iedud, the only begotten being still so called among the Phoenicians; and when very great dangers from war had beset the country, he arrayed his son in royal apparel, and prepared an altar, and sacrificed him.’

Again see what the same author, in his translation from Sanchuniathon about the Phoenician alphabet, says concerning the reptiles and venomous beasts, which contribute no good service to mankind, but work death and destruction to any in whom they inject their incurable and fatal poison. This also he describes, saying word for word as follows:

‘The nature then of the dragon and of serpents Tauthus himself regarded as divine, and so again after him did the Phoenicians and Egyptians: for this animal was declared by him to be of all reptiles most full of breath, and fiery. In consequence of which it also exerts an unsurpassable swiftness by means of its breath, without feet and hands or any other of the external members by which the other animals make their movements. It also exhibits forms of various shapes, and in its progress makes spiral leaps as swift as it chooses. It is also most long-lived, and its nature is to put off its old skin, and so not only to grow young again, but also to assume a larger growth; and after it has fulfilled its appointed measure of age, it is self-consumed, in like manner as Tauthus himself has set down in his sacred books: for which reason this animal has also been adopted in temples and in mystic rites.

‘We have spoken more fully about it in the memoirs entitled *Ethothiae*, in which we prove that it is immortal, and is self-consumed, as is stated before: for this animal does not die by a natural death, but only if struck by a violent blow. The Phoenicians call it “Good Daemon”: in like manner the Egyptians also surname it *Cneph*; and they add to it the head of a hawk because of the hawk’s activity.

‘Epeïs also (who is called among them a chief hierophant and sacred scribe, and whose work was translated [into Greek] by Areius of Heracleopolis), speaks in an allegory word for word as follows:

‘The first and most divine being is a serpent with the form of a hawk, extremely graceful, which whenever he opened his eyes filled all with light in his original birthplace, but if he shut his eyes, darkness came on.’

‘Epeïs here intimates that he is also of a fiery substance, by saying “he

shone through,” for to shine through is peculiar to light. From the Phoenicians Pherecydes also took the first ideas of his theology concerning the god called by him Ophion and concerning the Ophionidae, of whom we shall speak again.

‘Moreover the Egyptians, describing the world from the same idea, engrave the circumference of a circle, of the colour of the sky and of fire, and a hawk-shaped serpent stretched across the middle of it, and the whole shape is like our Theta (θ), representing the circle as the world, and signifying by the serpent which connects it in the middle the good daemon.

‘Zoroaster also the Magian, in the *Sacred Collection of Persian Records*, says in express words: “And god has the head of a hawk. He is the first, incorruptible, eternal, uncreated, without parts, most unlike (all else), the controller of all good, who cannot be bribed, the best of all the good, the wisest of all wise; and he is also a father of good laws and justice, self-taught, natural, and perfect, and wise, and the sole author of the sacred power of nature.

‘The same also is said of him by Ostanès in the book entitled *Octateuch*.’

From Tauthus, as is said above, all received their impulse towards physiological systems: and having built temples they consecrated in the shrines the primary elements represented by serpents, and in their honour celebrated festivals, and sacrifices, and mystic rites, regarding them as the greatest gods, and rulers of the universe. So much concerning serpents.

Such then is the character of the theology of the Phoenicians, from which the word of salvation in the gospel teaches us to flee with averted eyes, and earnestly to seek the remedy for this madness of the ancients. It must be manifest that these are not fables and poets’ fictions containing some theory concealed in hidden meanings, but true testimonies, as they would themselves say, of wise and ancient theologians, containing things of earlier date than all poets and historians, and deriving the credibility of their statements from the names and history of the gods still prevailing in the cities and villages of Phoenicia, and from the mysteries celebrated among each people: so that it is no longer necessary to search out violent physical explanations of these things, since the evidence which the facts bring with them of themselves is quite clear. Such then is the theology of the Phoenicians: but it is now time to pass on and examine carefully the case of the Egyptians.

BOOK II

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PREFACE

The theology of the Phoenicians is of the character described above, and the word of salvation teaches us in the gospel to escape from it without looking back, and earnestly to seek the remedy for this madness of the ancients.

Now it must be manifest that these are not fables and poetic fictions containing some theory concealed in covert meanings, but true testimonies, as they would say themselves, of ancient and wise theologians, comprising records of earlier date than all poets and historians, and deriving the credibility of their statements from the names and history of the gods prevailing to the present day in the cities and villages of Phoenicia, and from the mysteries celebrated among the inhabitants of each. This must be manifest, I say, from the confession both of the other historians and especially of their reputed theologians; for they hereby testified that the ancients who first composed the account of the gods did not refer at all to figurative descriptions of physical phenomena, nor make allegories of the myths concerning the gods, but preserved the histories in their literal form. For this was shown by the words already quoted of the authors whom I have mentioned; so that there is no longer need to search up forced physical explanations, since the proof which the facts bring with them of themselves is quite clear.

Such, then, is the theology of the Phoenicians. But it is time to pass on and review that of the Egyptians also. in order to observe carefully and understand exactly whether our revolt from them is not well judged and reasonable, and whether it has not been successful upon the sole evidence of the gospel first of all among the Egyptians themselves, and then among those also who are of like mind with them.

Now the whole Egyptian history has been translated at large into the language of the Greeks, and especially the part concerning their theology, by Manetho the Egyptian, both in the *Sacred Book* written by him, and in other of his works. Moreover, Diodorus, whom we mentioned before, collected his narratives from many sources, and described the customs of the several nations with the utmost possible accuracy: and being an eminent man, who had won no small reputation for learning among all lovers of literature, and had made a collection of all ancient history, and connected the earliest with the subsequent events, he adopted the theology of the Egyptians as the

commencement of his whole treatise.

I think it better, therefore, to draw the representation of the subject before us from that treatise, as his writings are likely to be better known to the Greeks. This, then, is what he narrates word for word:

CHAPTER I

[DIODORUS] ‘The Egyptians say that in the original creation of the universe mankind came into existence first in Egypt by reason of its temperate climate and the nature of the Nile. For as that river caused great fertility and supplied food self grown, it gave an easy sustenance to the living creatures that were born.

‘The gods, they say, had been originally mortal men, but gained their immortality on account of wisdom and public benefits to mankind, some of them having also become kings: and some have the same names, when interpreted, with the heavenly deities, while others have received a name of their own, as Helios, and Kronos, and Rhea, and Zeus, who is by some called Ammon; and besides these Hera and Hephaestus, and Hestia, and lastly Hermes.

‘Helios, they say, was the first king of the Egyptians, having the same name with the celestial luminary: some, however, of the priests say that Hephaestus was the first who became king, because he was the discoverer of fire.

‘Kronos reigned next, and having married his sister Rhea begat, according to some authors, Osiris and Isis. but according to most, Zeus and Hera, who for their valour received the kingdom of the whole world. Of these were born five gods, Osiris, and Isis, and Typhon, and Apollo, and Aphrodite. Osiris is Dionysus, and Isis is Demeter; and Osiris, having married her and succeeded to the kingdom, did many things for the general benefit, and founded in the Thebaid a city of a hundred gates, which some called Diospolis, and others Thebes. . . . He also erected a temple to his parents Zeus and Hera, and golden shrines of the other gods, to each of whom he assigned honours, and appointed the priests to attend to them. Osiris also was the discoverer of the vine, and was the first to make use of bare land, and to teach the rest of mankind agriculture. Above all he honoured Hermes, who was endowed with an excellent genius for contriving what might benefit the common life.

‘For he was the inventor of letters, and arranged sacrifices for the gods, and invented a lyre, and taught the Greeks the explanation (*ερμηνειαν*) of these matters, from which circumstance he was called Hermes. He also discovered the olive-tree.

‘Osiris, after travelling over the whole world, set up Busiris in Phoenicia, and Antaeus in Aethiopia and Libya; and himself led an expedition with his brother Apollo, who, they say, was the discoverer of the laurel. In the expedition with Osiris there went his two sons, Anubis and Macedon; and he took with him also Pan, who is especially honoured by the Egyptians, and from whom Panopolis is named.

‘And when he was near Taphosiris the tribe of Satyrs was, brought to him: and, being fond of music, he carried about with him a band of musicians, amongst whom were nine maidens skilful in singing and well educated in other respects, who among the Greeks are called Muses, and whose leader is Apollo. And since every nation welcomed Osiris as a god because of the benefits bestowed by him, he left memorials of himself behind him everywhere.

‘In India he founded not a few cities; and also visited the other nations, those about Phrygia, and crossed the Hellespont into Europe. His son Macedon he left as king of Macedonia; and Triptolemus he put in charge of agriculture in Attica.

‘Afterwards he passed from among men to the gods, and from Isis and Hermes received temples and all the honours which are, held among the gods to be most distinguished. These two also taught men his initiatory rites, and introduced many customs, concerning him in the way of mysteries.

‘He was killed by Typhon his brother, a wicked and impious, person, who, having divided the body of the murdered man into, twenty-six parts, gave a portion to each of his accomplices in the, assault, wishing all to share in the pollution.

‘But Isis, being the sister and wife of Osiris, avenged the murder, with the aid of her son Horus; and, having slain Typhon and his accomplices near what is now called the village of Antaeus, she became queen of Egypt.

‘And having found all except one part of the body of Osiris, they say that round each part she moulded out of spices and wax the figure of a man corresponding in size to Osiris, and gave them to the priests throughout all Egypt to be worshipped: she also consecrated one of the animals found among them, of whatever kind they wished.

‘The sacred bulls, both Apis so called, and Mnevis, were consecrated to Osiris, and all the Egyptians in common were taught to worship them as gods,

because these animals had helped the labours of the discoverers of wheat, both in sowing and in the common course of husbandry. Isis swore to accept the company of no man any more; and when she herself had passed from among men, she received immortal honours, and was buried at Memphis.

‘So the parts of Osiris which had been found again are said to have been honoured with burial in the manner described; but they say that the member which had been cast into the river by Typhon was deemed worthy by Isis of divine honours no less than the rest.

‘For she set up an image of it in the temples, and instituted worship, and made the initiations and sacrifices paid to this deity especially honourable. And as the Greeks received their orgiastic rites and Dionysiac festivals from Egypt, they also worship this member in their mysteries, and in the initiatory rites and sacrifices of this god, and call it Phallus.

‘But those who say that the god was born in Boeotian Thebes of Semele and Zeus talk, they say, at random. For when Orpheus had landed in Egypt and received initiation, he took part also in the Dionysiac mysteries, and, being friendly to the Cadmeans and honoured by them, he changed the place of the god’s birth to please them; and the multitude, partly through ignorance and partly from their desire that the god should be called a Greek, gladly welcomed the initiations and mysteries.

‘And for the transference of the birth and initiatory rites of the god Orpheus found occasion as follows. Cadmus, a native of the Egyptian Thebes, among other children begat Semele; and she having been violated by somebody or other became pregnant, and after seven months gave birth to a child, just such as the Egyptians consider Osiris to have been.

‘And when the child died, Cadmus covered it with gold, and appointed the proper sacrifices for it, and also assigned the fatherhood to Zeus, thus magnifying Osiris, and taking away the reproach of the mother’s seduction.

‘Wherefore among the Greeks also a story was given out that Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, gave birth to Osiris by Zeus.

‘Afterwards when the mythologists came forward, the story filled the theatre, and became to succeeding generations a strong and unalterable belief. And the most illustrious heroes and gods of the Egyptians are, it is said, universally claimed by the Greeks as their own.

‘Hercules, for example, was by birth an Egyptian, and moved by his valour

travelled over much of the known world: but the Greeks claimed him as their own, though in truth he was different from the son of Alcmena who arose at some later time among the Greeks.

‘Perseus also, it is said, was born in Egypt, and the birth of Isis was transferred by the Greeks to Argos, while in their mythology they said that she was Io, who was transformed into a cow: but some think the same deity to be Isis, some Demeter, some Thesmophoros, but others Selene, and others Hera.

‘Osiris, too, some think to be Apis, and some Dionysus, some Pluto, some Ammon, some Zeus, and others Pan.

‘Isis, they say, was the discoverer of many remedies, and of medical science: she also discovered the medicine of immortality, by which, when her son Horus had been treacherously attacked by the Titans, and was found dead under the water, she not only raised him up again and gave him life, but also made him partake of immortality.

‘Horus they say was the last of the gods who reigned over Egypt, and his name by interpretation is Apollo: he was taught medicine and soothsaying by his mother Isis, and benefited mankind by his oracles and cures.

‘Most authors agree that in the time of Isis certain giants of great size, arrayed in monstrous fashion, stirred up war against the gods Zeus and Osiris. Also that the Egyptians made it lawful to marry sisters, because Isis had been married to Osiris her brother.’

Such are their stories about these deities: but concerning the animals held sacred in Egypt, there is an account prevailing among them of the following kind:

‘Some say that the original race of gods, being few and overpowered by the multitude and impiety of the earth-born men, made themselves like certain irrational animals, and so escaped: and afterwards, by way of rendering thanks for their safety, they consecrated the natures of the very animals whose likeness they had taken.

‘But others say that in their encounters with their enemies their leaders prepared images of the animals which they now honour, and wore these upon the head, and had this as a mark of their authority: and when they were victorious over their foes, they ascribed the cause to the animals whose images they wore, and deified them.

‘Others allege a third cause, saying that the animals have been so honoured

because of their usefulness. For the cow bears calves, and ploughs, and sheep bear lambs and supply clothing and food by their milk and cheese, and the dog helps men in hunting, and keeps guard; and for these reasons the god whom they call Anubis has, they say, a dog's head, meaning that he was a bodyguard of Osiris and Isis.

‘But some say that when Isis was searching for Osiris the dogs led the way before her, and drove off the wild beasts, and the men who encountered them.

‘The cat too, they say, is useful against asps and the other venomous reptiles: the ichneumon breaks the crocodiles' eggs, and even destroys the crocodiles, by rolling itself in the mud, and leaping into their mouths when open, and, by eating away their entrails, leaves them quite dead.

‘Of the birds the ibis, they say, is useful against snakes and locusts and caterpillars and the hawk against scorpions and horned serpents, and the smaller venomous beasts, and because of its helping in divinations: the eagle also, because it is a kingly bird.

‘The he-goat, they say, has been deified, like Priapus among the Greeks, because of its generative organ, for this animal has the strongest propensity to lust; and that member of the body which is the cause of generation is rightly honoured, as being the source of animal nature. And speaking generally, not only the Egyptians, but also not a few other nations have consecrated that member in their initiatory rites, as the cause of the reproduction of living beings.

‘The priests who succeed to the hereditary priesthoods in Egypt are initiated in the mysteries of this deity: the Pans also and the Satyrs, they say, are honoured among men for the same reason; and therefore most persons dedicate images of them in the temples very similar to a he-goat; for this animal is traditionally said to be extremely lustful.

‘The sacred bulls Apis and Mnevis are held in like honour as the gods, both on account of their help in agriculture, and because men ascribe the discovery of the fruits of the earth to them.

‘Wolves are worshipped because of the likeness of their nature to dogs, and because in old times when Isis, with her son Horus, was going to fight against Typhon, Osiris, they say, came from Hades to the aid of his wife and child in the likeness of a wolf.

‘But others say that the Ethiopians, having invaded Egypt, were driven

away by a multitude of wolves; and on this account the city is called Lycopolis. The crocodile is said to be worshipped because the robbers from Arabia and Libya are afraid to swim across the Nile on account of the crocodiles,

‘They say too that one of their kings, being pursued by his own hounds, took refuge in the marsh, and then was taken up by a crocodile and, strange to say, carried over to the other side.

‘Other causes also are alleged by some for the worship of the irrational animals. For when in old time the multitude revolted from the kings, and agreed that they would no longer have kings to rule over them, some one formed the idea of supplying them with different animals as objects of worship, so that while they severally worshipped that which was honoured among themselves, and despised that which was held sacred among others, the Egyptians might never be able all to agree together. When any of the animals mentioned dies, they wrap it in fine linen, and beat their breasts in lamentation, and bury it in the sacred sepulchres. And whosoever destroys any of these animals wilfully, incurs death, except if he kill a cat or the ibis; for if any one kills these, whether wilfully or not, he incurs death in any case.

‘Moreover, if a dog is found dead in a house, they all shave their whole body and make a mourning; and if wine, or corn, or any other of the necessities of life happen to be stored in the house, they could not bear to use it any more.

‘Apis they maintain at Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the he-goat at Mendes, and the crocodile in the lake Moeris, and the other beasts in sacred enclosures, offering them wheat-flour, or groats boiled in milk, and various kinds of cakes mixed with honey, and the flesh of a goose, either boiled or roasted.

‘But to the carnivorous animals they throw many kinds of birds, and in company with each male animal they keep the most beautiful females, whom they call concubines.

‘When Apis dies and has been magnificently buried, they seek another like him ; and when he is found, the people are released from their mourning, and he is brought first to Nilopolis. And at that time only the calf is seen by women, who stand before him and expose themselves; but at all other times they are forbidden to come in sight of this deity. For after the death of Osiris

they say that his soul passed into Apis.’

Such is the unseemly theology, or rather atheism, of the Egyptians, which it is degrading even to oppose, and from which we naturally revolted with abhorrence, when we found redemption and deliverance from so great evils in no other way than solely by the saving doctrine of the gospel, which announced the recovery of sight to the blind in understanding. Their graver theories and systems of natural science, we shall examine a little later, after we have discussed the mythology of the Greeks.

The Egyptian and Phoenician mythologies having become thus mixed and combined, the superstitious belief of the ancient error has naturally gained the mastery in most nations. But, as I said, we have yet to speak of the notions of the Greeks.

Now the character assumed by the solemnities of Egyptian theology is that which we have already set forth, and that the Greek doctrines are mere fragments and misunderstandings of the same we have frequently stated already upon the judgement of the writers quoted: this will, however, be made further manifest from the Greek theology itself, since, in their own records concerning the gods, they bring nothing forward from native sources, but fall into the fables of foreign nations: for they are shown to make use of similar statues and the very same mysteries, as we may learn from the history of these matters, which the author before mentioned, who brought the Libraries together into one body, narrates in the third and fourth books of the treatise before quoted, having commenced his history from the times of Cadmus. Now, that Cadmus came after Moses is proved by the exact successions of the chronological writings, as we shall show in due season. So that Moses is proved to be earlier even than the gods of Greece, seeing that he is before Cadmus, while the gods are shown to have come later than the age of Cadmus. Hear, however, the historian’s own words:

CHAPTER II

[DIODORUS] ‘Cadmus, the son of Agenor, is said to have been sent from Phoenicia by the king to search for Europa. who had been carried off by Zeus: when he failed to find her, he came into Boeotia and founded the Thebes of that country; and having married Harmonia the daughter of Aphrodite, begat of her Semele and her sisters.

‘And Zeus, after union with Semele, was entreated to make his intercourse with her like that with Hera. But when he came to her in godlike fashion with thunderings and lightnings, Semele was unable to bear it, and being pregnant, miscarried with the child, and herself perished from the fire. But Zeus took the child and delivered him to Hermes, and sent him away to the cave in Nysa, lying between Phoenicia and the Nile: and being thus reared by the Nymphs, Dionysus became the discoverer of wine, and taught men the culture of the vine.

‘He discovered also the drink prepared from barley, which is called zyilius. He used to lead about with him an army not only of men, but also of women, and punished the impious and unjust.

‘He went on an expedition also into India for three years: and from that circumstance the Greeks established triennial sacrifices to Dionysus, and think that the god makes his appearances among men at that time: and all men worship him for his gift of wine, just as they worship Demeter for the discovery of corn as food.

‘But there is said to be also another Dionysus, much earlier in time than this one, whom some call Sabazius, a son of Zeus and Persephone, whose birth, and sacrifices, and ceremonies they represent at night, and in secret, because of the shame attendant upon their intercourse. He was the first who attempted to yoke oxen, and from this they represent him with horns. But Dionysus, the son of Semele, who is of later date, was delicate in body, and eminently beautiful, and very prone to amorous pleasures; in his expeditions he led about a multitude of women armed with spears made into thyrsi.

‘They say also that he is accompanied in his travels by the Muses, who are virgins and extremely well trained, and charm the soul of the god by singing and dancing. Silenus too, as his tutor, contributes much to his progress in virtue. As a remedy against the headaches resulting from too much wine, his

head is bound up with a band.

‘And they call him Dimetor, because the two Dionysi were of one father, but two mothers. They also set a reed in his hand, because the men of old drank unmixed wine and became maddened, and beat each other with their staves, so that some were even killed, and from this cause they introduced the custom of using reeds instead of clubs.

‘He is called Bacchius from the Bacchae, and Lenaeus from the treading of the grapes in wine-presses, and Bromius from the roar of thunder which took place at his birth.

‘They also say that he leads about Satyrs with him, who afford him pleasure and delight in their dances and their goat-songs; and that he established dramatic spectacles and a system of musical recitations. Such are the statements concerning Dionysus.

‘Priapus is said to be the son of Dionysus and Aphrodite, because men filled with wine are naturally excited to amorous pleasures. But some say that the ancients gave to the human organ of generation the mythological name Priapus.

‘Others affirm that, because the genital member is the cause of the generation of mankind, therefore it had for ever received immortal honour: as indeed the Egyptians also said that Isis, in her search for the members of Osiris, when she could not find the male organ, appointed it to be worshipped as a god, and set it up in the temple.

‘Nay, even among the Greeks, not only in the Dionysiac rites, but also in all others, this god receives a certain honour, being brought in with laughter and jesting in their sacrifices: as is also Hermaphroditus, who got his name as being begotten of Hermes and Aphrodite.

‘This god, they say, appears at certain times among men, and is born with the bodily form of man and woman combined: but some say that such things are prodigies, and, being produced but rarely, are significant sometimes of evil and sometimes of good.

‘The Muses are daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne, but some say of Uranus and Gé. Most mythologists also make them virgins, and say that they got their name from initiating men, that is teaching them the liberal arts.

Now with respect to Heracles the Greeks tell such, stories as follow:

‘Of Zeus and Danae the daughter of Acrisius was born Perseus, and of

Perseus and Andromeda Electryon, and of him Alcmena, by his union with whom Zeus begat Heracles, making the night which he passed with her thrice as long as usual: and this was the only intercourse sought by Zeus, not on account of amorous desire, as in the case with the other women, but chiefly for the sake of begetting a son.

‘But Hera being jealous delayed Alcmena’s labour, and brought Eurystheus into the world before the proper time, because Zeus had proclaimed that the child which should be born that day was to reign over the Persidae.

‘And when Alcmena was delivered, she exposed the child, as it is said, through fear of Hera: but Athena admired the child, and persuaded Hera to give it the breast: and when the boy dragged at her breast with a violence beyond his age, Hera in great pain threw the child down, and Athena took it up and persuaded the mother to nurse it.

‘After this Hera sent two serpents to destroy the child, but the boy, undismayed, strangled the serpents by squeezing their necks in either hand. When Heracles was grown to be a man, Eurystheus, who had the kingdom of Argolis, ordered him to perform twelve labours.

‘And when he had fallen into much trouble, Hera sent a frenzy upon him, and through vexation of soul he became mad. As the disease increased, being out of his mind, he attempted to kill his companion and nephew Iolaus, and when he escaped, slew his own sons begotten of Megara, daughter of King Creon, by shooting them down with arrows as if they were enemies.

‘After this he quieted down, and served Eurystheus in the twelve labours. He also slew the Centaurs, and among them Cheiron, who was renowned for his skill in healing.

‘It is said that there was a peculiar coincidence in the birth of this god Heracles. For the first mortal woman visited by Zeus was Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus, and the last was Alcmena, mother of Heracles, whom they trace as descended from Niobe in the sixteenth generation. And with her Zeus ended his intercourse with mortal women.

However, after finishing his labours, Heracles gave his own wife Megara to live with his nephew Iolaus, because of the calamity about his children; and for himself asked Iole, the daughter of Eurytus, in marriage, and, on her father’s refusal, he fell sick, and received an oracle that he would be delivered from his sickness, if he first became sold into slavery.

‘So he sails to Phrygia and is bought by one of his friends, and becomes a slave of Omphale, queen of those who were at that time called Maeonians, but now Lydians: and during the time of his slavery he has a son Cleolaus born to him of a slave. And, having married Omphale, he gets sons by her also.

‘But as he was on his way back to Arcadia, and stayed as guest with King Leos, he secretly seduced his daughter, and left her with child, and came back.

‘After this again he married Deianeira the daughter of Oeneus, Meleager being now dead. And having taken captive the daughter of Phyleus, by intercourse with her he begat Tlepolemus. While he was supping with Oeneus, the servant made a mistake about something, and Heracles struck him with his fist and killed him.

‘When on his journey he came to the river Evenus, he found the Centaur Nessus ferrying people across the river for hire. He ferried Deianeira over first, and, being enamoured of her for her beauty, tried to do violence to her; but when she cried out to her husband, Heracles shot the Centaur; and Nessus in the midst of his embrace, being at the point of death through the sharpness of the wound, told Deianeira that he would give her a philtre, so that Heracles might never wish to wed any other woman.

‘He bade her therefore take of the blood which was dropping from the point of the arrow, and, after mixing it with oil, anoint therewith the tunic of Heracles: and this Deianeira did, and kept the philtre by her.

‘Again, Heracles took captive the daughter of Phylas, and by his union with her begat a son Antiochus: and yet again he took captive Astyaneira, the daughter of King Armenius, and by her begat a son Ctesippus.

‘And Thespius the Athenian, son of Erechtheus, having begotten fifty daughters by different wives, and being ambitious that they should get children by Heracles, entertained him at a splendid feast, and sent his daughters to him one by one: and he deflowered them all in one night, and became the father of the so-called Thespiadae.

‘He took Iole also captive, and, having to perform a sacrifice, he sent to his wife Deianeira and asked for the cloak and tunic which he was accustomed to wear for sacrifices: and she anointed the tunic with the philtre which the Centaur had given her, and sent it.

‘And Heracles had no sooner put on the tunic than he fell into the greatest misery. For the arrow had been poisoned with the blood of the hydra, and so

the tunic began to prey upon the flesh of his body because of its burning heat, so that in his extremity of pain he slew the messenger who had brought it, and, in accordance with an oracle, cast himself into the fire, and so ended his life. Such is the story of Heracles.

‘Now with regard to Asclepius they say that he was the son of Apollo and Coronis, and studied zealously the science of healing, and rose to such a height of fame, that many of the sick who were given over in despair were, beyond all expectation, cured by him; so that Zeus was enraged, and smote him with a thunderbolt and killed him; and Apollo, being enraged because of the death of his son, slew the Cyclopes who had forged the thunderbolt for Zeus: but Zeus was enraged at their death, and commanded Apollo to serve as a slave with Adrnetus, and took this revenge upon him for his crimes.’

This, then, is what Diodorus has set forth in the fourth book of his *Bibliothecae*. And as to the rest of their theology, the same author again asserts that the Greeks borrowed it from the other nations, for in the third book of the same history he writes as follows: —

‘Now the people of Atlas say that their first king was Uranus, and of him were born by many wives five and forty sons, of whom eighteen were by a wife Titaea; and she, having been a virtuous woman and the author of many good deeds, was deified after her death, and had her name changed to Ge.

‘Uranus also had daughters, Basileia, and Rhea who was also called Pandora. And because Basileia brought up her brothers with maternal affection, she was called Meter.

‘And afterwards, when Uranus was dead, she lived with her brother Ilyperion, and bore two sons, whom she named Helios and Selene.

‘But the brethren of Rhea were afraid of them, and slew Ilyperion, and drowned Helios in the river Eridanus. Selene, on learning this, threw herself down from a roof, and Meter became mad and wandered about the country, with her hair loose, driven frantic by drums and cymbals, until she too disappeared altogether.

‘And the multitude, astonished at the catastrophe, transferred Helios and Selene to the stars of heaven, and regarded their mother as a goddess, and set up altars, and worshipped her with performances by drums and cymbals.

‘The Phrygians say that Maeon was king of Phrygia and begat a daughter named Cybele, who first invented a pipe, and was called the Mountain

Mother. And Marsyas the Phrygian, who was friendly with her, was the first to join flutes together, and he lived in chastity to the end of his life.

‘But Cybele became pregnant by intercourse with Attis, and when this was known, her father killed Attis and the nurses: and Cybele became mad and rushed out into the country, and there continued howling and beating a drum.

‘She was accompanied by Marsyas, who entered into a musical contest with Apollo, and was defeated, and flayed alive by Apollo.

‘And Apollo became enamoured of Cybele and accompanied her in her wanderings as far as the Hyperboreans, and ordered the body of Attis to be buried, and Cybele to be honoured as a goddess.

‘Wherefore the Phrygians keep this custom even to the present day, lamenting the death of the youth, and erecting altars, and honouring Attis and Cybele with sacrifices.

‘And afterwards, at Pessinus in Phrygia, they built a costly temple, and instituted most magnificent worship and sacrificial rites.

‘After the death of Hyperion the sons of Uranus divided the kingdom among themselves, the most illustrious of them being Atlas and Kronos. And of these Atlas took the regions along the coasts of the ocean, and became an excellent astronomer: and he had seven daughters who were called the Atlantides, and these, by union with the comeliest gods, became the founders of the most numerous race, and gave birth to such as for their worth became gods and heroes; thus the eldest of them, Maia, by union with Zeus became mother of Hermes.

‘But Kronos, surpassing all in arrogance and impiety, married his sister Rhea, and of her begat Zeus. There had been also another Zeus, the brother of Uranus and king of Crete, far inferior in fame to him of later birth.

‘This latter then became, king of the whole world; but the other became king of Crete, and begat ten sons who were called Curetes: and his sepulchre, they say, is still shown in Crete.

‘Now Kronos reigned in Sicily and Libya and Italy: but his son Zeus desired a life the opposite to his father’s. And some say that he succeeded to the kingdom by his father’s voluntary retirement, others that he was chosen by the multitude because of their hatred to his father.

‘So when Kronos with the Titans made war against him, Zeus was victorious in battle, and marched over the whole inhabited world. He excelled

in bodily strength and all virtues, and showed b the greatest zeal in punishment of the impious and benefits to the good; in return for which, after his departure from among men, he was called Zeus, because he was thought to liave been the author of the noble life (ζην) for mankind.

‘These then are the principal heads of the theology held among the Atlantians.’

These the Greeks also are said to borrow. So Diodorus writes in the third volume of his histories: and in the sixth, the same author confirms the same theology from the writings of Euemerus the Messenian, speaking word for word as follows:

‘With regard then to gods the men of old have handed down to their posterity two sets of notions. For some, say they, are eternal and imperishable, as the Sun and Moon and the other heavenly bodies, and besides these the winds, and the rest who partake of the like nature with them; for each of these has an eternal origin and eternal continuance. Other deities they say were of the earth; but, because of the benefits which they conferred on mankind, they have received immortal honour and glory, as Heracles, Dionysus, Aristaeus, and the others like them.

‘Concerning the terrestrial gods many various tales have been handed down in the historical and mythological writers. Among the historians Euemerus, the author of the *Sacred Record*, has written a special history; and of the mythologists Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, and such others as these, have invented very marvellous myths concerning the gods: and we shall endeavour to run over what both classes have recorded concisely and with a view to due proportion.

‘Euemerus, then, was a friend of King Cassander and, having boon constrained for his sake to perform some important services for the king, and some long journeys, says that he was carried away southwards into the ocean; for, having started on his voyage from Arabia Felix, he sailed many days across the ocean, and landed on some oceanic islands, one of which is that called Panchaea, in which he saw the Panchaeans inhabitants, who were eminent in piety, and honoured the gods with most magnificent sacrifices and notable offerings of silver and gold.

‘The island also was sacred to the gods ; and there were many other things to be admired both for their antiquity, and for the ingenuity of their

manufacture, the particulars concerning which we have recorded in the books preceding this.

‘Also therein on a certain exceedingly high hill is a temple of Zeus Triphylus, erected by himself at the time when he reigned over the whole inhabited world, being still among men. In this temple there is a golden pillar, on which is inscribed in the Panchæan language a summary of the acts of Uranus, Kronos, and Zeus.

‘After this he says that Uranus was the first king, a gentle and benevolent man, and learned in the motion of the stars, who also was the first to honour the celestial deities with sacrifices, on which account he was called Uranus.

‘By his wife Ilestia he had sons Pan and Kronos, and daughters Rhea and Demeter: and after Uranus, Kronos became king and, having married Rhea, begat Zeus and Hera and Poseidon.’ And Zeus, having succeeded to the kingdom of Kronos, married Hera and Demeter and Themis, of whom he begat children, of the first the Curetes, of the second Persephone, and of the third Athena.

‘And when he had come to Babylon he was entertained as a guest by Belus: and afterwards on arriving at the island Panchæa, which lay by the ocean, he built an altar to his own grandfather Uranus: and thence he came through Syria to the sovereign of that time Casius, of whom mount Casius is named; and came into Cilicia and conquered in war Cilix the ruler of the country; and visited very many other nations and was honoured among all, and was proclaimed a god.’

After narrating these and similar tales concerning the gods as if they were mortal men, he further says :

‘With regard to Euemerus who composed the *Sacred Record*, we will be satisfied with what has been said ; but the legends of the Greeks concerning the gods we will try to run over briefly, following Hesiod and Homer and Orpheus.’

Then he appends in order the mythologies of the poets. Let it suffice us, however, to have made these extracts from the theology of the Greeks, to which it is reasonable to append an account of the initiatory rites in the inner shrines of the same deities, and of their secret mysteries, and to observe whether they bear any becoming mark of a theology that is truly divine, or arise from regions below out of long daemoniacal delusion, and are deserving

of ridicule, or rather of shame, and yet more of pity for those who are still blinded. These matters are unveiled in plain terms by the admirable Clement, in his *Exhortation to the Greeks*, a man who had gone through experience of all, but had quickly emerged from the delusion as one who had been rescued from evil by the word of salvation and through the teaching of the Gospel. Listen, then, to a brief statement of these matters also.

CHAPTER III

[CLEMENT] 'Explore not then too curiously the secret shrines of impiety, nor the mouths of caverns full of prodigies, or the Thesprotian cauldron, or the Cirrhaean tripod, or the brazen urn of Dodona: leave also to antiquated fables the old stump held sacred amid desert sands, and the oracle there, now decayed with the oak itself. The fountain certainly of Castalia is silently forgotten, and another fountain of Colophon; the other oracular streams also are in like manner dead. And so, though emptied late of their vain glory, they have nevertheless been clearly proved to have run dry together with their own fabulous stories.

'Describe to us also the useless oracles of the other kinds of divination, or of frenzy rather, the Clarian, Pythian, Didymean Apollo, Amphiaraus, and Amphiiochus. Join also with them, if you will, observers of prodigies, and augurs, and the unholy interpreters of dreams: and bring and set together beside the Pythian god those that divine by wheat-flour, and by barley, and the ventriloquists still held in honour among the multitude. Yea more, let the shrines of the Egyptians and the necromancies of the Tyrrhenians be consigned to darkness. These are in very truth mad sophistry-schools of unbelieving men, and gambling houses of pure fraud. Partners in this jugglery are the goats that have been trained for divination, and crows taught by men to utter oracles to men.

'And what if I were to give you a catalogue of the mysteries? I shall not dance them out, as they say Alcibiades did, but according to the word of truth I will thoroughly lay bare the jugglery that is concealed in them, and those so-called gods of yours, to whom the mystic rites belong, I shall wheel in as it were upon the stage of life before the spectators of truth.

'The Bacchanals celebrate in their orgies the frenzy of Dionysus, keeping their monthly holiday with a feast on raw flesh, and, in performing the distribution of the flesh of the slaughtered victims, are crowned with their wreaths of serpents, and shout upon Eva, that Eva, through whom the deception crept in [and death followed in its train]: a consecrated serpent, too, is the symbol of the Bacchic orgies.

'Therefore, according to the exact pronunciation of the Hebrews, the name Heva, with an aspirate, is at once interpreted as the female serpent. Deo too

and Kore have already become a mystic drama, and Eleusis celebrates by torchlight the wandering, and the rape, and their mourning.

‘I think, too, that we ought to trace the etymology of “orgies” and “mysteries,” the one from the anger (οργης) of Deo aroused against Zeus, and the other from the pollution (μυσσους) which had occurred with regard to Dionysus. Or even if you derive it from a certain Myus of Attica, who perished in hunting, as Apollodorus says, I do not grudge that your mysteries have been glorified by the honour of a name which is engraved upon a tomb.

‘In another way also you may think of your mysteries as mytheria (hunting-stories) by the correspondence of letters. For fables such as these do most especially make prey of the most barbarous of the Thracians, the most senseless of the Phrygians, the most superstitious of the Greeks.

‘Ill betide him then who first taught men this imposture, whether he were Dardanus, who instituted the mysteries of the Mother of the gods, or one Eetion, who established the orgies and initiations of the Samothracians, or that famous Phrygian Midas, who learned the cunning imposture from Odrysus and then spread it among his subjects.

‘For never will I be cajoled by that Cyprian islander Cinyras, who dared to transfer the lewd orgies of Aphrodite from night to day, in his desire to deify a harlot of his own country.

‘But others say that Melampus son of Amythaon brought over from Egypt to Hellas the festivals of Deo, her grief so famed in song. These for my part I should call evil authors of impious fables, and parents of deadly superstition, as having in the mysteries implanted a seed of wickedness and corruption in man’s life.

‘And now, for it is time, I will prove that your orgies themselves are full of imposture and quackery: and if you have been initiated, you will laugh all the more at these your venerated fables. And I shall proclaim the hidden secrets openly, and not let modesty hinder me from speaking of things which you are not ashamed to worship.

‘First then, the daughter of the foam, the Cyprus-born, the beloved of Cinyras, Aphrodite I mean,

“Enamour’d of the source from which she sprang,”

‘those mutilated members of Uranus, those lustful members, which after their excision did violence to the waves, how wanton the members, of which

your Aphrodite becomes the worthy fruit! In the mystic celebration of this pleasure of the sea a lump of salt and a phallus are delivered as a symbol of generation to those who are being initiated in the adulterous art: and they pay a piece of money to her, as lovers to a harlot.

‘The mysteries of Deo, and the amorous embraces of Zeus with Demeter his mother, and the wrath of —— I know not what to call her now —— his mother or wife, Demeter, on account of which wrath, they say, she was called Brimo; the supplications of Zeus, and the drink of gall, the plucking out of the victim’s heart, and unspeakable deeds, —— these things the Phrygians celebrate in honour of Attis, and Cybele, and the Corybantes.

‘They have also made up a story that Zeus, having torn off parts of a ram, brought and threw them into the lap of Deo, paying a fraudulent penalty for his violence, as though they had been parts of himself.

‘The watchwords of this initiation, if set before you merely for amusement, will, I know, stir your laughter, although you may not be willing to laugh because of the exposures. “I ate out of the drum, and drank out of the cymbal, I danced the *κερνοπηγία*, I slipped into the bridal-chamber.” Are not these watchwords an outrage? Are not the mysteries a farce?

‘But what if I should add the rest of the story? Demeter has a child, and her daughter grows up, and again this Zeus who begat her seduces his own daughter Pherephatta, after her mother Deo, forgetting his former crime, and he approaches her in the form of a serpent, it being thus proved who he was.

‘Accordingly, in the Sabazian mysteries the sign for those who are initiated is “The god gliding over the breast”; and this is a serpent drawn over the breast of those who are initiated, a proof of the incontinence of Zeus. Pherephatta also gives birth to a son in the form of a bull.

‘At all events, a certain sham, poet says:

“Bull begets serpent, serpent begets bull.
Upon the mount the herdsman’s secret goad.”

calling, I suppose, the reed which the Bacchanals brandish a herdsman’s goad.

‘Would you have me narrate to you also Pherephatta’s gathering of flowers, and her basket, and her seizure by Aidoneus, and the chasm opening in the earth, and the swine of Eubuleus that were swallowed up with the two

goddesses, on account of which in the Thesmophoria they throw down swine, when they visit the caves.

‘This fable the women in every city celebrate with festivals in d various ways, the Thesmophoria, Scirophoria, Arretophoria, dramatizing the rape of Pherephatta in many ways.

‘As to the mysteries of Dionysus, they are perfectly inhuman: for when he was yet a child, with the Curetes circling round him in a war-dance, and the Titans had treacherously crept in, they beguiled him with childish toys, did these Titans, and tore him in pieces while yet an infant, as the poet of this mystery, Orpheus the Thracian, says:

“Cone, humming top, and dolls that bend their limbs,
Fair golden apples from the guardian Nymphs.
Of sweetest song, daughters of Hesperus.”

‘Nor will it be useless to set forth for condemnation the useless symbols of this mystery: dice, ball, hoop, apples, humming-top, mirror, and lock of wool.

‘So then Athena, having stolen away the heart of Dionysus, was called Pallas from the pulsation of the heart: and the Titans, who had torn him in pieces, put a cauldron on a trivet, and threw in the limbs of Dionysus, and, having first boiled them down,

“Then pierc’d with spits and held them o’er the fire.”

‘But afterwards Zeus suddenly appears — I suppose, if he was a god, he perceived the savour of the roasting flesh, for your gods acknowledge that savour to be their perquisite, — and with a thunderbolt he smites the Titans, and delivers the limbs of Dionysus to his son Apollo to bury: and he did not disobey Zeus, but bore the dead body, mangled as it was, to Parnassus and there deposited it.

‘If you wish to be initiated in the orgies of the Corybantes also, two of them slew the third brother, and wrapped up the head of the corpse in a purple cloth, and put a wreath upon it, and carried him on a brazen shield, and buried him under the side of Mount Olympus.

‘These are their mysteries, murders in short, and burials! And their priests, whom those concerned call “Lords of the Mysteries,” invent more wonders to add to the tragedy, forbidding to set a whole root of parsley on the table, because they think forsooth that parsley has sprung from the blood which

streamed forth from the Corybant; just as the women who celebrate the Thesmophoria guard against eating the seeds of the pomegranate, for the drops which fell on the ground from the blood of Dionysus they suppose to have grown into pomegranates.

‘As they call the Corybantes Cabeiri, they also proclaim the festival as the Cabeiria. For these very two fratricides, having carried off the chest in which the member of Dionysus was deposited, brought it by sea to Tyrrhenia, as purveyors of a noble cargo! And here they lived in exile, and imparted to the Tyrrhenians their highly venerable doctrine of religion, the chest and its contents, for them to worship; for which cause some not unreasonably will have it that Dionysus is called Attis, as having been mutilated.

‘And what wonder if Tyrrhenians, who were barbarians, are initiated in such foul passions, when there is found among the Athenians, and in the rest of Hellas — I blush even to say it — the shameful legend of Deo.

‘For Deo, wandering in search of her daughter Kore in the neighbourhood of Eleusis — this place is in Attica — grows weary, and sits down in sorrow upon a well. This is forbidden to those who are admitted to the mysteries even to the present day, lest the initiated should seem to be imitating the goddess in her mourning.

‘Now at that time Eleusis was inhabited by the Earth-born: their names were Baubo, and Dysaules, and Triptolemus, also Eumolpus and Eubuleus. Triptolemus was a herdsman, Eumolpus a shepherd, and Eubuleus a swineherd. And from these last grew the flourishing family of the Eumolpidae, and that of the Heralds, the Hierophants I suppose, at Athens.

‘And then Baubo — for I shall not shrink from telling it — having received Deo hospitably, offers her a draught. And when she refused to take it, and would not drink — for she was full of sorrow — Baubo became much annoyed as being forsooth disdained, and exposed herself to the goddess: and Deo, pleased at the sight, at last reluctantly accepted the draught, because she was delighted at what she saw.

‘These are the secret mysteries of the Athenians! These are the things which Orpheus records! But I will set before you the very words of Orpheus, that you may have the master of mysteries himself as witness of their shamelessness:

“She spake, and quick her flowing robes withdrawn

Showed all the secret beauty of her form.
The child Iacchus, laughing, stretched his hand
To touch her tender breasts, and Baubo smil'd;
Then, too, the goddess smil'd with cheerful thought,
And took the shining bowl which held the draught."

'There is also the watchword of the Eleusinian mysteries: *I fasted, I drank the draught, I took from the chest, finished the work and put it back into the basket, and from the basket into the chest.* Noble indeed the sights, and becoming to a goddess!

'Worthy rather are these mysteries of night, and of torch-light, and of the great-hearted, or rather weak-minded, people of the Erechtheidae, and of the other Greeks also, "men for whom there remain after death things that they little look for,"

'To whom then does Heracleitus the Ephesian address this foreboding? "*To night-walkers, sorcerers, bacchanals male and female, to the initiated.*" These he threatens with what follows death; to these he predicts the fire. *For they receive an unholy initiation in what men regard as mysteries.*

'Custom therefore, and vain opinion, and the mysteries of the serpent are a kind of fraud devoutly observed by men who, with spurious piety, promote their abominable initiations and profane orgiastic rites.

'What also are those mystic chests? For I must lay bare their holy things, and tell out their forbidden secrets. Are they not sesame-cakes, and pyramids, and balls, and flat cakes full of knobs, and lumps of salt? A serpent also, mystic symbol of Dionysus Bassarus?

'And besides these are there not pomegranates, and shoots of fig-trees, and reeds, and ivies, and round cakes also, and poppies?

'These are their holy things! And there are in addition the secret symbols of Themis, wild marjoram, a lamp, a sword, a woman's comb, which is an euphemistic and mystical name.

'O barefaced shamelessness! In times of old for modest men pleasure was veiled in night, and night in silence: but now the night that is sacred to wantonness is the talk of those who are to be initiated, and the fire exposes their lewd passions by the light of torches.

'Quench thou the fire, O Hierophant! Blush for thy lights, O bearer of the torch! That flame exposes thine Iacchus. Suffer the night to conceal the

mysteries: let darkness pay respect to your dignified orgies. The fire is no hypocrite : its duty is to expose and to punish.

‘These are the atheists’ mysteries. And atheists I rightly call them, since they have not known Him who is truly God, but worship a child torn in pieces by Titans, and a poor wailing woman; and things for very shame unmentionable they shamelessly worship, and so are involved in a twofold atheism: the first, in that they are ignorant of God, not acknowledging Him who is God indeed; and the other and second delusion this, that they regard those which are not as though they were, and call them gods who have no true being, or rather no being at all, but have only received the name.’

So far this author.

CHAPTER IV

With good reason then do we avow that we have been freed from all this, and rescued from the long and antiquated delusion as from some terrible and most grievous disease. First, we have been delivered by the grace and beneficence of Almighty God, and secondly by the ineffable power of our Saviour's teaching in the Gospel, and thirdly by sound reasoning, because we judged that it is an unholy and impious thing to honour with the adorable name of God mortals who have long been lying among the dead, and have not even left a memory of themselves as virtuous men, but have handed down examples of extreme incontinence and wantonness, of cruelty also and insanity, for those who come after them to follow.

For must it not be the extreme of folly for lovers of temperance to yield the first place to the base and licentious, and for the wise and sensible to render august worship to those who have lost their senses, and those who practise justice and benevolence to those who, through excess of cruelty and inhumanity, are involved in the pollutions of infanticide and parricide?

And does it not surpass every excess of impiety to degrade the adorable and all-holy name of God to parts of the human body, male and female, which we may not speak of, and to the irrational nature of brute beasts; and to honour as divine such foul and inhuman deeds as, even in the case of human malefactors would, if proved, fall under the inexorable penalties of the laws? But why need we spend time in proclaiming to every man, barbarian and Greek alike, his deliverance from the evils described, and in bringing to light the reasonableness of our revolt from gods falsely so called, when already the greater number even of the most superstitious, having woke up as it were from a deep slumber, and cleared the eye of the soul of its ancient film, became conscious of the deep folly of the error of their fathers, and took their stand upon reasoning, and withdrew from the old path, and chose the other way?

Some of these made a bold assault, and with broad derision poured contempt upon the whole mythology of their own forefathers; while others, who shrank from the dogma of atheism, neither stood upon their old ways, nor withdrew from them altogether, but, with the purpose of glossing over and explaining their own dogma, gave to the true histories of the gods who had been celebrated among them the title of fables invented by poets, and said that

physical theories were concealed in them. And however much they fail to bring any proof whatever of the truth of these theories, it will nevertheless be necessary for us to set forth for examination their solemn doctrines, that thus we may prove the reasonableness of that retreat from them which was provided for us solely by the teaching of our Saviour in the Gospel. Come then, let us take up their argument from the beginning and examine it.

CHAPTER V.

Now by the Greek theology I mean the popular and more mythical theology, which also prevailed much earlier among the Phoenicians and Egyptians and the other nations of whom mention was made in our preceding books; and the character of this has been proved to be something of the kind which has been already made manifest by the words quoted from the Greek historians themselves. And this character we have with good reason set before our readers in the beginning of this our *Preparation for the Gospel* for their judgement and decision, that both we and those who as yet have no experience of this subject, may learn for ourselves what we were long ago, and from what sort of forefathers we have sprung, by how great evils we were previously fettered, and in how great a stupor of impiety and ignorance of God our souls were buried, and then were favoured with an uprising and deliverance from all these evils at once by the sole teaching of the Gospel, provided for us in no other way than by the manifestation of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who is God.

For not in a mere part of the earth, nor in a corner of the land of one nation, but throughout the whole inhabited world, where the power of the most superstitious delusion especially prevailed, He, like a sun of intelligent and rational souls, spread abroad the beams of His own light: He translated us all, of every race of mankind, barbarians and Greeks alike, as it were from a terrible darkness and most gloomy and obscure night of superstitious error into the bright and shining day of the true worship of God the King of all.

Certainly the statements that have been already quoted have plainly taught us, that those who in cities and villages have been excited about this delusion of many gods were all universally serving and worshipping images of the dead, and statues of men who have long since passed away. For the men of old, because of the extreme savageness of their life at that time made no account of God the Creator of all, nor paid any heed to the divine judgement which takes vengeance on wrong doing, but cast themselves headlong into every kind of profanity.

For at that time there were no laws yet established for the guidance of life, no civilized government set in order among men, but they led a loose and wandering life like that of the beasts: and some of them, like irrational

animals, cared for nothing beyond the filling of their belly, and among these the first kind of atheism found a home; but others, being in some small degree stirred by natural instincts, conceived that God, and God's power, was some good and salutary thing, and because they wished to find Him, they raised their souls aloft to heaven, and there stopping short in thought, and being astonished at the various beauties of the luminaries which gave and received light in heaven, declared that these were gods.

But a third and different class cast themselves down upon earth, and seeing those who had been thought to excel their contemporaries in wisdom, or had become masters of the multitude by strength of body and power of government, such as giants or tyrants, or even sorcerers and quacks, who after some falling off from holier ways had devised their evil arts of sorcery, or others who had been the authors of some common benefit to human life, —— to these, both while yet living and after death, they gave the title of gods. And from this cause the houses of their gods are mentioned as being tombs of the dead, as Clement relates in his *Exhortation to the Greeks*, bringing forward Greeks themselves as witnesses of his statement. Listen then again, if it please you, to what he writes in the following style:

CHAPTER VI

[CLEMENT] ‘Naturally therefore superstition, having somewhere found a beginning, has become a fountain of senseless wickedness; and afterwards, as it was not checked, but gained increase and rushed on in full flood, it has created a multitude of daemons, sacrificing hecatombs, celebrating public festivals, setting up statues, and building temples, which indeed — for I will not keep silence even on this, but will convict them — were called euphemistically temples, but were in reality tombs, that is to say, tombs which had got the name of temples. But now, I pray you, forget at length your superstition, and be ashamed to worship tombs.

‘In the temple of Athena at Larissa in the Acropolis is the tomb of Acrisius, and at Athens in the Acropolis the tomb of Cecrops, as Antiochus says in the ninth book of his *Histories*. And what of Erichthonius? Is he not buried in the temple of Athena Folias? And Ismarus the son of Eumolpus and Daeira, is he not buried in the precincts of the Eleusinium, which lies under the Acropolis? And the daughters of Celeus, are they not buried at Eleusis?

‘Why should I tell you of the women who came from the Hyperboreans? There are two called Hyperoche and Laodice, who are buried in the precinct of Artemis at Delos, which is in the temple of the Delian Apollo.

‘Leander says that Cleomachus is buried at Miletus in the Didyrnaeum. Here, if we follow Zeno of Myndus, it would not be right to pass over the monument of Leucophryne, who is buried in the temple of Artemis in Magnesia, nor yet the altar of Apollo in Telmessus, which also, the story says, is the monument of Telmesseus the soothsayer.

‘Ptolemy too, the son of Agesarchus, in his first book concerning Philopator says that Cinyras and the descendants of Cinyras are buried in Paphos in the temple of Aphrodite.

‘Were I, however, to go over all the tombs which are worshipped by you, “all time would not suffice for me to tell”; [Homer, *Od.* xx. 351] while you, if no shame for these audacities steals over you, may wander round with your faith in the dead, utterly dead yourselves:

‘Ah! wretched men, what evil doom is this?”

A little further on he says:

‘Another new god the Roman Emperor has deified with great solemnity in

Egypt, and almost in Greece; his favourite Antinous, who was extremely beautiful, was deified by him, as Ganymede was by Zeus.

‘For lust, when free from fear, is not easily restrained: and men now celebrate the sacred nights of Antinous, the shame of which was known to the lover who shared his vigils.’

He also adds:

‘And now the favourite’s tomb is the temple and city of Antinous: for just as temples are held in reverence, so, I suppose, are tombs, pyramids, mausoleums, and labyrinths —— other temples these of the dead, as those before mentioned were tombs of the gods.’

And again, a little further on:

‘Come then, let us also briefly make the round of your games, and put an end to these great sepulchral festivals, the Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian, and besides these the Olympian. At Pytho the Pythian dragon is worshipped, and the festival of the serpent is proclaimed as the Pythia. At the Isthmus the sea cast up a miserable carcass, and the Isthmian games are a lamentation for Melicertes: at Nemea another child Archemorus is buried, and the boy’s funeral games are called Nemea. Pisa is the tomb in your midst, O Panhellenes, of a Phrygian charioteer, and the Zeus of Phidias claims as his own the Olympian games, which are the funeral libations of Pelops.’

So speaks our author.

Now take thou up our argument again from the beginning, and observe the downfall of superstitious error. By nature and by our self-taught ideas, or rather ideas taught by God, there is a something noble and salutary that indicates the name and being of God: for all men had taken this for granted in their common reasonings, since the Creator of all things had implanted this conviction by innate ideas in every rational and intelligent soul.

They had not, however, chosen the course which accords with reason. For only some one or two perchance, or at most a very few others, whose memory is recorded in the oracles of the Hebrews, could not adapt their idea of God to any of the things that are seen, but with unperverted reasonings led up their thoughts from visible things to the Creator of the whole world and the great Maker of the universe; and with purified eyes of the understanding perceived that He alone is God, the Saviour of all, and sole giver of good gifts. But the rest wandered about in all kinds of mental blindness, and were carried into an

abyss of ungodliness, so that like wild beasts they limited the beautiful, and useful, and good to the pleasure of the eyes and the flesh.

And in this way, as I have said before, the discoverers of the things supposed to be good and useful to the body, or certain governors, or tyrants, or even sorcerers and poisoners, though of mortal nature and subjected to the misfortunes of humanity, were called saviours and gods as givers of good things, and men transferred, the august conception which was implanted in them by nature to those whom they supposed to be benefactors.

And accordingly so great a mental paralysis possessed them, that they took no account of the iniquities of those whom they regarded as gods, nor blushed at the shameful tales reported of them, but in all these things admired the men because of the benefits provided by them, or because of the governments and tyrannies which were then first established.

For example, as I said before, since at that time no laws were yet administered, nor punishment suspended over evil deeds, they recorded as rightful and brave deeds, adulteries and sodomy, and incestuous and unlawful marriages, and bloodshed and parricides, and murders of children and brethren, and moreover, wars and seditions actually carried on by their own champions, whom they both accounted and called gods, and bequeathed the remembrance of them as worshipful and brave to later generations.

Such was the ancient theology which was transformed by certain moderns of yesterday's growth, who boasted of having a more reasonable philosophy, and introduced what they called the more physical view of the history of the gods, by devising more respectable and ingenious explanations for the legends: yet they neither escaped altogether the fault of their forefathers' impiety, nor, on the other hand, could endure the self-manifested wickedness of their so-called gods.

So, in their eagerness to palliate the fault of their fathers, they changed the legends into physical narratives and theories, and boasted, as the more mystical view, that the things which give nourishment and increase to the nature of the body are those which the legends set forth.

Going on from this point, these men also gave the title of gods to the elements of the world, not just merely to sun and moon and stars, but also to earth and water, and air and fire, and their combinations and resultants, and moreover to the seasonable fruits of the earth, and all other produce of food

both dry and liquid: and these very things, regarded as causes of the life of the body, they called Demeter, and Kore, and Dionysus, and other like names, and, by making gods of them, introduced a forced and untrue embellishment of their legends.

But it was in a later age that these men, as if ashamed of the theologies of their forefathers, added respectable explanations, which each invented of himself, to the legends concerning their gods; for no one dared to disturb the customs of their ancestors, but paid great honour to antiquity, and to the familiar training which had grown with them from their boyhood.

Their elders, however, besides their deifications of men, gave equal rank to their consecrations of brute animals, because of the benefit derived from them also for the causes previously assigned; and they devoted equal religious worship to the brutes, and with libations, sacrifices, mystic rites, and hymns, and songs, exalted the honours paid to them, in the same manner as to the men who had been deified. And so they marched on to such a pitch of evil, that, through excess of unbridled lust, they consecrated with divine honours those parts of the body that lead to impurity, and the unrestrained passions of mankind, while their so-called theologians declared that in these things there is no need at all to use solemn phrases. We must, then, hold it to have been proved on the highest testimony, that the oldest generations knew nothing more at all than the history, but adhered to the legends only. Since, however, we have once begun to glance at the august and recondite doctrines of the noble philosophers, let us go on and examine these also more fully, that we may not seem to be ignorant of their wonderful physical theories.

But before we make our exposition of these doctrines, we must first indicate the mutual contradiction even here of these admirable philosophers themselves. For some of them make random statements, and set forth their opinions according to what comes into the mind of each individually: for they do not agree one with another even in their physical theories. While others more candidly sweep away the whole system, and banish from their own republic not only the indecent stories about the gods, but also the interpretations given of them; though sometimes they speak softly of the legends through fear of the punishment threatened by the laws.

Listen then to the Greeks themselves speaking by the mouth of the one noblest of them all, now banishing and now again adopting the legends. Thus

their admirable Plato, when he lays bare his own preference, with great boldness forbids altogether the thinking or saying such things concerning the gods, as had been said by them of old, whether they contained anything latent indicated in allegorical meanings, or were spoken without any allegorical meaning at all. But at other times he speaks softly of the laws, and says that we ought to believe the legends about the gods, though there is nothing indicated by them in allegorical meanings.

But when at last he has dissociated his own theology from the ancient legends, and has stated his physical theories about the heaven, and sun, and moon, and stars, and moreover about the whole cosmos, and the parts of it severally, he again specially and separately goes through the ancient genealogical accounts of the gods just as follows word for word in the *Timaeus*.

CHAPTER VII.

[PLATO] 'To tell of the other divinities and to learn their origin is beyond our power; but we must give credence to those who have spoken in former times, who being, as they said, the offspring of gods had, I suppose, a clear knowledge of their own ancestors. It is impossible therefore to disbelieve children of the gods, even though they speak without certain or probable proofs; but as they assert that they are reporting family histories, we must, in obedience to the law, believe them.

'On their authority then let the origin of these gods be admitted and stated by us as follows. The children of Earth and Heaven were Oceanus and Tethys; and their children Phorcys, and Kronos, and Rhea, and the rest of them: and from Kronos and Rhea sprang Zeus and Hera, and all whom we know as their reputed brethren, and still others who were their offspring.'

These things, says Plato, 'we must in obedience to the law believe,' even though, he admits, they are stated 'without certain or probable proofs.' And we must observe how he indicates that the names and genealogies of the so-called gods have no hidden meaning to be explained by physical theories.

But again, in another place the same author, laying open his own deliberate opinion, has used these words:

'In the first place, said I, the author of that greatest lie about the greatest gods told a bad lie, how Uranus did the deeds which Hesiod says he did, and how Kronos took revenge upon him.

'Again, even if the doings of Kronos and his treatment by his son were true, I should not have thought that they ought to be thus lightly told before young and thoughtless persons, but that they should be buried in silence, as the best thing; or if there were any necessity to tell them, then as few as possible should hear them in secret, after sacrificing no mere pig, but some great and scarce victim, so that very few might have a chance of hearing them.

'Why yes, said he, these stories certainly are mischievous.

'Aye, and they must not be told in our city, Adeimantus; nor must a young hearer be told that he would be doing nothing remarkable in committing the worst injuries nor in inflicting every kind of punishment upon his father for injuring him, but would be doing just what the first and greatest of the gods did.

‘Nor do I myself think that such stories are fit to be told.

‘Nor yet, said I, about gods going to war with gods and plotting and fighting (untrue as such things are) ought anything at all to be said, if at least the future guardians of our city are to regard it as very disgraceful to be lightly quarrelling one with another. Much less must we invent fables about wars of the giants, and work them in embroidery, with numberless other quarrels of all kinds of gods and heroes against their own kith and kin. But if there were any chance of our persuading them, that no citizen was ever at enmity with a fellow citizen, and that such a thing was unholy, rather should tales of this kind be told to children from the first by old men and old women and by those of mature age, and the poets should be compelled to make their tales like these.

‘The chaining, too, of Hera by her son, and the hurling of Hephaestus out of heaven by his father, when he was going to defend his mother from a beating, and all the battles of the gods that Homer has invented, must not be admitted into the city, whether they are composed with or without allegorical meanings.’

By these words, then, the philosopher clearly teaches that both the legends of the ancients concerning the gods, and the physical explanations of these legends supposed to be expressed in allegories are to be rejected; so that it can no longer be denied that there is good reason for our Saviour’s teaching in the Gospel, which bids us to abandon these legends, seeing that they have been rejected even by their own friends.

Hence it comes that I admire the ancient Romans for the manner in which, when they perceived that all the physiological theories of the Greeks concerning the gods were absurd and unprofitable, or rather were forced and inconsistent, they excluded them, legends and all, from their own theology. This too you may learn from the *Roman Archaeology* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus: for he, in his second book, when relating the history of Romulus, the first founder of the city of Rome, while recounting his other good deeds, writes on this point especially in the following manner:

CHAPTER VIII

[DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS] ‘But he knew that good laws and zeal in honourable pursuits render a state religious and temperate, and observant of justice, and brave in war: and for these things he took much forethought, beginning with the laws concerning acts of worship paid to gods and daemons.

‘Temples therefore, and precincts, and altars, and the erection of statues, and their forms and emblems and powers, and gifts whereby they had conferred benefit on our race, and festivals of all such kinds as ought to be kept in honour of each god or daemon, and sacrifices wherewith they delight to be honoured by men, and sacred truces also and national festivals, and seasons of rest from labour, and all such matters he established in a manner similar to the best of the customs among the Greeks. But the traditional fables concerning them, in which there are any slanders or accusations against them, he considered to be wicked and unprofitable and unseemly, and unworthy not to say of gods but even of good men, and he excluded them all, and trained men both to speak and think all that was excellent concerning the gods, imputing to them no practice unworthy of their blessed nature.

‘For among the Romans there is neither any story of Uranus being mutilated by his own children, nor of Kronos devouring his own offspring through fear of their attack, nor of Zeus overthrowing the dynasty of Kronos, and shutting up his own father in the prison of Tartarus; nor yet of wars, and wounds, and bonds, and servitudes of gods among men.

‘Nor is any black-robed or mournful festival held among them, with women’s wailings and lamentations over gods that vanished from sight, such as are celebrated among the Greeks in reference to the rape of Persephone, and the sufferings of Dionysus, and all other things of a like kind.

‘Nor would any one see among them, even though their customs are now corrupted, any wild enthusiasms, nor Corybantic frenzies, nor Bacchanalian revels and secret initiations, no all-night vigils of men and women together in the temples of the gods, nor any other of the monstrosities akin to these, but all things concerning the gods practised and spoken of with reverence, such as is seen neither among Greeks nor barbarians.

‘And what I have admired most of all, though countless races have come to

settle in the city, who were strictly bound to worship their ancestral gods with the rites of their own country, the city has never by public consent sought to imitate any of the foreign customs, a propensity which has occurred to many states ere now: but even if any sacred rites have been introduced in accordance with oracles, the city adapted them to its own institutions, and cast out all mythical quackery, as for example the rites of the Idaean goddess.

‘For in her honour the Consuls celebrate sacrifices and games every year according to the laws of the Romans: and her priests are a Phrygian man and Phrygian woman, and these go about the city begging for the goddess, as their custom is, with images fastened round their breasts, and rattling cymbals and accompanied by their followers playing on flutes the music of the Mother.

‘But of the home-born Romans none proceeds through the city either so begging, or accompanied by flutes and dressed in an embroidered robe, nor celebrates the goddess with Phrygian orgies by any law or decree of the Senate.

‘So cautious is the attitude of the state towards foreign customs concerning the gods, shunning as ill-omened all vain display in which there is anything unbecoming.

‘But let no one suppose me to be ignorant that some of the Grecian legends are useful to mankind; some exhibiting the works of nature allegorically, and others composed for the sake of consoling human misfortunes, and others removing troubles and terrors of the soul and overthrowing unsound opinions, and others invented for the sake of some other utility.

‘But although I know these things as well as anybody, I am nevertheless cautiously disposed towards them, and I prefer to accept the theology of the Romans, considering that the benefits derived from the Hellenic legends are small, and not capable of benefiting many, but only those who have searched out the purposes for which they are made. And those who have taken part in this branch of philosophy are rare; while the great mass unversed in philosophy loves to take the tales concerning the gods in the worse senses, and is affected in one of two ways; either it despises the gods as tossed about in great misery, or else it abstains from none of the most disgraceful and lawless doings, seeing that they are attributed to the gods.

‘On these subjects, however, let inquiry be left to those who study merely the theoretical part of philosophy: but of the polity established by Romulus I

thought these points worth recording.’

Such, we see were the opinions entertained by the best philosophers, and by the ancient and most eminent men of the Roman empire concerning the theology of the Greeks —— opinions which give no admission to physical theories in their legends concerning the gods, nor to their gorgeous and sophistical impostures.

Since, however, we have once entered upon their refutation, let us go on and consider their interpretations and theories, to see what, after all, they carry with them that is venerable and worthy of the gods; and let us not say anything as of ourselves, but make use, on all points, of their own words, so that we may again learn their views from themselves.

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PREFACE

SUCH were the opinions entertained by the best philosophers and by the ancient and most eminent men of the Roman Empire in regard to the theology of the Greeks — opinions which give no admission to physical theories in the legends concerning the gods, nor to their gorgeous and sophistical impostures. Since, however, we have once entered upon their refutation, let us go on and consider their interpretations and theories, to see what, after all, they bring with them that is venerable and worthy of the gods; and let us say nothing of ourselves, but on all points make use of their own words, so that we may again learn their venerable secrets from themselves.

Now much labour has been spent upon these subjects by numberless other professors of philosophy, who have made different subtle explanations of the same, and strongly insist that the opinion which occurred to each was the exact truth. But for my part I am content to bring forward my proofs from the most illustrious authors who are well known to all philosophers, and have carried off no small reputation for philosophy among the Greeks.

Of whom take first and read the words of Plutarch of Chaeroneia on the questions before us, wherein with solemn phrase he perverts the fables into what he asserts to be mysterious theologies. And in unveiling these he says that Dionysus is drunkenness, and no longer the mortal man who has been exhibited by the history in the preceding book; and that Hera means the joint wedded life of husband and wife. Then, as if he had forgotten his rendering, he forthwith tacks on a different story, and no longer uses the name Hera as before, but calls the earth by her name, and gives the name Leto to oblivion and night. And again he says that Hera is the same as Leto. Then in addition to this he introduces Zeus as representing allegorically the power of the air.

But why need I thus anticipate, when we may hear the man himself, in the essay which he wrote *On the Daedala at Plataea*, expounding as follows what was hidden from the multitude in the secret physiological doctrines concerning the gods.

CHAPTER I

[PLUTARCH] 'THE physiology of the ancients both among Greeks and Barbarians was a physical doctrine concealed in legends, for the most part a secret and mysterious theology conveyed in enigmas and allegories, containing statements that were clearer to the multitude than the silent omissions, and its silent omissions more liable to suspicion than the open statements. This is evident in the Orphic poems, and in the Egyptian and Phrygian stories: 'out the mind of the ancients is most clearly exhibited in the orgiastic rites connected with the initiations, and in what is symbolically acted in the religious services.

'For instance, not to digress far from our present subjects, they do not suppose nor admit any intercourse between Hera and Dionysus; and they guard against combining their worship; and their priestesses at Athens, they say, do not speak to each other when they meet, nor is ivy ever brought into the precincts of Hera, not because of their fabulous and nonsensical jealousies, but because the goddess presides over marriage and bridal processions, and drunkenness is unbecoming to bridegrooms, and most unbefitting to a marriage feast, as Plato says: for the drinking of strong wine causes disorder both in body and soul, whereby what is sown and conceived being shapeless and misplaced does not take root well. Again, those who sacrifice to Hera do not consecrate the gall, but bury it beside the altar, meaning that the wedded life of wife and husband ought to be free from anger and wrath, and undisturbed by rage and bitterness.

'This symbolical style is more common in the tales and legends. As for instance, they relate that Hera, being brought up in Euboea. was stolen away while yet a virgin by Zeus, and was carried across and hidden in this region, where Cithaeron afforded them a shady recess, nature's own bridal-chamber. And when Macris — she was Hera's nurse — came to seek her, and wished to make a search, Cithaeron would not let her pry about, or approach the spot, on pretence that Zeus was there resting and passing the time in company with Leto. And as Macris went away, Hera thus escaped discovery on that occasion, and afterwards calling to mind her debt of gratitude to Leto she adopted her as partner in a common altar and common temple, so that sacrifices are first offered to Leto Μυχία, that is, '*of the inner shrine*'; but

some call her Νυχία, '*goddess of night*.' In each of the names, however, there is the signification of secrecy and escape. Some say that Hera had secret intercourse there with Zeus, and, being undiscovered, was thus herself denominated Leto of the night: but when her marriage became openly known, and their intercourse first here in the neighbourhood of Citliaeron and of Plataea had been revealed, she was called Hera Τελεία and Γαμήλιος, goddess of the perfect life, and of marriage.

'Those who understand the fable in a more physical and becoming sense connect Hera with Leto in the following way. Hera, as has been said, is the Earth, and Leto is night, being a sort of oblivion on the part of those who turn to sleep. And night is nothing else but the shadow of the Earth. For when the Sun has reached the West and been hidden by the shadow, this spreads itself out and darkens the air: and this is the cause of the failure of the full moon in an eclipse, when the shadow of the earth touches the moon in her orbit and obscures her light. Moreover, that Leto is none other than Hera, you may learn from what follows. Artemis we of course call the daughter of Latona, but we also name the same goddess Eileithyia: Hera therefore and Leto are two names of one goddess.

'Again of Leto is born Apollo, and of Hera Ares, and they both have the same power: and Ares is so called as helping (ἀρήγων) in the mischances of violence and battle, and Apollo as delivering and releasing (ἀπαλλάττων καὶ ἀπολύων) a man from his bodily diseases. For which reason also of the most fiery and blazing luminaries one, the sun, is named Apollo, and the other of a fiery red is surnamed Ares. And it is not unsuitable that the same goddess (Hera) is called the goddess of marriage, and considered to be the mother of Eileithyia and of the sun. For the end of marriage is birth; and birth is the passing out of darkness into the sun and light. And it is a fine saying of the poet:

'But soon her child, by Eileithyia's aid,
Was brought to light, and saw the sun's bright rays.'

Rightly did the poet crowd the composition by the preposition, thereby indicating the hardness of the labour, and made the end of the birth consist in seeing the sun. The same goddess therefore made also the marriage union, in order that she might prepare the way for birth.

‘But perhaps we ought also to mention the more silly legend. For it is said that when Hera was at variance with Zeus, and was no longer willing to consort with him, but hid herself, he was wandering about in perplexity and fell in with Alalcomenes the earth-born, and was taught by him that, to deceive Hera, he must pretend to wed another wife. So Alalcomenes helped him, and they secretly cut down a tall and beautiful oak, and shaped it and dressed it in bridal array, and called it Daedale: then the hymeneal was duly chanted, and the nymphs of Triton brought lustral water, and Boeotia supplied flutes and festal processions. But when these performances went on, Hera could bear it no longer, but came down from Cithaeron, followed by the women of Plataea, and from anger and jealousy came running up to Zeus, and when the counterfeit became manifest, she was reconciled to him and with joy and laughter herself led the bridal procession, and gave additional honour to the statue, and called the festival Daedala, and nevertheless from jealousy burnt the thing, lifeless though it was.

‘Such then is the legend: and the explanation of it is as follows. The variance and quarrel of Hera and Zeus is nothing else than the distemper and confusion of the elements, when they no longer bear a due proportion to each other in the cosmos, but disproportion and roughness arise, and they have a desperate fight and dissolve their connexion, and work the ruin of the universe.

If then Zeus, that is, the force of heat and fire, gives occasion to the variance, a drought overtakes the earth: but if it is on the part of Hera, that is, the element of rain and wind, that any outbreak or excess takes place, there comes a great flood, and deluges and overflows everything. And as something of this kind occurred about those times, and Boeotia especially had been deeply flooded, as soon as ever the plain emerged and the flood abated, the order which followed from the tranquillity of the atmosphere was called the agreement and reconciliation of the deities. The first of the plants that sprang up out of the earth was the oak; and men welcomed this, because it gave a permanent supply of food and safety. For not only for the pious, as Hesiod says, but for all who survive the destruction,

‘The top bears acorns, and the middle bees.’

CHAPTER II

THIS is what Plutarch says; and we learn from the statements which he sets before us, that even the wonderful and secret physiology of the Greek theology conveyed nothing divine, nor anything great and worthy of deity, and deserving of attention.

For you have heard Hera called at one time Gamelios, and a symbol of the joint life of husband and wife, and at another time the earth called Hera, and at another the element of water; and Dionysus translated into drunkenness, and Latona into night, and the sun into Apollo, and Zeus himself into the force of heat and fire.

So then the original indecency of the legends, and the physiological explanation, which is thought to be more respectable, led not up to any heavenly, intellectual, and divine powers, nor yet to rational and incorporeal essences, but the explanation itself led down again to drunkenness, and marriage feasts, and human passions, and reduced the parts of the cosmos to fire, and earth, and sun, and the other elements of matter, without introducing any other deity.

And Plato too knew this. In the *Cratylus*, at least, he expressly acknowledges that the first inhabitants of Greece knew nothing more than the visible parts of the cosmos, and supposed the luminaries in the heaven and the other phenomena to be the only gods.

So he speaks as follows word for word:

‘It appears to me that the first inhabitants of Greece acknowledged no other gods than those whom many of the barbarians acknowledge now, namely, sun, and moon, and earth, and stars, and heaven.’

But such being the doctrines of the Greeks, let us look also at those which are far more ancient than these, I mean the Egyptian. They say that Isis and Osiris are the sun and the moon, and that they called the breath that pervades all things Zeus, and fire Hephaestus, and the earth Demeter; also the water was called among the Egyptians Oceanus, and their own river Nilus, and to him they ascribed the generations of the gods: the air, it is said, they call Athena.

And these five gods, I mean Air, and Water, and Fire, and Earth, and Breath, travel over the whole world, transforming themselves at various times

into various shapes and semblances of men and animals of all kinds; and there have been among the Egyptians themselves mortal men called by the same names with these, Helios, and Kronos, and Rhea, and Zeus too and Hera, and Hephaestus and Hestia. On these subjects also Manetho writes at large, and Diodorus concisely in his book before mentioned, giving the narrative just as follows word for word:

CHAPTER III

[DIODORUS] ‘THESE Gods,’ he says (the Sun and the Moon, which are according to the Egyptians Osiris and Isis), ‘govern the whole cosmos, supplying nourishment and growth to all things in three distinct seasons, which by an invisible motion complete their circuit, spring, summer, and winter; and these being each of a very opposite nature to the others complete the year in excellent harmony. These deities, they say, contribute most to the quickening of all things with life, Osiris making the chief contribution of fire and wind, and Isis of water and earth, and both alike of air; and by these all things are generated and nourished. And for this reason, they say, the whole body of universal nature is made up completely out of the sun and moon, and as to the live parts of these before mentioned, breath, fire, earth, water, and finally air —— just as in a man we count up head, and hands, and feet, and the other members —— in the same manner the body of the cosmos is all composed of the parts before mentioned.

‘Each of these, they say, was regarded as a god, and a special name given to each according to his proper character, by those of the inhabitants of Egypt who first made use of articulate speech. So they called the wind Zeus, the word being so interpreted, and as he was the author of the soul in living beings they supposed him to be, as it were, a father of all.

‘And with this, they say, the most illustrious poet of the Greeks agrees, when he speaks of this god, as

‘Father of men and gods.’

‘Fire by interpretation they called Hephaestus, considering him to be a great god, and to contribute much to the production and perfect growth of all things. The earth they supposed to be a sort of vessel containing all natural productions, and called it Mother: and the Greeks in like manner call it Demeter, the word having been a little changed through lapse of time.

‘For of old she was called Γῆ μήτηρ (Earth Mother), as Orpheus bears witness, saying ——

‘Earth Mother of all, Demeter, giver of wealth.’

‘The water, it is said, was called by the ancients Oceané, which being interpreted is ‘Mother of food,’ but among some of the Greeks it was supposed to be the Ocean, concerning which the poet says,

‘Oceanus sire, and Tethys mother of gods.’

‘For the Egyptians consider their river Nile to be the Ocean, and that the gods had their origin near it, because in Egypt alone of the whole world there are many cities founded by the elder gods, such as those of Zeus, Helios, Hermes, Apollo, Pan, Eileithyia, and many others.

‘The air, it is said, they called Athena, the word being so interpreted, and they regarded her as the daughter of Zeus, and supposed her to be a virgin, because the air is naturally incorruptible, and occupies the highest place of the whole cosmos: on which account the fable went that she sprang from the head of Zeus. She was called also Tritogeneia from changing her nature thrice in the year, in spring, summer, and winter. She is also called Glaucopis, not as some of the Greeks supposed because she had light-blue eyes, for this is silly, but because the air has a bluish appearance.

‘They say that the five gods before mentioned travel over the whole world, and appear to men in the forms of sacred animals, sometimes also transforming themselves into the likenesses of men or other things: and that this is not fabulous, but possible, since these are in truth the progenitors of all things. The poet too, they say, having landed in Egypt, and had tales of this kind imparted to him by the priests, in a certain passage of his poem stated the above-mentioned circumstance as actually occurring:

‘They, curious oft of mortal actions, deign
In forms like these to round the earth and main,
Just and unjust recording in their mind,
And with sure eyes inspecting all mankind.’

‘Thus much then the Egyptians say concerning the gods who are in heaven, and have had an eternal generation.

‘But others, they say, were born of these on earth, who having been originally mortal have obtained immortality on account of their wisdom and general beneficence to mankind, and some of them have been kings in Egypt. Of these some have the same names, when interpreted, as the gods of heaven, but others have received a name of their own; as Helios, and Kronos, and Rhea, and Zeus also, whom some call Ammon; and in addition to these Hera, Hephaestus, and Hestia, and Hermes last: and Helios was the first king of the Egyptians, having the same name as the luminary in the heaven.’

Such, then are the statements of the historian whom I have mentioned.

Moreover Plutarch, in his book *On the story of Isis*, writes as follows, word for word:

[PLUTARCH] ‘Let us begin again, and consider first the simplest of those who are thought to speak in the more philosophical way. Now, just as the Greeks make Kronos an allegorical name for time (Chronos), and Hera for the air, and the birth of Hephaestus for the transformation of air into fire, so these say that in like manner among the Egyptians Osiris is the Nile, wedded to Isis the earth, and Typhon is the sea, into which the Nile falls and disappears.’

After these and similar statements, he refers the legends concerning the said deities back again to daemons, and then again gives first one allegorical rendering and afterwards another.

Now we might reasonably ask, to which set of gods, will they say, do the forms belong which are engraven on their statues. Are they those of daemons? Or those of fire, and air, and earth, and water? Or likenesses of men and women, and shapes of brute animals and wild beasts?

For it has been admitted even by themselves that certain mortal men have had the same names with the Sun and the universal elements, and that these men have been called gods. Of which then would it be reasonable to say that the sculptures on the lifeless statues are forms and images? Of the universal elements? Or, as their appearance plainly shows, of mortals now lying among the dead?

Why, even if they would not say so themselves, surely true reason shouts and cries aloud, all but in actual speech, and testifies that they of whom we speak have been mortal men. And Plutarch with superabundant pains describes the particular character of their bodily shapes, in his work *On Isis and the Gods of Egypt*. speaking as follows:

‘The Egyptians narrate that in body Hermes was short-armed, and Typhon red in complexion, and Horus fair, and Osiris dark-skinned, as having been by nature men.’

Thus speaks Plutarch. So then their whole manufacture of gods consists of dead men; and their physical explanations are fictitious. For what need was there to model figures of men and women, when without them they could worship the sun and moon and the other elements of the cosmos?

To which of these two classes did they assign names of this kind, and with

whom did they begin? I mean, for example, Hephaestus and Athena, and Zeus, and Poseidon, and Hera.

Were these in the first place names of the universal elements, which they have since ascribed to mortals, making them of the same name as the heavenly bodies? Or on the contrary, have they transferred the names in use among men to the natural substances?

But why should they address the natural elements of the universe by names of mortal men? And the mysteries belonging to each god, and the hymns, and songs, and the secrets of the initiatory rites, —— do these introduce the symbols of the universal elements, or of the mortal men of old who had the same names with the gods?

Then as to wanderings, and drunken fits, and amours, and seduction of women, and plots against men, and countless things, which are in truth shameful and unseemly practices of mortal men, how could any one refer these to the universal elements, acts which bear upon their very face mortality and human passion?

So that from all these proofs this wonderful and noble physiology is convicted of having no connexion with truth, and containing nothing really divine, but possessing only a forced and counterfeit solemnity of external utterance. Hear, however, what Porphyry records concerning these same gods in his *Epistle to Anebo the Egyptian*.

CHAPTER IV

[PORPHYRY] ‘FOR as to Chaeremon and the rest, they do not believe in anything else prior to the visible worlds, since they account as a ruling power the gods of the Egyptians, and no others except the so-called planets, and those stars which fill up the zodiac, and as many as rise near them: also the divisions into the “decani,” and the horoscopes, and the so-called “mighty Rulers,” the names of which are contained in the almanacks, and their powers to heal diseases, and their risings and settings, and indications of future events.

‘For he saw that those who assert the Sun to be the Creator twist the story of Osiris and Isis, and all the priestly legends, either into allusions to the stars and their appearances and disappearances and their solar distances at rising, or to the waxings and wanings of the moon, or to the course of the sun, or to the hemisphere of night, or of day, or to their river; and generally that they interpreted all things of physical phenomena, and nothing of incorporeal and living beings. And most of them made even our own free will depend upon the motion of the stars, binding all things down by indissoluble bonds, I know not how, to a necessity which they call fate, and making all things depend closely on these gods, whom, as the sole deliverers from the bonds of fate, they worship with temples, and statues, and the like.’

Let then this quotation from the before-mentioned Epistle suffice, clearly declaring, as it does, that even the secret theology of the Egyptians made no other gods than the stars in the heaven, both those which are called fixed, and the so-called planets, and introduced no incorporeal mind as creator of the universe, nor any creative reason, nor yet a god or gods, nor any intelligent and invisible powers, but only the visible Sun. “Wherefore also they referred the cause of the universe to the heavenly bodies alone, making all depend on fate, and the movement and course of the stars, as in fact this opinion has prevailed among them until now.

If therefore all is interpreted by the Egyptians of the visible elements of the world alone, and nothing of incorporeal and living beings, and if the elements and all visible bodies are by their own account inanimate and irrational, and in their nature fleeting and perishable, — see into what difficulties their theology has fallen again, in deifying inanimate substance and dead and

irrational bodies, especially since they referred nothing to incorporeal and intelligent beings, nor to a mind and reason creating the universe.

But since it was acknowledged in the passages before quoted that their theological doctrines had been brought over to the Greeks from the Egyptians, it is time that the Greeks also should take their place with them, and give the same physiological explanations as the Egyptians, and be convicted of deifying nothing more than inanimate matter. For such were the august deities of the Egyptians according to the description of the writer before mentioned, who again, in the work which he entitled *On Abstinence from Animal Food*, gives such details as the following concerning the same people:

‘Starting from this discipline and intimacy with the deity, they judged that the divine pervaded not man only, nor did soul tabernacle upon earth in man alone, but all animals were pervaded by almost the same kind of soul. Wherefore they admitted every animal into their manufacture of gods, and mixed up beasts and men just alike, and also the bodies of birds and men.

‘For with them there is a figure represented like a man up to the neck, but having the face of a bird or a lion or some other animal: and, on the other hand again, the head of a man and members of some other animals, set partly below, and partly above. And hereby they indicate that according to the mind of the gods these animals also are associated one with another, and that it is not without a divine purpose that the wild beasts are bred up with us and tamed.

‘Hence also the lion is worshipped as a god, and a division of Egypt which they call a Nome has from the lion the name Leonto-polites, and another, from the cow, Busirites, and another, from the dog, Cynopolites. For the power which is over all they worshipped through the associated animals which each of the gods had given them.

‘Water and fire, the most beautiful of the elements, they reverence as being chief causes of our preservation, and exhibit them also in their temples; as, I believe, even now at the opening of the sanctuary of Serapis the worship is performed by means of fire and water, the precentor pouring out the water and exhibiting the fire, whenever he stands upon the threshold and wakes the god in the native language of the Egyptians.

‘They reverence, therefore, these elements that bear a part in the sacrifices, and above these they reverence most highly the things which are more fully

associated with the sacrifices: and such are all living beings, for in the village Anabis they even worship a man, and sacrifice is there offered to him, and the victims are consumed by fire upon the altars: and yet presently he would eat the proper things prepared for him as a man. As, therefore, we ought to abstain from eating man's flesh, so we should abstain from the flesh of other animals.

‘But further out of their abundant wisdom and their familiarity with the divine, they perceived that certain animals were more dear than men to certain of their gods, a hawk, for instance, to the Sun, as having its whole nature made up of blood and breath, and feeling pity even for man, and shrieking over an exposed corpse, and scraping up earth over it.’

A little further on he says:

‘An ignorant person might detest a beetle, being without judgement in things divine: but the Egyptians revered it, as a living image of the sun. For every beetle is male, and deposits his spawn in a marsh, and having made it into a ball carries it back with his hind feet, as the sun does the heaven, and waits a lunar period of days.

‘In like manner they make some philosophic explanation concerning the ram, and another concerning the crocodile, and the vulture and the ibis, and generally as to each of the animals; so that out of their wisdom and their superior knowledge of things divine, they attained even to the worship of animals.’

CHAPTER V

SUCH are the statements set forth concerning the noble physiology of the wise Egyptians by the above-mentioned author, who has made their secrets clear to us, namely that they worship water and fire, and that the essential nature of rational and irrational animals, not in body only but also in soul, is judged among them to be one and the same, so that he thinks they have called the beasts gods with good reason.

Yet must it not be most unreasonable to admit the irrational and bestial nature to deification, on the ground, as they say, of participation in the same kind of soul with men? For they ought, if so, to have regarded them also as men, and given them a share of human glory and honour.

This, however, they did not; but the beasts which were created by nature itself irrational, and have received this appellation, and not even been thought worthy of the title of men, they chose to accept, on no mere equality with men; but taking the highest title of God the universal King and Creator of all things, they have degraded it to the nature of beasts, and bestowed the title of gods upon things which have not been deemed worthy by God Himself even of the title of man.

In addition to this, you have heard the mystic theosophy, which led the wonderful sages of Egypt to worship wolves and dogs and lions: you have learnt also the miracle of the beetle, and the virtue of the hawk. Laugh not then in future at their gods, but pity the thrice wretched human race for their great folly and blindness.

Moreover, consider all things carefully, and see what blessings God's Christ came to bestow on us, since through His teaching in the Gospel he has redeemed even the souls of Egyptians from such a disease of lasting and long continued blindness, so that now most of the people of Egypt have been freed from this insanity.

CHAPTER VI

SUCH then were the notions received among the Egyptians, which are recorded as more ancient than all the doctrines of the Greeks. Therefore, you have in addition to the mythical theology that of a more physical character common to Greeks and Egyptians, who devised of old the superstition of polytheism; and you have learnt that among them nothing at all was known of the truly divine, incorporeal, and intelligent natures.

However, let it be granted and allowed to these stargazers that they speak truth and are right in their physical explanation of the allegories; and let their sun become now Apollo, and now again Horus, and the same sun again Osiris, and numberless other things, as many as they would wish; and the moon in like manner either Isis or Artemis, or as many names as any one would choose to enumerate.

For grant that these are not names indicative of mortal men, but of the real celestial luminaries: we should then have to worship the sun and the moon and the stars and the other parts of the cosmos as gods.

In this way, therefore, the noble philosophy of the Greeks appears as it were 'ex machina,' on the one hand highly exalting the promise of the word, but on the other lowering the thought of the wise down to the sensible and visible workmanship of God, and deifying, through the celestial luminaries, nothing else than fire, and the nature of heat, and the parts of the cosmos, to which we may add the liquid and the solid elements and the composition of bodies.

Must not then the gospel of Jesus our Saviour, the Christ of God, be great and admirable, as teaching all mankind to worship with befitting thoughts the God and Lord of sun and moon, and Maker of the whole cosmos, who is Himself high above and beyond the universe, and to celebrate in hymns not the elements of bodies, but Him who is the sustainer of life itself, and dispenser of all good things? For that gospel teaches us not to stand in awe of the visible parts of the cosmos and all that can be apprehended by fleshly sense, as they must be of perishable nature; but to marvel only at the mind which in all these exists unseen, and which creates both the whole and each several part; and to regard as God one sole Divine Power pervading and ordering all things, being in its nature incorporeal and intelligent, or rather

impossible to describe and to conceive, which shows itself through all things whereby it works, and incorporeally pervades and traverses them all without intermixture, and throughout all things, not only in heaven but also upon earth, both the universal elements and the several parts, exhibits the perpetual mighty working of the Godhead, and presides over all in a manner which our sight and sense cannot perceive, and governs the whole cosmos by laws of ineffable wisdom.

After we have given so many proofs in confutation of their inconsistent theology, both the more mythical so-called, and that which is forsooth of a higher and more physical kind which the ancient Greeks and Egyptians were shown to magnify, it is time to survey also the refinements of the younger generations who make a profession of philosophy in our own time: for these have endeavoured to combine the doctrines concerning a creative mind of the universe, and those concerning incorporeal ideas and intelligent and rational powers, —— doctrines invented long ages afterwards by Plato, and thought out with accurate reasonings, —— with the theology of the ancients, exaggerating with yet greater conceit their promise concerning the legends. Listen then to their physiology also, and observe with what boastfulness it has been published by Porphyry.

CHAPTER VII

[PORPHYRY]

“I speak to those who lawfully may hear:
Depart all ye profane, and close the doors.”

‘THE thoughts of a wise theology, wherein men indicated God and God’s powers by images akin to sense, and sketched invisible things in visible forms, I will show to those who have learned to read from the statues as from books the things there written concerning the gods. Nor is it any wonder that the utterly unlearned regard the statues as wood and stone, just as also those who do not understand the written letters look upon the monuments as mere stones, and on the tablets as bits of wood, and on books as woven papyrus.’

After such proud boasting by way of prelude, hear how he goes on next to write, word for word:

‘As the deity is of the nature of light, and dwells in an atmosphere of ethereal fire, and is invisible to sense that is busy about mortal life, He through translucent matter, as crystal or Parian marble or even ivory, led men on to the conception of his light, and through material gold to the discernment of the fire, and to his undefiled purity, because gold cannot be defiled.

‘On the other hand, black marble was used by many to show his invisibility; and they moulded their gods in human form because the deity is rational, and made these beautiful, because in those is pure and perfect beauty; and in varieties of shape and age, of sitting and standing, and drapery; and some of them male, and some female, virgins, and youths, or married, to represent their diversity.

‘Hence they assigned everything white to the gods of heaven, and the sphere and all things spherical to the cosmos and to the sun and moon in particular, but sometimes also to fortune and to hope: and the circle and things circular to eternity, and to the motion of the heaven, and to the zones and cycles therein; and the segments of circles to the phases of the moon; pyramids and obelisks to the element of fire, and therefore to the gods of Olympus; so again the cone to the sun, and cylinder to the earth, and figures representing parts of the human body to sowing and generation.’

These are the statements of this wonderful philosopher: and what could be

more unseemly than talking, as they do, in solemn phrase about shameful things? Or what more violently unreasonable than to assert that lifeless materials, gold, and marble, and such like, bear representations of the light of the gods, and manifestations of their heavenly and ethereal nature? That these are modern sophistries, and never entered, even in a dream, into the imagination of the ancients, you may learn, on being informed that statues made of gold, and other material esteemed more precious, were even rejected among the men of former times. Plutarch, at all events, speaks somewhere thus, word for word:

CHAPTER VIII

[PLUTARCH] 'THE making of wooden statues seems to be a primitive and ancient custom, inasmuch as the first image sent to Delos by Erysichthon for Apollo at the time of the religious embassies was of wood; also the image of Athena Polias was of wood, which was set up by the aborigines, and which the Athenians carefully preserve to the present day. The Samians also had a wooden figure of Hera, as Callimachus says:

"No polish'd work of Smilis thou, but plank
Untouch'd by chisel, as by ancient rule
They made their gods: so Danaus of plain wood
Athena's seated form in Lindus set."

'And it is said that Peiras, who first founded the temple of Hera in Argolis, and appointed his own daughter Callithyia priestess, cut down a tall pear-tree from the wood about Tiryns, and formed a statue of Hera. For stone being rough and hard to work, and lifeless, they were not willing to have it carved into a likeness of a deity: and gold and silver they thought to be sickly colours and stains breaking out like bruises from a barren and corrupt soil which had been stricken by fire: but sometimes in sport they made use of ivory also, as a variation in luxury.'

So says Plutarch; and long before him Plato knew well that there is nothing venerable nor suited to the divine nature in gold and ivory, and things manufactured out of lifeless material: for hear what sort of directions he gives in the Laws:

'The land, therefore, and the household hearth are for all men temples of all the gods; wherefore let no man consecrate temples a second time to the gods. In other cities gold and silver, whether in private houses or in temples, are an invidious possession; and ivory taken from a dead body is not a pure offering; iron also and bronze are implements of war.'

Now I think these passages contain a clear refutation of the physical explanation which was put forward: but let us go on and examine the remainder of it. Hear then how he talks:

CHAPTER IX

[PORPHYRY] ‘Now look at the wisdom of the Greeks, and examine it as follows. The authors of the Orphic hymns supposed Zeus to be the mind of the world, and that he created all things therein, containing the world in himself. Therefore in their theological systems they have handed down their opinions concerning him thus:

“Zeus was the first, Zeus last, the lightning’s lord,
Zeus head, Zeus centre, all things are from Zeus.
Zeus born a male, Zeus virgin undefiled;
Zeus the firm base of earth and starry heaven;
Zeus sovereign, Zeus alone first cause of all:
One power divine, great ruler of the world,
One kingly form, encircling all things here,
Fire, water, earth, and ether, night and day;
Wisdom, first parent, and delightful Love:
For in Zeus’ mighty body these all lie.
His head and beauteous face the radiant heaven
Reveals, and round him float in shining waves
The golden tresses of the twinkling stars.
On either side bulls’ horns of gold are seen,
Sunrise and sunset, footpaths of the gods.
His eyes the Sun, the Moon’s responsive light;
His mind immortal ether, sovereign truth,
Hears and considers all; nor any speech,
Nor cry, nor noise, nor ominous voice escapes
The ear of Zeus, great Kronos’ mightier son:
Such his immortal head, and such his thought.
His radiant body, boundless, undisturbed
In strength of mighty limbs was formed thus:
The god’s broad-spreading shoulders, breast, and back
Air’s wide expanse displays; on either side
Grow wings, wherewith throughout all space he flies.
Earth the all-mother, with her lofty hills,
His sacred belly forms; the swelling flood

Of hoarse resounding Ocean girds his waist.
His feet the deeply rooted ground upholds,
And dismal Tartarus, and earth's utmost bounds.
All things he hides, then from his heart again
In godlike action brings to gladsome light."

'Zeus, therefore, is the whole world, animal of animals, and god of gods; but Zeus, that is, inasmuch as he is the mind from which he brings forth all things, and by his thoughts creates them. When the theologians had explained the nature of god in this manner, to make an image such as their description indicated was neither possible, nor, if any one thought of it, could he show the look of life, and intelligence, and forethought by the figure of a sphere.

'But they have made the representation of Zeus in human form, because mind was that according to which he wrought, and by generative laws brought all things to completion; and he is seated, as indicating the steadfastness of his power: and his upper parts are bare, because he is manifested in the intellectual and the heavenly parts of the world; but his feet are clothed, because he is invisible in the things that lie hidden below. And he holds his sceptre in his left hand, because most close to that side of the body dwells the heart, the most commanding and intelligent organ: for the creative mind is the sovereign of the world. And in his right hand he holds forth either an eagle, because he is master of the gods who traverse the air, as the eagle is master of the birds that fly aloft — or a victory, because he is himself victorious over all things.'

These things Porphyry tells you: and after they have been delivered in the manner already stated, it will be well to examine quietly and at leisure what after all the verses declare Zeus to be. I for my part think they make him to be none else than the visible world consisting of many various parts, both of those in heaven and in the ether, and of the stars which appear therein, — these being set first as in the head of a great body, — and also of the parts that lie in the air, and earth, and sea, and the like.

Certainly the earth and mountains and hills are parts of the world, and the sea is rolled round in the midst of them like a girdle, and fire also and water, and night and day must be parts of the same nature of the world. These things I suppose to indicate directly the visible world, unless I am somewhat mistaken, and to show us the universe made up of various parts. He says at all

events:

‘For in Zeus’ mighty body these all lie.’

And what ‘these all’ are, he clearly states:

‘Fire, water, earth, and ether, night and day.

His head and beauteous face the radiant heaven

Reveals, and round him float in shining waves

The golden tresses of the twinkling stars.’

In the verses that follow these, he adds the statement that the mind of Zeus is the ether and nothing else, in agreement with the Stoics, who assert that the element of fire and heat is the ruling principle of the world, and that god is a body, and the Creator himself nothing else than the force of fire. For in this same sense I think it is said in the verses:

‘His mind immortal ether, sovereign truth,

Hears and considers all.’

Wherein without any concealment he supposed the world to be a great animal, and calling it Zeus, he represented the ether as his mind, and the remaining parts of the world as his body.

Such is found to be the Zeus depicted by the verses.

And the interpreter of the poem begins by saying, in accordance with the same, ‘Zeus, therefore, is the whole world, animal of animals, god of gods;’ thus clearly explaining that the Zeus of his theology is shown by the poem to be no other than the visible and sensible world.

Now the doctrine was that of the Egyptians, from whom Orpheus took his theology, and thought that the world was the god composed of many gods who were parts of himself (for they were shown in what goes before to have also deified the parts of the world); and the statements which have been quoted from the verses declared nothing more than this.

But Porphyry after his first interpretation adds another of his own, asserting that the God who is the Maker of the world is this creative mind which has been deified by the poet.

But how could the poet, whether he were the Thracian Orpheus or any one else, deify just this mind, of which he never knew any thing at all, if indeed his theological doctrines came to him from the Egyptians or from the

primitive Greeks? For these were proved to have understood nothing ideal or comprised in invisible and incorporeal essence, if Plato's assurance may suffice us, when in the *Cratylus* he admits 'that the first race of men in Greece believed only in these same gods which many of the barbarians believe in now, sun, and moon, and earth, and stars, and heaven.'

We had also just now Chaeremon as a witness that the Egyptians believed in nothing previous to the visible world, 'nor in any other gods except the planets' and other stars, and interpreted all things in reference to the visible parts of the world, 'and nothing to incorporeal and living beings.'

CHAPTER X

THESE then being the principles from which the poet started, whence, or how, or from whom did he receive the conception in his verses of the God who is above and beyond the world, and is the Maker of sun, and moon and stars, and of the heaven itself and the whole world?

And whence did he get his knowledge of things incorporeal?

Nay, of these things he knows nothing; for neither does the creative mind of the universe consist of many parts, nor can, the heaven be its head, nor fire and water and earth its body, nor yet sun and moon its eyes. And how can 'the wide expanse of air, and earth, and lofty hills' be the shoulders, and breast, and back, and belly, of the Divine Creator of the universe? Or how can the ether ever be thought of as the mind of the Maker of the universe, or of the creative mind?

There is no need, then, to argue further that these are sophistic devices of the interpreter of the poem. For my part, indeed, I say that the man who asserts that the parts of the world are parts of God is guilty of the utmost impiety, and still more he who declared that God is the same as the world, and besides these the man who thinks that the creator of the universe is the mind of the world.

For piety declares that He is the Maker and Preserver of the world, being distinct from that which He has made: but to say that He is the mind of the world, just like the soul of some animal, made altogether one therewith, and clothed with the universe, must pass the bounds of reverence.

Yet certainly our sacred oracles teach us that He is present with the whole, and governs the world by His providence, and they speak of God in a worthy and becoming manner when they say: 'Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord.' And again: 'He is God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath.' And again: 'For in Him we live, and move, and have our being;' not, however, as in a part of the world, nor as in its soul and mind.

But if there is occasion to use a simile, the sacred word somewhere exclaims in a manner more worthy of God and akin to truth: 'The heaven is My throne, and the earth is the footstool of My feet.'

For if it was necessary to personify God at all in human language, mark the difference in the theology. For He who called the heaven His throne set apart

God the universal Monarch above the throne and far higher than the universe, and yet did not sever the earth from His providence; for He teaches that the providential powers of His Godhead condescend even to things here below, and therefore He says: 'The earth is the footstool of My feet.'

But neither the footstool, nor yet the throne, is the body of Him that is seated there, nor could ever be called parts of Him. And he who said that the heaven and the things therein are the head of god, and the ether his mind, and the other parts of the world his limbs and body, is convicted of knowing neither creator nor god.

For he could not create himself, nor, since the ether was his mind, could he still himself be called mind. What sort of god too would he be. whose members were the earth and the mountains on the earth, mere senseless heaps of corporeal atoms? How too can it be reasonable to proclaim as god the kinsman and brother of fire, and air, and water, products of senseless and perishing matter?

If, again, the mind of Zeus was nothing else except the aforesaid ether, and if ether is the highest and most fiery kind of air, and has received this name, as they say, from ἄθεσθαί, which means 'to be on fire,' and if both the air and the ether are material substances, see to what your mind of Zeus has come down.

And who in his right senses would still address as god him who had a mind devoid of mind and of reason, since such is the nature of every material body? Wherefore we in our thoughts of God must receive the entire contrary to the doctrines which have been mentioned; that He is not the heaven, nor ether, nor sun, nor moon, nor the whole choir of the stars, nor the whole world itself together: but these are works of His hands, still small and petty in comparison with His incorporeal and intelligent powers: because all body is perishable and irrational, and such is the nature of things visible. But the things beyond in the invisible world being rational and immortal, and co-eternal with the blessed life of God the King of all, must be far better than all the things that are seen.

Rightly therefore do the sacred oracles teach us concerning the visible parts of the world as follows: 'I will behold the heavens, the works of Thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which Thou hast ordained.' And again: 'Thou Lord, in the beginning didst lay the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the

works of Thy hands.’ And again: ‘Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created all these.’

Let this, then, suffice for answer to the first interpretation of the poem; and let us go on to examine what follows. Since it was not possible, he says, ‘to make such an image as their description indicated, therefore they have made the representation of Zeus in human form, because it was according to mind that he wrought, and by generative laws brought all things to completion.’

But how, if it was not possible to make an image such as the description indicated, and if, as we have seen, it indicated the parts of the sensible and visible world, heaven and the things in heaven, the air also, and earth, and all that is therein — if then, I say, it was not possible to compose an image of the visible parts of the world, how, inasmuch as god was mind, could any one make an image of him?

And what likeness can a human body have to the mind of God? For my part I think there is nothing in it answering even to the mind of man, since the one is incorporeal, uncompounded, and without parts, while the other, being the work of common mechanics, is the imitation of the nature of a mortal body, and represents a deaf and dumb image of living flesh in lifeless and dead matter.

Rather does the rational and immortal soul and the impassible mind in man’s nature seem to me to be rightly spoken of as preserving an image and likeness of God, inasmuch as it is immaterial and incorporeal, and intelligent and rational in its essence, and is capable of virtue and wisdom.

If then any one were able to fabricate an image and form of the soul in a statue, such a man might also make some representation of the higher natures; but if the mind of man is without form and cannot be seen or figured, neither discernible by sight, nor in its essence comprehensible by speech and hearing, who would be so mad as to declare that the statue made in the likeness of man bears the form and image of the Most High, God?

Rather is God’s nature imagined apart from all perishable matter, being contemplated by purified souls in lucid thought and in silence: whereas, in the representation of the visible Zeus, the figure must be an image of a man of mortal nature, yet not an imitation of the whole man, but of one and that the worse part of him, because it conveys not a trace of life and soul.

How then can the God who is over all, and the mind which is the creator of

the universe, be that same Zeus who is seen in the bronze or in the dead ivory? And how could the mind that was the creator of the universe be forsooth that very Zeus, the father of Hercules by Alcmena, and of the other men fabled to be sons of Zeus, who, having ended their mortal life in the way common to all men, have left indelible monuments of their proper nature to those who came after them?

Accordingly, the first theologians among the Phoenicians, as we showed in the first Book, related that Zeus the son of Kronos, mortal son of mortal father, was a Phoenician by race: while the Egyptians, claiming the man as their own, confessed again that he was mortal, and agreed in this point at least with the Phoenicians.

But further the Cretans, showing the grave of Zeus in their midst, would be third witnesses of the same fact. The Atlantians also, and all who have been previously mentioned as claiming Zeus for their own according to their native history, all alike declared him mortal, and recorded his deeds as those of a mortal man, but not deeds of a respectable or philosophic kind, being full of all indecency and wantonness.

To those who have professed to give a more respectable turn to the legends Zeus was at one time a hot and fiery force, and at another the wind: but now, somehow or other they have made him appear as the creative mind of the universe.

We must inquire, therefore, whom would they name as his father, and his father's father? For according to all the theologians Zeus is acknowledged to be the son of Kronos, and the verses of Orpheus before quoted made mention of 'the mighty son of Kronos': and Kronos was son of Uranus. Let us, therefore, grant to them that Zeus is the god over all, and the mind which created all. Who then was his father? Kronos. And who his grandfather? Uranus.

But if Zeus as creator of all was before all, then those who were made by him ought to be counted as second and after him. For if either Kronos be time, as being by nature the offspring of heaven, that is of Uranus, or if time came into existence together with heaven, or if Uranus himself was the father of Kronos, and time subsequent to this latter, at all events the god who was the cause of the universe and creator of heaven and of time, was before them. And if so, Zeus could not be the third from Uranus.

How then, among all Egyptians, and Phoenicians, and Greeks, and philosophers, is the mind that created the universe reckoned third in descent from Uranus? So the fiction of our philosopher is plainly detected, and will be still more fully detected from what he goes on to say, as follows.

CHAPTER XI

[PORPHYRY] ‘THEY have made Hera the wife of Zeus, because they called the ethereal and aerial power Hera. For the ether is a very subtle air.’

The poem quoted above declared that the ether is the mind of Zeus: but now our author’s statement defines what the ether is, by saying that it is a very subtle air: but the air is body, and the ether a much more primitive kind of body.

The mind, then, of Zeus is proved to be body, although the very subtlest kind of body. But how can body and mind be conceived the same, since in their natures they are diametrically opposed?

Then somehow he has forgotten the express statement of the poems ——

‘His mind immortal ether, sovereign truth,
Hears and considers all; nor any speech,
Nor cry, nor noise, nor ominous voice escapes
The ear of Zeus, great Kronos’ mightier son’ ——

for hereby the ether is plainly declared to be the mind of Zeus.

But Porphyry says, on the contrary, that Hera is the ethereal and aerial power. Then he adds a distinction and says:

[PORPHYRY] ‘And the power of the whole air is Hera, called by a name derived from the air: but the symbol of the sublunar air which is affected by light and darkness is Leto; for she is oblivion caused by the insensibility in sleep, and because souls begotten below the moon are accompanied by forgetfulness of the Divine; and on this account she is also the mother of Apollo and Artemis, who are the sources of light for the night.’

Now here he says that the sublunar air is the mother of sun and moon, because the air is Leto. But how could the air become the mother of the sources of illumination, being itself acted on rather than acting? For sun and moon, produce different changes in the air at different times.

But again, he next proceeds to say:

‘The ruling principle of the power of earth is called Hestia, of whom a statue representing her as a virgin is usually set up on the hearth; but inasmuch as the power is productive, they symbolize her by the form of a woman with prominent breasts. The name Rhea they gave to the power of

rocky and mountainous land, and Demeter to that of level and productive land. Demeter in other respects is the same as Rhea, but differs in the fact that she gives birth to Koré by Zeus, that is, she produces the shoot (κόρος) from the seeds of plants. And on this account her statue is crowned with ears of corn, and poppies are set round her as a symbol of productiveness.'

Now here again mark in what manner he has degraded Rhea, who is said to be the mother of the gods and of Zeus himself, down to the level of rocks and earth, and makes utter confusion by saying that she is the same with Demeter, except that she differs 'in the fact that Demeter (he says) gives birth to Koré by Zeus, just as the level ground produces the shoot (κόρος) from the seeds of plants. 'Behold, here again you have Zeus transformed into the seeds of plants!

To this he next adds a further statement:

'But since there was in the seeds cast into the earth a certain power, which the sun in passing round to the lower hemisphere drags down at the time of the winter solstice, Koré is the seminal power, and Pluto the sun passing under the earth, and traversing the unseen world at the time of the winter solstice; and he is said to carry off Koré, who, while hidden beneath the earth, is lamented by her mother Demeter.

'The power which produces hard-shelled fruits, and the fruits of plants in general, is named Dionysus. But observe the images of these also. For Koré bears symbols of the production of the plants which grow above the earth in the crops: and Dionysus has horns in common with Koré, and is of female form, indicating the union of male and female forces in the generation of the hard-shelled fruits.

'But Pluto, the ravisher of Koré, has a helmet as a symbol of the unseen pole, and his shortened sceptre as an emblem of his kingdom of the nether world; and his dog (κύων) indicates the generation (κύσιν) of the fruits in its threefold division — the sowing of the seed, its reception by the earth, its growing up. For he is called a dog (κύων), not because souls are his food (κῆρας βοράν, Cerberus), but because of the earth's fertility (κυεῖν), for which Pluto provides when he carries off Koré.

'Attis, too, and Adonis are related to the analogy of fruits. Attis is the symbol of the blossoms which appear early in the spring, and fall off before the complete fertilization; whence they further attributed castration to him,

from the fruits not having attained to seminal perfection: but Adonis was the symbol of the cutting of the perfect fruits.

‘Silenus was the symbol of the wind’s motion, which contributes no few benefits to the world. And the flowery and brilliant wreath upon his head is symbolic of the revolution of the heaven, and the hair with which his lower limbs are surrounded is an indication of the density of the air near the earth.

‘Since there was also a power partaking of the prophetic faculty, the power is called Themis, because of its telling what is appointed (τεθειμένα) and fixed for each person.

‘In all these ways, then, the power of the earth finds an interpretation and is worshipped: as a virgin and Hestia, she holds the centre; as a mother she nourishes; as Rhea she makes rocks and dwells on mountains; as Demeter, she produces herbage; and as Themis, she utters oracles: while the seminal law which descends into her bosom is figured as Priapus, the influence of which on dry crops is called Koré, and on soft fruits and shell-fruits is called Dionysus. For Koré was carried off by Pluto, that is, the sun going down beneath the earth at seed-time; but Dionysus begins to sprout according to the conditions of the power which, while young, is hidden beneath the earth, yet produces fine fruits, and is an ally of the power in the blossom symbolized by Attis, and of the cutting of the ripened corn symbolized by Adonis.

‘Also the power of the wind which pervades all things is formed into a figure of Silenus, and the perversion to frenzy into a figure of a Bacchante, as also the impulse which excites to lust is represented by the Satyrs. These, then, are the symbols by which the power of the earth is revealed.’

So far, then, we have these statements (of Porphyry), which I have been compelled to set before you briefly, in order that we may not be ignorant of the fine doctrines of the philosophers. Thus, therefore, according to the accounts rendered by them, Koré is the power of the seed-crops, and Dionysus of the tree-fruits, and of the spring-flowers Attis is the symbol, and Adonis of the ripe fruits.

Why then ought we to deify these things which have been made by the God of the universe for sustenance of the bodies of the animals upon the earth? Or why is the worship of the power of the earth becoming to us, who have received from God, the sovereign ruler of the world, a soul whose nature is heavenly, rational, and immortal, capable of contemplation by the purged

eyes of thought?

On hearing that Silenus is the motion of the wind, and the force which penetrates through all things, and that at one time he represents by his head the revolution of the heavens, and at another the density of the air by the shaggy hair of his beard, how can one patiently endure to see him thought worthy of no august worship, who ought to have been deified before all, while Adonis and Dionysus, the corn-crops forsooth and tree-fruits, are turned into gods?

And who could patiently bear to hear Satyrs and Bacchantes spoken of with reverence, which are the foul and licentious passions of mankind, inasmuch as the former, the Satyrs, represented the impulses which excite to carnal pleasure, and the Bacchantes the inducements which concur to frenzy in those who take part herein?

But what need to refute each part separately, when we ought merely to run over them so that none of their secrets may escape us, and to cut short the physical explanation of what follows, which the author before named has set forth, proceeding in the following manner:

‘The whole power productive of water they called Oceanus, and named its symbolic figure Tethys. But of the whole, the drinking-water produced is called Achelous; and the sea-water Poseidon; while again that which makes the sea, inasmuch as it is productive, is Amphitrite. Of the sweet waters the particular powers are called Nymphs, and those of the sea-waters Nereids.

‘Again, the power of fire they called Hephaestus, and have made his image in the form of a man, but put on it a blue cap as a symbol of the revolution of the heavens, because the archetypal and purest form of fire is there. But the fire brought down from heaven to earth is less intense, and wants the strengthening and support which is found in matter: wherefore he is lame, as needing matter to support him.

‘Also they supposed a power of this kind to belong to the sun and called it Apollo, from the pulsation (*πάλσις*) of his beams. There are also nine Muses singing to his lyre, which are the sublunar sphere, and seven spheres of the planets, and one of the fixed stars. And they crowned him with laurel, partly because the plant is full of fire, and therefore hated by daemons; and partly because it crackles in burning, to represent the god’s prophetic art.

‘But inasmuch as the sun wards off the evils of the earth, they called him

Heracles (Ἡρακλῆς), from his clashing against the air (κλᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἄέρα) in passing from east to west. And they invented fables of his performing twelve labours, as the symbol of the division of the signs of the zodiac in heaven; and they arrayed him with a club and a lion's skin, the one as an indication of his uneven motion, and the other representative of his strength in "Leo" the sign of the zodiac.

'Of the sun's healing power Asclepius is the symbol, and to him they have given the staff as a sign of the support and rest of the sick, and the serpent is wound round it, as significant of his preservation of body and soul: for the animal is most full of spirit, and shuffles off the weakness of the body. It seems also to have a great faculty for healing: for it found the remedy for giving clear sight, and is said in a legend to know a certain plant which restores life.

'But the fiery power of his revolving and circling motion, whereby he ripens the crops, is called Dionysus, not in the same sense as the power which produces the juicy fruits, but either from the sun's rotation (δινεῖν), or from his completing (διανύειν) his orbit in the heaven. And whereas he revolves round the cosmical seasons (Spas), and is the maker of "times and tides," the sun is on this account called Horus.

'Of his power over agriculture, whereon depend the gifts of wealth (Plutus), the symbol is Pluto. He has, however, equally the power of destroying, on which account they make Sarapis share the temple of Pluto: and the purple tunic they make the symbol of the light that has sunk beneath the earth, and the sceptre broken at the top that of his power below, and the posture of the hand the symbol of his departure into the unseen world.

'Cerberus is represented with three heads, because the positions of the sun above the earth are three — rising, midday, and setting.

'The moon, conceived according to her brightness, they called Artemis, as it were ἀερότεμς, "cutting the air." And Artemis, though herself a virgin, presides over childbirth, because the power of the new moon is helpful to parturition.

'What Apollo is to the sun, that Athena is to the moon: for the moon is a symbol of wisdom, and so a kind of Athena.

'But, again, the moon is Hecate, the symbol of her varying phases and of her power dependent on the phases. Wherefore her power appears in three

forms, having as symbol of the new moon the figure in the white robe and golden sandals, and torches lighted: the basket, which she bears when she has mounted high, is the symbol of the cultivation of the crops, which she makes to grow up according to the increase of her light: and again the symbol of the full moon is the goddess of the brazen sandals.

‘Or even from the branch of olive one might infer her fiery nature, and from the poppy her productiveness, and the multitude of the souls who find an abode in her as in a city, for the poppy is an emblem of a city. She bears a bow, like Artemis, because of the sharpness of the pangs of labour.

‘And, again, the Fates are referred, to her powers, Clotho to the generative, and Lachesis to the nutritive, and Atropos to the inexorable will of the deity.

‘Also, the power productive of corn-crops, which is Demeter, they associate with her, as producing power in her. The moon is also a supporter of Koré. They set Dionysus also beside her, both on account of their growth of horns, and because of the region of clouds lying beneath the lower world.

‘The power of Kronos they perceived to be sluggish and slow and cold, and therefore attributed to him the power of time (χρόνου): and they figure him standing, and grey-headed, to indicate that time is growing old.

‘The Curetes, attending on Chronos, are symbols of the seasons, because time (Chronos) journeys on through seasons.

‘Of the Hours, some are the Olympian, belonging to the sun, which also open the gates in the air: and others are earthly, belonging to Demeter, and hold a basket, one symbolic of the flowers of spring, and the other of the wheat-ears of summer.

‘The power of Ares they perceived to be fiery, and represented it as causing war and bloodshed, and capable both of harm and benefit.

‘The star of Aphrodite they observed as tending to fecundity, being the cause of desire and offspring, and represented it as a woman because of generation, and as beautiful, because it is also the evening star ——

“Hesper, the fairest star that shines in heaven.”

‘And Eros they set by her because of desire. She veils her breasts and other parts, because their power is the source of generation and nourishment. She comes from the sea, a watery element, and warm, and in constant movement, and foaming because of its commotion, whereby they intimate the seminal power.

‘Hermes is the representative of reason and speech, which both accomplish and interpret all things. The phallic Hermes represents vigour, but also indicates the generative law that pervades all things.

‘Further, reason is composite: in the sun it is called Hermes; in the moon Hecate; and that which is in the All Hermopan, for the generative and creative reason extends over all things. Hermanubis also is composite, and as it were half Greek, being found among the Egyptians also. Since speech is also connected with the power of love, Eros represents this power: wherefore Eros is represented as the son of Hermes, but as an infant, because of his sudden impulses of desire.

‘They made Pan the symbol of the universe, and gave him his horns as symbols of sun and moon, and the fawn skin as emblem of the stars in heaven, or of the variety of the universe.’

Such are his interpretations of the Greek mythology: that of the Egyptians again he says has symbols such as follow:

‘The Demiurge, whom the Egyptians call Cneph, is of human form, but with a skin of dark blue, holding a girdle and a sceptre, and crowned with a royal wing on his head, because reason is hard to discover, and wrapt up in secret, and not conspicuous, and because it is life-giving, and because it is a king, and because it has an intelligent motion: wherefore the characteristic wing is put upon his head.

‘This god, they say, puts forth from his mouth an egg, from which is born a god who is called by themselves Phtha, but by the Greeks Hephaestus; and the egg they interpret as the world. To this god the sheep is consecrated, because the ancients used to drink milk.

‘The representation of the world itself they figured thus: the statue is like a man having feet joined together, and clothed from head to foot with a robe of many colours, and has on the head a golden sphere, the first to represent its immobility, the second the many-coloured nature of the stars, and the third because the world is spherical.

‘The sun they indicate sometimes by a man embarked on a ship, the ship set on a crocodile. And the ship indicates the sun’s motion in a liquid element: the crocodile potable water in which the sun travels. The figure of the sun thus signified that his revolution takes place through air that is liquid and sweet.

‘The power of the earth, both the celestial and terrestrial earth, they called

Isis, because of the equality (ισότης), which is the source of justice: but they call the moon the celestial earth, and the vegetative earth, on which we live, they call the terrestrial.

‘Demeter has the same meaning among the Greeks as Isis among the Egyptians: and, again, Koré and Dionysus among the Greeks the same as Isis and Osiris among the Egyptians. Isis is that which nourishes and raises up the fruits of the earth; and Osiris among the Egyptians is that which supplies the fructifying power, which they propitiate with lamentations as it disappears into the earth in the sowing, and as it is consumed by us for food.

‘Osiris is also taken for the river-power of the Nile: when, however, they signify the terrestrial earth, Osiris is taken as the fructifying power; but when the celestial, Osiris is the Nile, which they suppose to come down from heaven: this also they bewail, in order to propitiate the power when failing and becoming exhausted. And the Isis who, in the legends, is wedded to Osiris is the land of Egypt, and therefore she is made equal to him, and conceives, and produces the fruits; and on this account Osiris has been described by tradition as the husband of Isis, and her brother, and her son.’

CHAPTER XII

[PORPHYRY] 'AT the city Elephantine there is an image worshipped, which in other respects is fashioned in the likeness of a man and sitting; it is of a blue colour, and has a man's head, and a diadem bearing the horns of a goat, above which is a quoit-shaped circle. He sits with a vessel of clay beside him, on which he is moulding the figure of a man. And from having the face of a ram and the horns of a goat he indicates the conjunction of sun and moon in the sign of the Ram, while the colour of blue indicates that the moon in that conjunction brings rain.

'The second appearance of the moon is held sacred in the city of Apollo: and its symbol is a man with a hawk-like face, subduing with a hunting-spear Typhon in the likeness of a hippopotamus. The image is white in colour, the whiteness representing the illumination of the moon, and the hawk-like face the fact that it derives light and breath from the sun. For the hawk they consecrate to the sun, and make it their symbol of light and breath, because of its swift motion, and its soaring up on high, where the light is. And the hippopotamus represents the Western sky, because of its swallowing up into itself the stars which traverse it.

'In this city Horus is worshipped as a god. But the city of Eileithyia worships the third appearance of the moon: and her statue is fashioned into a flying vulture, whose plumage consists of precious stones. And its likeness to a vulture signifies that the moon is what produces the winds: for they think that the vulture conceives from the wind, and declares that they are all hen birds.

'In the mysteries at Eleusis the hierophant is dressed up to represent the demiurge, and the torch-bearer the sun, the priest at the altar the moon, and the sacred herald Hermes.

'Moreover a man is admitted by the Egyptians among their objects of worship. For there is a village in Egypt called Anabis, in which a man is worshipped, and sacrifice offered to him, and the victims burned upon his altars: and after a little while he would eat the things that had been prepared for him as for a man.

'They did not, however, believe the animals to be gods, but regarded them as likenesses and symbols of gods; and this is shown by the fact that in many

places oxen dedicated to the gods are sacrificed at their monthly festivals and in their religious services. For they consecrated oxen to the sun and moon.

CHAPTER XIII

[PORPHYRY] ‘THE ox called Mnevis which is dedicated to the sun in Heliopolis, is the largest of oxen, very black, chiefly because much sunshine blackens men’s bodies. And its tail and all its body are covered with hair that bristles backwards unlike other cattle, just as the sun makes its course in the opposite direction to the heaven. Its testicles are very large, since desire is produced by heat, and the sun is said to fertilize nature.

‘To the moon they dedicated a bull which they call Apis, which also is more black than others, and bears symbols of sun and moon, because the light of the moon is from the sun. The blackness of his body is an emblem of the sun, and so is the beetle-like mark under his tongue; and the symbol of the moon is the semicircle, and the gibbous figure.’

Let it suffice that I have made these short extracts from the writing of the before-named author, so that we may not be ignorant of any secrets of the theology which is at once both Grecian and Egyptian, and from which we confess ourselves to be apostates and deserters, having rejected these doctrines with sound judgement and reasoning.

For I am not going to be frightened by the arrogant voice which said,

‘I speak to those who lawfully may hear:
Depart, all ye profane, and close the doors.’

Not we at all events are profane, but those who declared that such foul and unseemly legends about beetles and brute beasts were the thoughts of a wise theology — they who, according to the admirable Apostle, ‘professing themselves to be wise, became fools,’ seeing that they ‘changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things.’

But since they used to refer all the secret and more mysterious doctrine on these subjects in a metaphorical sense to incorporeal powers, so as to appear no longer to apply their deification to the visible parts of the world, but to certain invisible and incorporeal powers, let us examine whether we ought not even so to admire the divine power as one, and not to regard it as many.

For it does not follow, because many shapes and parts and limbs have been created in one body, that we ought to believe them to have as many souls, nor

to suppose that there are as many makers and creators of the body; but that as one soul moves the whole body, so one creative power framed the whole living being.

Thus then in the case of the whole world also, since it is one, and consists of one kind of corporeal matter, but is divided into many parts, and reveals one natural sympathy of the universe, and a composition and mixture of its elements, with changes and transformations of one into another, while it exhibits the entire whole as one order and one harmony, we ought not to suppose many creative powers, but to deify only one, namely that which is in very truth 'the power of God, and the wisdom of God.'

But our wise philosopher does not observe that he is transforming the Egyptian mythologies back into immaterial powers; for you have heard in what has gone before, how he confessed that Chaeremon and several others 'believed in nothing else as prior to the visible worlds, and placed the Egyptians first,' because they interpreted all things of physical laws and nothing of incorporeal and living beings.'

If therefore, according to their own confession, it was characteristic of the Egyptians to refer nothing 'to incorporeal and living beings,' but to transfer all their mythological stories concerning the gods to the physical parts of the world, why then do they begin anew with their subtleties, and ascribe to the Egyptians doctrines which in no way belong to them, by asserting that they make their theology refer back to incorporeal powers? Such is the general charge to be brought.

And in regard also to the particulars, I think that no long refutation is needed to disprove their forced rendering.

For to pass over the nonsense of the Egyptians and all their prating foolery, and to come on to the physical theories of the wise Greeks, what man of sound mind would not at once condemn those who attempt to give such perverse interpretations?

For grant that Zeus no longer means the fiery and ethereal substance, as however was supposed by the ancients according to Plutarch, but that he is the supreme 'mind' itself, 'the creator of the universe,' who giveth to all things life — how then shall his father be Kronos, whom they assert to be time, and his mother Rhea, whom our interpreter declared to be the power of rocks and mountains? For I cannot understand how, after calling Hera the air and the

ether, he says that she is at the same time sister and wife of the mind that made the world and gave life to all things.

But again let Leto be called a kind of oblivion (ληθώ) because of the insensibility, as they say, in sleep, and because oblivion accompanies the souls that are born into this sublunary world. How then could oblivion become the mother of sun and moon, Apollo and Artemis the children of Leto having been transformed into sun and moon?

And why are we to worship Rhea or Demeter as a goddess, if the one was said to be symbolic of rocky and mountainous land, and the other of the plain? As they allegorize Koré into satiety (κόρος), for what reason do they think they ought to honour her with that venerable title?

And why do they think we ought to worship as gods the seminal power, and the production of tree-fruits, or of the blossoms that appear in spring, and perish before they have perfected their fruit, or the symbols of the cutting of the ripe crops, surnaming them Dionysus and Attis and Adonis, instead of honouring above all these the human race for whose use and sustenance these things were provided by the Divine Creator of the universe?

But passing from these points, you will by the like method confute all the rest of their grand physical theory, and with good reason rebuke the shamelessness of those, say, who declared that the sun was Apollo himself, and again Heracles, and at another time Dionysus, and again in like manner Asclepius.

For how could the same person be both father and son, Asclepius and Apollo at once? And how could he be changed again into Heracles, since Heracles has been acknowledged by them to be the son of a mortal woman Alcmena? And how could the sun go mad and slay his own sons, seeing that this also has been ascribed to Heracles?

But in the performance of his twelve labours Heracles is said to be the symbol of the distribution in the heaven of the zodiacal circle in which they say the sun revolves. Who then is now to be the Eurystheus, that enjoins the performance of the labours on the sun, as he did upon Heracles? And how can the fifty daughters of Thestius be referred to the sun, and the multitude of other female captives with whom the story says that Heracles consorted, and of whom were born to him mortal sons who continued the succession of their generations for a very long time? And who could the Centaur be, with whose

blood Deianeira smeared the tunic, and so would have involved the sun, as in fact she did Heracles, in the misery that has been described?

But now suppose they make the sun no longer Heracles, but Dionysus: and any one may with good reason say, 'What have these things to do with Dionysus?' For who was his mother, whether called Semele or Persephone? And how could Dionysus be both the sun and the power that sprouts forth in the moist fruits and nuts? And what can the multitude of women who went with him on his expedition mean? And who is the Ariadne of the sun, as there was, we know, the Ariadne of Dionysus. And why, when Dionysus is transformed into the sun, should he be the provider rather of wine, and not of corn and vegetables and all the fruits of the earth? And again, if they make the sun Asclepius, how is he stricken with the thunderbolt of Zeus on account of his sordid love of gain, according to Pindar the lyric poet of Boeotia, who speaks as follows:

'Him too by splendid bribe the gold
Seen glittering on his palm seduc'd.

.

Then swiftly from Kronion's hand
The flashing lightning, fraught with death,
With fiery bolt transfixing both,
Quench'd in each form the living breath.'

Who again were the Asclepiadae, children of the sun, who after being themselves preserved to a long life, founded a race of mortals like all other men?

However, while they try to escape, as it were by some sudden transformation, from the unseemly and fabulous narratives concerning the gods, their system will run back again to sun, and moon, and the other parts of the world.

If at least they made Hephaestus fire and the force of heat, Poseidon the watery element, Hera the air, and the mountainous and rocky earth Rhea, the plain and fruitful earth Demeter, Koré the seminal power, and Dionysus the power which produces hard fruits, the sun Apollo, together with those who have been enumerated above, and the moon at one time Artemis, at another Athena, and again Hecate, and Eileithyia — are they not again convicted of

deifying 'the creature rather than the Creator.' and the handiwork of the world but not the worker, with great risk and danger, and with mischief that must fall on their own head?

But if they shall assert that they deify not the visible bodies of sun and moon and stars, nor yet the sensible parts of the world, but the powers, invisible in them, of the very God who is over all — for they say that God being One fills all things with various powers, and pervades all, and rules over all, but as existing in all and pervading all in an incorporeal and invisible manner. and that they rightly worship Him through the things which we have mentioned — why in the world therefore do they not reject the foul and unseemly fables concerning the gods as being unlawful and impious, and put out of sight the very books concerning them, as containing blasphemous and licentious teaching, and celebrate the One and Only and Invisible God openly and purely and without any foul envelopment?

For this was what those who had known the truth ought to do, and not to degrade and debase the venerable name of God into foul and lustful fables of things unspeakable; nor yet to shut themselves up in cells and dark recesses and buildings made by man, as if they would find God inside; nor to think that they are worshipping the Divine powers in statues made of lifeless matter, nor to suppose that by vapours of gore and filth steaming from the earth, and by the blood of slain animals they are doing things pleasing to God.

Surely it became these men of wisdom and of lofty speech, as being set free from all these bonds of error, to impart of their physical speculations ungrudgingly to all men, and to proclaim as it were in naked truth to all, that they should adore not the things that are seen, but only the unseen Creator of things visible, and worship His invisible and incorporeal powers in ways invisible and incorporeal, not by kindling fire nor yet by offerings of rams and bulls, nay, nor yet by imagining that they honour the Deity by garlands and statues and the building of temples, but by worshipping Him with purified thoughts and right and true doctrines, in dispassionate calmness of soul, and in growing as far as possible like unto Him.

But no one ever yet, barbarian or Greek, began to show all men this truth except only our Saviour; who, having proclaimed to all nations an escape from their ancient error, procured abundantly for them all a way of return and of devotion to the one true and only God of the universe. Yet the men

perversely wise who boasted of the highest philosophy of life, whereby as the inspired Apostle says, though they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither gave thanks; but became vain in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened. They professed indeed to be wise, but became fools, . . . and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever.

CHAPTER XIV

So after their long and manifold philosophical speculation, and after their solemn systems of meteorology and physiology, they fell down from their high place, as it were from the loftiest mountain-top, and were dragged down with the common herd, and swept away with the polytheistic delusion of the ancients, pretending that they glorified the like deities with the multitude by offering sacrifice and falling down before images, and increasing, and still further strengthening, the vulgar opinion of the legendary stories concerning the gods.

Must it not then be evident to all men that they are only talking solemn nonsense in their physical theories, and, as far as words go, putting a fair face on foul things by their perversion of the truth, but in actual deeds establishing the fabulous delusion, and the vulgar superstition? And so far there is no wonder, since they even record that their gods themselves assent to the fabulous stories concerning them.

Hear at least how Apollo himself teaches men a hymn, which he put forth concerning himself, acknowledging that he was born of Leto in the island of Delos, and Asclepius again in Tricca, as also Hermes acknowledging that he was the child of Maia: for these things also are written by Porphyry in a book which he entitled *Of the Philosophy derived from Oracles*, wherein he made mention of the oracles which run as follows:

‘Thou, joy of mortals, forth didst spring
From thy pure mother’s sacred pangs.’

To this he subjoins ——

‘But when the pangs of holy birth
Through all her frame fair Leto seized,
And in her womb twin children stirr’d,
Still stood the earth, the air stood still,
The isle grew fix’d, the wave was hush’d;
Forth into life Lycoreus sprang,
God of the bow, the prophet-king
On the divining tripod thron’d.’

Asclepius again thus speaks of himself:

‘From sacred Tricca, lo! I come, the god
Of mortal mother erst to Phoebus born,
Of wisdom and the healing art a king,
Asclepius nam’d. But say, what would’st thou ask?’

And Hermes says:

‘Lo! whom thou callest, Zeus’ and Maia’s son,
Hermes, descending from the starry throne,
Hither I come.’

They also subjoin a description of the appearance of their own form, as Pan in the oracles gives the following description concerning himself:

‘To Pan, a god of kindred race,
A mortal born my vows I pay;
Whose horned brows and cloven feet
And goat-like legs his lust betray.’

These are the things which the author before named has set forth among the secrets *Of the Philosophy drawn from the Oracles*, Pan therefore was no longer the symbol of the universe, but must be some such daemon as is described, who also gave forth the oracle: for of course it was not the universe, and the whole world, that gave the oracle which we have before us. The men therefore who fashioned the likeness of this daemon, and not that of the universe, imitated the figure before described.

How also could Hermes be thought of as the reason which both makes and interprets all things, when he confesses that he had for his mother Maia the daughter of Atlas, thus sanctioning the fable that is told concerning him, and not any physical explanation?

So again, how could Asclepius be changed into the sun, when he lays claim to Tricca as his native place, and confesses that he was born of a mortal mother? Or how, if he were himself the sun, could be represented again as a child of the sun? Since in their physical theory they made his father Phoebus to be no other than the sun.

And is it not the most ridiculous thing of all, to say that he was born of the sun and a mortal woman? For how is it reasonable that his father, the sun, whom they declare to be Apollo, should himself also have been born in the island Delos of a mortal mother again, namely Leto.

Here observe, I pray you, how many gods born of women were deified by the Greeks, to be brought forward if ever they attempt to mock at our Saviour's birth: observe also that the remarks quoted are not the words of poets, but of the gods themselves.

CHAPTER XV

WHEN poets therefore, as they say, invent legends concerning the gods, while philosophers give physical explanations, we ought, I suppose, rightly to despise the former, and admire the latter as philosophers, and to accept the persuasive arguments of this better class rather than the triflings of the poets. But when on the other hand gods and philosophers enter into competition, and the former, as likely to know best, state exactly the facts concerning themselves in their oracles, while the latter twist their guesses about things which they do not know into discordant and undemonstrable subtleties, which does reason persuade us to believe? Or rather is this not even worth asking?

If therefore the gods are to speak true in certifying the human passions attributed to them, they who set these aside must be false; but if the physical explanations of the philosophers are true, the testimonies of the gods must be false.

But even Apollo himself, it may be said, somewhere in an oracle, when asked about himself who he was, replied:

‘Osiris, Horus, Sun, Apollo, Zeus-born king,
Ruler of times and seasons, winds and showers.
Guiding the reins of dawn and starry night,
King of the shining orbs, eternal Fire.’

So then the same witnesses agree both with the poets’ legends and with the philosophers’ guesses, allying themselves with both sides in the battle. For if they ascribe to themselves mortal mothers, and acknowledge their native places upon earth, how can they be such as the physicists describe them?

Grant that Apollo is the sun — for their argument will again be caught running backwards and forwards and round to the same place — how then could Delos, the island which is now still seen at sea, be the native place of the sun, and Leto his mother? For this is what his own oracles just now certified as being true. And how could the sun become the father of Asclepius, a mortal man by nature, having begotten him of a mortal woman? But let us put this subject aside.

CHAPTER XVI

THE falsehood of the oracle is to be refuted in another way. For surely the sun did not come down to them from heaven, and then, after fully inspiring the recipient, utter the Phoebean oracle; since it is neither possible nor right that so great a luminary should be subjected to man's compulsion: nay, not even if they should speak of the divine and intelligent power in the sun, because a human soul could never be capable of receiving even this.

In the case of the moon also there would be the same argument. For if they mean to assert that she is Hecate, how then can it be right that she should be dragged down by constraint of men, and prophesy through the recipient, and be taken to help in base and amatory services, herself being ruler of the evil daemons — how right, I say, that Hecate should do these things? This the writer himself acknowledges, as we shall fully prove in due time.

How again could Pluto and Sarapis be changed by physical theory into the sun, when the same author declares that Sarapis is the same with Pluto, and is the ruler of the evil daemons? Moreover, in recording oracles of Sarapis how could he say they were those of the sun?

But in fact from all these considerations it only remains to confess that the physical explanations which have been described have no truth, but are sophisms and subtleties of sophistic men.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ministrants indeed of the oracles we must in plain truth declare to be evil daemons, playing both parts to deceive mankind, and at one time agreeing with the more fabulous suppositions concerning themselves, to deceive the common people, and at another time confirming the statements of the philosophers' jugglery in order to instigate them also and puff them up: so that in every way it is proved that they speak no truth at all.

After having said so much it is now time for us to pass on, and advance to the third kind of Greek theology, which they say is political and legal. For this has been thought most suitable to astonish the multitude, both because of the celebrated oracles, and the healings and cures of bodily sufferings, and the punishments inflicted upon some. And while they assert that they have had experience of these things, they have thoroughly persuaded themselves that they are doing rightly in their own devotion to the gods, and that we are guilty of the greatest impiety in not honouring the powers that are so manifest and so beneficent with the services that are due to them. To meet then these objections also, let us make another new beginning of our argument.

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CHAPTER I

In this fourth book of the *Preparation for the Gospel*, due order bids me to refute the third form of polytheistic error, from which we were delivered by the power and beneficence of our Redeemer and Saviour.

For since they divide their whole system of theology under three general heads, the mythical treated by the poets in tragedy, and the physical which has been invented by the philosophers, and that which is enforced by the laws and observed in each city and country; and since two of these parts have been already explained by us in the preceding books, namely the historical, which they call mythical, and that which has transcended the mythical, and which they call physical, or speculative, or by any other name they please; in this present book it will be the right time to examine the third part, and this is what is established in the several cities and countries, and which they call political, or state-religion, which also is especially enforced by the laws, as both ancient and ancestral, and as in itself indicating the excellence of the power of those whom they deify.

There are for instance oracles renowned among them, and responses, and cures, and healings of all kinds of sufferings, and judgements inflicted upon the impious; whereof they profess to have had experience, and have thoroughly persuaded themselves that they act rightly in honouring the deities, and that we are guilty of the greatest impiety in making no account of powers so manifest and so beneficent, but directly breaking the laws, which require every one to reverence ancestral customs, and not disturb what should be inviolable, but to walk orderly in following the religion of his forefathers, and not to be meddlesome through love of innovation. Thus they say that even death has been deservedly fixed by the laws as the punishment for those who transgress.

As to the first form then of their theology, being historical and mythical, let any of the poets arrange it as he will, and so let any of the philosophers deal with the second form, reported to us through the allegorical interpretation of the legends in a more physical sense: but since the third form, as being both ancient and politic, has been legally ordained by their rulers to be honoured and observed, this, say they, let neither poet nor philosopher disturb; but let every one, both in rural districts and in cities, continue to walk by the customs which have prevailed from old time, and obey the laws of his forefathers.

In answer then to this, it is time to render the reason alleged on our side, and to submit a defence of our Saviour's evangelic system, as protesting against what has been described, and laying down laws opposed to the laws of all the nations.

Well then! it is manifest even to themselves that their lifeless images are no gods; and that their mythical theology offers no explanation that is respectable and becoming to deity, has been shown in the first book, as likewise in the second and third it has been shown that neither does their more physical and philosophical interpretation of the legends contain an unforced explanation.

Come then, let us examine the third point — how we are to regard the powers that lurk in the carved images, whether as civilized and good and truly divine in character, or the very opposite of all these.

Others, peradventure, in entering upon the discussion of these questions, might have laid it down that the whole system is a delusion, and mere conjuror's tricks and frauds, stating their opinion generally and concisely, that we ought not to attribute even to an evil daemon, much less to a god, the stories commonly told of them. For the poems and the compositions of the oracles, he would say, are fictions of men not without natural ability but extremely well furnished for deception, and are composed in an equivocal and ambiguous sense, and adapted, not without ingenuity, to either of the cases expected from the event: and the marvels which deceive the multitude by certain prodigies are dependent on natural causes.

For there are many kinds of roots, and herbs, and plants, and fruits, and stones, and other powers, both solid and liquid of every kind of matter in the natural world; some of them fit to drive off and expel certain diseases; others of a nature to attract and superinduce them; some again with power to secrete and disperse, or to harden and to bind, and others to relax and liquidate and attenuate; some again to save and others to kill, or to give a thorough turn, and change the present condition, altering it now this way and now that; and some to work this effect for a longer and some for a shorter time; and again, some to be efficacious on many and others only on a few; and some to lead and others to follow; and some to combine in different ways, and to grow and decay together. Yet further, that some are conducive to health, not unconnected with medical science, and others morbidic and deleterious; and lastly that some things occur by physical necessities, and wax and wane together with the

moon, and that there are countless antipathies of animals and roots and plants, and many kinds of narcotic and soporific vapours, and of others that produce delusion: that the places also, and regions in which the effects are accomplished give no little help; also that they have tools and instruments provided from afar in a way well fitted to their art, and that they associate with themselves in their jugglery many confederates from without, who make many inquiries about those who arrive, and the wants of each, and what he is come to request; also that they conceal within their temples many secret shrines and recesses inaccessible to the multitude; and that the darkness also helps their purpose not a little; and not least the anticipatory assumption itself, and the superstition of those who approach them as gods, and the opinion which has prevailed among them from the time of their forefathers. To this must be added also the silliness of mind of the multitude, and their feeble and uncritical reasoning, and on the other hand the cleverness and craftiness of those who are constantly practising this mischievous art, and the deceitful and knavish disposition of the impostors, at one time promising what will please each person, and soothing the present trouble by hopes of advantage, and at other times guessing at what is to come, and prophesying obscurely, and darkening the sense of their oracles by equivocations and indistinctness of expression, in order that no one may understand what is foretold, but that they may escape detection by the uncertainty of their statement.

They might also say that many events coincide with other frauds and quackeries, when certain so-called spells are associated with the events, with a kind of unintelligible and barbaric incantation, in order that the occurrences which are not in the least affected by them may seem to be hastened by them. Most, too, even of those who are supposed to start with a good education are especially astonished at the poetry of the oracles themselves, finely adorned as it is by the combination of the words, finely inflated also by the pompous grandeur of the language, and arrayed with much, boastful exaggeration and arrogant pretence of inspiration, and deceiving nearly all the people by their ambiguous sound.

CHAPTER II

Certainly all their oracles which have been free from ambiguity have been uttered not according to foreknowledge of the future but by mere conjecture, and thousands of these, or rather almost all, were often convicted of having failed in their prediction, the issue of the matters having turned out contrary to the answer of the oracle; unless perhaps on rare occasions some one event out of tens of thousands agreed therewith by some course of luck, or according to the conjectural expectation of what would happen, and so was thought to make the oracle speak true.

And of this you would find them most loudly boasting, and carving inscriptions upon columns, and shouting to the ends of the earth, not choosing to remember at all, that so many persons, it might chance, were disappointed, but publishing it high and low that to this one man out of ten thousand something promised by the oracle had turned out right. Just as if, when men were casting lots two at a time out of ten thousand, and it happened perhaps just once that they both fell upon the same numbers, a man should wonder how one and the same number happened to come round to both at once in consequence of divination and foreknowledge.

For such is the case of the one out of myriads upon myriads of oracular answers that on some one occasion happened to turn out true; and on observing this the man who possesses no firmness in the depth of his soul is exceedingly amazed at the oracle, though it were much better for him to cease from his folly by calculating to how many others the aforesaid soothsayers have been the cause of death, and of sedition, and wars, and to consider the histories of the ancients, and observe that they never pointed out any effect of divine power even at that time when the oracles of Greece were flourishing, and those which formerly were celebrated, but now exist no longer, were firmly established, and thought worthy of all care and zeal by their countrymen, who revered and fostered them by ancestral laws and mysterious rites.

And certainly in that period especially they were proved to be impotent in the calamities of war, in which the fine soothsayers being powerless to help were convicted of deceiving those who sought their protection by the ambiguity of their oracles; and this we shall accordingly show at the proper

opportunity, by proving how they even goaded on those who consulted them into war with each other, and how they failed to give answers even about serious matters, and how they used to mislead their inquirers, making sport of them by their oracles, and tried to conceal their own ignorance by the darkness of uncertainty.

But observe from your own inquiries how they often promised to the sick strengthening, and life, and health, and then being trusted as though they were gods, exacted large rewards for this inspired traffic; and not very long afterwards it was discovered what sort of persons they were, being proved to be human impostors and no gods, when some unfortunate catastrophe seized upon their deluded victims.

What need to say that these wonderful prophets did not render their assistance even to their own next neighbours, those I mean who dwelt in the same city? But you might there see persons sick, and maimed, and mutilated all over their body, in thousands. Why in the world then did they promise such good hopes to the foreigners, who arrived from a far country, but not also to those who dwelt in the same place with them, to whom before all, as being their own friends and fellow citizens, they ought to have rendered the benefit of the presence of their gods? Was it not that they could more easily deceive the strangers, who knew nothing of their roguery, but not their intimates, as these were not ignorant of their craft, but conscious of the trickery practised upon those who were to be initiated?

Thus then the whole business was not divine nor beyond the power of man's device; so that in the greatest calamities, I mean those which are suspended from on high over the heads of the ungodly from the all-ruling God, their temples, with votive offerings, statues and all, were subjected to utter destruction and sudden overthrow.

For where will you find the temple that was at Delphi, celebrated from the earliest times among all the Greeks? Where is the Pythian god? Where the Clarian? Where even the god of Dodona? As for the Delphian shrine, the story goes that it was burnt a third time by Thracians, the oracle not having been able to give any help to the knowledge of what was coming, nor the Pythian god himself to guard his own abode. It is recorded also that the Capitol at Rome met the same fate in the times of the Ptolemies, when the temple of Vesta at Rome is also said to have suffered conflagration. And about the time

of Julius Caesar it is recorded that the great statue, which was the glory of the Greeks and of Olympia, was struck by lightning from the god at the very time of the Olympic games. On another occasion also, they say, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt, and the Pantheon destroyed by lightning, and the Serapeium at Alexandria burnt down in like manner.

Of these events written testimonies are current among the Greeks themselves; but it would be a long story, if any one meant to enumerate the several particulars, in trying to prove that the wonderful oracle-mongers have been found unable to defend even their own temples; and it is not likely that they who have been of no use to themselves in misfortunes would ever be able to give help to others.

By adding one circumstance to those which have been mentioned, such man would have clearly seen the main sum and substance of the matter, that ere now, many of the most highly inspired even of their chief hierophants, and theologians, and prophets, who were celebrated for this kind of theosophy, not only in former times but also recently in our own day, under cruel tortures before the Roman courts declared that the whole delusion was produced by human frauds, and confessed that it was all an artfully contrived imposture; and they had the whole character of the system and the methods of their evil practices registered in the words uttered by them in public records. Therefore they paid the just penalty of their pernicious deception, and revealed every word, and certified by actual facts the proof of the things which we have mentioned.

But, you ask, what sort of persons were these? Think not that they were any of the outcast and obscure. Some came to them from, this wonderful and noble philosophy, from the tribe who wear the long cloak and otherwise look so supercilious; and some were taken from the magistrates of the city of Antioch, who indeed in the time of our persecution prided themselves especially on their outrages against us. We know also the philosopher and prophet who suffered at Miletus the like punishments to those which we have mentioned.

These arguments then, and yet more than these, one might bring together to assert that the authors of the oracles are not gods nor yet daemons, but the delusion and deceit of human impostors.

And there were among the Greeks themselves whole sects distinguished in

philosophy who defended this opinion; as the school of Aristotle, and all the successors of the Peripatetic school; Cynics too and Epicureans, in whom what I most admire is, how, after being brought up in the customs of the Greeks, and been taught even from the cradle, son from father, that those of whom we speak are gods, they have not been easily caught, but proved with all their might that even the renowned oracles, and the seats of divination which were sought after among all, had no truth, and declared that they were useless, nay gather mischievous.

But though there are thousands who have wrought the overthrow of the oracles by many arguments, for me I think it is sufficient at present, for a testimony of what I have stated, to make a single quotation from one of them in answer to the arguments devised by Chrysippus concerning fate from the predictions of the oracles. This author then writes against him to prove that he wrongly derives indications of fate from the oracles, and that the oracles of the Greeks give false answers in most cases, and that rarely from a coincidence some events agree with them, and that their prediction of the future is useless and mischievous. Hear, however, what he says, word for word.

CHAPTER III

[DIOGENIANUS] 'But Chrysippus, in the book before mentioned, brings also another proof of the following kind. He says that the predictions of the prophets could not be true unless all things were fast bound by fate: which is itself a most silly argument. For he argues as if it were evident or would be more readily admitted by any one, that all the predictions of the so-called prophets came to pass, than that all things take place according to fate, as if the former would not itself be an equally false statement, since plain experience shows the contrary; I mean that not all the things foretold, or rather not the greatest part of them, come to pass.

'Thus Chrysippus has brought us his proof, by establishing each proposition from the other. For he wishes to show that all things take place according to fate from the existence of prophecy: but the existence of prophecy he could not prove in any other way, if he did not first assume that all things occur according to fate.

'But what method of proof could be more wretched than this? For that some things come to pass according to the plain meaning of what the prophets foretell would be a sign, not of the existence of prophetic science, but of the accidental concurrence of the events in agreement with the predictions —— a thing which gives us no indication of any science.

'For neither should we call an archer scientific who hit the mark once now and then, but missed many times; nor a physician who killed the greater number of those who were attended by him, but was able to save one sometimes; nor do we ever give the name of science to that which does not succeed in all, or at least in the greatest part of its proper operations.

'Now that most of the predictions of the so-called prophets fail, the whole experience of human life would bear witness; and so would these men themselves who profess the art of prophecy, because it is not by this that they help themselves in the exigencies of life, but use sometimes their own judgement, and sometimes the counsel and cooperation of those who have been thought to possess experience in each kind of affairs.

'But with regard to the want of consistency in this which we have chosen to call prophecy, we will render fuller proof elsewhere, bringing forward the opinions of Epicurus on this point also. But at present we will add to what has

been said only this much, that at most the fact of the so-called prophets speaking truth sometimes in their predictions must be an effect, not of science, but of an accidental cause; for it is not that a man never hits the proposed mark, but that he does not hit it always, nor even in most cases, and not from science even when he does occasionally succeed, this is what we have chosen to call a work of chance — we who have arranged our own ideas in clear order under each term. Further, if even by hypothesis it were true that the prophetic art is able to discern and to foretell all things future, it might be concluded that all things are according to fate, but the usefulness of the art and its benefit to life could never be shown; and it is for this purpose especially that Chrysippus seems to sing the praises of the prophetic art.

‘For what benefit would it be to us to learn beforehand the misfortunes certain to come to pass, which it would not even be possible to guard against? For how could any one guard against the things which take place according to fate? So that there is no benefit to us in the prophetic art, but rather it would tend to some mischief, by causing mankind to grieve in vain beforehand over the predicted misfortunes which must of necessity come to pass.

‘For no one will affirm that the prediction of future blessings affords on the other hand equal delight: since man is not naturally so disposed to rejoice over expected blessings, as to be grieved over misfortunes. Especially as we hope that the latter will not happen at all to ourselves, until we hear it: but all of us, so to say, rather look for blessings, because our nature is congenial thereto; for most persons have formed hopes of things even greater than what can possibly come to pass.

‘Hence it results that the prediction of blessings either does not at all increase the joy, because even apart from the prediction every one of his own accord expects the better fortune, or else increases it but little by the supposed certainty, and often even diminishes the joy, when less is foretold than what was hoped for; but the prediction of evils causes great perturbation, both because of their repulsive nature, and because the prediction is sometimes opposed to men’s hopes.

‘But even if this did not happen, nevertheless it would be evident, I think, to every one that the prediction would be useless. For if any one shall affirm that the usefulness of the prophetic art will be maintained on account of the prediction of the misfortune which will certainly happen unless we should

guard against it, he can no longer show that all things are to happen in accordance with fate, if it is in our power either to guard or not to guard against them.

‘For if any one shall say that this choice also is controlled by necessity, so as to extend fate to all things that exist, the usefulness of prophecy on the other hand is destroyed; for we shall keep guard if it is so fated, and evidently we shall not keep guard if it is not fated that we shall keep guard, even though all the prophets foretell to us what is about to happen.

‘As to Oedipus, for instance, and Alexander son of Priam, even Chrysippus himself says that though their parents had recourse to many contrivances to kill them, in order that they might guard against the mischief predicted from them, they were unable to do so.

‘Thus there was no benefit, he says, even to them from the prediction of the evils, because they were effects proceeding from fate. Let this then be enough, and more than enough, to have been said in regard to not merely the uncertainty but also the uselessness of the prophetic art.’

Thus far the philosopher. Do thou however consider with thyself, how those who were Greeks, and had from an early age acquired the customary education of the Greeks, and knew more accurately than any men the customs of their ancestors concerning the gods, all Aristotelians, and Cynics, and Epicureans, and all who held like opinions with them, poured ridicule upon the oracles which were renowned among the Greeks themselves.

And yet, if the stories current concerning the miraculous power of the oracles were true, it was natural that these men also should have been struck with wonder, being Greeks, and having an accurate understanding of the customs of their ancestors, and regarding nothing worthy to be known as of secondary importance.

To collect, however, these and all similar evidences, in order to overthrow the argument on behalf of the oracles, there would be abundant means: but it is not in this way that I wish to pursue the present discussion, but in the same way as we started at first, by granting that those who stand forth in their defence speak truth; in order that from their own avowals, when they affirm that oracles are true, and that the alleged responses are divinely inspired Pythian oracles, we may learn the exact explanation of the things alleged.

CHAPTER IV

Now I think it is plain to every one that the proof of the matters before us will embrace not a small part, but a very great and at the same time very necessary part of the evangelic argument. For suppose it should be shown that all men everywhere, both Greeks and Barbarians, before the advent of our Saviour Jesus Christ, had no knowledge of the true God, but either regarded 'the things that are not as though they were,' or were led about hither and thither like blind men by certain wicked spirits fighting against God, and by evil and impure daemons, and were by them dragged down into an abyss of wickedness (for what else ailed them but possession by daemons?) — how can the great mystery of the Gospel dispensation fail to be seen in a higher light? I mean, that all men from all quarters have been sailed back by our Saviour's voice from the delusion handed down from their fathers about the tyranny of daemons, and that the men who dwell as far off as the ends of the earth have been released from the deception which from the earliest age oppressed their whole life. For since His time and up to the present the antiquated seats of delusion in all the heathen nations have been broken up and destroyed — shrines and statues and all — and temples truly venerable, and schools of true religion have been raised up in honour of the Absolute Monarch and Creator of the universe in the midst of cities and villages by the power and goodness of our Saviour throughout the whole world. And by prayers of holy men the sacrifices which are worthy of God have been purified from all wickedness, and in freedom of soul from all passions, and in the acquirement of every virtue, according to the divine doctrines of salvation, are day by day continually offered up by all nations — those sacrifices which alone are acceptable and pleasing to the God who is over all?

Now if these things be so, how can we have failed to show at the same time, that with sound reason, and without giving ourselves over to folly, we have turned away from the superstition handed down from our fathers, and with just and true judgement have chosen the better part, and become lovers of the inspired and true religion? But enough of this, and let us now take in hand the subjects before us.

CHAPTER V

Those, therefore, who have accurately discussed the Greek theology in a manner different from the systems which we have already mentioned, distribute the whole subject under four heads. First of all they have set apart the first God, saying that they know him to be the One over all, and First, and Father and King of all gods, and that after him the race of gods is second, that of daemons third, and heroes fourth. All these, they say, participating in the nature of the higher power act and are acted upon in this way and in that, and everything of this kind is called light because of its participating in light. But they also say that evil rules the essence of the lower nature; and this evil is a race of wicked daemons, who treat the good in no way as a friend, but possess chief power in the nature of the adversaries of good, just as God does in that of the better sort; and everything of this kind is called darkness.

After defining these points in this manner, they say that the heaven, and the ether as far down as the moon, are assigned to gods; and the parts about the moon and the atmosphere to daemons; and the region of the earth and parts beneath the earth to souls. And having made such a distribution they say that we ought to worship first of all the gods of heaven and of the ether, secondly the good daemons, thirdly the souls of the heroes, and fourthly to propitiate the bad and wicked daemons.

But while making these verbal distinctions they in fact throw all into confusion, by worshipping the wicked powers only, instead of all those whom we have mentioned, and are wholly enslaved by them, as the course of our argument will prove. It is in your power, at any rate, to consider from what will be laid before you, what character we ought to ascribe to the powers which operate through the statues, whether as gods or daemons, and whether bad or good.

For our divine oracles never call any daemon good, but say that all are bad who share this lot and even this appellation, since no other is truly and properly god except the One Cause of all: but the gentle and good powers, as being in their nature created, and following far behind the uncreated God who is their Maker, but nevertheless separated also from the mischievous race of daemons — these the Scriptures deem it right to name neither gods nor daemons, but as being intermediate between God and daemons they are

accustomed to call them by a well-applied and intermediate name, angels of God, and ‘ministering spirits,’ and divine powers, and archangels, and any other names corresponding to their offices; but the daemons, if indeed it behoves us to declare the origin of their name also, are called according to their nature daemons, not as the Greeks think in consequence of their being knowing (δαημονας), and wise, but because of their fearing and causing fear (δειμαινειν).

Certainly the divine and good powers are different in name as well as in character, from the daemons; since it would be of all things most absurd to adjudge one and the same appellation to the powers which are alike neither in purpose nor in natural character.

CHAPTER VI

Come then, let us examine what is, according to them, the character of the oracles, in order that we may learn what kind of power we must ascribe to them, and whether we withdrew from them rightly or not. Now if I were going to bring forward my own proofs of the matters to be set forth, I know well that I should not render my argument unassailable by those who are inclined to find fault. Wherefore instead of asserting anything of my own, I shall make use again of the testimonies of those who are without.

But as there are among the Greeks historians and philosophers without number, I judge the most suitable of all in reference to the subjects before us to be that very friend of the daemons, who in our generation is celebrated for his false accusations against us. For he of all the philosophers of our time seems to have been most familiar with daemons and those whom he calls gods, and to have been their advocate, and to have investigated the facts concerning them much the most accurately.

He therefore, in the book which he entitled *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, made a collection of the oracles of Apollo and the other gods and good daemons, which he especially chose out of them as thinking that they would suffice both for proof of the excellence of the supposed deities, and for the encouragement of what he is pleased to call 'Theosophy.'

From these oracles, therefore, which have been selected and thought worthy to be remembered it is fair to judge the soothsayers, and to consider what sort of power they possess. But first let us observe how at the beginning of his work the person indicated swears in the following words that he is 'verily speaking the truth':

CHAPTER VII

[PORPHYRY] ‘Sure, then, and steadfast is he who draws his hopes of salvation from this as from the only sure source, and to such thou wilt impart information without any reserve. For I myself call the gods to witness, that I have neither added anything, nor taken away from the meaning of the responses, except where I have corrected an erroneous phrase, or made a change for greater clearness, or completed the metre when defective, or struck out anything that did not conduce to the purpose; so that I preserved the sense of what was spoken untouched, guarding against the impiety of such changes, rather than against the avenging justice that follows from the sacrilege.

‘And our present collection will contain a record of many doctrines of philosophy, according as the gods declared the truth to be; but to a small extent we shall also touch upon the practice of divination, such as will be useful both for contemplation, and for the general purification of life. And the utility which this collection possesses will be best known to as many as have ever been in travail with the truth, and prayed that by receiving the manifestation of it from the gods they might gain relief from their perplexity by virtue of the trustworthy teaching of the speakers.’

After making such preludes, he protests and forewarns against revealing to many what he is going to tell, in the following words:

CHAPTER VIII

[PORPHYRY] ‘And do thou endeavour to avoid publishing these above all things, and casting them even before the profane for the sake of reputation, or gain, or any unholy flattery. For so there would be danger not only to thee for transgressing these injunctions, but also to me for lightly trusting thee who couldst not keep the benefits secret to thyself. We must give them then to those who have arranged their plan of life with a view to the salvation of the soul.’

And further on he adds:

‘These things I beg you to conceal as the most unutterable of secrets, for even the gods did not make a revelation concerning them openly, but by enigmas.’

Since, then, his discourse adopted such lofty strains, let us now examine, by help of the inspired Pythian oracles, what character we ought to ascribe to the invisible deified powers: for thus may the man also be tested from his own words and practices.

The aforesaid author, then, in his work which he entitled *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, gives responses of Apollo enjoining the performance of animal sacrifices, and the offering of animals not to daemons only, nor only to the terrestrial powers, but also to the ethereal and heavenly powers.

But in another work the same author, confessing that all, to whom the Greeks used to offer sacrifices by blood and slaughter of senseless animals, are daemons and not gods, says that it is not right nor pious to offer animal sacrifices to gods.

Hear, therefore, his first utterances, in which, collecting the facts concerning *The Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, he shows how Apollo teaches that the gods ought to be worshipped. This he sets forth in writing as follows:

CHAPTER IX

[PORPHYRY] ‘Next in order after what has been said concerning piety we shall record the responses given by them concerning their worship, part of which by anticipation we have set forth in the statements concerning piety. Now this is the response of Apollo, containing at the same time an orderly classification of the gods.

“Friend, who hast entered on this heaven-taught path,
Heed well thy work; nor to the blessed gods
Forget to slay thine offerings in due form,
Whether to gods of earth, or gods of heaven,
Kings of the sky and liquid paths of air
And sea, and all who dwell beneath the earth;
For in their nature’s fullness all is bound.
How to devote things living in due form
My verse shall tell, thou in thy tablets write.
For gods of earth and gods of heaven each three:
For heavenly gods pure white; for gods of earth
Cattle of kindred hue divide in three
And on the altar lay thy sacrifice.
For gods infernal bury deep, and cast
The blood into a trench!
For gentle Nymphs Honey and gifts of Dionysus pour.
For such as flit for ever o’er the earth
Fill all the blazing altar’s trench with blood,
And cast the feathered fowl into the fire.
Then honey mix’d with meal, and frankincense,
And grains of barley sprinkle over all.
But when thou comest to the sandy shore,
Pour green sea-water on the victim’s head,
And cast the body whole into the deep.
Then, all things rightly done, return at last
To the great company of heavenly gods.
For all the powers that in pure ether dwell,
And in the stars, let blood in fullest stream

Flow from the throat o'er all the sacrifice:
Make of the limbs a banquet for the gods,
And give them to the fire; feast on the rest,
Filling with savours sweet the liquid air.
Breathe forth, when all is done, thy solemn vows."

Then a few words later he explains this response, interpreting it as follows:

'Now this is the method of the sacrifices, which are rendered according to the aforesaid classification of the gods. For whereas there are gods beneath the earth, and on the earth, and those beneath the earth are called also infernal gods, and those on the earth terrestrial, for all these in common he enjoins the sacrifice of black four-footed victims. But with regard to the manner of the sacrifice he makes a difference: for to terrestrial gods he commands the victims to be slain upon altars, but to the infernal gods over trenches, and moreover after the offering to bury the bodies therein.

'For that the four-footed beasts are common to these deities, the god himself added when questioned:

"For gods of earth and Erebus alone
Four-footed must their common victims be;
For gods of earth soft limbs of newborn lambs."

'But to the gods of the air he bids men sacrifice birds as whole burnt-offerings, and let the blood run round upon the altars: birds also to the gods of the sea, of a black colour, but to cast them alive into the waves. For he says:

"Birds for the gods, but for the sea-gods black."

'He names birds for all the gods save the Chthonian, but black for the sea-gods only, and therefore white for the others.

'But to the gods of the heaven and the ether he bids thee consecrate the limbs of the victims, which are to be white, and eat the other parts: for of these only must thou eat, and not of the others. But those whom in his classification he called gods of heaven, these he here calls gods of the stars.

'Will it then be necessary to explain the symbolic meanings of the sacrifices, manifest as they are to the intelligent? For there are four-footed land animals for the gods of the earth, because like rejoices in like. And the sheep is of the earth and therefore dear to Demeter, and in heaven the Ram,

with the help of the sun, brings forth out of the earth its display of fruits. They must be black, for of such colour is the earth, being naturally dark: and three, for three is the symbol of the corporeal and earthly.

‘To the gods of earth then one must offer high upon altars, for these pass to and fro upon the earth; but to the gods beneath the earth, in a trench and in a grave, where they abide. To the other gods we must offer birds, because all things are in swift motion. For the water of the sea also is in perpetual motion, and dark, and therefore victims of this kind are suitable. But white victims for the gods of the air: for the air itself is filled with light, being of a translucent nature. For the gods of heaven and of the ether, the parts of the animals which are lighter, and these are the extremities; and with these gods we must participate in the sacrifice: for these are givers of good things, but the others are averters of evil.’

Such are the wonderful theosophist’s statements taken from *The Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*.

CHAPTER X

But now come, let us compare with this the same person's contrary utterances, set down by him in the book which he entitled *On Abstinence from Animal Food*. Here indeed, moved by right reasoning, he first of all confesses that we ought not to offer anything at all, either incense or sacrifice, to the God who is over all, nor yet to the divine and heavenly powers who come next to Him.

Then as he goes on, he refutes the opinions of the multitude, by saying that we ought not to regard as gods those who rejoice in the sacrifices of living creatures. For to offer animals in sacrifice, he says, is of all things most unjust, and unholy, and abominable, and hurtful, and therefore not pleasing to gods. But in speaking thus it is evident that he must convict his own god: for he said just before that the oracle enjoined the sacrifice of animals, not only to the infernal and terrestrial gods, but also to those of the air, the heaven, and the ether.

And whereas such are Apollo's injunctions, yet he, appealing to Theophrastus as witness, says that the sacrifice of animals is not fit for gods, but for daemons only: so that, according to the argument of himself and Theophrastus, Apollo is a daemon and not a god; and not Apollo only but also all those who have been regarded as gods among all the heathen, those to whom whole peoples, both rulers and ruled, in cities and in country districts, offer animal sacrifices. For these we ought to believe to be nothing else than daemons, according to the philosophers whom we have mentioned.

But if they say that they are good, how then, if indeed bloody sacrifice was unholy and abominable and hurtful, could those who were pleased with such things as these be good? And if they should also be shown to delight not only in such sacrifices as these, but, with an excess of cruelty and inhumanity, in the slaughter of men and in human sacrifices, how can they be other than utterly blood-guilty, and friends of all cruelty and inhumanity, and nothing else than wicked daemons?

Now when these things have been demonstrated by us, I suppose that good reason has been rendered for our withdrawal from the practices mentioned. For even to confer the honour of one who is invested with regal dignity among men upon robbers and housebreakers is not holy nor pious, much less to degrade the adorable name of God and His supreme honour to wicked

spirits.

Hence we who have been taught to worship only the God who is over all, and to honour in due degree the divinely favoured and blessed powers which are around Him, bring with us no earthy or dead offering, nor gore and blood, nor anything of corruptible and material substance; but with a mind purified from all wickedness, and with a body clothed with the ornament of purity and temperance which is brighter than any raiment, and with right doctrines worthy of God, and beside all this with sincerity of disposition, we pray that we may guard even unto death the religion delivered unto us by our Saviour.

But now after these previous explanations it is time for us to proceed to the proofs of our assertions. And first of all it is reasonable to go through the arguments by which the aforesaid author, in his book entitled *On Abstinence from Animal Food*, says that neither to the God who is over all, nor to the divine powers next to Him, ought we to bring anything of earth either as burnt-offering or sacrifice; because such things are alien to seemly worship.

CHAPTER XI

[PORPHYRY] ‘To the God who is over all, as a certain wise man said, we must neither offer by fire nor dedicate any of the things of sense; for there is no material thing which is not at once impure to the immaterial. Wherefore neither is speech by the outward voice proper to Him, nor even the inward speech, whenever it is defiled by passion of the soul. But we worship Him in pure silence, and with pure thoughts concerning Him. United therefore and made like to Him, we must offer our own self-discipline as a holy sacrifice to God, the same being both a hymn of praise to Him and salvation to us. Therefore this sacrifice is perfected in passionless serenity of soul and in contemplation of God.’

CHAPTER XII

‘But to the gods who are his offspring, and known only by the mind, we must now add also that hymnody which is produced by speech: for the proper sacrifice for each deity is the first-fruit of the gifts which he has bestowed, and by which he sustains our being and keeps it in existence. As therefore a husbandman brings first-fruits of sheaves and of tree-fruits, so let us offer them first-fruits of noble thoughts concerning them, giving thanks for the things of which they have granted us the contemplation, and because they feed us with true food by the vision of themselves, dwelling with us, and showing themselves to us, and shining upon the path of our salvation.’

So speaks this author; and statements closely related and akin to his concerning the First and Great God are said to be written by the famous Apollonius of Tyana, so celebrated among the multitude, in his work *Concerning Sacrifices*, as follows:

CHAPTER XIII

[APOLLONIUS OF TYANA] ‘In this way, then, I think, one would best show the proper regard for the deity, and thereby beyond all other men secure His favour and good will, if to Him whom we called the First God, and who is One and separate from all others, and to whom the rest must be acknowledged inferior, he should sacrifice nothing at all, neither kindle fire, nor dedicate anything whatever that is an object of sense —— for He needs nothing even from beings who are greater than we are: nor is there any plant at all which the earth sends up, nor any animal which it, or the air, sustains, to which there is not some defilement attached —— but should ever employ towards Him only that better speech, I mean the speech which passes not through the lips, and should ask good things from the noblest of beings by what is noblest in ourselves, and this is the mind, which needs no instrument. According to this therefore we ought by no means to offer sacrifice to the great God who is over all.’

Now these things being so, see next what kind of account the former writer gives of animal sacrifice, calling up Theophrastus as witness of his statement.

CHAPTER XIV

[PORPHYRY] ‘But when the sacrifices of first-fruits were allowed by mankind to run into great disorder, they began to adopt the most dreadful offerings full of cruelty, so that the curses formerly denounced against us seemed now to have received accomplishment, by men cutting the victims’ throats, and defiling the altars with blood, from the time that they experienced famines and wars, and had recourse to bloodshed. Therefore the deity, as Theophrastus says, indignant at these several crimes, seems to have inflicted the suitable punishment, inasmuch as some men have become atheists, while others would more justly be called evil-minded than impious, because they believed the gods to be in their nature vile and no better than ourselves. Thus some of them, it appears, came to differ no sacrifices, while others offered evil sacrifices and had recourse to unlawful victims.’

Again the same author adds this also:

‘Which things being so, Theophrastus rightly forbids those who wish to be really pious to sacrifice things with life, making use of other arguments of this kind.’

He further says:

‘Moreover we ought to offer such sacrifices as shall injure no one, for a sacrifice above all things ought to be harmless to all. But if any one should say that God has given us animals for our use no less than the fruits of the earth, yet at all events when he sacrifices animals he inflicts some harm upon them, inasmuch as they are robbed of their life. These then we must not sacrifice, for by its very name sacrifice is something holy; but no one is holy who renders thank-offerings out of things belonging to another, whether grain or plants, if taken against his will. For how can it be a holy thing, when wrong is done to those who are robbed? But if he who lays hands even upon another man’s crops makes not a holy offering, most certainly it is not holy to take things more precious than these from any, and offer them: for thus the harm becomes greater. And far more precious than the fruits of the earth is life, which man ought not to take by sacrificing living things.’

And he adds:

‘We must abstain therefore from offering living things in our sacrifices.’

And again he says:

‘What therefore is neither holy nor of little cost must not be offered in sacrifice.’

And presently:

‘So that if we are to sacrifice animals to the gods, even these we must offer for some of the following purposes: for whatever we sacrifice is sacrificed for some one of these purposes. Would then any one of us, or would any god think that he received honour, when by what we consecrate we are at once shown to be doing wrong? Or would he not rather think that such a deed was a dishonour? But surely we confess that by slaying in our sacrifice those animals which do no wrong we shall do wrong to them: so that we must not sacrifice any of the other living beings for the sake of honouring the gods: no, nor yet as rendering thanks to them for their benefits. For he that would render just recompense for a benefit, and a worthy return for a kind deed, ought to provide these gifts without doing evil to any. For he will be thought to make no better return, than a man would if he were to seize his neighbour’s property to crown any persons by way of repaying them with gratitude and honour. Nay, nor yet (may we offer animals) because of any need of good things. For if a man seeks to gain good treatment by unjust conduct, it is suspected that, even if well treated, he will not be grateful.

‘So that not even in hope of benefit must we sacrifice animals to the gods: for in so doing one might perhaps deceive man, but to deceive God is impossible. If therefore sacrifice should be offered for some one of these purposes, and if we must not offer animals for the sake of any of them, it is manifest that we must not offer such sacrifices to the gods at all.’

And again he adds:

‘For both nature and the whole feeling of man’s soul were pleased with offerings of the former kind:

“When with pure blood of bulls no altar dripped,
But this was held by men the foulest crime,
To rend the life, and feed upon the limbs.”’

And after other matters he says:

‘But when a young man has learned that gods delight in costliness, and, as is said, in feasts upon kine and other animals, when would he ever choose to be thrifty and temperate? And if he believes that these offerings are pleasing

to the gods, how can he avoid thinking that he has license to do wrong, being sure to buy off his sin by his sacrifices? But if he be persuaded that the gods have no need of these sacrifices, but look to the moral disposition of those who approach them, receiving as the greatest offering the right judgement concerning themselves and their affairs, how can he fail to be prudent, and just, and holy?

‘The best sacrifice to the gods is a pure mind and a soul free from passions; but also congenial to them is the offering of other sacrifices in moderation, not carelessly however, but with all earnestness. For their honours must be like those paid in the case of good men, such as chief seats in public assemblies, rising up at their approach, and honourable places at table, and not like grants of tribute.’

Hereby then it was clearly acknowledged, according to the Greeks and their philosophers, that nothing endued with life can rightly be sacrificed to the gods, for the act is unholy, and unjust, and hurtful, and not far from a pollution. He was no god then nor yet a truthful and good daemon — that oracle-monger of whom we heard just now as exacting drink-offerings of blood and burnt-offerings; nor yet all those to whom the oracle commanded animals to be sacrificed. A deceiver therefore and a cheat and an utterly wicked daemon must we call him who so lied, and called them gods who are not, and enjoined the sacrifice of animals not only to the terrestrial and infernal gods, but also to the gods of heaven and ether and the stars. What then, if not gods, we ought to suppose all those before mentioned to be, the writer himself shall explain again in what follows.

CHAPTER XV

[PORPHYRY] 'He who cares for religion knows that nothing which has life is offered to gods, but to daemons either good or evil; knows also whose interest it is to sacrifice to them, and how far they proceed who need their help.'

And presently he says again:

'Those who thoroughly understood the powers that are in the universe brought their bloody sacrifices not to gods but to daemons, which fact also is certified by the theologists themselves; and moreover that some of the daemons do harm, but others are good and will not molest us.'

Thus far the aforesaid author. But since he asserted that some of the daemons are good and others bad, how may we see that their supposed gods are all found to be not even good daemons, but bad? You may find the proof of this as follows.

What is good gives help, but the contrary does harm. If then those who have been everywhere proclaimed either as gods or as daemons — the very same, I say, who have been celebrated by them all, and are worshipped by all the heathen nations, as Kronos, and Zeus, and Hera and Athena, and the like, also the invisible powers, and the daemons who operate through graven images — if these should be found to delight not only in slaughter and sacrifices of irrational animals, but also in manslaughter and human sacrifices, thus destroying the souls of the miserable men, what worse harm could you conceive than this?

For if the offering of irrational animals was called by the philosophers execrable and sacrilegious, abominable too and unjust and unholy and not harmless to the offerers, and for all these reasons unworthy of the gods, what are we to think of the offering made by human sacrifice? Would not this be most impious, most unholy of all? How then could it reasonably be declared welcome to good daemons, and not rather to utterly abominable and destructive spirits?

Come then, let us examine and prove how widely the plague of polytheistic error held sway over the life of man before our Saviour's teaching in the gospel. For we shall prove that this error was abolished and destroyed no earlier than the times of Adrian, when Christ's teaching was already shining

forth like light over every region.

And to this not our testimony, but the voices again of our adversaries themselves shall expressly bear witness, charging upon the preceding ages wickedness so great, that the superstitious pass at length beyond nature's limits, being so utterly driven frantic and possessed by the destroying spirits, as even to suppose that they propitiate the bloodthirsty powers by the blood of their dearest friends and countless other human sacrifices.

Sometimes a father sacrificed his only son to the daemon, and a mother her beloved daughter, and the dearest friends would slay their relatives as readily as any irrational and strange animals, and to the so-called gods in every city and country they used to offer their home-friends and fellow citizens, having sharpened their humane and sympathetic nature to a merciless and inhuman cruelty, and exhibiting a frantic and truly daemoniacal disposition.

So then by examining all history both Grecian and barbarian you would find how some used to dedicate sons, and others daughters, and others even themselves for sacrifice to the daemons. And for this I offer you the same witness as before, in the same work in which he forbade the sacrifice of irrational cattle as unholy and most unjust: and this is what he says word for word.

CHAPTER XVI

[PORPHYRY] ‘And that we say this not lightly, but with the fullest testimony of history, the following instances may suffice to prove. For even in Eliodes a man used to be sacrificed to Kronos on the sixth day of the month Metageitnion. This custom prevailed for a long time before it was changed: for one of those who had been publicly condemned to death was kept in custody until the festival of Kronos, and when the festival was come, they brought the man forth outside the gates opposite the temple of Aristobule, gave him a drink of wine, and cut his throat.

‘And in what is now called Salamis, but formerly Coronis, in the month Aphrodisius according to the Cyprians, a man used to be sacrificed to Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops and a nymph of Agraule. This custom continued until the times of Diomedes; then it changed, so that the man was sacrificed to Diomedes; and the shrine of Athena, and that of Agraulos and Diomedes are under one enclosure. The man to be sacrificed ran thrice round the altar, led by the youths: then the priest struck him in the throat with a spear, and so they offered him as a burnt-sacrifice upon the pyre that was heaped up.

‘But this ordinance was abolished by Diphilus, king of Cyprus, who lived in the times of Seleucus the theologian, and changed the custom into a sacrifice of an ox: and the daemon accepted the ox instead of a man; so little is the difference in value of the performance.

‘Also at Heliopolis in Egypt Amosis abolished the law of human sacrifice, as Manetho bears witness in his book *Concerning Antiquity and Religion*. The men were sacrificed to Hera, and were examined just as the pure calves that were sought after and sealed. Three men were sacrificed in the day: but instead of them Amosis ordered the same number of waxen images to be supplied.

‘Also in Chios they used to sacrifice a man to Dionysus Omadius, tearing him limb from limb; in Tenedos also, as Euelpis of Carystus states. For even the Lacedaemonians, Apollodorus says, used to sacrifice a man to Ares.

‘The Phoenicians, too, in the great calamities of war, or pestilence, or drought, used to dedicate one of their dearest friends and sacrifice him to Kronos: and of those who thus sacrificed the Phoenician history is full, which

Sanchuniathon wrote in the Phoenician language, and Philo Byblius translated into Greek in eight books.

‘And Ister, in his *Collection of Cretan Sacrifices*, says that the Curetes in old times used to sacrifice boys to Kronos. But that the human sacrifices in almost all nations had been abolished, is stated by Pallas, who made an excellent collection concerning the mysteries of Mithras in the time of the Emperor Adrian. Also at Laodicea in Syria a virgin used to be offered to Athena every year, but now a hind.

‘Moreover the Carthaginians in Libya used to perform this kind of sacrifice, which was stopped by Iphicrates. The Dumateni also, in Arabia, used every year to sacrifice a boy, and bury him under the altar, which they treated as an image.

‘Phylarchus states in his history that all the Greeks in common offered human sacrifices before going out against their enemies. I say nothing of the Thracians and Scythians, and how the Athenians slew the daughter of Erechtheus and Praxithea. Nay, even at the present time, who knows not that in the Great City a man is sacrificed at the festival of Jupiter Latiaris?

And again he says:

‘From which time until now not only in Arcadia at the Lycaea, nor only in Carthage to Kronos do the whole people offer human sacrifice, but periodically for the sake of keeping the custom in remembrance they always sprinkle kindred blood upon the altars.’

So then from the aforesaid writing let these passages suffice: but from the first book of Philo’s *Phoenician History* I will quote the following:

[PHILO BYBLIUS] ‘It was a custom of the ancients in the great crises of danger for the rulers of a city or nation, in order to avert the general destruction, to give up the most beloved of their children for sacrifice as a ransom to the avenging daemons: and those who were so given up were slain with mystic rites. Kronos, therefore, whom the Phoenicians call El, who was king of the country, and subsequently, after his decease, was deified and changed into the star Saturn, had by a nymph of the same country called Anobret an only-begotten son (whom on this account they called Jeiid, the only-begotten being still so called among the Phoenicians); and when extreme dangers from war had befallen the country, he arrayed his son in royal apparel, and prepared an altar and sacrificed him.’

Such, was the manner of these doings.

With good reason therefore does the excellent Clement himself also, in his *Exhortation to the Greeks*, when finding fault with these very customs, lament as follows over the delusion of mankind and say:

[CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA] ‘Come then, let us further observe, what inhuman daemons and haters of mankind your gods were, not only delighting in driving men mad, but also gloating over human slaughter, making for themselves occasions of pleasure now in the armed conflicts of the arena, and now in the endless contests for glory in war, that so they might have the fullest opportunities of freely glutting themselves with human slaughter. And at length, falling like pestilences upon cities and nations, they demanded merciless libations of blood. For instance, Aristomenes the Messenian slew three hundred men in honour of Zeus of Ithome, supposing that hecatombs so many and also of such quality would give good omens; for among them was Theopompus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, a noble victim. The Tauri, the nation who dwell about the Tauric Chersonese, sacrifice forthwith to the Tauric Artemis whatever strangers they take on their coasts, those I mean who have been wrecked at sea. These are the sacrifices which Euripides dramatizes on the stage. Monimus, too, in his *Collection of Marvels*, relates that at Pella in Thessaly a man of Achaia was offered in sacrifice to Peleus and Cheirou. And that the Lycians, who are a race of Cretans, sacrificed men to Zeus, is declared by Anticleides in his *Returns of the Greeks*: and Dosidas says that the Lesbians offered the like sacrifice to Dionysus. The Phocaeans also, for I must not omit them, are said by Pythocles in the third book *On Concord* to offer a man as a burnt-sacrifice to Artemis Tauropolos. Erechtheus of Attica, and Marius of Rome, sacrificed their own daughters, the one to Pherephatta, as Demaratus states in his first book of *Subjects of Tragedy*, and Marius to the “Averters of Evil,” as Dorotheus relates in the fourth book of the *Italica*. Friends truly of mankind the daemons are clearly proved by these examples!

‘Must not then the piety of the daemon-worshippers be of the like kind, the former receiving the flattering title of Saviours, and the latter asking safety of those who plot against safety? At least, while imagining that they offer to them a sacrifice of good omen, they forget that they are cutting men’s throats themselves. For of course the murder does not become a sacrifice because of the place. Nor, if one should slay a man in honour of Artemis and Zeus in a

so-called sacred place (*would it become a sacrifice*) any more than if, from anger or covetousness, he should slay the man in honour of like daemons on altars rather than on highways, and call it a holy sacrifice. But such a sacrifice is murder and manslaughter.

‘Why then, O men, ye wisest of all living creatures, why do we flee from savage wild beasts, and, if we fall in anywhere with a bear or a lion, turn out of the way ——

“As when some traveller spies,
Coiled in his path upon the mountain side,
A deadly snake, back he recoils in haste,
His limbs all trembling, and his cheek all pale” ——

but though you have perceived and understand that daemons are destructive and pernicious, treacherous, enemies of mankind, and destroyers, you do not turn aside nor shrink back from them?’

Thus far Clement. But I have also to present to you another witness of the blood-thirstiness of the impious and inhuman daemons, namely, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a man who published a complete and accurate work on the *History of Rome*. Now he too writes that Zeus and Apollo once demanded human sacrifices, but those of whom they were demanded offered to the gods their portion of all crops and cattle, but were beset by all kinds of misfortune, because they did not also sacrifice men. There is nothing, however, like hearing the writer himself, who tells the story as follows:

[DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS] ‘But a small part (of the Pelasgians) remained in Italy, through the prudence of the Aborigines. The first beginning of ruin to the inhabitants of the cities seeme’d to be the damage of the land by drought, when neither did any fruit remain to ripen upon the trees, but all fell off unripe, nor did any of the seeds, which put forth shoots and blossomed, complete the normal periods for the ripening of the ear; nor did grass grow sufficient for cattle; and of the springs some were no longer good to drink, and some were failing from heat, and some completely drying up. And disasters akin to these occurred in regard to offspring of cattle and women: for the fruit of the womb either miscarried, or perished at the time of birth, in some cases causing death to the mothers also. And whatever escaped the danger of parturition was crippled, or imperfect, or injured

through some other mischance, and was not fit to be reared. Then, too, the rest of the population which was in the prime of life began to be ravaged by diseases and deaths of more than ordinary frequency. And when they inquired of oracles, which of the gods or daemons they had offended that they suffered thus, and what they could do with a hope of alleviating their troubles, the god made answer, that, after obtaining what they wished, they had not paid what they vowed, but still owed the most precious part. For when a general dearth had fallen upon their land, the Pelasgi made a vow to Zeus and to Apollo and to the Cabeiri that they would offer in sacrifice tithes of all future produce: but when their prayer was fulfilled, they chose out the portion of all crops and cattle, and offered these in sacrifice to the gods, as though they had vowed these only. This story is told by Myrsilus the Lesbian, who writes in almost the same words as I have now used, except only that he does not call the people Pelasgians but Tyrrhenians; and the reason of this I will state a little later.

‘When they learned the answer of the oracle that had been brought back, they could not conjecture the meaning. But in their perplexity, one of the older men who had guessed the oracle said, that they had mistaken the whole matter if they supposed that the gods were accusing them unjustly: for though all the first-fruits of property had been rightly and justly paid by them, yet the portion of human offspring, a thing most precious above all to the gods, was still due. But if the gods were to receive their just share of this also, they would then have fully satisfied the oracle. Some thought then that this was good advice, but others that the speech was concocted as part of a plot: and when some one brought forward the proposal that they should ask the god again whether it was his pleasure to receive tenths of men, they sent ambassadors a second time, and the god made answer that they should do so. Hereupon a quarrel arose among them as to the method of choosing the tenths: and the chief men of their cities then first fell into dissension among themselves, and afterwards the rest of the multitude became suspicious of the magistrates; and their emigrations were not made with any order, but as was to be expected when men were driven away by frenzy and infatuation. So when a portion of them migrated, many households were utterly destroyed; for the relatives of those who went forth did not approve of being left behind by their dearest friends and remaining among their worst enemies. These then were the

first who removed from Italy, and wandered into Greece and many barbarous lands; and after the first emigrants, others had the same feeling, and this went on continuously for years. For those who were in power in the cities did not cease to choose out the victims from the youth who at the time were growing into manhood, both as deeming thus to pay due service to the gods, and because they feared seditious movements from those who had escaped. There were many also who from enmity were driven away by their opponents under a specious pretext; so that the migrations became numerous, and the Pelasgic race was scattered abroad over a very great part of the earth.'

Also a little later he says:

'Now it is said that the ancients offer these sacrifices to Kronos, as was done in Carthage while the city remained, and is done among the Celts unto this day, and in certain other of the Western nations who offer human sacrifices; but that Hercules, wishing to put a stop to the custom of this sacrifice, set up the altar on the hill of Saturn, and dedicated holy offerings hallowed by pure fire. And in order that the people might have no timorous scruple, as having neglected their ancestral sacrifices, he taught the inhabitants to appease the wrath of the god, by substituting for the men whom they used to cast into the stream of the Tiber bound hand and foot, images made like men and arrayed in the same manner as the former, and to throw them into the river in order that the foreboding, whatever there was of it remaining in the souls of all, might be removed as the likenesses of their old suffering were still preserved. And this the Romans continued to do even to my time, a little after the spring equinox, on the so-called Ides in the month of May, meaning this day to be the division of the month: on which day, after sacrificing the customary victims, the so-called Pontifices, the most distinguished of the priests, and with them the Virgins who guard the undying fire, and the Praetors, and those of the other citizens who have the right to be present at the sacred services, throw from the sacred bridge into the stream of the Tiber images fashioned in human forms, which they call Argēi.'

Such are these statements. And Diodorus also narrates similar facts in the twentieth book of his *Bibliotheca Historica*, after the death of Alexander of Macedon, in the time of the first Ptolemy, concerning the Carthaginians when besieged by Agathocles the tyrant of Sicily, writing word for word thus:

[DIODORUS] 'They alleged also that Kronos was set against them,

inasmuch as they used in earlier times to sacrifice the best of their sons to this god, but afterwards bought children secretly, and reared them and sent them for the sacrifice; and when an inquiry was held, some of those who had been sacrificed were found to have been supposititious. So when they had taken thought of this, and saw the enemy encamping close to their walls, they had a superstitious fear of having abolished the honours which their fathers had paid to the gods: and, being eager to amend their errors, they chose out two hundred of their most distinguished sons and offered them as a public sacrifice; and others who were under suspicion gave themselves up of their own accord, in number not less than three hundred. Now they had a brazen statue of Kronos, stretching forth his upturned hands inclined towards the ground, in such a way that the boy placed thereon rolled off and fell into a pit full of fire.'

Such are the stories handed down by this author also in his own history. With good reason then does the scripture of the Hebrews lay blame upon those of the circumcision who emulated such practices, saying: 'They offered their sons and their daughters to the daemons, and the land was defiled with their blood, and was polluted with their works.' But in fact I believe it to be hereby clearly proved that the most ancient and primitive erection of carved images and all the idolatrous creation of gods among the heathen was the work of daemons, and of daemons who were not even good, but utterly wicked and worthless: so that the oracle speaks truth which says in the prophecies, 'All the gods of the heathen are daemons'; as also the passage of the Apostle where he says, 'That the things which they sacrifice, they sacrifice to daemons and not to God.'

Or if there was any good one among them, on whose account they might share in the title of the good, he would be a benefactor and saviour of all, a friend of justice, and a guardian of mankind. But if he were such, how could he delight in human slaughter? And why did he not forbid mankind by oracles to follow such practices? Surely he was worse and more wicked than men, since they by legal punishments brought the blood-guilty to a better mind. For it was no god, but a man, who abolished the long-continued and wide-spread plague of human sacrifice.

But that these were the works of worthless and wicked daemons would be still more manifest to you, were you to consider their practices of infamous

and unbridled fornication still observed in the City of the Sun in Phoenicia, and among many other people. For they say that men ought to practise adulteries, and seductions, and other unlawful kinds of intercourse, in honour of the gods, as a sort of debt due to them, and to consecrate to the gods the first-fruits of adultery and fornication, dedicating to them the gains of this ignoble and unseemly commerce, just as if it were some worthy kind of thank-offering: for these practices are similar to their human sacrifices.

If therefore it is not the part even of a decent man to delight in murders, and obscene language, and illicit intercourse with women who sell away their beauty for hire, far be it from us to say that it is the part of gods or good daemons to accept such offerings. But if any one should say that, though these are confessedly the acts of evil daemons, there are nevertheless others, namely the good daemons, whom they especially worship as saviours; where then, we should ask, were their good saviours, if they worshipped them, that they did not hinder the wicked daemons from so treating their suppliants? And where were the good daemons that they did not drive away the mischievous, and bring aid to their worshippers? And why did they neglect and overlook the rational and religious race of mankind when oppressed by the cruelty of the evil daemons, instead of plainly warning them all to flee straight away, and shun every so-called god as being no god but a wicked daemon, to whom things cruel and inhuman and unlawful and disgraceful are dear? And if either in Rhodes there was long ago a supposed god who rejoiced in human sacrifices, the true god, if indeed there was one, would have repressed the practice and warned them all to regard such an one not as a god but as an evil daemon. Or if in Salamis, which also was formerly called Coronea, a man was sacrificed in the month Aphrodisius according to the Cyprians, their true god would have shown them that this too was a wicked daemon, and so would have stopped the proceeding as impious and unholy.

If also at Heliopolis in Egypt Amosis abolished the law of human sacrifice, the true god would have taught them that the man was far better than the god: for there again he who was the author of the human sacrifice was no god but a daemon. Nor would the true god have ordained that men must not consider Hera's daemon impure, since the history showed that three men were sacrificed to her every day.

And what could be more truly daemoniacal than the so-called Dionysus

Omadius, to whom, it is said, they sacrifice a man in Chios, tearing him limb from limb, or the other in Tenedos, whom also in like manner they used to propitiate by human sacrifice? Their true god would also have forbidden to sacrifice a man to Ares, the daemon who is the bane of mortals and lover of war, and would have made a law against sacrificing to him the dearest either of their kindred or of strangers.

If also, as they say, a virgin was sacrificed every year to Athena at Laodicea in Syria, their true god would not have shunned to call her too a wicked daemon; as also him in Libya who delighted in the like sacrifices, and him in Arabia, to whom they sacrificed a boy every year; and buried him under the altar.

CHAPTER XVII

All these, and those who delighted in obscenities of language and illicit seductions of women and all the madness which has been before mentioned, the true and good god, or daemon, would have forewarned them, not by any means to regard as gods. But none of them ever yet is recorded to have done this, except only the God who is honoured among the Hebrews, as being the Only and true God.

For He alone forewarned all men by Moses the Prophet and Theologian, not to reverence the wicked daemons as good, but on the contrary to shun and repel them, as being evil spirits; and moreover He made a law to destroy their shrines and their unholy and profane sacrifices, and utterly to banish from among men the remembrance of them as gods, and the honour that was assigned to them: for it was an impiety that those who were cared for by the good should propitiate the evil.

And whether it is Phylarchus, or any one else, who records that all the Greeks, before going out to their wars, offer a human sacrifice, do not thou hesitate to take him also as a witness of the daemoniacal possession of the Greeks: do not neglect either to declare that those in Africa, and the Thracians, and the Scythians, who follow the like practices, have been subjected to the same daemoniacal frenzies; as also the Athenians, and the inhabitants of the Great City, since these also used to sacrifice men at the festivals of Jupiter Maximus.

But in fact if you were to collect the catalogue of all those who have been mentioned above, you would find that, as I might almost say, the whole manufacture of gods by the heathen depends upon these same murderous spirits and evil daemons. For if in Rhodes, and in Salamis and the other islands, and at Heliopolis in Egypt, in Chios, and Tenedos, and Lacedaemon, Arcadia, Phoenicia, Libya, and, besides all these, in Syria and Arabia, and among the Panhellenes and the Athenians who stand at the very head of them, in Carthage also and Africa, and among Thracians and Scythians, it has been shown that the rites of human sacrifice to daemons were celebrated in old times, and continued down to our Saviour's time, why may you not say with good reason that all mankind were at that time enslaved to wicked daemons, and that life was not relieved from these great evils before our Saviour's

teaching shed light upon the world? For indeed it was proved by the statement of history that these things continued till the times of Adrian, and have been abolished since his reign: and this was exactly the time at which the doctrine of salvation began to flourish among all mankind.

Moreover it is not in their power to say that they used to sacrifice to the evil daemons; since the history made it clear that the human sacrifices were dedicated especially to the great gods themselves. For it affirmed that they were offered to Hera and to Athena, to Kronos and Ares and Dionysus, and to supreme Zeus himself, and to Phoebus, that is to Apollo the most venerable and most wise of all: and these and none other they address as the greatest and best of saviours and gods.

These then must themselves be the wicked daemons. For if they delighted in such human sacrifices and homicides, may you not with good reason reckon them in the same class of blood-guiltiness with the wicked spirits, whether they were said themselves to delight in such offerings, or to acquiesce in them, and connive at their being done by others?

For why should they permit men at all to propitiate the wicked spirits? Or why allow them to err so far as to worship and flatter the evil daemons? And why to be enslaved by the wicked, when, as being good themselves and gods, it behoved them by their greater and more divine power to drive away everything whatsoever base and wicked as far as possible from man's daily life?

Surely a good father would not calmly see his own son corrupted by evil men; nor would a prudent master calmly see his servant led away by his enemies, nor yet a commander in time of war give up his own soldiers as prisoners to the enemy, when it was in his power to bring them safe off; nor would a shepherd give up his sheep to the wolves: and shall then gods and good daemons give up mankind in subjection to the bad and wicked daemons? And shall

‘The thrice ten thousand guardians of mankind,’

I mean their shepherds and preservers, kings and fathers and lords, deliver up their dearest ones to their enemies and foemen, fierce as wild beasts, to harry and plunder in so merciless and cruel a manner? Will they not cast a shield over their suppliants, and fight in their defence? Will they not drive the hostile and wicked daemons far away from the human fold, like savage and

devouring beasts? And will they not teach every man to be of good courage because he is closely allied with a countless multitude of gods and good daemons, and, because he is consecrated to those who are not only stronger but also the more numerous and the greatest gods, to pay little or rather no regard to the weakness of the wicked daemons? But since they did not act thus, but on the contrary themselves helped the evil daemons by permitting the fore-mentioned human sacrifices by their oracles, and by delighting in all kinds of obscene language and the practices attendant thereon, it is proved by deed, as the saying is, that they were not themselves at all different in nature from the evil daemons, but rather were of one and the same will and purpose; and that, to speak yet more truly, he was no god at all, nor any good daemon, that was worshipped of old by all the heathen in every city and country district.

For how could the wicked ever become friendly to the good, unless one should say that one mixture might be made of light and darkness? And how much better is human reason than those supposed gods, when it enjoins that no sacrifice should be offered even to wicked daemons! So at all events the writer formerly quoted, in the work wherein he asserted that men ought not to offer living victims, says that neither ought we to sacrifice to wicked daemons, speaking in this wise:

CHAPTER XVIII

[PORPHYRY] 'Wherefore a wise and prudent man will guard against using sacrifices such as these, whereby he will draw down daemons of this kind to himself, but will be careful to purify his soul in every way; for they never attack a pure soul, because of its being unlike themselves. But if it is necessary for States to propitiate these daemons also, that is nothing to us; for States regard wealth and externals and things for the body as good, and the contrary as ill; but there are in them very few who care for the soul.'

After this he adds:

CHAPTER XIX

[PORPHYRY] ‘We, however, as far as possible, will require none of the things which these evil daemons supply: but with all our soul and with all outward means we make every endeavour, by freedom from passions, and a clearly formed conception of the realities of being, and the life that looks to them and agrees with them, to grow like to God and those about Him; but to grow unlike to wicked men and daemons and, generally, to all that takes delight in what is mortal and material.

‘But the philosopher whom we describe as standing aloof from external things will not, we may fairly say, trouble daemons, nor have need of soothsayers, nor of the entrails of animals; for he has made it his care to stand aloof from the very things for which divinations exist. For he neither lets himself fall into marriage, that he should trouble the soothsayer about a wedding, nor into commerce; nor will he trouble him about a servant, or a theft, or any other of the vanities of mankind. But on the subjects of his inquiry no soothsayer, nor animal’s entrails will indicate the truth. By himself alone, as we said, he will approach the god whose seat is in his own true heart, and there uniting all his powers in one full stream will receive his suggestions concerning the life eternal.’ [Porphyry, *ibid.* ii. 52]

Hereby then his language most clearly shows to whom we must ascribe the oracles, and the inquiries by inspection of sacrifices, and those prognostications about uncertainties at which the multitude marvel. For by calling all these things ‘vanities,’ he rejects them as being wrought by wicked daemons.

So when going through his account of evil daemons, and asserting that the wise and prudent man never gave himself over to them, nor drew such daemons to himself by his sacrifices, he next subjoins a statement that the philosopher ‘will have no need of oracles nor of the entrails of animals,’ and such like, as being part of the evil craft of daemons.

If then according to this the wise and prudent man ought to beware of using sacrifices of this kind, whereby to draw the daemons to himself — and if by these were meant sacrifices by shedding of blood, and by slaughter of brute animals — none could justly be called prudent and wise among those who of old used to sacrifice animals to the daemons, and much less any

of those who offered human sacrifices.

But almost all nations in the world, so to speak, before our Saviour was made known unto mankind, were convicted of propitiating the evil daemons by the human sacrifices which were performed in every place: none of these therefore was wise and prudent.

So then the common sense and consideration of mankind, guided by true reason, expressly forewarns every wise and prudent man not to make use of sacrifices for courting the favour of the wicked daemons, 'but to be diligent in purifying his soul in all ways; for they do not assail a pure soul, because it is unlike themselves.'

But their god Apollo (for we must again compare him with men, and show how far he falls short of right reason) enjoins sacrificing to the picked daemon, not otherwise of course than as being friendly to him: and the bad is friendly to the bad. The witness of this is the same author as before, in the work which he entitled *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, who relates the following story word for word:

CHAPTER XX

[PORPHYRY] ‘So when the prophet was eager to see the deity with his own eyes, and was urgent, Apollo said that such a thing was impossible before giving ransom to the wicked daemon. And these are his words:

“To the dread genius of thy fatherland
Bring thou, for ransom meet, libations first,
Then fragrant incense, and dark blood of grapes,
With rich milk from the mothers of thy flock.”

‘Again, he spake more plainly on the same subject:

“Bring wine and milk, and water crystal-clear,
Holm boughs and acorns, and in order lay
The entrails, and the rich libations pour.”

‘But when asked what prayer should be used he began, but, did not finish, speaking thus:

“O daemon, crowned king of erring souls
Beneath daik caves, and on the earth above — —”

So spake the wonderful god, or rather the most wily daemon: but the dictates of natural reason are the very contrary, exhorting us ‘to purify the soul,’ but not to draw the wicked daemons to our side by sacrifices, ‘for they do not assail a pure soul, because it is unlike them.’ But then if he who was cautious, and did no sacrifice to daemons, was rightly judged to be a wise and prudent man, I leave it to you to consider, who and what kind of being he could reasonably be esteemed who, by his oracle, advised men to sacrifice to the wicked daemons.

Now if from this point you review what has been said, it will be evident what sort of beings in natural disposition those were who delighted in human sacrifices, or those who had long before enslaved the whole human race to such beings. But should any one say that the custom of human sacrifice is not wicked, but was most rightly practised by the men of old, he must at once condemn all of the present day, because none worship after the manner of

their fathers.

CHAPTER XXI

If, however, it was prudent in those of our day to make their escape from that harsh and fierce cruelty, then none of the ancients was wise in propitiating the wicked daemons by human sacrifices. But in fact it is plain even to a blind man, as the saying is, that those who were deified of old by all the heathen, could neither be gods nor good daemons but were as far removed as possible from goodness.

Wherefore also they might justly be called enemies of God and impious, who ruined all human life, and from whom never any save only our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ provided the way of escape for all men, by preaching to all alike, Greeks and Barbarians, a cure for their ancestral malady, and deliverance from their bitter and inveterate bondage. To that deliverance the language of the *Demonstration of the Gospel* urges men to hasten, shouting with loud voice to be heard of all, ‘The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me, He hath sent me to preach good tidings to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to heal the broken-hearted.’ And again, ‘To bring out the prisoners from their bonds, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house.’

For these are the things which long ages ago the truly divine oracles of the Hebrews foretold, preaching the good tidings of deliverance for us who had long been blind of soul, and fast bound in the many-linked fetters of wicked daemons. Wherefore with good reason, after being enlightened in the eyes of our understanding by the word of salvation, and made prudent, and wise, and pious, and free from all ills, we will neither sacrifice nor be in bondage to the supposed gods of the heathen, who formerly indeed tyrannized over us also; but having been led and brought near by our Saviour’s teaching to the only true God, who is both our Lord and our Preserver, our Saviour and Benefactor, and moreover our Maker and Creator, and sole King of the universe, Him only we will believe to be the true God, and to Him alone will we render the homage which is due, honouring and worshipping Him only, not as the daemons like, but as the Saviour of all mankind sent down from Him has taught us by the doctrine of His Gospel.

If we worship God in this way, far from fearing the wicked daemons, we shall pursue and drive them away from us by chastity, and a pure disposition,

and by a life of prudence and perfect virtue, which has been marked out by our Saviour: for it was acknowledged that they cannot approach a pure soul because it is unlike themselves. But neither shall we need divination and oracles, nor shall we scrutinize the entrails of animals, nor pry into any of the operations of daemoniactal influence.

For Christ's word enjoined on us to be careful to shun the very things for the sake of which these practices are eagerly pursued by the multitude; and exhorted us to desire only those things concerning which no soothsayer nor any entrails of animals will give clear indication of the truth, but only the Word of God Himself, who dwells in the true hearts of those who, because of perfect purity of soul, are able to receive Him inwardly in themselves. For concerning these He says somewhere in the holy Scriptures, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.'

These then are the proofs of the wickedness of the daemons derived from the topic of sacrifices. Hear however what the author of the work *On Abstinence from Animal Food* relates again on the same subject, expressly acknowledging that, while the wicked daemons are sculptured in many shapes, and give their character to forms of all kinds, they elude and deceive most men. For, says he, by slipping into the persons of good beings, and alluring the multitude to their company by inflaming men's passions, they wish themselves to be entitled the supreme gods.

And so far, says he, have they prevailed, as to deceive even the wisest poets and philosophers of the Greeks, whom he also admits to have been the authors of the perversion of the multitude: he says also that from them all kinds of imposture arose, and the things which allure men to pleasure are supplied by them; also he says how they wish to be gods, though they are really evil daemons, and how the power which presides over them is supposed to be the supreme god. All these things Porphyry relates in the following manner:

CHAPTER XXII

[PORPHYRY] ‘All souls which fail to control the spirit connected with them, but are for the most part controlled by it, are on this account greatly vexed and harassed, whenever the angry passions and desires of the spirit are excited: and these souls might reasonably be themselves called daemons, but mischievous ones.’ And the whole number, both these and those of the adverse power, are invisible and perfectly imperceptible by human senses. For they are not clothed with a solid body, nor all with one form, but their forms being moulded in various shapes, and expressing the character of their spirit, sometimes become visible, at other times are invisible: sometimes also the daemons, at least the worst sort of them, change their forms.

‘The spirit, in so far as it is corporeal, is capable of suffering and of perishing: but, by being so bound in subjection to the soul that the character thereof continues for a long time, it is nevertheless not rendered eternal; for it is natural that some portion of it should be continually wasting away and changing.

‘The spirits then of the good are well proportioned, as also are the bodies of those which become visible; but those of the maleficent are misproportioned. These last, occupying chiefly the region near the earth with their sensuous nature, omit no effort to work all kinds of evil. For with a disposition wholly violent and treacherous, and deprived of the guardianship of the better daemons, they make their assaults for the most part forcibly and suddenly like ambuscades, here trying to lie hid, and there using violence.’

Presently he adds:

‘These things and the like they do with the purpose of turning us away from the right notion of the gods, and drawing us towards themselves. For they themselves delight in all things that are done in this irregular and inconsistent way; and having slipped as it were into the persons of the other gods, they take advantage of our thoughtlessness, and attach the multitude to their company, by inflaming men’s lusts by amours, and desires of wealth and power and pleasure, and again by ambitions, out of which things grow wars and seditions, and the like.

‘But worst of all, from these crimes they mount up higher, and make men believe the like concerning the chief gods, until they bring even the God of all

goodness under these accusations, and say that by Him all things are thrown into confusion. And not only ordinary men have been thus affected, but also not a few of those who are occupied in philosophy.

‘And the cause of their errors has been mutual; for of the students of philosophy, those who did not depart from the common train of thought came to agree with the opinions of the multitude: and on the other hand again the multitudes, hearing from those who were thought to be wise what agreed with their own opinions, were confirmed in holding more strongly such thoughts concerning the gods.

‘For poetry further inflamed men’s imaginations by using language adapted to astonish and beguile, and able to work in them a fascination and belief concerning things utterly impossible; whereas they ought to have been firmly persuaded that the good never does harm, nor the evil ever does good. For, as Plato says, to chill is no property of heat, but of the contrary principle; (nor is to warm a property of cold, but of the contrary); so neither is it a property of the just to do harm.

‘And of course the divine is by nature most just of all, else it would not be divine. Wherefore this power and office (of doing harm) must be far removed from the beneficent daemons. For the power which is naturally fit and willing to do harm is contrary to the beneficent power, and opposites can never exist in the same subject.’

Again:

‘It is by the adverse powers, however, that the whole imposture is accomplished; for these and their prince are especially honoured by those who, through their impostures, work mischief.

‘For they are full of every kind of illusion, and well able to deceive by their wonder-working. By their help those possessed by evil daemons prepare philters and love-potions: for all lewdness, and hope of wealth and fame is wrought by them, and deception above all.

‘For falsehood is congenial to them: for they wish to be gods, and the power who presides over them wishes to be thought the supreme god. These are they who delight “in libations and burnt-offerings,” by which very things the spiritual and bodily element is nourished and fattened. For this element lives on vapours and exhalations, in various ways by their various contrivances, and is strengthened by the sacrifices of blood and flesh.’

Hereby then we have heard them confess that not only the poets among the Greeks inflamed men's imaginations concerning the evil daemons as if they were gods and good, but so did also those of the philosophers who were thought to be earnest about the gods; for they themselves worshipped not gods but wicked daemons, and so plunged the multitude and the common people headlong into the like delusion.

In their statement at all events it was clearly confessed that the multitudes, by hearing from those who were thought to be wise doctrines about the gods agreeing with their own opinions, were encouraged to think still more of the wicked daemons as if they were gods. And these charges are not brought upon our authority, but by the very men who know their own affairs much more accurately than we do.

In fact the same writer, having made no slight acquaintance with the superstition which is unknown to most, says that the wicked daemons wish to be gods, and to have among men the reputation of being good.

And who the power presiding over them happens to be, shall be made clear by the same author again, who says that the rulers of the wicked daemons are Sarapis and Hecate; but the sacred scripture says Beelzebul. Hear then how he writes on this point in his book *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*.

CHAPTER XXIII

[PORPHYRY] ‘But it is not without reason that we suspect the wicked daemons to be subject to Sarapis, nor from being persuaded only by the symbols, but because all the sacrifices for propitiating or averting their influence are offered to Pluto, as we showed in the first book. But this god is the same as Pluto, and for this reason especially rules over the daemons, and grants tokens for driving them away.

‘It was he then who made known to his suppliants how they gain access to men in the likeness of animals of all kinds; whence among the Egyptians also, and the Phoenicians, and generally among those who are wise in divine things, thongs are violently cracked in the temples, and animals are dashed against the ground before worshipping the gods, the priests thus driving away these daemons by giving them the breath or blood of animals, and by the beating of the air, in order that on their departure the presence of the god may be granted.

‘Every house also is full of them, and on this account, when they are going to call down the gods, they purify the house first, and cast these daemons out. Our bodies also are full of them, for they especially delight in certain kinds of food. So when we are eating they approach and sit close to our body; and this is the reason of the purifications, not chiefly on account of the gods, but in order that these evil daemons may depart. But most of all they delight in blood and in impure meats, and enjoy these by entering into those who use them.

‘For universally the vehemence of the desire towards anything, and the impulse of the lust of the spirit, is intensified from no other cause than their presence: and they also force men to fall into inarticulate noises and flatulence by sharing the same enjoyment with them.

‘For where there is a drawing in of much breath, either because the stomach has been inflated by indulgence, or because eagerness from the intensity of pleasure breathes much out and draws in much of the outer air, let this be a clear proof to you of the presence of such spirits there. So far human nature ventures to investigate the snares that are set about it: for when the deity enters in, the breathing is much increased.’

So much then concerning the wicked daemons, the ruler of whom he says

is Sarapis. But the same author also teaches us that Hecate rules them, speaking thus:

‘Are not these perhaps they over whom Sarapis rules, and whose symbol is the three-headed dog, that is the wicked daemon in the three elements, water, earth, air: these are restrained by the god, who has them under his hand. But Hecate also rules them, as holding the threefold, elements together.’

And again he says:

‘After quoting yet one oracle, composed by Hecate herself, I will bring my account of her to an end.

‘Lo! here the virgin, who in changing forms
Runs forth o’er highest heaven, with bovine face,
Three-headed, ruthless, arm’d with shafts of gold,
Chaste Phoebe, Ilithyia, light of men;
Of nature’s elements the triple sign,
In ether manifest in forms of fire,
Upon the air in shining car I sit,
While earth in leash holds my black brood of whelps.’

After these verses the author plainly states who the whelps are; namely, that they are the wicked daemons, of whom we have just ceased speaking. So much then for these statements. But by still more evidence let us go on to confirm our argument, that those who are by the many regarded as gods are in reality wicked daemons, bringing with them no good at all.

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CHAPTER I

THOUGH the statements already set forth were sufficient to prove that those who have been honoured among the heathen as gods in every city and country district were not gods nor yet good daemons, but the very contrary, yet I am not sorry still further to strengthen the same argument even superabundantly by more numerous and ample proofs, since the demonstration thereof clearly shows the deliverance from the evils of former times which was provided for all men by our Saviour's teaching in the Gospel. Hear therefore how Greeks themselves confess that their oracles have failed, and never so failed from the beginning until after the times when the doctrine of salvation in the Gospel caused the knowledge of the one God, the Sovereign and Creator of the universe, to dawn like light upon all mankind.

We shall show then almost immediately that very soon after His manifestation there came stories of the deaths of daemons, and that the wonderful oracles so celebrated of old have ceased. But already it has been proved above that, until after the teaching of the Gospel, the human sacrifices which were formerly so cruelly and ruthlessly perpetrated among all the heathen have never admitted any cessation of evils: and on the present occasion it is a good thing to add to this that not only the superstitious worship of daemons but also the multitude of ruling powers among the heathen became from that time extinct.

For almost in every city and village you might in old times see kings, and tyrants, and local governors, and lords, and ethnarchies and multitudes of rulers, by reason of which they were continually rushing into wars against one another, and ever perpetually at work in raiding country districts, and besieging cities, and making slaves and captives of their neighbours, being wildly driven by their local daemons into mutual wars.

Which being so, I leave it to you to consider for yourself in what kind of confusion of mutual evils and misfortunes the whole of life was entangled.

Since then it was only after the time of our Saviour's abode among men that these troubles together with the delusion of polytheism were removed all at once out of the way, must we not wonder exceedingly at the great mystery of the exhibition of true salvation in the Gospel? For thereby all at once in the whole world inhabited by man houses of prayer and temples were set up and consecrated, in cities and villages and in the deserts of barbarous nations, to

the sovereign Ruler and Creator of all things and the only God; and books and lectures, and all kinds of learning, and instructions containing exhortations concerning the highest virtue and the mode of life accordant with true godliness, have been delivered in the hearing of men and women and children alike, while all the oracles and divinations of daemons are dead.

Nor, since the divine power of our Saviour in the Gospel shone forth like light upon all men, is any man now so mad as to dare to propitiate the murderous and bloodthirsty and misanthropic and inhuman daemons by the murder of his best-beloved, and by the slaughter of men in sacrifices, such as the sages and kings of old, being verily possessed by daemons, loved to practise.

But with regard to the fact that the evil daemons no longer have any power to prevail since our Saviour's advent among men, the very same author who is the advocate of the daemons in our time, in his compilation against us, bears witness by speaking in the following manner:

[PORPHYRY] 'And now they wonder that for so many years the plague has attacked the city, Asclepius and the other gods being no longer resident among us. For since Jesus began to be honoured, no one ever heard of any public assistance from the gods.'

This is Porphyry's statement in his very words. If then, according to this confession, 'since Jesus began to be honoured no one ever heard of any public assistance from the gods, because neither Asclepius nor the other gods were any longer resident,' what ground is there henceforth for the opinion that they are gods and heroes?

For why do not rather the gods and Asclepius prevail over the power of Jesus? If indeed, as they would say, He is a mortal man — perhaps they would even say that He is a deceiver — while they are gods and saviours, why then have they all fled in a body, Asclepius and all, having turned their backs to this mortal, and given over all humanity forthwith into the power of Him who, as they would say, is no longer living?

But He even after death, ever continues to be honoured every day among all nations, plainly showing the certainty and divinity of the life after death to those who are able to discern it.

Moreover though He is one, and as might be supposed alone, He drives away the multitude of the gods throughout the whole world, and bringing their

honours to naught, so prevails that they are gods no longer, nor exercise any power, nor anywhere show themselves, nor reside as they were wont in the cities, because they were no gods but evil daemons; while only His honours, and those of the God of the universe who sent Him down, increase every day, and advance to greater dignity over all humanity.

Whereas on the contrary those gods, if indeed there were any who really cared for things on earth, ought to have utterly put aside His deception, if any there were, and themselves to bestow their own remedies and benefits abundantly on all.

But in fact they have often attempted this by means of those at various times in power who have made most violent war upon the teaching of our Saviour. Nevertheless, they found the object of their attempt impracticable, as the divine power of our Saviour always more than conquered them all, and overthrew all the insurrections of the evil daemons against His teaching, and drove the daemons themselves away; for evil daemons verily they were, though falsely supposed to be gods or even good daemons.

CHAPTER II

THESE then, being certain daemons who dwell about the earth and underground, and haunt the heavy and cloudy atmosphere over the earth, and have been condemned, for causes which we shall afterwards allege, to inhabit this dark and earthly abode, love to dwell in graves and monuments of the dead and in all loathsome and impure matter, and delight in bloodshed and gore and the bodies of animals of all kinds, and in the exhalation from the fumes of incense and of vapours rising out of the earth. These and their rulers, who are certain powers of the air, or of the nether world, having observed that the human race was grovelling low about the deification of dead men, and spending its labour very zealously upon sacrifices and savours which were to them most grateful, were ready at hand as supporters and helpers of this delusion; and gloating over the miseries of mankind, they easily deceived silly souls by certain movements of the carved images, which had been consecrated by them of old in honour of the departed, and by the illusions produced by oracles, and by the cures of bodies, which these same daemons were secretly ravaging by their own operation, and then again releasing the men and letting them go free from suffering.

Hereby they the more drove the superstitious headlong into supposing sometimes that they were heavenly powers and certain real gods, and at other times that they were the souls of the deified heroes.

From this cause the belief in the polytheistic error began now to be regarded by the multitude as something greater and more venerable, as their thought passed from what was visible to the invisible nature of those who were hidden in the statues, and so confirmed the delusion more strongly.

Thus then at length the terrestrial daemons, and 'the world-rulers' that haunt the air, and the 'spiritual hosts of wickedness,' and the leader of them all in malice, were regarded among all men as the greatest of gods; the memory also of those long dead came to be thought worthy of greater worship.

For the shapes of the consecrated images in the various cities were thought to wear the semblance of dead men's bodies, but of their souls and their divine and incorporeal powers the evil daemons made counterfeit presentations by abundance of fictitious miracles; until at length their consecrated ministers

themselves used continually to exaggerate the folly of the illusion, and prepare most of their contrivances by evil arts of jugglery, while the evil daemons again took the lead themselves in teaching these tricks to their ministers. These daemons at all events were the authors of the imposture which was the beginning of the mischief to all human life, as was in fact proved in the preceding book.

CHAPTER III

SINCE, therefore, these wicked and earthly daemons, as well as the aerial and infernal spirits, whom the divine oracles call ‘world-rulers’ and ‘spiritual hosts of wickedness, and principalities, and powers,’ at one time played the part of good daemons, and at another assumed the semblance of heavenly deities, and again at other times metamorphosed themselves into heroes, and in some cases by their deeds let the evidence of their wickedness directly appear, the delusion naturally went on increasing much among mankind. For some admitted that they were gods, and others that they were heroes and daemons but not gods: and while entitling some of the daemons good, but calling others bad, they yet affirmed that it was necessary to propitiate the bad also, on account of the damage they could inflict: so that their whole manufacture of deities fell into several classes.

The first kind is that which consists of the luminaries which are seen in the sky, and these they say were the first to be called gods (θεοῦς) because of their running (θέειν), and because they are the cause of our beholding (θεωρεῖν) things visible. The second class is that which has been advanced to great honour because of the benefits said to be conferred by them on our common life: and this kind they themselves acknowledge to have been begotten of men, bringing forward as examples the so-called heroes, Heracles, and the Dioscuri, and Dionysus, and the corresponding deities among the barbarians.

From this class, after separating and putting aside the more disgraceful acts recorded of them, they assumed a third kind of deification, and called it mythical. Of this kind, indeed, they became ashamed, although it was real and most ancient; so they have changed it into a better agreement, as they say, with natural laws, by allegories of a more figurative nature, according to certain theories which they devised.

Yet even at this stage of deception they were not satisfied to stop: for after having degraded the venerable and adorable name of God to the level of their own passions, they further invented a fourth manner of deification, not worthy even of refutation, because it manifestly carries with it its own shame.

Then by giving to their own foul and unbridled lusts the name of gods, an Eros, and Aphrodite, and Desire, and by calling speech Hermes, and reasoning Athena, they have adopted these also in their own theology, and

thus remodelled human actions into the fifth kind of deities.

For they made images to represent the operations of war and of art, and assigned them to certain gods, the operations of war to Ares and Athena, and those of art to Hephaestus and certain others.

In addition to all these they brought in a sixth and seventh kind, consisting of daemons, a truly versatile and multiform class, pretending at one time to be gods, and at another to be souls of the dead; nor did they give us any aid to the cultivation of virtue in the soul, but always made a mock of every person who feared the gods, carrying him down into the depths by their delusive error.

Even this class, though it was wicked throughout, they have divided into two, the mischievous and the beneficent, and given them the titles of good and bad.

These things being so, I think it is necessary for us to put aside the matters that do not even need refutation, and to consider the sequel of our argument concerning daemoniactal operation, of which we took a partial and preliminary view in the preceding book, and will now complete what remains.

Come then, let us now at last proceed to the actual proofs. And I will place first those which are drawn from the book which Plutarch has written *On the Cessation of Oracles*: where, on the point that the prophetic and oracular shrines among the heathen are the abodes of evil daemons, he writes in the following manner:

CHAPTER IV

[PLUTARCH] ‘Now though they are right who say that Plato, by his discovery of the element which underlies the qualities generated (which element they call matter), released the philosophers from many great difficulties: yet to me it seems that those men solved more and greater difficulties, who set the race of daemons midway between gods and men, and discovered that it, in a manner, brings together and unites our society with them; whether this doctrine comes from the Magi and Zoroaster, or is Thracian and derived from Orpheus, or Egyptian, or Phrygian, as we conjecture from seeing that with the initiations in both regions there are mingled many symbols of mortality and mourning in the orgiastic performance of their sacred rites. Among the Greeks Homer is seen to make use of both the names indifferently, and occasionally to call the gods daemons. But Hesiod is the first who plainly and definitely set forth four races of rational beings — gods, then daemons, then heroes, and, last of all, men: he seems, however, to make a change from this order, so that the men of the golden age are set apart as a numerous class of good daemons, and the demi-gods as heroes.’

Then he says next:

‘But upon these matters it is not necessary for us to dispute with Demetrius: for whether the time be more or be less, whether it be fixed or indefinite, in which the soul of a daemon and the life of a hero undergo change, it will none the less be proved, in the judgement of whomsoever he chooses, by the testimony of wise men of old, that there are certain natures on the confines, as it were, between gods and men, susceptible of mortal influences and involuntary changes, whom it is right for us, according to the custom of our fathers, to regard and address as “daemons,” and to hold in reverence.’

To this, after other matters, he adds:

‘It seems to me to be no unreasonable postulate that those who preside over the oracles are not gods, who ought rightly to be kept clear from matters pertaining to earth, but daemons in the service of gods. But to take as it were a handful out of the verses of Empedocles, and charge these daemons with sins, and infatuations, and heaven-sent wanderings, and to imagine them dying

deaths like men, I consider too bold and barbaric.'

Again he adds to what has been quoted the following:

'For in daemons also, as in men, there are degrees of virtue; some having but a feeble and obscure remnant, a sort of residue, of the part subject to passion and destitute of reason, while in others this part is large and hard to be extinguished; and traces and symbols of this are in many places preserved by sacrifices and initiations and mythologies, and retained in scattered fragments. Now with respect to the Mysteries, in which we might obtain the, chief indications and elucidations of the truth concerning daemons, 'I must keep a religious silence,' as Herodotus says: but as to festivals and sacrifices, as well as days of ill omen mourning, on which the eating of raw flesh and the rending of victims, and fasting and beating of the breast are practised, and again in many places obscene language at the temples, "and other frantic excitements with tumult and tossing of the head," these, I should say, are performed not in honour of any god, but as propitiatory offerings for the sake of averting evil daemons. And it is neither credible that gods demanded or accepted the human sacrifices offered of old, nor, without cause, would kings and generals have submitted to them by giving up their sons and devoting and sacrificing them; but they were trying to avert and to satisfy the anger and sullenness of harsh and stubborn powers of vengeance, or the furious lusts of some, who were neither able nor willing to have intercourse of bodies with bodies. But just as Heracles besieged Oechalia for the sake of a maiden, so oftentimes strong and violent daemons, demanding a human soul that is enveloped in a body, . . . bring pestilences upon cities and barrenness of the soil, and stir up wars and seditions, until they succeed in obtaining the object of their desire.'

Hereby the philosopher before mentioned clearly proved that the sacrifices described above were offered in honour of evil daemons in all the cities. Or even if among these there were, as they say, some who were by nature good, or even gods, what need was there to offer worship to the bad, when they ought to have been driven away by the good?

For if indeed they had some good champions, surely it was right to have confidence in these without caring at all for the worse kind, and to turn away the adverse powers by modest words and prayers, not by obscene language.

But when they did nothing of this kind, but tried to make supplication to

the evil daemons by a foul and licentious life and unseemly words, and by feeding on raw flesh, and rending victims asunder, and by human sacrifices, how was it even possible that doing such deeds, and pursuing practices pleasing to the wicked, they should be received as friends by the Supreme God, or by the divine Powers subject to Him, or by any good beings at all?

But in fact it is. manifest to all that he who practises the things that are dear to the wicked can never be a friend of the good. So then it was not to gods, nor yet to good daemons, but only to the wicked, that those of whom I have spoken paid worship.

And this argument is still further confirmed by Plutarch, in the passage where he says that the mythical narratives told as concerning gods are certain tales about daemons, and the deeds of Giants and Titans celebrated in song among the Greeks are also stories about daemons, intended to suggest a new phase of thought.

Of this kind then perhaps were the statements in the Sacred Scripture concerning the giants before the Flood, and those concerning their progenitors, of whom it is said, ‘And when the angels of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, they took unto them wives of all that they chose,’ and of these were born ‘the giants the men of renown which were of old.’

For one might say that these daemons are those giants, and that their spirits have been deified by the subsequent generations of men, and that their battles, and their quarrels among themselves, and their wars are the subjects of these legends that are told as of gods. Plutarch indeed, in the discourse which he composed *On Isis and the gods of the Egyptians*, speaks as follows word for word:

CHAPTER V

[PLUTARCH] ‘THEY therefore do better who think that the incidents recorded concerning Typhon and Osiris and Isis refer to sufferings neither of gods nor of men, but of certain mighty daemons, whom Plato and Pythagoras and Xenocrates and Chrysippus, following the ancient theologians, state to have been stronger than men, and far superior in power to our nature; having, however, their divine element not unmixed nor unalloyed, but sharing both in the nature of the soul and the bodily sense, which is susceptible of pleasure and pain, and in all the feelings which, being engendered by these alternations, trouble some of them more and some less. For various degrees of virtue and vice are found in daemons just as in men. Thus the deeds of the Giants and Titans celebrated in song among the Greeks, and many unholy practices of Kronos, and the contests of Python with Apollo, and the banishments of Dionysos, and the wanderings of Demeter, fall nothing short of the acts of Osiris and Typhon, which one may hear everywhere made the subject of licentious fables. Also the things which, being veiled in mystic rites and initiations, are kept secret and out of sight, have a similar relation to the gods.’

Presently he adds:

‘Empedocles even asserts that the daemons suffer punishment for any sins and offences which they have committed:

“The angry ether drives them down to sea;
Sea spits them out upon the solid earth;
Earth flings them to the blazing Sun; he back
To ether’s whirling depths. Thus each from each
Receives, and all reject the hateful crew:”

until having been thus chastened they recover once more their natural place and rank. Akin to these and suchlike stories are said to be the legends told concerning Typhon, how that he committed dreadful crimes out of envy and spite, throwing everything into confusion, and filled both earth and sea all full of evils, and then was punished for it.’

Having put forward these statements, and worked out the argument more fully in the book which I have mentioned, Plutarch relates the like stories also

in his book *On the Cessation of Oracles*, in the following manner:

‘This man ascribed his inspiration to daemons, and had much to say about Delphi, and there was none of the stories told here about Dionysos, nor of the sacred rites performed, of which he had not heard; but those also he asserted to be mighty sufferings of daemons, and the same of the story about the Python, and that the slayer’s banishment was not for nine years nor to Tempe, but that he was driven out and entered into another world: and afterwards, in the revolutions of nine Great Years having become pure and a true Phoebus in brilliancy, he returned thence and took possession of the oracle, which was guarded in the meantime by Themis. Such, he said, was the case also with the legends of Typhon and the Titans, that there were battles of daemons against daemons, then banishments of the conquered, or punishments by a god of those who had committed sins, such as Typhon is said to have committed upon Osiris, and Kronos on Uranos; gods, whose honours among us have become more obscure, or have altogether ceased, since they have departed into another world. For I learn that the Solymi, who are neighbours of the Lycians, used to pay the highest honours to Kronos: but after he killed their chief rulers Arsalos, and Arytos, and Tosibis, and fled, and departed to some place or other — for they cannot tell whither — he was neglected, but Arsalos and his companions were addressed as gods by the name Sciri, and the Lycians make their imprecations both public and private in their name. Many stories like these you may gather from the mythologies. But if we call certain daemons by the customary names of the gods, it is not to be wondered at, said the stranger; for each of them likes to be called after the god with whom he has been associated, and of whose power he partakes: even as among us one is Dius, and another Athenaeus, and a third Apollonius, or Dionysius, or Hermaeus. But though some of these by accident were rightly so named, the greater part received names not at all befitting them, but changed in derivation from the names of gods.’

So much says Plutarch in his careful treatise *On the Cessation of Oracles*, showing, in addition to the other points, that the daemons are subject to death, the very thing which I shall bring forward at the proper time.

But meanwhile, let us collect whatever else concerning the power and operation of the good daemons, as he calls them, is set forth at another time by the author of the compilation against us in the book which he entitled *Of*

the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles: for now again, as indeed often before, I shall make use especially of him as a witness and evidence of the delusion about those whom they imagine to be gods, in order that they may be put to shame at being stricken by their own spears and arrows.

For thus the demonstration of the matters which lie before us, being derived from the very friends of their gods, who have both been esteemed devout, and have accurately examined the account of their own religion, will be found complete and irrefutable.

Now the author aforesaid writes as follows in his book which he entitled *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, wherein he protests against betraying the secrets of the gods, and binds himself by oath and exhorts others to conceal what he shall say and not publish it to many.

What then Avere these matters of such importance? He affirms that Pan is a servant of Dionysos, and that he being one of the good daemons appeared once upon a time to those who were working in the fields. What ought a good deity, or at all events the advent of a good deity, to confer on those to whom the manifestation of the good has been vouchsafed?

Did then any good result to the beholders of this good daemon, or have they found him an evil daemon, and learned this by practical experience? This admirable witness says indeed that those to whom this blessed sight was vouchsafed all died at once; for thus he speaks:

CHAPTER VI

[PORPHYRY] ‘IN other cases also ere now some were shown to be servants of certain gods, as Pan of Dionysos: and this has been made clear by Apollo of Branchidae in the following verses. For nine persons were found dead; and when the inhabitants of the country district inquired the cause, the god made answer:

“Lo! where the golden-horned Pan
In sturdy Dionysos’ train
Leaps o’er the mountains’ wooded slopes!
His right hand holds a shepherd’s staff,
His left a smooth shrill-breathing pipe,
That charms the gentle wood-nymph’s soul.
But at the sound of that strange song
Each startled woodsman dropp’d his axe,
And all in frozen terror gaz’d
Upon the Daemon’s frantic course.
Death’s icy hand had seiz’d them all,
Had not the huntress Artemis
In anger stay’d his furious might.
To her address thy prayer for aid.”“

Hast thou now heard how Apollo of Branchidae described both the figure and the deeds of the daemon whom Porphyry calls good? See then also the noble achievements of the rest, for the sake of which forsooth they abandoned their life in heaven, and chose the company of men instead.

Surely it was their duty at any rate to set an example of temperance, and to suggest what was profitable and beneficial to mankind: but they did nothing of the kind. Hear what things are brought to light by him, who had searched out the most unutterable secrets, and was favoured with the knowledge of things forbidden.

At one time he says that some of these good daemons are the slaves of amorous pleasures, and then that others delight in drums and flutes, and women’s clatter; and that others again take pleasure in wars and battles, and Artemis in hunting, and Deo in the fruits of the ground; that Isis is still

mourning for Osiris, and Apollo uttering oracles. Such are the benefits conferred on mankind by those whom they call good daemons! Now listen to the proofs of this.

CHAPTER VII

[PORPHYRY]

‘NE’ER mid the immortal gods an idle threat
Or unaccomplish’d doom to seers inspir’d
Spake Hecate; but from the almighty mind
Of Zeus descends in brightest truth array’d.
Lo! by my side walks Wisdom with firm step,
Leaning on oracles that ne’er can fail.
In bonds secure me: for my power divine
Can give a soul to worlds beyond the sky.’

Perhaps then on this account the soul is of threefold form and parts: and one part of it is irascible, and another concupiscent, by which latter it is invited to amorous indulgence. These are not my ideas, do not suppose it, but what you have heard from the writer before mentioned; from whom again the following is taken:

‘But what utterly perplexes me is, how, being invoked as superiors, they receive orders as inferiors; and while requiring their worshipper to be just, they submit when bidden themselves to do injustice; and, while they would not listen to one who invokes them, if defiled by sensual pleasure, do not hesitate themselves to lead any whom they meet into lawless indulgence.’

This also you may find in the same author’s *Epistle to Anebo the Egyptian*. And in the aforesaid treatise *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, in addition to what has been quoted, he speaks as follows:

‘Moreover, some of them have plainly shown what office is assigned to each, as the Didymaeon Apollo does in what follows: (the inquiry was, whether a man is bound to take an oath which one has tendered to him):

“Rhea, great mother of the blessed gods,
Loves flutes and rattling drums and female rout.
The din of war is bright-helm’d Pallas’ joy.
Latona’s daughter o’er the rocky steep
With spotted hounds pursues the savage beast.
Great Juno sends the soft rain’s welcome sound;

Rich crops of full-ear'd grain are Deo's care:
And Pharian Isis by Nile's fruitful stream
With wildered steps her fair Osiris seeks.”

If then ‘flutes, and the rattle of drums, and a throng of women’ are the care of the Mother of the gods, we ought surely to practise these things to the neglect of every virtue, because the aforesaid goddess has no care for modesty or any other devout practice: as also the din of battle, and conflicts, and wars are dear to Athena, and not peace nor the things of peace. Also let Artemis ‘Latona’s daughter’ care for her spotted hounds, because, as a huntress, she wages war afield with the wild beasts, and for the other goddesses in like manner the offices enumerated. Well then what would these things contribute towards the divinely favoured and blessed life? But consider whether what he adds next seems to you to be the mark of a divine, or of a vicious and utterly wicked nature.

CHAPTER VIII

[PORPHYRY] ‘THIS also was rightly declared by Pythagoras of Rhodes, that the gods who are invoked over the sacrifices have no pleasure therein, but come because they are dragged by a certain necessity of following, and some of them more, and some less.

‘Some however, having made as it were a custom of being present, attend more readily, and especially if they happen to be of a good nature: but others, even if they are accustomed to be present, are eager to do some harm, and especially if any one seems to behave rather carelessly in the performances.

‘For as Pythagoras had made these statements, I learned, by close observation of the oracles, how true his words are. For all the gods say that they have come by compulsion, yet not simply so, but as it were, if I may so speak, by compulsion under the guise of persuasion.

‘In what goes before we have mentioned those statements of Hecate, as to the means by which she says she is made to appear:

“The lightsome air and boundless realm of stars,
Unsullied home of deity, I leave,
To tread the fruitful earth at thy command:
Thou know’st the secret spell, which mortal man
Has learn’d, to charm immortal spirits down.”

‘And again:

“I come at sound of thy persuasive prayer,
Which man inspir’d by heavenly counsels learn’d.”

‘And still more plainly:

“What need of thine, by spells that bind the gods,
Calls Hecate from swiftest ether down?”

‘And then:

“Some from the sky thy wheel with mystic charm
Draws swiftly, though unwilling, down to earth.
And others floating midway on the winds,

From the bright empyrean far remov'd,
As ominous dreams thou dost to mortals send,
Service unseemly laid on powers divine."

'And again:

"Some from their lofty home above the sky
Down through mid air with Harpies swift descending
Bow to the mystic spells that bind the gods,
And rushing swiftly down to Deo's earth
Bring messages to man of things to come."

'And again another is compelled to say:

"Hear the unwilling voice thy power constrains."

After this again the author says:

'For they give out answers for their own compulsion, as will be shown by Apollo's answer as to means of compelling him. It is expressed thus:

"Strong to compel and weighty is this name."

'Then he added:

"Then come thou swiftly at these words,
Drawn from my heart in mystic chant,
The while I quench the sacred fire.
Thus nature dares thy birth divine,
Immortal Paean, to declare."

'And again Apollo himself speaks:

"A stream of heavenly light from Phoebus flowing,
Veil'd in the clear breath of the purest air,
By soothing song and mystic spell allur'd
Falls like a glory round the prophet's head,
Pierces the delicate membrane of the brain,
Fills the soft coating of the inward frame,
Thence surging upward in hot stream returns,
And through the living pipe gains welcome voice."

To this the writer adds the remark:

‘Nothing could be plainer than this, nothing more godlike and more natural; for that which comes down is a spirit; and an emanation from the heavenly power having entered into an organized and living body, uses the soul as a basis, and through the body, as its organ, utters speech.’

But this is sufficient to prove that they suffer compulsion; and that they also request to be set free, as if it were not in their own power to withdraw, you may learn from what follows.

CHAPTER IX

[PORPHYRY] ‘Now that the gods so summoned are eager to withdraw, will be shown by such passages as the following, where they say:

“But now release the king; for mortal frame
No longer can the present god endure.”

‘And again:

“Why with long prayers torment this mortal frame?”

‘And again:

“Go now, return with speed; thy saving work
On me is done.’

‘And how to dismiss them, Apollo himself will teach us, saying:

“Cease then thy cunning spells, let the man rest,
Free the old image from its willow bands,
And from my limbs with vigorous hand rend off
The linen shroud.”

‘He told also the mode of dismissal:

“Lift thy foot up high before thee,
Stop the muttering from the cave;”

and the verses that follow these.’

To which he adds, if they are still tardy in the dismissal:

“Unwrap the linen cloud, and set the prophet free.”

‘Again at another time he gave a form of dismissal such as this:

“Ye Nymphs and Naiads with the Muses join
To set Apollo free; and then in songs
Exalt the praises of the archer god.”

‘At another time he says:

“Now loose the wreaths, with water bathe my feet,

Rub out the magic lines, and let me go.
The branch of laurel from my right hand take,
And both my eyes, both nostrils wipe with care:
Then raise, O friends, this mortal from the ground.”

Upon this the author further remarks:

‘So then he exhorts them to rub out the lines, that he may go free; for these hold him fast, as indeed does also the form of dress in which he is arrayed, because it bears representations of the gods who have been invoked.’

By these quotations I think it has been clearly shown that there is nothing at all worthy of deity, nothing either great or truly divine in these spirits who have fallen to such a depth of degradation as to be drawn and dragged down by any common men, not by reason of any attainment in virtue and wisdom, but merely by their pursuing and practising the arts of magical imposture.

Neither, therefore, did Pythagoras the Rhodian speak rightly, nor would the author of this testimony of theirs, nor any man whatsoever call them with good reason gods, nay, nor yet good daemons, dragged about as they are by mortal men and mere impostors, not according to their own judgement, but dragged by force and compulsion, and without having in themselves the power of release from their bonds.

For if the deity is not subject to force or to compulsion, but is in nature superior to all things, being free and incapable of suffering, how can they be gods who are beguiled by juggling tricks managed by means of such dresses, and lines, and images? — beguiled, I say, by wreaths also and flowers of the earth, and withal by certain unintelligible and barbarous cries and voices, and subdued by ordinary men, and, as it were, enslaved by bonds, so that they cannot even keep safe in their own control the power of independence and free will.

How, too, can they be called good daemons if they are dragged down by force and compulsion? For what is the cause that they give themselves up grudgingly and not of their own free will to those who need help?

If they are good and make their appearance for a good purpose, and if there is, as was said, any benefit to the soul from them, they ought surely to welcome the good by choice, and anticipate the suppliants by their benefits instead of waiting to be compelled.

But if the transaction was not honourable and not beneficial, and therefore

its occurrence not according to their mind, how then could they be good, if they practised what is neither honourable nor expedient?

Or how can they deserve to be admired and honoured with divine worship who are enslaved by common impostors of the most abandoned character, and compelled to perform what is neither honourable nor expedient contrary to their judgement, and are led and dragged down, not because they approve of men's morality, nor to promote virtue or any branch of philosophy, but by forbidden practices of impostors? Such practices the same author has mentioned again in his Epistle to the before-mentioned Egyptian, as though he were consulting a prophet upon secret truths, and requesting to be taught by him the words in which they accomplish these results. For he asks as in doubt, and speaks somewhat as follows.

CHAPTER X

[PORPHYRY] ‘BUT what utterly perplexes me is, how, though invoked as superiors, they receive orders as inferiors, and while requiring their worshipper to be just, submit when bidden themselves to do injustice; and, while they would not listen to one who invokes them, if defiled by sensual pleasure, do not hesitate themselves to lead any whom they meet into lawless indulgence.

‘They also give orders that their interpreters must be abstainers from animal food, that they may not be tainted with the vapours from the carcasses, though they are themselves mightily allured by the vapours from the sacrifices; also that the initiate must not touch a dead body, though it is by means of dead animals that the gods are for the most part brought down.

‘But much more absurd than this is the notion that a man under the power of any ordinary master should employ threats, not merely to a daemon perchance or to a dead man’s soul, but to the royal Sun himself, or the Moon, or any of the deities in heaven, and try to frighten them by lies, in order that they may speak the truth.

‘For to say that he will batter the heavens, and publish the secrets of Isis, and show the forbidden mystery at Abydos, and stop the sacred boat, and scatter the limbs of Osiris for Typhon, — is not this the last excess of stupidity on the part of him who threatens things of which he has neither knowledge nor power, and of degradation to those who have been frightened at so vain an alarm, and at mere fictions, like very silly children?

‘And yet Chaeremon the sacred scribe records these things as common talk among the Egyptians, and they say that these and other such methods are most forcible.

‘What meaning have the very prayers, which speak of him who arose out of a marsh, and is seated upon the lotus, and voyages in a ship, and changes his shapes hourly, and is transfigured according to the signs of the zodiac? For thus they say he is beheld by our eyes, not knowing that what they are attaching to him is the peculiar affection of their own imagination.

‘If these things are spoken symbolically, as being symbols of his powers, let them tell us the interpretation of the symbols. For it is evident that if it was what the sun undergoes, as in eclipses, the same thing would have been seen

by all who gaze upon him.

‘Further, what is meant by the unintelligible names, and among these the preference of the barbarous names over those which properly belong to each deity? For if he who hears looks to the thing signified, the thought remaining the same is sufficient to show it, whatsoever the name may be.

‘For, I suppose, the god invoked was not an Egyptian by birth: and even if he was an Egyptian, yet surely he did not use the Egyptian language, nor any human language at all. For either these were all impostors’ tricks, and symbols of the passions which affect us, veiled by the titles which they ascribe to the gods, or else we have been unconsciously holding ideas concerning the deity contrary to his real condition.’

After these statements he again expresses his doubts to the Egyptian, saying:

‘If some are passionless (though others are subject to passions, and for this reason, they say, phalli are set up to these latter, and obscene phrases uttered), quite useless will be those invocations of gods which profess to summon them to aid, and to appease their wrath, and to make expiation, and yet more useless the arts by which gods are said to be constrained. For the passionless nature can neither be enticed, nor forced, nor compelled by necessity.’

And then he adds again:

‘Vain has their study of wisdom been, who worried the divine mind about finding a runaway slave, or buying a farm, or perchance about a marriage, or commerce. Or if there has been no neglect of wisdom, and if her associates speak most truly on other subjects, but nothing sure or trustworthy in regard to happiness, then they were neither gods nor good daemons, but only that deceiver as he is called.’

So far then let these quotations suffice from this work of Porphyry. Moreover, these noble gods themselves became the first instructors in this evil art of imposture. For whence could men know these things, except from the daemons themselves having revealed their own case, and published one against another the spells that bind them?

Do not suppose that this is our own statement: for we do not admit that we either understand or wish to know any of these things. Yet in proof of the absurdity of these practices, and at the same time in our own defence for withdrawing from them, let us bring forward our witness to these facts, who is

regarded as a wise man among his acquaintances, and both knows and expounds accurately his own system.

The same author then, in the aforesaid collection of oracles, speaks thus word for word.

CHAPTER XI

[PORPHYRY] ‘BUT not only have they themselves informed us of their mode of life, and the other things which I have mentioned, but they also suggested by what sort of things they are pleased and prevailed upon, and moreover by what they are compelled, and what one ought to sacrifice, and what day to avoid, and what sort of figure should be given to their statues, and in what shapes they themselves appear, and in what kind of places they abide; and of all the things whereby men thus honour them there is not one which they were not taught by the daemons themselves. As the proofs which confirm this are many, we will bring forward a few out of the number, not to leave our statement without witness.’

CHAPTER XII

‘THAT they themselves suggested how even their statues ought to be made, and of what kind of material, shall be shown by the response of Hecate in the following form:

“My image purify, as I shall show:
Of wild rue form the frame, and deck it o’er
With lizards such as run about the house;
These mix with resin, myrrh, and frankincense,
Pound all together in the open air
Under the crescent moon, and add this vow.”

‘Then she set forth the vow, and showed how many lizards must be taken:

“Take lizards many as my many forms,
And do all this with care. My spacious house
With branches of self-planted laurel form.
Then to my image offer many a prayer,
And in thy sleep thou shalt behold me nigh.”

‘And again in another place she described an image of herself of this same kind.’

CHAPTER XIII

‘MOREOVER they have themselves indicated how they appear with regard to their forms, and from these their images were set up as they are. Sarapis for example says of himself, after seeing Pan:

“A brilliant light shone through the god’s own house;
He came, the mighty god, and met me there.
My matchless strength, and glow of lordly fire,
And waving curls he saw, which from my head
On either side play round my radiant brows,
And mingle with the red beard’s sacred locks.”

‘Pan also taught men a hymn concerning himself, which runs as follows:

“To Pan, a god of kindred race,
A mortal born my vows I pay;
Whose horned brows and cloven feet
And goat-like legs his lust betray,”

and the rest.

‘Hecate also speaks of herself thus:

“Do all anon: a statue too therein;
My form —— Demeter bright with autumn fruits,
White robes, and feet with golden sandals bound.
Around the waist long snakes run to and fro,
Gliding o’er all with undefiled track,
And from the head down even to the feet
Wrapping me fairly round with spiral coils.”

‘And the material, she says, must be
“Of Parian stone or polish’d ivory.”

CHAPTER XIV

‘IN many cases the gods, by giving signs of their statements beforehand, show by their knowledge of the arrangement of each man’s nativity that they are, if we may so say, excellent Magians and perfect astrologers. Again he said that in oracular responses Apollo spake thus:

“Invoke together Hermes and the Sun
On the Sun’s day, the Moon when her day comes,
Kronos and Aphrodite in due turn,
With silent prayers, by chiefest Magian taught,
Whom all men know lord of the seven-string’d lyre.”

‘And when they cried “You mean Ostanes,” he added:

“Call with loud voice seven times each several god.”“

The same writer also alleges what follows:

‘The symbols of Hecate are wax of three colours, white and black and red combined, having a figure of Hecate bearing a scourge, and torch, and sword, with a serpent to be coiled round her; and the symbols of Uranus are the mariners’ stars nailed up before the doors. For these symbols the gods themselves have indicated in the following verses. The speaker is Pan:

“Evil spirits drive afar:
Then upon the fire set wax
Gleaming fair with colours three,
White and black must mingle there
With the glowing embers’ red,
Terror to the dogs of hell.
Then let Hecate’s dread form
Hold in her hand a blazing torch,
And the avenging sword of fate;
While closely round the goddess wrapp’d
A snake fast holds her in his coils,
And wreathes about her awful brow.
Let the shining key be there,
And the far-resounding scourge,

Symbol of the daemons' power.'”

By these and the like quotations this noble philosopher of the Greeks, this admirable theologian, this initiate in secret mysteries, exhibits *The Philosophy to be derived from Oracles* as containing secret oracles of the gods, while openly proclaiming the plots laid against men by their wicked and truly daemonical power. For what benefit to human life can there be from these evil arts of sorcery? Or what pleasure to the gods in this scrupulous care about lifeless statues? Of what divine power can there be a likeness in the formation of such shapes? Why should he not have counselled us to study philosophy rather than to practise magic and pursue forbidden arts, if the path of virtue and philosophy is sufficient for a happy and blessed life? But he, continuing his own refutation, adds to what has been mentioned the following:

CHAPTER XV

[PORPHYRY] ‘Now that they love the symbols of their features is signified by Hecate comparing them with what men love, as follows:

“What mortal longs not for the features carv’d
In bronze, or gold, or silver gleaming bright?
What god loves not this pedestal, whereon
I weave the tangled web of human fates?”

He has made it clear that not only the features are dear, but that also, as I said, the gods themselves are confined therein, and dwell in the underlying likeness as it were in a sacred place: for they could not be supported on earth, except on sacred ground: and that ground is sacred which bears the image of the deity; but if the image be taken away, the bond which held the deity on earth is loosed.

By all these testimonies, then, I think it is clearly proved that their gods were found to be daemons haunting the earth and enslaved to passions: wherefore it seems to me that I have followed sound reason in turning away from them.

You see, for instance, how they say that their magic figures and images of that kind hold them fast in certain spots of ground: though they ought, if, as they say, there is any real divinity in them, to set foot in no other place, except only in the thought of the soul, and that thought too purified from all filth and from every stain, and adorned with modesty and righteousness and all the other virtues.

For when these previously exist in a man’s soul as in a truly hallowed place, the advent of a divine Spirit would naturally follow; nor would, souls already prepared by virtuous and godly practice for the reception of the Deity have had any further need of the evil arts of sorcery.

So that they of whom we were just now speaking are expressly convicted on all this evidence of being certain daemons who haunt the earth, and are the slaves of passion and of bodily pleasures. Listen, however, next to what statements the same writer makes concerning the cessation of their celebrated oracles.

CHAPTER XVI

“OF Pytho and of Claros, sacred shrines
Of Phoebus, let my tongue speak reverent words.
Erewhile ten thousand oracles divine
Gush’d forth on earth in flowing streams, and breath
Of dizzy vapours. Some the earth herself,
Wide opening her deep bosom, back received,
And some the course of countless time destroy’d.
The Sun alone, which lights our mortal life,
Hath still his spring in Didyma’s deep vale,
Where flows the sacred stream from Mycale:
And still beneath Parnassus’ lofty peaks
Springs Castalie’s fair fount; mid Clarian rocks
Still from the cave prophetic voices sound.”

‘But to some people of Nicaea he gave this response:

“Nought can restore the Pythian voice divine:
Enfeebled by long ages, it hath laid
The keys of silence on the oracle.
Yet still to Phoebus bring your offerings due.”“

To this we may here opportunely add the words of Plutarch from the book which he has written *On the Cessation of Oracles*.

[PLUTARCH] ‘When Ammonius had ceased, Tell us rather, my Cleombrotus, said I, about the oracle: for the reputation of the deity there was great in former times, but now it seems to be fading away.

‘But as Cleombrotus kept silence and looked down, Demetrius said that there was no need for men to inquire and doubt about the state of things there, when they saw the decay of the oracles here, or rather the failure of all except one or two: but we ought to consider generally through what cause they have grown thus feeble.

‘For why need we speak of the others, when Boeotia, which in former times, as far as oracles were concerned, spake with many voices, is now completely forsaken by them, just as streams run dry, and a great drought of

inspiration has overspread the land. For in no other place now except at Lebadeia does Boeotia enable inquirers to draw from the well of prophecy: but of the rest, silence has overtaken some and utter desolation others.’

In addition to this the same author speaks of their daemons dying, as follows:

CHAPTER XVII

‘THE opinion, said he, that those who preside over the oracles are not gods — for gods ought rightly to be kept free from the affairs of earth — but daemons who are servants of gods, seems to me no unfair assumption. But to take as it were a handful out of the verses of Empedocles, and to lay sins and frenzies and heaven-sent wanderings upon these daemons, and to imagine them dying deaths like men, I consider too bold and barbaric. Hereupon Cleombrotus asked Philip who the young man was, and whence he came; and when he had learned his name and city, he said, We are not ourselves unconscious, Ileracleon, that we have entered upon strange arguments: but in dealing with great subjects it is not possible to arrive at a probable opinion without employing great principles.

‘But you are yourself unconsciously taking back what you grant. For you admit that daemons exist; but, in claiming that they are not wicked and not mortal, you no longer have daemons to defend. For in what do they differ from the gods, if they are both in regard to essence incorruptible, and in regard to virtue free from passion and from sin?

‘While Heracleon was silently pondering in himself some answer to this, Philip said to him, Nay, Heracleon, that daemons are wicked was admitted not only by Empedocles, but also by Pinto, and Xenocrates and Chrysippus: and moreover when Democritus prayed that he might meet with favourable apparitions, it was evident that he knew of others perverse and mischievous, with certain propensities and impulses.

‘Now with regard to the death of such beings, I have heard a story from a man who was no fool nor braggart. For the father of Aemilianus the rhetorician, whose hearers some of us have been, was Epitherses, my fellow citizen and grammar-master. He said that once on a voyage to Italy he embarked in a ship carrying merchandise and many passengers: and at evening off the Echinades the wind dropped, and the ship drifted and came near to Paxi; that most of them were awake, and were drinking after they had supped. And suddenly a voice was heard from the island Paxi, some one calling aloud on Thamus, so that they were amazed. For Thamus was the pilot, an Egyptian, not even known by name to many of those on board. Though called twice however, he kept silence, but the third time he answered

him that called. He then raised his voice higher and said, "When thou art come off Pelodes, announce that the Great Pan is dead."

'On hearing this, Epitherses said they were all struck with amazement, and began to take counsel together, whether it were better to do what was commanded, or not to meddle with the matter, but let it pass; whereupon Thamus decided, that if there should be wind, he would sail past and keep quiet, but if the wind should fail and a calm come on near the place, he would report what he had heard.

'When therefore he was come off Pelodes, as there was neither wind nor sea, Thamus looking from the poop towards the land spake as he had heard, that "The Great Pan is dead": and he had no sooner ceased speaking than there came a loud lamentation, not of one but of many, mingled with amazement.

'And inasmuch as there were many persons present, the tale was soon spread in Rome, and Thamus was sent for by Tiberius Caesar. And Tiberius so fully believed the story, that he made thorough inquiry and research about Pan; and the learned men of his court being present in great number conjectured that it was Pan the son of Hermes and Penelope.

'So then Philip had witnesses to his story in some of those who were present, and had heard it from the aged Aemilian. But Demetrius said that there were many desert islands scattered about among those on the coast of Britain, some of which were named after daemons and heroes. And that he himself, being sent by the Emperor to make an investigation and survey, sailed to the nearest of the desert islands, which had but few inhabitants, and these all sacred persons inviolable to the Britons.

'Very soon after his arrival there arose a great commotion in the air, and many portents in the sky, and violent blasts of wind, and falling of thunderbolts. And when this abated, the islanders said that one of the higher powers had been extinguished; for as a lamp, they said, while lighted does no harm, but being extinguished is hurtful to many, so great souls are benignant and harmless in their shining, but their extinction and dissolution oftentimes, as now, cause winds and storms, and often infect the air with pestilent diseases.

'There was however one island there, in which Kronos was confined and guarded in his sleep by Briareus; for his sleep had been artfully contrived to keep him bound; and there were many daemons about him as attendants and

servants.’.

So far Plutarch. But it is important to observe the time at which he says that the death of the daemon took place. For it was the time of Tiberius, in which our Saviour, making His sojourn among men, is recorded to have been ridding human life from daemons of every kind: so that there were some of them now kneeling before Him and beseeching Him not to deliver them over to the Tartarus that awaited them.

You have therefore the date of the overthrow of the daemons, of which there was no record at any other time; just as you had the abolition of human sacrifice among the Gentiles as not having occurred until after the preaching of the doctrine of the Gospel had reached all mankind. Let then these refutations from recent history suffice.

CHAPTER XVIII

BUT since the matters which have been mentioned are not known to all, it seems to me well to pass from this point to subjects which are self-evident to all the learned, and to examine the oracular responses of most ancient date which are repeated in the mouth of all Greeks, and are taught in the schools of every city to those who resort to them for instruction.

Take up again therefore the ancient records from the beginning, and observe what kind of answer the Pythian god gives to the Athenians when afflicted with a pestilence on account of the death of Androgeus. The Athenians were all suffering from a pestilence for one man's death, and thought to receive the help of the gods.

What advice then does this saviour and god give them? To cultivate justice and benevolence and all other virtue in future, some one will perhaps suppose; or to repent of the offence, and to perform some holy and religious rites, as the gods would thereby be propitiated. Nay, nothing of the kind.

For what indeed did their admirable gods, or rather their utterly wicked daemons, care for these things? So again they say what is natural and familiar to themselves, things merciless and cruel and inhuman, plague upon plague, and many deaths for one.

In fact Apollo bids them every year send of their own children seven grown youths, and as many maidens, fourteen innocent and unconcerned persons for one. and that not once only but every year, to be sacrificed in Crete in the presence of Minos: so that even to the time of Socrates, more than five hundred years afterwards, this dreadful and most inhuman tribute was still kept in memory among the Athenians. And this it was that caused the delay in the death of Socrates.

This answer of the oracle is at once stated and very justly condemned in a vigorous argument by a recent author, who has composed a separate work on *The Detection of Impostors*: to whose own words, and not mine, now listen, as he aims his stroke at the author of the response in the manner following:

CHAPTER XIX

[OENOMAUS] ‘WHAT then? When the Athenians had caused the death of Androgeus, and suffered a pestilence for it, would they not have said that they repented? Or if they did not say so, would it not have been proper for thee to say “Repent,” rather than to say this?

“Of plague and famine there shall be an end,
If your own flesh and blood, female and male,
By lot assigned to Minos, ye send forth
Upon the mighty sea, for recompense
Of evil deeds: so shall the god forgive.”

‘I pass over the fact that you gods are indignant at the death of Androgeus at Athens, but sleep on while so many die in all places and at all times: though thou knewest that Minos at that time was master of the sea, and of mighty power, and all Hellas was paying court to him: he was therefore a lover of justice, and a good lawgiver, and seemed to Homer to be

“Frequent in converse close with mighty Zeus,”

and after death he became a judge in Hades: and thou for this offence wouldst exact these penalties on his behalf!

‘But I pass over these matters just as you gods do, and also the fact that after letting the murderers escape ye bade them send the innocent to death, yea, sent them to a man whom ye were about to exhibit as a judge of all mankind, but who in this very case knew not how to give judgement. And yet how many ought you gods in justice to send to the Athenians in place of these youths, whom ye unjustly slew in revenge for Androgeus?’

This same writer, after recalling the story about the Heracleidae, counts up the number of persons whose death Apollo has caused by the ambiguity of his responses, in the following words.

CHAPTER XX

[OENOMAUUS] ‘BUT since I happen to have mentioned this subject, let me now relate the incidents of the narrative concerning the Heracleidae. For they once set out to invade the Peloponnese by way of the Isthmus, but failed in the attempt. So Aristomachus the son of Aridaeus, because his father had perished in the invasion, comes to thee to learn about the way: for he was eager as his father had been. And thou tellest him,

“Heaven shows the way to victory through the straits.”

‘So he starts on the enterprise by way of the Isthmus, and is killed in battle. His son Temenus, unhappy son of hapless sire, was the third who came to thee, and thou gavest the same promise to him as to his father Aristomachus: and he said, “But my father trusted thee, and perished in the invasion.”

‘Then thou said’st, I do not mean “straits” on land, but on “the broad-bosomed,” because, I suppose, it was difficult for thee to say simply “by the sea.” And he went by sea, after making them think that he was making his incursion by land, and he encamped midway between Navatus and Typaeum. He killed with his spear Carnus son of Phylander, an Aetolian knight, doing, as I think, quite rightly. And when a plague presently fell upon them, and Aristodemus died, they returned again, and Temenus came and complained of his failure, and was told that he had brought upon himself the penalty for the messenger of the god, and he heard the poem concerning his vow to the Carnean Apollo, which told him in the oracular answer,

“Thou sufferest vengeance for my prophet’s death.”

‘What then says Temenus? “What must I do? And how can I appease you?”

“To the Carnean god due honour vow.”

‘O most accursed, and most shameless prophet! Dost thou then not understand that he who hears the word “straits” will miss its meaning? Yet knowing this thou none the less givest this answer, and then lookest on at his mistake.

‘But the word “strait” was ambiguous, and chosen in order that, if he were victorious, thou mightest seem to be the cause of his victory; but, if defeated, not at all to blame for his defeat, being able to take refuge in “the broad-bosomed.” But the man went on “the broad-bosomed,” and did not succeed;

and again, an excuse is found in the death of thy messenger Carnus.

‘Yet how, most noble god, didst thou, to whom Carnus was so dear, bid him be inspired for others, but not for himself? And though thou shouldest have saved Carnus, who was but one, how didst thou suffer him to die, and for his death didst bring an Homeric plague upon the multitude, and dictate vows for the plague?

‘And if he had accomplished nothing by his vow, another excuse would have been found for thy quibble, and ye would never have ceased, they on their side inquiring, and thou quibbling, so that whether they were victorious or defeated thy malpractice would not have been detected. For their passion and eagerness were strong enough to mislead them, so as to make them not distrust thee, even if they were to be slain a thousand times.

‘To this it is worth while to add the story of Croesus. He reigned over Lydia, having received the government as it had come down to him from a long line of ancestors. Then hoping to succeed somewhat beyond his forefathers, he was minded to show piety towards the gods, and, after making trial of them all, he preferred the Apollo of Delphi, and proceeded to adorn his temple with bowls and ingots of gold, and a countless multitude of offerings, and made it in a short time the richest of all temples in the world; nor in his magnanimity did he omit all that sufficed for sacrifices.

‘So after he had made such loans to the god, the Lydian king naturally felt confidence in his magnificent works of piety, and resolved to make an expedition against the Persians, expecting to increase his empire greatly by the alliance of the god.

‘What then did the wonderful oracle-monger do? That very same Delphian, Pythian, friendly god contrives that his suppliant, his dear friend, his client should not only fail to win the foreign empire, but also be driven from his own, the god not doing this at all purposely, I think, but rather in ignorance of what was to happen: for surely it was not with any knowledge of the future (since he was no god nor any superhuman power) that he craftily contrived his response to suit either event, and with the seeming affirmation,

“The Halys crossed,
Croesus a mighty empire shall destroy,”

overturned the kingdom of Lydia which had come down from a succession

of ancestors to the pious king, great and ancient as it was, and rendered to his favoured worshipper this fruit of his extreme zeal towards him.’

After this hear what indignation the writer not unreasonably utters.

CHAPTER XXI

[OENOMAUUS] ‘IT seems then that thou dost verily know all things that are worth no more than sand, but knowest nothing that is excellent. For example, that “the smell of a strong-shelled tortoise boiling should strike on thy senses,” is a piece of knowledge worth but sand, not being even true in itself, but nevertheless becoming to the braggart and the shameless, who looks supercilious over his empty bits of knowledge and tries to persuade Croesus the Lydian captive not to despise him.

‘For he relying upon the trial (of the oracles), intended soon after to ask thee whether he should make an expedition against the Persians, and to make thee his adviser concerning his insane and grasping policy. And thou didst not shrink from telling him, that

“The Halys crossed,
Croesus a mighty empire shall destroy.”

‘That certainly was well contrived, that it mattered nought to thee, if he should suffer some strange disaster from being incited by an ambiguous oracle to attack a foreign empire, nor if certain bitter and malicious persons, instead of duly praising thee for having driven a madman headlong, went so far as to accuse thee of having uttered a phrase which was not even equally balanced, that the Lydian king might hesitate and take counsel; but they said that the word “καταλῦσαι” could be understood by the Greeks only in one way, not to be driven from his own empire, but to acquire the empire of another.

‘For Cyrus, the semi-Mede or semi-Persian, or, as he was called in the riddle, “the mule,” being of a royal race by his mother, but of an ordinary stock on his father’s side, shows incidentally the inflated poetry, but especially the blind divination of the soothsayer, if he did not know that the riddle would be misunderstood.

‘If, however, he was thus playing with him not from ignorance but from insolence and malice, heavens! how strange are the playthings of the gods. And if it was not this, but that the things must of necessity so happen, this is of all deceitful speeches the most wicked. For if it must so happen, why nevertheless dost thou, unhappy god, sit at Delphi chanting empty and useless prophecies? And of what use art thou to us? And why are we so mad, who run

to thee from all quarters of the earth? And what right hast thou to the savour of sacrifices?’

This plain speaking of Oenomaus in the *Detection of Impostors* is not free from cynical bitterness. For he will not admit that the oracles which are admired among all the Greeks proceed from a daemon, much less from a god, but says that they are frauds and tricks of human impostors, cunningly contrived to deceive the multitude. And since I have once mentioned these matters, there can be no objection to hearing other refutations also; and first, that in which the same author says that he had been himself deceived by the Clarian Apollo: he writes as follows:

CHAPTER XXII

[OENOMAUUS] 'BUT forsooth I too must take some part in the comedy, and not pride myself on not having fallen into the common derangement; and I must tell of the bargain in wisdom, which I myself imported out of Asia, from thee, O Clarian god:

"In the land of Trachis lieth
Thy fair garden, Heracles,
Where all flowers for ever blooming,
Laden with perpetual dews,
Culled all day, yet ne'er diminish."

'Then I myself also, impotent fool that I was, became elated by the "Heracles," and the "garden of Heracles in its bloom," dreaming of a certain Hesiodic "sweat" because of the name Trachis, and on the other hand of an "easy" life because of the blooming garden.

'Then, on my inquiring further whether the gods were inclined to help me, some one of the multitude, swearing by the very gods that were to help, said that he certainly had heard that this very answer had been given from thee to one Callistratus, a merchant of Pontus.

'When I heard this, what, thinkest thou, was my indignation, at being forsooth robbed by him of my "virtue"? But although dissatisfied I nevertheless began to inquire whether the merchant also had been at all flattered by the "Heracles." So then it appeared that he also was in some trouble, and was bent upon gain, and expecting from his gain some pleasant kind of life.

'So as it appeared that the merchant was no better treated than myself, I would no longer accept the oracle, nor the "Heracles," but disdained to share the same treatment, when I saw the troubles that were actually present and the pleasures that existed only in hope.

'However, it appeared that none went without his share in the oracle, neither robber nor soldier, neither lover nor mistress, neither flatterer, nor rhetorician, nor sycophant. For of what each man desired, the trouble came first, while the joy was only expected.'

Having made these statements, he immediately adds, how after a second

and third inquiry he found that the wonderful prophets knew nothing, but were concealing their own ignorance simply by the obscurity of their ambiguous language. So he speaks as follows:

CHAPTER XXIII

[OENOMAUUS] ‘But since my business was now so forward, and I wanted only a man to act as a stranger’s guide to wisdom, and he was difficult to find, I requested thee also to point out such an one:

“On Eupelians and Achaeans obligation he will lay,
And, if true, for his conjecture shall receive no little pay.”

‘What sayest thou? If I was desirous of becoming a sculptor or painter, and was seeking for teachers, was it sufficient for me to hear Ἐν τε τοῖσιν Εὐπέλευσιν, or rather should I not have said that the speaker was mad?

‘This, however, thou art perhaps not able to understand, for the characters of mankind are very obscure: but whither I had better travel from Colophon is no longer a matter so unintelligible to the god:

“When a man large stones projecteth from a widely-whirling sling,
With the blows he slays grass-eating geese unutterably great.”

‘Now who will interpret for me what in the world is meant by these “grass-eating geese unutterably great”? Or the “widely-whirling sling”? Will Amphilocheus, or the god of Dodona, or wilt thou at Delphi, if I should come thither? Wilt thou not go and hang thyself with thy “widely-whirling sling,” and take thy unintelligible verses with thee?’

But now, after such censures as these, it is time to observe again from the beginning how the same author confutes the most ancient oracular responses, those at Delphi, which are held forsooth in the very highest admiration in the histories of Greece.

‘Vast was the Persian host in arms against the Athenians, nor was there any other hope of safety for them, except the god only. So they, not knowing who he was, invoked him as the helper of their forefathers. This was the Apollo at Delphi. What therefore did this wonderful deity do? Did he fight in defence of his friends? Did he remember the “libations and burnt offerings,” and the customary honours which they paid to him in sacrificing their hecatombs? Not at all. But what said he? That they should flee, and provide a wooden wall for their flight: thus indicating the navy, by means of which alone he said that they could be saved when their city was burned. O mighty help of a god!

‘Then he pretends forsooth to foretell a siege not only of the other buildings in the city, but also of the very temples consecrated to the gods. But this was what all might expect from the invasion of the enemy, apart from any oracle.’

Very naturally therefore the writer again makes sport of this delusion of the Greeks, and censures it in the following words:

CHAPTER XXIV

[OENOMAUUS] ‘PERHAPS, however, such answers as I have described are those of an intentional mischief-maker; find we ought rather to bring forward for judgement his other answers which were given to the Athenians. So then let the responses to the Athenians be read:

“Wretches, why sit ye here? Fly, fly to the ends of creation,
(*Quitting your homes, and the crags which your city crowns with her circlet.*)
Neither the head, nor the body is firm in its place, nor at bottom
Firm the feet, nor the hands (nor resteth the middle uninjured.
All — all ruined and lost). Since fire and impetuous Ares,
Speeding along in a Syrian chariot, hastes to destroy her.
Not alone shalt thou suffer; full many the towers he will level,
Many the shrines of the gods he will give to a fiery destruction.
Even now they stand with dark sweat horribly dripping,
Trembling and quaking for fear.”

‘Lo! there you have the oracle that was given to the Athenians. Is there perchance anything prophetic in it? “Yes, surely,” some one will say, “for you had so much confidence in him yourself: and this will be known, if you add what was further said to them when they besought him to help them.” So then, let it be added:

“Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus,
Though she has often prayed him, (*and urged him with excellent counsel*).
Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant firmer
When the foe shall have taken (*whatever the limit of Cecrops
Holds within it, and all which divine Cithaeron shelters*),
Then far-seeing Zeus grants this to the prayers of Athene;
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children;
Wait not the tramp of the horse, not the footmen mightily moving
Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye.
Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle.
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest.”

‘Thy Zeus is worthy of himself, O son of Zeus! Thy Athena also is worthy of Athena, O brother of Athena! And this eagerness and counter-eagerness well become the father and the daughter, or rather the gods in general! And this ruler of Olympus, too weak to destroy this one city without bringing against it that countless host from Susa, was forsooth a mighty god, having dominion over the world, and persuasive withal, as moving so many nations from Asia into Europe, but yet unable in Europe to overthrow one single city.

‘And thou too, the prophet so bold and so ready also to run needless risks for nothing, dost thou not cry pity? (so the men Blight say, on whose behalf “Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus”). Or was it that Zeus was wroth not with the men, but with the stones and timber? And then wast thou to save the men, and he to burn the buildings with foreign fire? Because he had at the moment no thunderbolt?

‘Or rather are we somewhat bold, and foolhardy in forbidding you gods to talk such nonsense? But how knewest thou, O prophet, that

“Holy Salamis shall destroy the offspring of women,”

but didst not further know whether it would be,

“When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest”?

‘And how knewest thou not even this, that a man might say that “the offspring of women” were either those of his own kindred, or might say that they were “the enemies,” if he scented the evil device?

‘But we must wait for what will happen, for happen one or other of these must. For in truth “Salamis the holy” would not have been inappropriate even in case of defeat, as being called by such an epithet in compassion: and the naval battle that was to take place either

“When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest,”

is beplastered with poetical bombast, in order that, by this artifice, the prediction might escape detection, and it might not be clearly seen at the moment, that a naval battle does not take place in winter.

‘Now too it is not difficult to see the stage-play, and the wheeling in of the gods, the one beseeching and the other refusing to yield, so useful for the coming event, and the unexpected turn of the war, the one if they should be saved, the other if they should be destroyed. For if they should be saved, behold! the prayers of Pallas have been foreshown, which were able to turn the anger of Zeus: or if not, even this result is not unprovided for by the

prophet; for "Pallas is not able to soften Zeus." And to meet half-evil fortunes the artist mixed the oracle, as though Zeus had on the one hand fulfilled his own purpose, but on the other hand had not disregarded the request of his daughter.

'And as to the "towers," it might perhaps have been false that many would be destroyed, if they had attacked them with reeds instead of iron and fire, though in this case even with reeds so great an army could at all events have accomplished something. "But it was I," says he, "who discovered the wooden wall which alone could not be destroyed." Yes, it was thy advice, but not a prophecy, not unlike that "Haste, oh! haste thee away, nor blush to behave like a coward."

'He therefore who solved that riddle was as good as thyself in discerning that the city of the Athenians was the Persian's avowed cause for the invasion, and the whole expedition was directed against this city first and chiefly. For even I myself, who am no prophet, should have discerned this, and bidden not only the Lydian king, but also the Athenians to turn their backs and flee. For "Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle," for there cometh on "the tramp of the horse and the footmen mightily moving." Also that they must flee in ships, and not on the mainland: for it would have been ridiculous, as they had ships, and dwelt by the sea, not to have collected their goods in all haste, and put on board all the provisions they had, and made their escape, giving over the land to those who chose to take it.'

These then were the answers given to the Athenians: but those given to the Lacedaemonians were utterly weak and ridiculous. For either, says he, the whole city shall be besieged, or it shall mourn the loss of the king. From every circumstance, it was natural for any one to guess this, that either one or the other would happen.

But surely it was no divination of a god to use such ambiguity in ignorance of the future, when he ought to have given help, and appeared opportunely as saviour of the Greeks, and rather to have procured the victory over the enemies and barbarians for the Greeks, as his own friends. And if he had not power to do this, he should at least have provided that they should suffer no harm, and not be conquered. But even this he failed to do, nay, he did not even know how the circumstances of their defeat would turn out. Wherefore on this point also hear how his censure is expressed.

CHAPTER XXV

[OENOMAUUS] ‘BUT, thou wilt say, one must not give the same advice to the Lacedaemonians. That is true. For thou knewest not, O sophist, as in the case of Attica, what course the affairs of Sparta would take. Therefore thou wast afraid lest thou shouldest bid them flee, and then they should flee, and the enemy never invade them.

‘Since therefore it was necessary to say something, this is what thou saidst to the Lacedaemonians:

“O habitants of Sparta’s spacious streets,
Either your glorious city shall be sacked
By Perseus’ warrior sons, or else a king
Sprung from the race of mighty Heracles
Must die, and all Laconia mourn his fate.”

‘Again there is the combination most unlike prophecy. However, let it pass, that we may not seem to be both wearisome and incompetent by trampling upon thee twice for the same fault; but let us examine the remaining facts.

‘In so great a danger all were looking to thee, and thou wast both their informant of the future, and their adviser as to present action. And while they believed thee trustworthy, thou wast sure that they were fools; and that the present opportunity was convenient for drawing on the simpletons, and driving them headlong, not only to the schools of sophistry at Delphi and Dodona, but also to the seats of divination by barley and by wheat-flour, and to the ventriloquists.

‘For at that time not only the gods were believed, but also cats and crows, and the delusions of dreams. It was not difficult therefore to see that they would neither have accepted both misfortunes rather than one, nor the greater instead of the less, and it was less that one, even their king, should fall instead of all.

‘So then with the fall of the city there would be no escape for him either; but if he were posted somewhere else by himself, perhaps something unexpected might happen. The remaining course then was for those who reasoned thus to send the king to carry on the war, and stay at home themselves out of danger, awaiting the event.

‘For him therefore, taking his stand with a few against that immense host, destruction was manifest; but Sparta had a respite from fear, and hopes of the unexpected: while the trick would be equally undetected, whether the city escaped or was captured.

‘Why so? Because it had not been said, forsooth, that the city should be saved if the king died, but that either he should perish alone or the whole city together: and this answer could not be called to account in either case, whether he were to perish alone or not alone. Such is the fruit of arrogance and folly.’

Such was the course in this case. But it would not be right to pass by the answer which he gave to the Cnidians, when they offered vows and prayed for the alliance of the god.

CHAPTER XXVI

[OENOMAUUS] ‘THE Cnidians also suffered something like this, when Harpagus made an expedition against them. For when they tried to cut through the Isthmus there and make their city an island, at first they stuck close to the work; but when they had to face the labour, they were for giving up and consulting the oracle. And thou saidst to them:

“Fence not the isthmus off, nor dig it through:
Jove would have made an island, had he wished”:

and the lazy cowards were persuaded, and turned back from the work, and gave themselves up to Harpagus. But mark the cunning trick: for since it was not certain that they would escape, even if they dug the trench, thou didst stop them from this; but in not bidding them to continue the work, thou dost promise their escape.

‘To this however thou didst add, not that it was better for them not to dig it, but that it was not the pleasure of Zeus that it should be an island. So then in discouraging them the chances were evenly balanced; but in giving them encouragement the promise of escape preponderated: in this case then it was safe for the sophist to deter them. And so, without telling them anything of what they had come for, thou sentedst them away with the idea that they had heard something good.’

Now I think these instances sufficiently convict the feebleness both of the givers and receivers of the responses, and that there is no truth or inspiration to be found in their declarations.

But you will see the mischievous disposition either of the evil daemons or of the men who played false with the divinations, if you learn how in the war of Greeks against each other they irritated those who consulted them, whereas they ought to have been arbiters of peace and friendship.

At one time, therefore, this Delphian god again irritates the Lacedaemonians, as if they were his friends and familiars, against the Messenians, and at another time gives an answer against the Lacedaemonians to the Messenians, if the latter should propitiate the daemons again by human sacrifice. Listen now to this story also.

CHAPTER XXVII

[OENOMAUUS] ‘WHEN wisdom is associated with divination she will review such answers as these, and will permit no random discourse, inasmuch as she makes all things sure by their moorings to herself, and assigns their degrees of precedence. Nor will she permit the Pythian prophet, in his folly, to prophecy either to these, or to the Lacedaemonians about the Messenians, and the land which the Messenians held after defeating the Lacedaemonians by a stratagem.

“Set not thy hand to deeds of war alone,
So Phoebus bids; for as by stratagem
The people hold Messenian soil, so now
Shall they be caught by arts which they first used.”

‘Wisdom bids them rather think of peace and frugality and contentment. But they perhaps, though disciplined by the laws of Lycurgus, had come to inquire from insatiate desire and vainglory, that they might not seem to be inferior in battle to Messenians, though reputed to have been bred up in habits of endurance.

‘But surely if they had been thus bred up in habits of endurance, they would have been content with little, and would have had no need of fighting, and arms, and the rest of such folly.

‘This was the answer to the Lacedaemonians against the Messenians; but on the other hand the answer to the Messenians against the Lacedaemonians was as follows; for thou didst give oracles to the Messenians also against the Lacedaemonians, and not only to the Lacedaemonians against the Messenians:

“A virgin of the race of Aepytus
The lot shall choose, whom to the infernal gods
Thou must devote, Ithome thus to save.”

‘For I do not accept the false inventions, that the victim chosen from the race of Aepytus was not a pure virgin, and therefore the Messenians could not offer the sacrifice. For it is thy nature to make confusion.’

Such then are the statements of ancient history. And in our own days also one might observe thousands of similar cases, in which from ancient times

even to our own the successive rulers at one time rushed into unprofitable wars by the advice of the oracles, at another time were foiled by the obscurity of the responses, or again were misled from the actual deceit of the oracles.

What need to tell how at times in the greatest crises either of battle-array against the enemy, or of danger in bodily sickness, men gained no help or healing from the supposed gods. But their answers from the oracles always and constantly turn out to be such as the ancient histories prove them to have been.

But of those Pythian responses which were most celebrated among the Greeks there was a certain one addressed to Lycurgus, to whom at his coming the Pythoness addressed that famous answer:

‘To my rich shrine thou com’st, Lycurgus, dear
To Zeus and all who in Olympus dwell:
Whether to hail thee god or mortal man
Doubts my prophetic soul, yet hope prevails
To welcome thee as god. To seek good laws,
Lycurgus, thou art come; such will I give.’

These, with the additional lines, were the words of the oracle. Let us then examine closely what observations were made in answer thereto in the criticism before quoted. The author writes thus:

CHAPTER XXVIII

[OENOMAUUS] ‘BUT when the precursor and model of Tyrtacus once came to thee, thou saidst he had come from hollow Lacedaemon, “a friend of Zeus and all who in Olympus dwell,” and that thou wert in doubt, “whether to hail him god or mortal man, yet hope prevailed to welcome him as god,” because he came “to seek good laws.”

‘But, if he was a god, how was it that the “*friend of Zeus and all who in Olympus dwell*” did not understand civic law?

‘However, since such matters as have been shown to this most godlike of men by the voice of the god cannot perhaps be discovered without a god’s help, let us look at the divine utterance, and the things which thou didst teach Lycurgus:

*“To seek good laws,
Lycurgus, thou art come; such will I give.”*

‘Give then, I should say: for no such gift as this didst thou ever yet promise to any man.

“So long as to the oracles ye pay
Your promises and vows, and justice due
To fellow citizens and strangers give,
Show to the aged reverence sincere,
Duly respect the sons of Tyndarus,
Menelaus and the deathless heroes, who
In noble Lacedaemon dwell enshrined,
So long far-seeing Zeus shall guard your home.”

‘Apollo! What divine teaching and exhortation! And for this no long voyage is needed, nor a journey from Peloponnesus to Delphi, or even to the very Hyperboreans, whence, as they say, in accordance with the response of another prophetess, Asteria,

“Founders and priests of fragrant Delos came.”

‘I suppose that this Lycurgus never had a nurse, nor ever sat in a company of old men, from whom, as well as from her, he might have heard nobler and wiser lessons than these.

‘Perhaps, however, thou wilt add something more, if Lycurgus entreat thee to speak plainly.

“If some should lead aright, and others follow,” ——

I shall still say that this comes from the same company, and request Lycurgus not to desist, for the chance that he may go back to Sparta with some political lesson received from thee.

“Two ways there are diverging far apart,
This leading on to freedom’s glorious home,
That to the hateful cell of slavery.
This manly valour treads and concord true,
And to this path be ye the peoples’ guides.
Through hateful strife and baneful cowardice
Men reach the other path; of that beware.”

‘Thou bid’st them to be manly: this we have often heard even from the cowardly. But also to be of one mind: this we have heard not only from the wise, but ere now from the very leaders of sedition: so we can excuse thee from giving us this exhortation.

‘Nevertheless being a prophet didst thou not know that we have received it many a time and from many persons, who had neither eaten greedily of the laurel, nor drunk the water of Castalia, nor ever been supercilious about wisdom?

‘Tell us then about manliness, tell us about freedom, tell us about concord, in what way they are engendered in a state, and bid not us, who are ignorant, to lead the peoples in this path, but lead us thyself. For it is a noble path, but difficult for us and formidable.’

To this he adds further remarks.

CHAPTER XXIX

[OENOMAUUS] ‘THOU art ready to speak of marriage also:

“From Argive pastures choose a well-bred foal
Of dark-maned sire.”

‘And about children:

“Astion, of race most honourable,
None gives thee honour; but thy Labda soon
Conceives, and bears a mighty rock, (to crush
The tyrants, and on Corinth justice do).”

‘About a colony:

“‘Gainst men of gold lead forth a numerous host,
Brass on thy shoulders, iron in thine hand.”

‘About vainglory:

“No spot on earth can match Pelasgia’s soil,
What soil with thine, Pelasgia, can compare?
The mares of Thrace, or Sparta’s beauteous dames,
Or men who drink fair Arethusa’s fount.”

‘And it seems to me that thou art no better than the so-called marvel-mongers, nay not even than the rest of the quacks and sophists. At them, however, I do not wonder, that they throw men over for pay; but I do wonder at thee, the god, and at mankind, that they pay to be thrown over.

‘Then the famous Socrates, in answer to him who asked whether he should marry or not, said neither, but that he would repent of both: and to the man who wished for children he said that he would not do right, if, instead of trying how, if he should have children, he might treat them in the best way, he made no account of this but was only considering how he might get them.

‘And when another man had determined to travel, because things were not well with him at home, he said that he was not taking right counsel; for he would go away and leave his country where it was, but would take his folly

with him, which would make him disagreeable to the people there just as much as to those at home. And not only when he was questioned, but also of his own accord he often resorted to such conversations.'

CHAPTER XXX

‘FOR twenty days before the Dog-star rise,
And twenty days that follow next thereon,
In shady bower let Bacchus be thy leech.’

‘A medical and not a prophetical answer given to the Athenians when troubled by the burning heat.

“Grandson of Presbon, son of Clymenus,
Thyself, Erginus, would’st the race prolong:
’Tis late; yet give the old plough a new tip.”

‘For a young woman to be wedded to an old man, if he desires children, this is the advice not of a prophet, but of one who understands nature. Desire, however, sets the weaklings beside themselves.’

CHAPTER XXXI

‘FOR this reason, if thou canst not persuade them to learn something worthy of the school of a god instead of their contemptible questions, I recommend thee to take a rod to them rather than to say to Archilochus of Paros after he had thrown away his substance in political follies, and in sorrow had come to consult thee:

“To Thasos, Archilochus, go, and dwell in that glorious island.”

‘For he would have profited more had he been told in this other way:

“Archilochus, come to thy senses, in poverty make no bewailing.”

‘Or to the Cretans who had come to thee:

“Dwellers in Phaestus and Tarra and wave-beaten headland of Dium,
Hear ye my bidding, and offer the Pythian lustrations to Phoebus
In pious devotion, so dwell ye for ever in Creta’s fair island,
Worshipping wealth and Zeus in customs not those of your fathers.”

‘It would have been better for them to be told:

“Dwellers in folly and madness and self-conceited elation,
Hear ye my bidding, and offer at home in pious devotion
Lustrations your folly to purge; so dwell ye in wisdom for ever
Worshipping wealth in customs not those of your sires but divine.”

‘Beware lest thou need lustration more than Crete, for inventing lustrations such as those of Orpheus and Epimenides.’

CHAPTER XXXII

‘BUT why, O wisest of gods, if Charilaus and Archelaus, the kings of Lacedaemon,

“Give to Apollo as his share of gain
One half, it were far better for themselves?”

‘To what other Apollo dost thou mean? For surely thou dost not claim this for thyself, O most shameless prophet, lest any one should rebuke thee, as sharing so basely with the robbers.’

Enough, however, of this subject. So come, let us append to it the verses in which at another time Apollo admires Archilochus, a man who in his own poems employed against women all kinds of foul and unspeakable abuse, which any modest man would not endure even to listen to: Euripides also he admires though he was expelled from the school and philosophy of Socrates, and is caricatured upon the stage even to the present day: besides these Homer also, whom the noble Plato banishes from his own republic, as in no respect profitable, but as having been the author of language which utterly corrupts the young. For these reasons again the author before mentioned scoffs at the soothsaying god as follows:

CHAPTER XXXIII

[OENOMAUUS]

“IMMORTAL and renowned in song thy son,
Telesicles, among all men shall be.”

‘Now this son was Archilochus.

“A son, Mnesarchus, thou shalt have, whom all
Mankind shall honour, who to noble fame
Shall rise, encircled with the festal grace
Of sacred crowns.”

‘The son was Euripides.

‘Homer was told:

“Life hath a twofold destiny for thee;
This shall in darkness veil twin orbs of light;
That with immortal gods, in life, in death,
Shall set thee equal.”

‘And for this cause it was said of him:

“Happy and hapless, born to either doom.”

‘The speaker is not a man, but one who has sometimes insisted that he must not

“As god be careless of the woes of men.”

‘Come then, thou god, be not careless even of us. For we desire, if it be not wrong, some of us worthy fame, others sacred crowns, others equality with the gods, and others immortality itself. ‘What then was that, for which Archilochus seemed to thee worthy of heaven? Grudge not to other men that upward path, thou of all gods best friend to man! What dost thou bid us do? Or must we, of course, do what Archilochus did, if we would show ourselves worthy of the home of you gods? Abuse bitterly the maidens who are unwilling to marry us, and associate with profligates far baser than the basest of men? But not without poetry, for that is the language of gods, as well as of god-like men like Archilochus. And no wonder perhaps. For through

excellence in this art the home is well ordered, and the private life is happy, and cities are kept in concord, and nations are well governed.

‘Not unnaturally therefore he was regarded by thee as a servant of the Muses, and his murderer deemed worthy neither of admission to you gods, nor of speech from you, because he had slain a man of skilful speech.

‘There was no injustice then in the threat against Archias, nor anything inopportune in the Pythia avenging Archilochus though long since dead, and commanding the blood-guilty one to depart out of the temple; for he had slain a servant of the Muses.

‘To me at all events thou didst not appear to be out of order in avenging the poet; for I remembered the other poet also, and the sacred crowns of Euripides; though indeed I was in doubt, and desirous of hearing, not that he had been crowned, but how these crowns were “sacred”; nor that his fame sprang up, but in what way it was “noble” fame.

‘For he used to be applauded in the crowds, I know: also he was agreeable to tyrants, this too I know: and he practised an art which won admiration not only for the lover of it himself, but also for the city of Athens, because it alone gave birth to tragic poets.

‘If therefore the applause is a competent judge, and the table in the Acropolis, I have nothing more to say, since I see Euripides supping in the Acropolis, and the commons both of the Athenians and the Macedonians applauding. But if apart from these the gods have any vote, and that trustworthy, and not inferior to the vote of the tyrants or to that of the crowds, come tell us, for which of his excellences did you gods give your vote in favour of Euripides, that we may hasten at full speed to heaven in the track marked out by your praises.

‘For surely there is no lack even now of Sapaean or Lycambes ready to be caricatured, nor in the present day would either a Thyestes, or an Oedipus, or the hapless Phineus object to be made a subject of tragedy; nor would they, I think, be envious of any one who desired the friendship of the gods: but even those of old, if they had learned that there would be a certain Euripides, a man who came to be dear to the gods for having dressed them up, they would, I think, have ceased to care for their old misfortunes, and instead of giving their mind to better ways would have turned to making verses. And if they heard loud-sounding names of men of former times, they would use them for their

journey to heaven, that on their arrival they might sit in Olympus among the boxers, in the hall of Zeus. For this is what the poet at Delphi says.

‘Now let us look at the question which “the happy” Homer asks of the god: for I suppose it was something about heaven, and important enough to call forth an answer from the god; otherwise he would not so readily have pronounced him “happy,” and in addition to this happiness have awarded him an answer.

“Thou seek’st a fatherland, but none is thine.
A motherland thou hast, nor near, nor far
From Minos’ realm: there is thy doom to die,
When from the tongues of schoolboys thou hast heard
A long-drawn hymn thou canst not understand.”

‘Was it then a terrible thing, O thou wisest of men, or rather of gods, if this “happy” man should know neither where on earth he sprang from his mother’s womb, nor where he should close his eyes and lie? I should have thought it of equal importance, whether a Homer or one of the beetles came to consult the god on these points, and that the god could no more have given any guidance on such unknown matters to Homer than to a beetle.

‘As for example, if a beetle did not spend his life and his old age on that same dunghill on which he was begotten, but fell in with an adverse wind, and a cruel beetle-daemon, who caught him up into the air and carried him away by force to some other land and some other dunghill, and then he came to Delphi and inquired which was the dunghill of his fatherland, and what land would receive him when dead.’

Let this suffice then about the poets.

CHAPTER XXXIV

BUT since this wonderful god by his own responses has deified not only poets but even boxers and athletes, the author before mentioned seems to me to pass an appropriate censure on this also in the following words:

[OENOMAUUS]

‘O thou who knowest to number the sands and to measure the ocean
Who hast ears for the silent, and knowest the dumb man’s meaning.’

‘I would that thou wert ignorant of all such things, but knewest this, that the art of boxing is no better than that of kicking, that thou mightest either have immortalized asses also, or else not Cleomedes boxer of Astypalaea, in such words as these:

“Last of the heroes was he, Cleomedes of Astypalaea;
Now no longer a mortal with sacrifice honour him duly.”

‘For what then, O ancient interpreter of the religion of the Greeks, as Plato calls thee, didst thou deify this man? Was it because at the Olympic games he struck his antagonist a single blow and laid open his side, and thrust in his hand and seized his lung?

‘By Apollo! how godlike a deed! Or was it not that alone, but also because, being punished by a fine of four talents for this act, he did not submit, but in wrath and indignation turned his anger against the boys in the school, by pulling away the column which upheld the roof. Is it for these deeds then, thou manufacturer of gods, that we ought to honour Cleomedes?

‘Or wilt thou add this also, as the other proof at once of his manliness and his friendship with the gods, that having stepped into a sacred chest, and pulled the cover over it, he could not be caught by his pursuers when they wished to drag him out? A hero then no longer mortal art thou, O Cleomedes, for inventing such contrivances to attain immortality.

‘The gods at least were immediately sensible of thy good deeds, and snatched thee up to heaven, just as Homer’s gods snatched Ganymede; but him they chose for his beauty, and thee for thy strength, and for the good use made of it!

‘I wish therefore, O prophet, as I said, that thou hadst let alone the sand

and the sea, and instead of them hadst learned how much boxing is worth, that thou mightest regard the pugnacious asses as gods, and the wild asses as the very best of the gods: and there would have been some proper oracle over the death of a wild ass, rather than over thy boxer:

“Chief of the deathless gods is a wild ass, not Cleomedes;
Now no longer a mortal with sacrifice honour him duly.”

‘For indeed you must not wonder, if even a wild ass should lay claim to immortality, as being fully provided with divine qualifications, and should not endure what he heard, but should threaten that with a blow he would knock even Cleomedes himself into the pit, and not permit him to go up to heaven.

‘For he would say that he was more worthy of the very gifts of the gods than Cleomedes, as being ready to fight not with him alone, even if he were to use thongs of iron, but also with the Thasian boxer, both at once, him I mean on account of whose statue the gods were aggrieved, and made the land of the Thasians barren.

‘About this man also we trust to no human testimony but to that of the same god. And from these facts I clearly perceived that boxing was, as we said, a godlike pursuit, though most persons, even those who think themselves wise, were not aware of it: or they would have given up being gentlemen, and would have practised the art of the Thasian boxer, whom the gods, though they did not grant immortality to him, as they did to Cleomedes, yet loved much.

‘Thus his statue of bronze exhibited a power beyond the images of other men, by falling down upon his enemy who was scourging it, which seems to show a kind of divine solicitude.

‘But the senseless Thasians, having no experience in things divine, were indignant and accused the statue of a crime, and exacted punishment, and ventured to sink it in the sea.

‘They did not escape however, these Thasians, but the gods showed them how great a wrong they had dared to commit, by sending a famine upon them as the minister of divine justice, which with difficulty taught them what the counsels of the gods were; and thou the most philanthropic of gods didst send them help in thine own fashion, saying:

“Bring thy banished ones home, and gather a liberal harvest.”

‘But again the stupid people supposed that they must recall the men who were in banishment: but they were mistaken; for as the gods have no love at all for mankind, what care they about men being recalled from banishment, in comparison with their care for statues? For this of course the land gained no help towards being relieved of its barrenness, but that some wise person who understood the mind of the gods conceived that the banished one was the statue which had been drowned in the sea. And so it was. For no sooner was it set up again, than immediately the land began to flourish, and the Thasians thenceforward (*enjoying abundant harvests*) wore long hair in honour of Ceres.

‘Must not then these be clear proofs that a godlike athleticism is honoured by the gods? For again the gods were wroth because of an insult to the statue of a conqueror in the pentathlon, and for this the Locrians were famished, like the Thasians, until they found a remedy in thy oracle, running thus:

“Hold the dishonoured in honour, and then shalt thou plough up thy land.”

‘For neither did the Locrians perceive the meaning of the gods before they had thee to help them in the matter. But they had cast the pentathlete Euthycles into prison, on a charge of having received bribes against his country: and not only so, but after he was dead they committed outrages upon his statues, until the gods could not endure their conduct, and sent the most violent famine upon them. And they would have utterly perished by the famine, had there not come help from thee, saying that they ought to honour men trained and fattened, who are no less dear to the gods than the oxen which the millers fatten, and by sacrificing which men sometimes win your assent. Not less perhaps, but even much more, than fat cattle do you delight in fat men, so that sometimes you grow angry with a whole city and a whole nation, because one or two persons do wrong to these failings.

‘How I wish then, O prophet, thou hadst been our trainer instead of prophet, or both prophet and trainer together, that as there is a Delphic oracle so there might have been a Delphic gymnasium. For it would not have been inappropriate to the Pythian contest that the gymnasium also should be Pythian.’

To this I will append what he says by way of proving that the gods whom we are discussing are also flatterers of tyrants.

CHAPTER XXXV

“HAPPY the man who now to my sacred dwelling approacheth,
Cypselus, son of Aetion, king of illustrious Corinth.”

‘So then tyrants also are happy, and not only those who conspire against tyrants:

“Cypselus, who shall work full many misfortunes to Corinth,”
and Melanippus, who wrought many blessings for the city of Gela.

‘But if Cypselus was “happy,” O thou miserable god, how could Phalaris fail to be liappy too, being of like character with Cypselus? So that your oracle would have run better in this other way:

“Phalaris, happy art thou, and Melanippus likewise,
Leaders and guides of mankind in the pathways of heavenly discord.”

‘But I have also heard an oracle of thine in prose concerning Phalaris, praising and honouring him, because after he had discovered their conspiracy and tortured them, he admired their endurance and released them. So Loxias and his father Zeus voted Phalaris a respite from death, because he behaved mercifully towards Chariton and Melanippus. But I wish thou hadst just taught us about death and life, that life is a most noble thing. To all this let us add the following:’

CHAPTER XXXVI

“‘FAR better will Methymna’s dwellers fare,
If Dionysus’ wooden head they honour.”

‘For the cities offer sacrifice and keep festivals not only to wooden heads of Dionysus, but also to heads of stone, and bronze, and gold; not only to wooden heads but also to actual heads of Dionysus, and to very many of the other gods of Hesiod.

‘For verily there are

“Three times ten thousand on the fruitful earth,”

not immortals, but rulers of mankind of wood and stone: and if they

“Man’s insolence or just behaviour scanned,”

there never would have been raised a crop of nonsense so great, that at length the evil has reached even to you gods, having passed over to Olympus, where, as they say,

“The abode of the gods is for ever secure.”

‘Yet surely if it were “secure,” it would not be accessible to nonsense, nor would any one of the Olympians have reached such a pitch of insanity as to turn a log of olive-wood into a god. This log became entangled in the meshes of a net, and was dragged up by the Methymnaeans, who caught it in their nets twice, it may be, and thrice, or oftener in the same place, and thence ran out into the Libyan sea, and did not cast it out upon the land: for if they had done that, it would not have stuck fast in the meshes, no, by Dionysus!

‘But as the top of the log was like a head (Apollo! what a strange contrivance!), one might ask, what business had it in the sea? Why, what else, to be sure, except that it sat waiting until some insane men (for I will not say, gods also) should meet with it, and believe it to be fallen not from Zeus, but from Poseidon, and then should carry it off to their town, as if it were some lucky prize, though in reality it was unlucky, and no prize, but a firebrand? Or perhaps it was not enough that of itself it utterly ruined them, but an increase of infatuation, so to say, fetched from Delphi gave it new strength and intensity.’

So far Oenomaus. But now, after what has been stated, pass again to *The Philosophy to be derived from Oracles* of the author who has made the

compilation against us, and read from the responses of the Pythian god concerning Fate, and see whether it will not occur to you also that the account of the celebrated oracles is still more inconsistent with any divine power.

BOOK VI

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PREFACE

In the books which we have already completed we have sufficiently exposed the character of the oracles; and the divine power of our Saviour has exhibited in the teaching of His Gospel an excellence worthy of God and at the same time beneficial to man; for by it alone, and by no other teaching, deliverance from the daemonical phantoms, which had from the beginning overshadowed and afflicted the whole life of man, was secured for all.

Now let us examine their false doctrines about fate, and so restore the true account of the same subject, in order that the daemons who have been supposed to inspire the oracles may be shown not only by the wickedness of their system, but also by the error and falsity of their opinions, to be worthless and impotent. Consider therefore whether it will not occur to you also that the account of them is inconsistent with divine power, both from what I shall set before you in refutation of their doctrine concerning fate, and from the very manner in which they are said to perform their divinations.

For it is not said that they have gained the knowledge of future events beforehand by any superior power, but that they guess what is coming from observation of the motion of the stars, just as men do. Thus, it is said, they have no power either to help, or to effect anything at all, except what is in accordance with fate. And the evidence of this shall be that self-same daemons' advocate, who in his book entitled *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, speaks word for word as follows:

CHAPTER I

[PORPHYRY] ‘The gods, if they speak with a knowledge of things determined by fate, declare that their utterances are derived from the course of the stars, and almost all the truthful gods acknowledge this.’

Then a little farther down he says:

‘Apollo was asked of what sex a woman’s child would be, and by the stars he said it would be female, having learned this from the time of conception: and thus he speaks:

“The shoot springs forth from earth, whose thirsty meads
All freshening moisture from their mother drain,
While life still stirs within her its due time.
No boy she bears, ’tis but a feeble girl;
The Moon with Venus watched the chaste embrace
That brings thee soon, O friend, a female child.”

‘See how from the time of conception, because the Moon was then approaching Venus, he said that a girl would be born. Moreover from those signs they foretell diseases; for listen:

“A baneful poison ravages his breast
And pours its cruel pangs o’er all the lung,” ——

‘and so on: to which he adds:

“So wrought the purpose of the Fates, which urged
Their deadly strife, to slay thee by disease,
Since Saturn treads on high his baneful path.”

‘And after some other verses:

“But the Destroyer, hastening on to meet
The star of Saturn, forced thee to conclude
Life’s fated day, and robbed thy soul of hope.
For this thy godlike father’s sacred heart
Warned thee to shun the baneful god of war.”’

These things show that their divination is not from any divine power in them, but from observation of the stars according to mathematical principles; so that in this they differ nothing from other men, nor show any work of a higher or more divine nature. But see how they also destroy our free-will, by referring not only external events and things independent of us, but also our own purposes, to the course of the stars.

CHAPTER II

[PORPHYRY] ‘Thus also Apollo spake concerning a certain man, explaining at the same time whence came his eagerness for war:

“In Mars he hath a vehement natal star,
Which drives him on, yet not unto the tomb:
For Jupiter’s decree foretold it thus,
And soon shall give him glory from the war.”

‘And again on another man:

“Saturn’s long hair outspread and cruel rays
Saddened the hapless boy’s tempestuous life.”’

So great a horror of Fate have these brave gods, as to confess that they cannot even defend their own temples when struck by lightning! Much hope there must be then for men to get help by prayer from those who are not even able to help themselves! Of what use is it henceforth to be pious, and to worship and serve the gods, who can give no help at all even to themselves? Hear, however, what the oracle says:

CHAPTER III

[PORPHYRY] ‘Thus even shrines and temples have their destinies, and Apollo’s own temple had been destined to be struck by lightning, as he says:

“Offspring of Erichthonius’ godlike race,
Boldly ye come mine oracle to ask
When shall this fairest shrine be laid in dust.
Hear then this utterance of the voice divine,
That issues from the laurel-shaded cave.
When high in air the warring winds resound,
And storms embattled meet with thundering crash,
While the wide world lies wrapped in silent frost,
And the imprisoned air no outlet finds,
A blazing torch falls, where it will, to earth.
Whereat the wild beasts on the mountain tops
Flee in swift terror to their dens, nor stay
To scan with trembling eyes Jove’s fallen bolt.
Shrines of the blessed, trees of stateliest growth,
Steep mountain peaks, fair ships upon the sea
All shattered lie beneath those wings of fire.
Fair Amphitrite too, Poseidon’s bride,
Cleft by that awful stroke shrinks moaning back.
Ye therefore, though by mighty pain oppressed,
Bear with brave souls the counsels of the Fates
That know no change: for whatsoe’er the lot
Their whirling spindles twine, his awful brow
Zeus nods on high to fix the changeless doom.
Thus in long ages past this fairest shrine
By fiery bolts from heaven was doomed to fall.”

If therefore by the spindles of the Fates even the shrines of the venerable gods and their holy temples are conquered by ‘wings of fire,’ what hope can be left for mortal men to escape from their destiny? If, moreover, there is no help from the gods, but one must in any case

‘Bear with brave soul the counsels of the Fates
That know no change,’

what is the meaning, some one may say, of our useless zeal concerning the gods?

Or what need to assign a portion ‘of libation and burnt-offering,’ and the honour thereof, to those who are not worthy even of these things, if they have no power to help us at all? For then we ought not to ascribe the bestowal of good things to them, but to that (destiny) which they confessed to be the cause of the evil.

For if anything either good or the reverse is destined for men, it will of necessity occur, and, whether the gods will or not, it will come to pass. We ought therefore to worship Necessity only, and care little, or rather nothing, for the gods, as being able neither to annoy nor to benefit us.

But then if He, who is God over all, is sole ruler of the Fates, and sole Lord over them also —— for, as the Oracle says:

‘Whate’er the lot
Their whirling spindles twine, his awful brow
Zeus nods on high, to fix the changeless doom’ ——

why then dost thou not put aside all else, and confess that the universal Monarch and the Lord of Fate is the only God, and only Giver of good, and Saviour? Seeing that for Him alone it is easy to turn and change even what you call

‘The counsels of the Fates
That know no change:’

so that the man who has been consecrated to the all-ruling God, and worships only Him, is enslaved neither to necessity nor to fate, but, as being free and released from every bond, follows without hindrance the divine dispensations of salvation. Such is the path which true reason shows: but see by what means this author, the contrary, that the decrees of fate are dissolved.

CHAPTER IV

[PORPHYRY] ‘For when a certain man prayed that he might be visited by a god, the god said that he was unfit because he was bound down by nature, and on this account suggested certain expiatory sacrifices, and added:

“A blast of daemon power with gathered force
The fortunes of thy race hath overrun,
Which thou must scape by magic arts like these.”

‘Hereby it is clearly shown that the use of magic in loosing the bonds of fate was a gift from the gods, in order to avert it by any means.’

It is Porphyry who tells you this, not I. But how was it, that he who advised to loose the bonds of fate by magic arts, though he was himself a god, did not annul the destiny of his own temple to be burned by lightning? And how can we fail to see what is the character of him who encourages the use of magic, and not of philosophy? Besides all this the same author confesses that the gods speak falsely.

CHAPTER V

[PORPHYRY] ‘But further, the exact knowledge of the course of the stars, and the consequences dependent on them, is unattainable by men, and not by them only, but also by some of the daemons. Hence when consulted they speak falsely on many matters.’

To this again he adds:

‘Also, they say, it is the surrounding atmosphere that compels the oracles to be falsified, and not that the deities present willingly add the falsehood. For they often declare beforehand that they are going to speak falsely: but the inquirers persist, and compel them to speak, because of their folly. Apollo, for instance, once upon a time, when the condition of the atmosphere was, as we stated, unfavourable, said:

“Cease from these words of power, lest I speak false.”

‘And that what I was saying is true, will be shown by the oracles.

‘For example, one of the gods when invoked made answer:

“To tell the constellations’ sacred course

This day befits not; all prophetic power

Lies bound and fettered in the silent stars.”’

And he adds:

‘It is shown therefore whence the falsehood often arises.’

CHAPTER VI

Is there not now an end of all doubt in your judgement, that there was nothing divine at all in the responses of the gods? For how could the divine ever speak falsely, being in nature most truthful, since surely the divine is truthful? And how could a good daemon ever deceive the inquirers by false statements? Or how could that which is 'fettered' by the course of the stars be superior to man?

Nay, a mortal man who paid any little regard to virtue would never lie, but would choose rather to reverence the truth; nor would he lay the blame of a lie upon any necessity of fate or course of the stars. But even if any one were to bring fire or sword against his body, to compel him to pervert the word of truth, yet even against this he would reply in freedom's tone:

'Come fire, come sword;

Burn, and scorch up this flesh, and gorge thyself

With my dark blood : for sooner shall the stars

Sink down to earth, and earth rise up to heav'n,

Than fawning word shall meet thee from my lips.'

But the deluding and deceitful daemon makes pretences and cajoles the senseless, in order that whenever he should fail of foretelling what was to come, he might provide himself an excuse for his blunder in fate.

So when the daemon had by his oracular answers made everything depend on fate, and had taken away the freedom arising from self-determined action, and subjugated this also to necessity, see into what a deadly pit of evil doctrines he has plunged those who believe him.

For if we must refer not only external events, but also the desires founded upon reason, to the stars and fate, and if human judgements are extorted by some inexorable necessity, there will be an end of your philosophy, an end also of religion: nor is there, as we thought, any praise of virtue for the good, nor any friendship with God, nor any worthy fruit of self-denying toils, if universal causation has been usurped by necessity and fate.

So then it is not right to blame those who offend in the affairs of life, nor yet the impious and the most infamous, nor even to admire the virtuous; but on this principle, as I said, there will be an end also of the great glory of

philosophy, if it is made dependent not on voluntary study and discipline, but on necessity imposed by the stars.

See then into what an abyss of evil doctrines these wonderful gods have cast men down, and observe how this doctrine urges on and encourages to recklessness, and injustice, and countless other evils, bringing about an entire overthrow of the whole life.

If, for example, a man were at once to give credit to the marvellous responses of the gods, that truthfulness or falsehood, and the will to start upon an expedition or any other business, or the unwillingness to undertake such matters, was no work of ours but of inexorable fate, would he not choose to be careless and indolent in all matters that could not be performed without labour and pains and exertion on our own part?

For if he thought that this or that would take place by fate, whether we took trouble and care about it or not, would he not certainly wish to choose the easier course, and give himself, up to carelessness, since the result to be attained would be brought to pass by fate and necessity?

Hence one may hear the multitude say, This will be accomplished, if it is destined for me, and why need I give myself trouble?

For if he who set out on an expedition, did this not from his own choice, but from being driven by external necessity, so also evidently would the man who set himself to robbery and plundering graves and all other practices whether impious and lawless or orderly and prudent: for this would be a consequence of the doctrine of fate.

How then would the man who believed that he was undertaking these practices not of his own will, but under external necessity, be likely to give heed to one who admonished him and taught him not to give himself over abjectly to the practices before mentioned?

For he would say to his monitor, as has been said by some before our time, Why, sir, do you admonish me? For this of course does not rest with me, to change my purpose, since fate has determined it beforehand. What need then to exert myself for things which I shall not be able even to desire, unless this also is my destiny. And if it is so destined, I shall desire it even without your teaching, being led thereto by fate. Why then do you trouble yourself to no purpose? But if you mean to say that your exhortation and teaching is also brought about by necessity, to exhort and persuade me thus, yet even in this

case what need to be so earnest? For the exhortation is idle and useless. Since if it is so fated, I shall be diligent; and if it is not so fated, the result will be that we both take trouble in vain.

Must not the man who holds this opinion rather give up indolently and say to himself, Come, let me not care to toil, nor trouble myself to no purpose: for that which, is fated will of necessity come to pass? But if a man is diligent about anything, or teaches or encourages himself or another, either to obey or to disobey, and to sin or not to sin, and to rebuke sinners, and to praise them that do well, is it not clearly proved that he has left us the reality of our power and free-will, and simply attaches to it the name of fate; just as if any one were to call by the name of evil that natural goodness, by the presence of which the living being is best governed?

In the same way (since we plainly feel ourselves compelled by no external cause in chastening our sons, and scourging our domestics when they have done amiss, and in wishing or not wishing this or that, but feel that we make such movements quite independently by our own power) he would be wrong who said that these things are done according to fate, with a view to paralyse our own exertions and the exhortations and admonitions given to others, which we see to be the chief sources of success in human affairs.

Moreover this doctrine would overthrow laws, which are made for the sake of their usefulness to man. For what need is there to command or forbid those who are constrained by a necessity of a different kind? Nor will it be right to punish offenders, since for the same reason they have done no wrong, nor to award honours to the doers of the noblest deeds, though these customs of reward and punishment have severally been a chief cause of checking injustice and of readiness to do good.

But further, this opinion would overthrow piety towards the deity, if, fettered as we are by the necessities of fate, neither God Himself, nor the ministers of these oracular gods give us any help either in answer to our prayers or for our piety.

And would it not be most shameless and impudent to say that we are moved like lifeless puppets pulled by strings this way and that by some external power, to will of necessity to do this or that, and to choose other things against our will? For we plainly feel ourselves desiring this or that by our own impulse and motion, and again we take ourselves to task for

carelessness, and feel that we succeed or not from this cause, and suffer no compulsion from any external source, but choose some things by voluntary determination, and shun and decline others of our own deliberate purpose.

So evident therefore is the argument for free-will that, in the same way as the feeling of pain and pleasure, and seeing and hearing this or that, is perceived not by reasoning but by actual sensation, so we consciously feel ourselves moving of ourselves and of our own purpose, and choosing some things and rejecting others; thus the freedom and independence of the rational and intelligent nature in us is in any case justly to be acknowledged.

And although the mass of mankind are perplexed by countless things happening to us contrary to our purpose, we must in this case distinguish the nature of the circumstances in which we are placed, and take into consideration the law by which things not in our own power come to pass. For thus the cause of these events also will be attributed to no irrational fate, but to another law, dependent on the providence of the universe. Let us then examine the problem carefully.

That both the existence and the government of all things depend as a whole on the providence of God, the statutes of true religion plainly declare.

But then the several events being caused according to their particular kind, some by habit, some by nature, some by impulse and impression, and others by reasoning and our own judgement and purpose, and some again produced according to a primary law, and others according to effects contingent upon the primary occurrences, render the arrangement of the whole complex and intricate, the author of the universe having allotted to each class of beings a proper and distinct constitution of nature.

Though it would be difficult, therefore, for any one to examine fully the principle of all the rest, yet that of freewill he may more easily learn in the following manner. Man is not a thing of one simple kind, nor consisting of one nature only, but is composed of two opposites, body and soul, the former attached contingently as an instrument to the soul, but the intelligent essence subsisting in accordance with its primary law, and of these the one is irrational and the other rational, and the one perishable but the other imperishable, and the one mortal but the other immortal; so that we have a body of the same kind as brute beasts, but a soul akin to the rational and immortal nature. In this case then surely it is natural, that this double product, inasmuch as it partakes

of a double nature, should regulate its life in a twofold and diverse manner, at one time serving the bodily nature, and at another welcoming with the diviner part its proper liberty. Thus the same man is both a slave and free, having had such a combination of soul and body allotted to him by God, for reasons known to Himself.

If therefore any one were to subject the natural functions either of the body or of the soul to necessity as their cause, calling it 'fate,' he would miss the proper name. For if there were some irresistible necessity of fate, and if many of the functions which by nature belong to the body and the soul are thereby impeded, and if ten thousand other external things combine by some accident in attaching themselves contrary to nature to both soul and body, how can fate and nature be the same thing?

For if they say that fate is unalterable, and that nothing d can happen contrary to it (because necessity is inexorable), and if, as I said, many things happen both to soul and body contrary to their natural functions, a man would not use right names, if he said that fate and nature are the same.

So then of our inward experiences part must depend upon reasoning and the choice that is in our own power, such as are the natural functions of the soul, and part on the nature of the body, and another part must be incidental to them, I mean to soul and body, but effects due by nature to others: yet no one could rightly detach either the free-will of the soul, or the natural action of the body, nor yet the contingency of external things from Him who is their Author.

For God Himself, the God of the universe, has been shown to be the Creator both of things in our own power and of things dependent on nature, and of things accidental. For the declaration of the divine Scripture, 'He spake, and they were made: he commanded and they were created,' must be understood universally of all things.

So then if, at any time when we form certain purposes, other things happen contrary to our intention, we must remind ourselves, that this is owing, as we said, to that twofold and heterogeneous character of the combination in us, I mean of soul and body, in consequence of which the essence of the soul, which is of an intelligent and rational nature, in a body which is by nature childish, shares the position of an irrational being contrary to its own nature: and the mind, which is naturally wise, often in consequence of some accident

becomes silly, from being distraught by excessive ailments, say, of the body.

Oftentimes too old age, having in the course of nature overtaken the body, deprives the understanding of the right judgements of its prime, by blunting the rational power of the intelligent soul contrary to nature.

Injuries again and pains and mutilations, which have happened to the body contrary to its nature, accidentally overcome the free-will of the soul, when it gives in to the pains because of its connexion with the body: so that an inevitable bond is found to have been thrown in the way of the freedom of the soul, at one time by the nature of the body, at another by accidents coming from without.

Nevertheless the power of our free-will has, as we said, reached such a pitch of courage and strength, as to dare in many cases to encounter and oppose the bodily nature and the accidents from without.

The bodily nature invites the man to amorous desire, but the soul having bridled the passion by sound reason becomes master of the bodily nature. And again the one, necessitating hunger and thirst and cold and feelings of this kind, invites to the remedies and satisfactions which are in accordance with nature; but the will being persuaded by sound reasons, and having voluntarily embraced certain ascetic counsels, by many days' fasting and endurance beats off the natural desire of the body, choosing and preferring this course by excellence of reason.

Then again the one naturally delights in all pleasures, and in the easy movement of the body: but the will from a desire of virtue welcomes the life of labour and hardship.

But there are also some who have turned to evil, and 'changed the natural use into that which is against nature, . . . men with men working unseemliness.'

Thus then reason does not give way in all things to nature, but conquers in many, as also it is conquered; and the man now leads, and now is himself led, so that in some cases even prematurely he hastens by violent hands to release himself from the body, whenever he judges life to be unprofitable for him. If then his whole contest were with the proper nature of the body only, this would be tolerable: but since God has planted his civil and social life in the midst of a multitude, so that he is made to pass his time among wild beasts and venomous reptiles, and amid fire and water and the surrounding air, and

the perverted and diverse natures in all these, his conflict and resistance is naturally not only against his own bodily nature intimately connected with him, but also against the countless accidents from without, in the midst of which he who leads this mortal life must live, so that he has to hold out bravely against these also.

Ere now, for instance, many such and such kinds of food, and such and such temperatures of the atmosphere, and sudden frosts, and burning heats, and very many other things, though moving naturally according to certain laws proper to them, yet by falling accidentally upon us, have caused no common disturbance of our independence because of the connexion with the body; for our bodily nature cannot withstand the assaults from without, but is overpowered and conquered by the external circumstances which occur according to their proper nature.

Again, we pass our lives in company with a multitude of men who share the same nature with us, and, acting on their individual right, take away our independence by the free exercise of their own choice: therefore in this way again we shall naturally be subject to the purposes of others, when their independent power thus in a manner makes use of us, either against the body or in regard to the soul.

For as our bodily nature is often overpowered by things which assail it from without, so sometimes our will also, being disturbed by a thousand external wills, is induced by its own independent decision to give itself up to the external forces; and sometimes is rendered better, and sometimes worse: since bad company is apt to corrupt, just as on the contrary the intercourse of honourable men makes us better. For 'evil communications corrupt good manners,' just as the company of the good saves and improves.

And though the rational faculty of the soul is carried this way and that by the arguments of those who encounter it from without, yet the proper virtue of the rational essence gains strength again, and proves its power to be truly divine and godlike, when by holding out against all external circumstances, and gaining the victory over them all by a free spirit, without abating aught of its own virtue, it is prepared for the study of philosophy. When however it is careless, it is affected by the evil with the worst results, just as also it is improved by careful attention from without.

What need after this to say, that 'both fruitfulness and barrenness in souls

and bodies' such as these, brought about by some accident in a manner proper to the government of the world and right and good for the whole, work a vast amount of disturbance of every kind to individual portions, and especially to our independence.

But over all existing things universally, both those that occur through us and our causation, and those that come accidentally from without, and those that are due to the operations of nature, there rules one almighty and all-powerful providence of God that extends through all, which also arranges most things by diviner laws inexpressible by us, guiding the whole in due obedience to the rein, and changing many even of natural consequences to suit the occasion, and working and co-operating with our wills, and at other times assigning their proper place to external circumstances.

When these things have been divided in this manner into three classes, those which depend on ourselves, those which take place according to natural law, and those which are accidental, and when all are summed up in one law which proceeds from the counsel of God, there will be no room for the doctrine of fate.

Thus we shall have found that the source of evil, about which many have doubted, has place in nothing natural, neither in bodies, nor in spiritual substances, much less in things that occur accidentally from without: it will be found, I say, solely in the self-determined motion of the soul, and in this, not when following the course of nature it walks in the straight road, but when it departs from the king's highway, and turns by its own decision into the course contrary to nature, being its own master.

For the soul having obtained this excellent gift from God is free and master of itself, having assumed the determination of its own motion: but the divine law united with it by nature, like a beacon and a star, calls to it with a voice from within and says, 'Thou shalt walk in the king's highway, thou shalt not turn aside to the right hand nor to the left,' teaching us that 'the king's highway' is the path in accordance with right reason.

For the Creator of all implanted in every soul this natural law as a helper and defender in its actions; and while by His law He showed it the right way, by the self-determined freedom bestowed on it He declared the choice of the better course to be deserving of praise and approbation, and of greater honours and rewards for its good deeds, because it performed them not under

compulsion but by its own independent decision, though it had the power of choosing the opposite: so that, on the other hand, that soul which chose the worst acts was deserving of blame and punishment, as having ‘*proprio motu*’ transgressed the law of nature, and given birth to a source and fount of wickedness, and used itself basely not from any external necessity but of free determination and judgement. ‘The chooser then is answerable, God is not to blame.’ For God made neither nature nor yet the substance of the soul evil: since a good Being may not create anything but what is good. Everything, then, that is according to nature is good: and every rational soul possesses by nature the good gift of free-will, which has been given for choosing what is good.

But when it acts wickedly, it is not nature that should be blamed: since evil comes to it not by nature but against nature, being a matter of choice but not an effect of nature. For when one who had power to choose the good, instead of choosing this, voluntarily rejected the better part and claimed the worse, what room for excuse could be left to him after becoming the cause of his own disease, and disregarding the innate law which was, as it were, his preserver and healer?

The man then who pays no regard to all these considerations, but thinks everything dependent upon necessity and the course of the stars, and asserts that the causes of the perversity of men’s offences proceed not from us but from the power that moves all things — must he not be introducing an unholy and impious argument?

For if either he should suppose the course of the world to be automatic and undesigned, he would be convicted at once as an atheist, besides being blind to the all-wise harmony and arrangement of the universe revolving in its eternal motion with beauty and order. If on the other hand he shall confess that God’s providence is the guiding and moving force which presides over all and administers all by a law of perfect wisdom, even thus he will not have escaped from the absurdity of impiety; since as to the sins committed among men he acquits the offenders of having committed any of their wrong deeds of their own determination, but attributes the cause of the evils to the general providence, miscalling it necessity and fate, and saying that it is the cause of all the foul and infamous deeds and cruelty and bloodguiltiness among men.

And who could be more impious than the man who represents the God of

the universe, the very Maker and Creator of this world, as by compulsion forcing one man, who is unwilling to commit an impiety, to do so, and to be an atheist of necessity, and a blasphemer against God Himself; and forcing another, whom He constituted by nature a male, to bear the woman's part contrary to nature, not of his own will but under compulsion from Him; and a third to become a murderer not of his own determination but driven by a necessity from God; so that he cannot reasonably blame the offenders, but must either believe that these are no sins at all, or declare God to be the author of all evils?

For whether God Himself, being present with all things, and seeing all and hearing all, compels men to act thus, or Himself constituted the course of the universe and the motion of the stars such as we see it, to effect and to compel such actions, He who arranged such an instrument, and contrived the net for ensnaring the prey, must Himself be also the one to blame for those who are caught therein.

Whether therefore by Himself alone, or else by some necessity contrived by Himself, He entangles the unwilling in these evils. Himself and no other must be the author of all evil; and it could no longer be justly said that man was prone to sin, but the doer thereof was God. And what statement could be more impious than this?

He then who brings in fate, directly thrusts out God and God's providence, just as he who makes God ruler over all must overthrow the argument concerning fate. For either God and fate must be the same thing, or different the one from the other: the same thing, however, they cannot be.

For if they say that fate is a certain chain of causes which has come down unbroken and unchanged from the course of the heavenly bodies, must there not be prior to fate the corporeal elements out of which even the heavenly bodies are composed, and of which heavenly bodies one would naturally say that fate is some accidental conjunction?

But how could that which is accidental to the elements be the same thing with the God who is over all, if indeed the elements are considered lifeless and irrational in their proper nature, while God apart from bodies is essential life and wisdom, bestowing the benefit of His creative work both upon the particular elements and on the arrangement of the universe?

God, therefore, and fate are not the same thing. But then if they are

different, which is the stronger? Why, nothing is nobler, nothing more mighty than God. Therefore He will conquer and prevail over the bad; else, by yielding to fate when it does evil, He would draw the blame upon Himself, because being able to restrain the evil-working necessity He did not restrain it, but let it loose for the ruin and destruction of all things; or rather He wrought this Himself, if He is to be represented as Maker and Creator of all things even of fate itself.

But supposing Him to take no account of the administration of the world, there would again rise up the atheists' voice, against which we ought to shut our ears, since the Divine providence and power display themselves manifestly both in the universal effects of perfect wisdom and skill, and in the indubitable evidences in ourselves of the free and self-governing power of the rational soul.

For in accordance with this power, though ten thousand obstacles from without by some accident oppose both the body's nature and the independent efforts of our will, nevertheless the freedom of virtue in the soul holds out against all, showing that the choice of the good, so far as in us lies, is irresistible and invincible.

And this the present time of our Saviour's teaching has proved by actual facts. For to show that these are not mere sounds and empty words, you have the opportunity of witnessing the conflict of the godly, and of observing those who by voluntary choice have accepted the sufferings of the contest for religion: sufferings of which countless multitudes both of Greeks and Barbarians throughout the whole world inhabited by man have given proof, by gladly enduring all bodily outrages, and going through every kind of torture with a cheerful countenance, and finally accepting with a glad welcome the release of the soul from the body in many various forms.

Yet surely in this case no reason would permit us to name fate as the cause. For where, pray, did the course of the stars ever in the world's history bring forth such champions of piety? Or at what time before our Saviour's teaching was sown broadcast among all men, has human life exhibited such a conflict throughout the whole world inhabited by man?

Or where has all time produced a school of doctrines such as these, able to overthrow superstitious error, and to teach all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, the knowledge of the One God over all?

And to whom among the celebrated sages of all time, Barbarian or Greek, was there ever vouchsafed such a fate as this, to make the doctrine proposed by him give light to the whole world, and be known even to the ends of the earth, and to win the reputation of a God among those devoted to him?

But if these things were not in the beginning, nor have ever happened, nor been heard of, then the cause of them was not a chain of causes and a necessity. For there would have been nothing to hinder others also from receiving long ago the same nativity and fate by the same revolution and cycle of the stars.

From what kind of fate then has our Saviour God appeared and been proclaimed throughout the whole world, while those who were of old esteemed gods among both Greeks and Barbarians have been overthrown, and not otherwise overthrown than by the teaching of the new God?

And what sort of fate announced to all men that God is the Creator of all things, and compelled them to affirm that there is no such thing as fate? And how did fate force men both to say and to think that fate itself does not exist? And what of those who for the sake of our Saviour's pious teaching have for a long time past endured all kinds of conflicts, and are even yet carrying on the struggle?

They found therefore one and the same destiny, to be brought into subjection under one system and doctrine, and to display one mind and will, and the same virtue of soul, to accept one and the same kind of life, to love the same doctrine, and to endure contentedly the same sufferings for their steadfast piety.

But what sound reason would allow us to say this, that young and old together, of every age, and of either sex, men of barbarous nature, slaves and free, learned and uneducated, not born in a corner of the earth nor under these same stars with us, but throughout the whole world inhabited by man, have been forced by a necessity of fate to prefer a certain doctrine to all the customs of their forefathers, and to welcome death for the religion of the One God over all, and to be thoroughly instructed in the teaching concerning the immortality of the soul, and to prefer a philosophy that consists not in words but in deeds?

For these are the things that even a blind man could clearly see to be the proper effects of no necessity, but of learning and instruction, being manifest

proofs of voluntary purpose and free-will.

There would be countless other arguments to prove the proposition, most of which I shall omit, and for my part be contented with what I have stated; but I will leave you to consider your own reading of your venerable philosophers, that so you may learn how much wiser and better than your oracular deities was the man who convicted their wonderful responses of falsehood, and castigated the Pythian god himself for his answers concerning fate. So listen again to him who entitled his own writing, 'The detection of impostors,' and note with what a fine vigorous spirit he corrects the error of the multitude, and indeed of Apollo himself, by what he writes as follows word for word:

CHAPTER VII

[OENOMAUUS] ‘To think then that thou should’st sit in Delphi unable, even should’st thou wish it, to keep silence! So Apollo, the son of Zeus, now wishes, not because he wishes, but because he is ordained by necessity to wish! But since I have been led on, I know not how, into this argument, I am inclined to pass over all the rest, and inquire into a matter that is appropriate and well worth inquiry. For, so far as it depends on the philosophers, there has been lost out of human life, whether one likes to call it a rudder, or ballast, or foundation — there has been lost the governing power of our life, which we suppose to be absolute over the highest necessity; but Democritus, unless I am mistaken, and Chrysippus think to prove the noblest of man’s faculties, according to the former, a slave, and according to the latter, half-enslaved. Their argument, however, is worth no more than a man can claim for the things of man: but if deity also now makes war upon us, good heavens, what will become of us?’

‘But that is not likely nor just, if at least we may conjecture from these responses following:

“Hated of all thy neighbours, belov’d of the blessed Immortals,
Sit thou still, with thy lance drawn inward, patiently watching.”

“‘What then? says the Argive; if I should so wish, is it in my power, and can I, if it shall please me, sit still, patiently watching?’” “It is in thy power,” thou would’st say, “and thou canst; or how should I have enjoined this on thee?”

“Carystus, heir of noble Cheiron’s race,
Forsake thy native Pelion, and seek
Euboea’s cape: there thou art doomed to found
A sacred home. But haste, and tarry not.”

‘Is there then anything really dependent on man, O Apollo, and have I power to will to “forsake Pelion”? Yet surely I used to hear from many wise men, that if it is fated for me to “seek Euboea’s cape,” and “found a sacred home,” I shall both come thither and settle, whether thou tell me or not, and whether I should will it or not. If, however, there is any need for me too to

will what necessity forces me to will even if I should be unwilling — but thou, O Apollo, art more worthy to be believed, and so I am inclined to give heed rather to thee:

“Tell thou the Parians, Telesicles,
I bid thee found in the Aerial isle
A city fair to view.”

‘Yes, surely’ (some one will perhaps say in vain conceit, or to confute thee), ‘I shall tell them, even if thou bid me not: for so it is fated: and the “Aerial isle” is Thasos, and the Parians will come to it, when my son Archilochus shall have explained to them, that this island was formerly called Aeria. I suppose therefore that thou, being terrible in taking vengeance, wilt not bear with him, so ungrateful and audacious as he is, since if thou hadst not chosen to inform him, he would never have given the message, nor would his son Archilochus have led the colony of Parians, nor would the Parians have inhabited Thasos.

‘I know not therefore whether thou sayest these things without knowing what thou sayest. But since we seem to be at leisure to hold even a long conversation, and since the subject is of no slight importance, tell me this, for perhaps a few points out of many are sufficient.

‘Are we, I and thou, anything? You will say, Yes. But whence do we know this? Whereby did we determine that we do know it? Is it not the fact that nothing else is so satisfactory a proof (of our existence) as our conscious sensation and apprehension of ourselves?

‘What again? How did we ever find out that we are animals? And how that among animals we are, as I should say, men, and among men one an impostor, and another an expositor of impostors; but as thou would’st say, the one a man, the other a god, and the one a prophet, the other a false accuser? And let it be as thou sayest, if I be proved wrong.

‘But how do we know that we are conversing at the present moment? What sayest thou? Did we not rightly judge our apprehension of ourselves by that which is most immediate, the fact itself? Evidently so. For we found nothing else either higher than it, or prior to it, or more trustworthy.

‘For if this is not to be so, then let not hereafter one named Alcmaeon come to thee at Delphi, after he has slain his mother, and been driven from

home, and is longing to return home. For he knows not either whether he himself is anything at all, nor whether he is driven from home, nor whether he is longing for home. But even if Alcmaeon is mad, and imagines things that do not exist, yet the Pythian god at least is not mad. And thou must not speak to him thus:

“How to return to thy home thou seek’st, son of Amphiaraus.”

‘For even thou knowest not yet whether any son of Amphiaraus is consulting thee, nor whether thou, the consulted, art anything at all, and able to answer concerning the matters on which he consults thee.

‘Neither therefore let Chrysippus, the author of the semi-slavery, whatever that exactly is, attend in the Porch, nor think that those drivellers will attend there to listen to him, the Nobody: neither let him take his stand and struggle about nothing against Arcesilaus present in person, and Epicurus not present.

‘For what Arcesilaus is, and what Epicurus, or what the Porch is, or what the young men, or what the Nobody, he neither knows nor can know; for he knows not even, what comes far earlier, whether he himself is anything.

‘But neither will you gods nor Democritus endure that any one should talk thus: for there is no more trustworthy criterion than that of which I speak; nor if there seem to be any others, could they be made equal to this, or, if made equal, could not surpass it.

‘So then, some one may say, since thou, O Democritus, and thou, O Chrysippus, and thou, O prophet, are indignant if any one should wish to deny your consciousness of yourselves — for of those many books of yours it is no longer possible to deny the existence — come, let us also be indignant on the other side.

‘How, pray? Is this self-consciousness to be the most trustworthy and primary evidence wherever it pleases you? but where it pleases you not, is there some occult power, Fate, or Destiny, to tyrannize over it? — a power having for each of you a different meaning, proceeding according to one from god, and according to another from those minute bodies which are carried down, and tossed up, and twirled round, and broken up, and separated, and combined by necessity?

‘For lo! the manner of our self-consciousness is the same in which we are also conscious of our voluntary or enforced actions. And we are not unconscious of the great difference between walking and being carried, or

between choosing and being compelled.

‘But do you ask the reasons for which I bring these matters into the discussion? Because thou, O prophet, hast failed to perceive things over which we have power, and thou that knowest all things seemest not to know these which are fast moored to our own will.

‘And it was evident that this would be the source of no little trouble: for he who knows not the source, which was the cause of the consequences, would be likely, I suppose, to know the consequences themselves!

‘Evidently then he was an impudent prophet who foretold to Laius that his son would kill him: for the son surely would be master of his own will, and neither any Apollo, nor any higher than he, would be able by any power to attain to a knowledge of things which neither exist at present, nor need ever come into existence.

‘For surely the most ridiculous of all things is this, the mixture and combination of the two notions, that there is something in men’s own power, and that there is nevertheless a fixed chain of causation. For, as the wiser sort say, it is like the account in Euripides.

‘For that Laius should choose to beget a child, was in the power of Laius himself, and this had escaped the notice of Apollo: but after he had begotten a son, there lay upon him an inevitable necessity of dying by his son’s hand. In this way therefore the necessity dependent on the future event supplied to the prophet his presentiment of what would take place.

‘But I suppose the son also, as well as the father, was master of his own will: and as the latter had the power of begetting or not, so the son had the power of slaying or not. Now this is the character of all your oracular answers: and this was that which the Apollo of Euripides said:

“And all thy house shall wade through streams of blood.”

‘namely, that the son shall be blinded by his own hand, on account of the marriage with his mother and of the sovereignty to which he succeeded for his solution of the riddle; and that his sons shall fall by mutual slaughter, because of the banishment of the one from the kingdom, and the ambition of the other, and the marriage of the exile at Argos, and the expedition of seven ridiculous chieftains, and the battle: and since these things were separately dependent on many causes and powers, how could it be possible for thee to understand, or for the chain of causes to bind them together?

‘For if on the contrary Oedipus being his own master had not wished to reign, or, having wished and accomplished this, had not chosen to marry Jocasta, or after marrying had not been puffed up with pride, nor been desponding and disagreeable, how could the several events have been brought to pass? How could he have torn out his eyes? Or how could he have cursed his sons with the curse described by Euripides and thee?

‘In what way too could the events which followed these have taken place, if there were no causes existing before thou could’st tell anything about the future? And again, if the sons had agreed and reigned together, or if they had made an arrangement to reign by turns and adhered to the terms settled; or if he who was banished had determined to go off not to Argos but to Libya or to the Perrhaebi; or if after having arrived at Argos he had decided to be a salt-fish-monger, and not to take a rich wife but some poor workwoman or huckstress; or if Adrastus had not given him his daughter, or if he had given her, but Polynices had not desired to return home; or if, though desiring it, he had restrained himself; or if Adrastus had given no heed to his request for alliance in war; or if neither Amphiaraus nor Tydeus nor the several other commanders of divisions would follow Adrastus; or if, though they followed, Polynices on arriving had not fought with his brother, but either had reigned together with him by agreement, or, if he refused, had retired, being persuaded by what Euripides says:

“How foolishly thou com’st thine home to sack;”

‘or if, not this one, but the other had listened to those other Euripidean subtleties:

“Are sun and night content to serve man’s need,
And wilt thou bear no equal in the house?”

‘how in any such case could they have joined battle, “and all the house of Laius waded through blood”?’

‘However, these things, you will say, have come to pass. They have come to pass: but by what way didst thou attain to the knowledge of them? Dost thou not see how frequently the whole action of the play has been broken through by the power which lies in us who perform the action? And so I will take whatever supposed case thou wilt, and cut across that chain of yours, and show that it is impossible.

‘Yet thou wilt say that thou knowest the last links of the supposed case. Yes, but the whole case has been regulated by the force of our interruption of the chain.

‘Or perhaps thou dost not understand what I mean? Yet in every supposed case, O prophet, there are the living beings often making either few or many fresh beginnings therein. And these beginnings having cut across the events preceding them always themselves bring others on: and these latter may proceed as long as no other beginning supervenes from any source, commanding the events which come after it to conform not to those which went before but to itself.

‘Now such afresh beginning may be either an ass, or a dog, or a flea. For surely, by Apollo! thou wilt not rob even the flea of his free will: but the flea will act upon a certain impulse of his own, and being sometimes mixed up with human affairs will make himself the commencement of some new course; and thou art unconsciously consulting this kind of animal.

“Trachis, the home of godlike Heracles,
Thou hast destroyed, O Locrian ; and on thee
Zeus hath sent curses, and shall yet send more.”

‘What sayest thou? Had it not then been destined by you gods to be destroyed? And why are we mortals to blame, and not that necessity of yours? Thou doest not justice, O Apollo, nor art right in laying the punishment upon us who do no wrong.

‘And this Zeus of yours, I mean the necessity of your necessity, why does he take vengeance upon us, and not upon himself (if he must punish some one), for having shown the necessity to be of such a character? And why too does he threaten us? Or why, as if we were the masters of this event, do we suffer famine for it? Moreover it will either be rebuilt by us, or not; and whichever it may be, this has been fixed by fate.

‘Cease therefore from thy wrath, O Zeus, the lord of famine: for that which has been destined will be, and that is what thy chain has been appointed to do: and we are nothing compared to it. And thou too cease, Apollo, from uttering vain oracles: for just that which will be, will be, even though thou keep silence. And what is to be done to us, O Zeus and Apollo, who are not at all the causes of your enactment of law, enactment, that is, of necessity. Or what

have we to do with your threatened curses, which yourselves deserve to bear for what we were compelled by necessity to do? "Oeteans, rush not in blind frenzy on."

'Why, Apollo, we are not "rushing on," but are being driven, and not by "blind frenzy," but by that necessity of yours.

'And how is it, O Apollo, that thou praisest that famous Lycurgus, who was not virtuous either willingly or by choice, but unwillingly? That is if a man can be virtuous unwillingly. But what ye do now is just as if one were to praise and honour those who are beautiful in body, but to blame and punish the ugly.

'For the wicked might justly say to you, You did not permit us, O ye gods, to become virtuous; and not only so, but you even forced us to be wicked. And as to the virtuous, if they walk about with their elbows stuck out, one will not permit it, but will say to them, O Chrysippus and Cleanthes and the rest of your band, since you have been made to be virtuous, I give praise to virtue, but no praise to you in whom virtue resides.

'Nay, even Epicurus, against whom you, Chrysippus, so often railed, I acquit of the charges, so far at least as you can judge. For how is he to blame, who was not of his own accord luxurious or unjust, as you so often reproached him?

"Well ordered lives the gods approving view,
And welcome holy offerings of the just."

'Now it seems to me that you gods would not say this, unless you were persuaded that men seek the objects of their pursuit not involuntarily but with a will: and after what has been already proved, no sophist either divine or human will dare to say that whatever men will is ordained by fate: or else we shall no longer use reasoning with him, but take a stout strap, as for an unruly boy, and curry his ribs right well.'

Thus did Oenomaus inveigh, against the soothsayer. And if you do not like this kind of argument, yet take and read the extracts from the other philosophers concerning fate, which are fit to overthrow not only the oracles that have already been quoted, but also generally all the other contrivances in defence of the dogma.

For since not only unlearned and simple persons, but also many who prided

themselves greatly upon education and philosophy, have e'er now been dragged into agreement with the dogma, I think it absolutely necessary to set forth the mutual contradictions of the philosophers themselves, for an accurate examination of the problem. First then I will quote for you from Diogenianus the arguments concerning fate, which he urged against Chrysippus as follows:

CHAPTER VIII

[DIOGENIANUS] ‘In addition to all this it is worth while to quote also the opinions of Chrysippus the Stoic on this subject. For in his first book *Of Fate* wishing to show that all things are comprehended under necessity and fate, he employs among certain other testimonies the following expressions in the poet Homer:

“For me the hateful doom of death,
E’en from my birth assigned, too soon hath yawn’d,”

‘and:

“Though the time shall come
For him to suffer all such things as fate
Decreed, when first his thread of life was spun;”

‘and again :

“His fate I say no mortal e’er hath shunned.”

‘But he does not observe that the expressions elsewhere used by the Poet are directly opposed to these, I mean those which Chrysippus himself employs in his Second Book, when he wishes to prove that there are also many things caused by us, as for example:

“They by their own presumptuous folly died”,
and this:

“Perverse mankind, whose wills, created free,
Charge all their woes on absolute decree;
All to the dooming gods their guilt translate,
And follies are miscalled the crimes of fate.”

‘For these expressions and such as these are opposed to the idea that all things take place according to fate. Nor indeed was he able to perceive even this, that Homer by no means bears witness to his dogma even in those former verses. For it will be found from them that he suggests not that all things are brought to pass according to fate, but rather that certain things occur according thereto.

‘For the passage ——

“For me the hateful doom of death,
E’en from my birth assigned, too soon hath yawned “ ——

‘could not mean that all things occur according to fate, but only just that he was soon to die: for most truly it is fated that every being born into life must die.

‘Moreover the passage ——

“Though the time shall come
For him to suffer all such things as fate
Decreed, when first his thread of life was spun “ ——

‘has the same meaning. For it does not say that all things which are to befall him hereafter will occur according to fate, but that certain things will occur to him according to necessity. For what else than this is signified by the distinction “such things as”? And many things, though not all, are laid upon us according to necessity.

‘Again, the verse ——

“His fate I say no mortal e’er hath shunned” ——

‘is a very good statement. For who could possibly escape things that of necessity occur to every living being? So that Chrysippus, far from having Homer voting with him in the opinion that all things take place according to fate, would have him as an opponent; since the latter has often and plainly stated that many things occur through our causation, but can nowhere be found to say expressly that all things occur according to necessity.

‘And inasmuch as a poet does not promise us the true nature of real things, but imitates all kinds of human passions, and dispositions, and opinions, it would be suitable for him often to make contrary statements: but it would not befit a philosopher to make contrary statements, nor to use the testimony of a poet for this purpose.’

After other matters, he says, also:

‘But Chrysippus thinks that he brings another strong proof of the presence of fate in all things, in the adoption of names of this kind. For he says that destiny (πεπρωμενην) is a certain arrangement determined (πεπερασμενην) and concluded, and that fate (εμαρμενην) is a kind of bond woven

(εἰρομένην) either out of the will of Zeus, or of any other cause.

‘Moreover the goddesses of fate (Μοῖρας) have been so called from some one of them having been assigned (μεμερισθαι) and allotted to each of us. In the same way he says that the word το χρεων (“the debt”) is used, meaning the portion that falls to our share and is due to us according to fate. And the number of the Fates suggests the three periods in which all things revolve, and by which they are fulfilled.

‘Lachesis is so called from casting lots (λαγχανειν) for each man’s destiny: Atropos from the unchanging (ατρεπτον) and unalterable character of the distribution; and Clotho from all things being twisted together (συγκλεκωσθαι) and woven, and from their having only one appointed solution. For by this and the like silly talk he thinks that he proves the necessity present in all things.

‘But it occurs to me to wonder if in speaking thus he was not conscious of his own nonsensical talk. For let it be granted that men entertained these notions when they imposed the names that have been set forth, according to his own etymologies, and supposed that fate had bound all things fast, and that the causes which had been from eternity predetermined were immutable in all real existences and all passing events.

‘What then, Chrysippus? do you follow all the opinions of mankind, and does not one of them appear to you to be mistaken on any point, and are all men capable of seeing the truth?

‘How then say you that there is no man who does not seem to you as mad as Orestes and Alcmaeon, except the wise? And there have been, say you, only one or two wise, and the rest for their folly have been equally mad with those whom I have named?

‘And how do you refute the errors of those opinions of theirs about riches, for example, and fame, and sovereignty, and pleasure in general, things which most men have thought good? How say you, too, that the established laws and the constitutions of states have all been wrong? Or why did you write such a multitude of books, if on no point mankind held mistaken opinions?

‘For we must not say that, when they hold the same opinions with you, they judge rightly, but when they differ, are mad.

‘For in the first place even you do not call yourself wise, much less do we, that we should make their concurrence with your opinion a criterion of their

good judgement at any time; and further, even if this were true, why should you say that they are all equally mad, instead of commending them, in as far as they appeared to be of the same opinions with you, for having got hold of a right opinion, and considering them to be wrong, in as far as they dissented from you?

‘Not even thus, however, was it natural to suppose that their opinion is an adequate evidence of the truth; and every one would acknowledge, not that he is mad, as you think, but that he is far removed from wisdom.

‘It will be ridiculous therefore for you to use these men, whom you would declare to be no better than yourself in understanding, as bearing witness by their imposition of the names, unless indeed it has happened that those who originally gave these names were wise men —— a thing which you cannot possibly prove.

‘However, let it be granted to you that this is so, and that those names are given with their significations as you wish, and that this circumstance has not been a result of false opinions: where then do they indicate that all things without exception are in accordance with fate, and not rather these only, if any, with which fate is concerned.

‘For the number of the Fates, and their names, and Clotho’s spindle, and the thread wound upon it, and the ball of this thread, and all other such things mentioned in that story, indicate the immutability and eternal fitness of the causes in all things which are bound by necessity to take place thus, and all which are hindered from being otherwise.

‘And there would be many things of this nature; but others are not so; and to some of these latter men ascribed gods as rulers and creators, and of some they supposed us to be ourselves the causes, and of others again nature, and of others fortune: and of this last they wished to indicate the changefulness and instability, and its turning now this way and now that; and to show this kind of casualty in affairs by an image, they represented Fortune as standing on a globe.

‘Or are not even these opinions held among mankind? For if at times men confuse the causes, and think that those things which are the results of fate or fortune proceed from a divine power, and that the things of which we are the cause depend on fate, yet surely it is manifest to every one that they think there are all these causes in things.

‘So the result is that neither the notions adopted by mankind, nor the imposition of such names as have been mentioned, bear testimony to the opinion of Chrysippus.’

To this he next adds:

‘Such are some of the proofs that he has used in his first book *Concerning Fate*, but in the second he tries to solve the absurdities that seem to follow from the statement that all things are subjected to necessity, the same absurdities which we set forth at the beginning: for example, that it destroys the earnest desire on our own part in regard to censure, and praise, and exhortation, and all things which appear to be consequent upon our own causation.

‘In the second book then he says it is evident that many things do originate with us, but nevertheless even these are connected by fate with the general arrangement of the whole.

‘And he has employed certain examples of the following kind. That a man’s cloak should not be lost, was fated, he says, not absolutely but with the condition of its being carefully kept: and that this or that man should be saved from the hands of the enemy, with the condition of his fleeing from the enemy: and the birth of children, with the willingness to cohabit with a wife.

‘For just as it would be absurd, says he, if, upon some one’s saying that Hegesarchus the boxer would come off from the fight without a single scratch, a man were to recommend Hegesarchus to fight with his hands down, because it was fated that he was to come off untouched, whereas he who made the assertion said so because of the man’s superabundant caution against being hit; so it is also in all other cases.

‘For many things cannot take place without the addition of our willing them, and bringing into play the most intense earnestness and zeal concerning them, because it was fated, he says, that they were to take place with this condition.

‘Here then again one may wonder at the man’s want of discernment and consideration, both of the sensible evidences and of the inconsequence of his own arguments. For I imagine that just as what we call sweet is the direct opposite of what is called bitter, and black of white, and hot of cold, so what depends on us is the direct opposite of what depends on fate; if at least it is assumed that one calls the effects of fate whatever things take place absolutely

whether we will or no, and effects of our action whatever things come to their fulfilment from our diligence and energy, or fail of fulfilment in consequence of our carelessness and indolence.

‘If therefore my diligence in guarding the cloak be the cause of its being saved, and a man’s will to consort with his wife the cause of the children being born, and the will to flee from his enemies the cause of his escape from being killed by them, and the fighting bravely against his antagonist and guarding against the blows from his hands the cause of his coming off from the contest without a scratch, how is the dependence on fate to be maintained here? For if these results follow from fate, they cannot be said to follow from our will: but if from us, then evidently not from fate, because these cannot concur one with the other.

‘But, says he, they will follow from our will, that will however having been included in fate. But how included (I should say), if at least both the guarding the cloak and the not guarding it proceeded from my free will? For thus it is evident that its preservation also would be in my power.

‘Also from the very distinction which Chrysippus makes, it becomes evident that our causation is freed from fate. For, says he, it is fated that the cloak be preserved, if thou guard it: and that there will be children, if also thou shouldst will it; but otherwise none of these things would have to take place. But in the case of things predetermined by fate we should never employ these pretended conditions.

‘So we do not say that every man will die, if so and so should happen, and that he will not die if it should not happen, but simply that he will die, whatsoever may be done to prevent his dying at all; nor do we say that a certain man will be incapable of feeling pain, even if he do this or that; but that every man is capable of feeling pain, whether he wish it or not: and so of all other things which are fated to be in this way and no other.

‘So that if it is necessary that this or that should take place, if we should wish it, but otherwise not, it is manifest that our wishing or not wishing was not previously constrained by any other cause, but was in our own power.

‘And if this was not subject to necessity, it is evident also that the occurrence of this or that was not eternally predetermined, unless even the very wish to guard the cloak, or the unwillingness, was a consequence of some fate and the effect of some external necessary cause.

‘But in this latter case the power of our free will is utterly destroyed, and the cause of the cloak being saved or being lost would no longer be in me; wherefore also I should reasonably be free from blame if it were lost (for its loss was due to some other cause), and on the other hand I should deserve no praise if it were saved, because even this was not my doing. But you were as positive with your argument as if you could make all sure.’

So far the writer before mentioned. But to this let us subjoin also our extracts from the writings of Alexander of Aphrodisias, a man very illustrious in philosophical studies, who also himself in his book *On Fate* used such statements as follow to overthrow the dogma.

CHAPTER IX

[ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS] ‘The causes of events are divided into four kinds, as the divine Aristotle has shown: for of causes some are efficient, and some material; there is also among them the formal cause; and besides these three there is the final cause, for the sake of which the thing is done.

‘So many are the different kinds of causes: for whatever is a cause of anything will be found to be included under one of these classes. For although all events do not require so many causes, yet those which require the most do not exceed the said number.

‘But the difference between them will be more easy to recognize, if it be seen in some example of what occurs. Let us then show the distinction of causes in the case of a statue. Now as the “efficient cause” of the statue there is the artist who made it, whom we call the sculptor: and as “matter,” the bronze substance, or stone, or whatever that may be which is shaped by the artist according to his art: for this also is a cause of the production and existence of the statue.

‘Again, the form also, which is produced in this substance by the artist, is itself a cause of the statue: wherefore the form is either a man throwing a quoit, or a javelin, or it is of some other definite shape.

‘These, however, are not the only causes of the production of the statue, but the end for the sake of which it has been made — that is either the honour of some person, or piety towards a god — is inferior to none of the causes of its production. For without a cause the statue would not have been made at all.

‘Since therefore the causes are so many, and their mutual differences easily recognized, we might justly reckon fate among the efficient causes, as bearing a relation to its own effects analogous to the art which creates the statue.

‘This being so, it would follow that we should direct our argument to efficient causes: for thus it will be known whether we ought to regard fate as the cause of all things that are done, or to make room also for some other things besides this as being efficient causes of certain things.

‘Now Aristotle, in making his classification of all things that are done, says that some of them are done for the sake of something, the doer of them having before him a certain aim and end of what is done; and others for the sake of

nothing, namely all such as are not done in consequence of any purpose of the doer, nor have reference to any definite end, being such as, for instance, either holding fast a straw or twisting it about, and either stroking or pulling one's hair, and all actions of this kind.

'For that these things are done is well known; but they are without the final cause which is the purpose to be gained. Of things therefore which are done in this way, without aim or object, there can be no reasonable classification.

'But of those things which have reference to something, and are done for the sake of something, some take place according to nature, others according to reason. For those which have nature as the cause of their production advance according to certain numbers and definite order to some end, on reaching which they cease to be produced — unless any obstacle hinder them in their natural course to this appointed end.

'Also those things which are done according to reason have some end; for nothing done according to reason is done at random, but they all have reference to some end.

'Now things which are done according to reason are all such as are produced by the doers reasoning about them, and contriving in what way they may be done. In this way are produced all things which are done according to the rules of art, and those which result from a deliberate purpose.

'And these differ from the products of nature, because these latter have both their origin and the causes of the special character with which they are produced in themselves (for their nature is of this special character); and because they are produced in a certain order, although the nature which is their efficient cause does not employ any reasoning about them, in the same way as do the arts.

'But the results of art and of deliberate purpose have the origin of their movement and their efficient cause from without, and not in themselves, and the maker's calculation concerning them guides their production.

'A third class among things done for some end, namely those that are believed to result from chance or spontaneous action, and which differ from those that are primarily done with some purpose in this way, that in the latter case the means which precede the end are employed for the sake of the end, while in the former cases the actions preceding the end are done for some other end, but while so done for another purpose there occurs to them as an

end that which is said to be spontaneous and accidental.

‘Now these things being so, and all things that are done having been distributed into these four kinds, it follows upon this that we should see among which of the efficient causes we must set fate.

‘Is it among those things which are done for no purpose? Or is this altogether unreasonable? For we always use the name fate in regard to some end, and say that this has been brought about in accordance with fate. Wherefore we must necessarily set fate among the things which have a final cause.’

After making these distinctions word for word, the aforesaid author next establishes them more at length, and shows that fate is nothing else than the consequences of natural law; because in actions performed according to our reasoning and according to art the necessity of fate is not discerned.

But he affirms that many natural consequences are hindered from occurring, and that these cases are called contrary to nature, just as in the operations of art there are many things said to be contrary to art. If then any things at all are done contrary to natural law, they must also be done contrary to fate, since the decrees of fate are nothing else than the laws of nature.

[ALEXANDER APHRODISIENSIS] ‘We see, for instance,’ he says, ‘that the body, from being thus or thus constituted by nature, is liable to diseases and death according to its natural constitution: not, however, in all cases alike, nor of necessity. For oftentimes careful treatment, and changes in the mode of life, and the directions of physicians, and the counsels of the gods avail to drive off a condition of this kind.

‘In the same way in the case of the soul also one might find, contrary to the natural condition, preferences and practices and modes of life different in each of those who were improving from discipline and studies, and better counsels.

...

‘For example, when the physiognomist once said some absurd things about Socrates the philosopher, very far removed from his chosen course of life, and was being derided for it by the companions of Socrates, Socrates said that Zopyrus had made no mistake: for he would have been of such a character, as far as it depended on his nature, had he not become better than his nature through the discipline of philosophy.’

Such are the effects of nature, which, he says, differ not at all from those of

fate.

‘But the results of chance are of the following kind, when a thing has been done for one purpose, and there occurs not that for which it was done, but something else which was not even expected at first. For when a man, in digging for another purpose, and not to find treasure, has lighted upon a treasure, he has found it, he says, by chance. Also when a man has gone into the market for some other purpose, and falls in with his debtor with money in his hand, and receives what is due to him, men say he has recovered his money by chance. Also when the horse, in hope of food or for some other purpose, has escaped from those who were holding him, but is met in his flight and course by falling into the hands of his masters, he is said by some to have been saved accidentally. Under such conditions these cannot be the results of fate.

‘There are also some causes undiscoverable by human reason, which are believed to occur in consequence of certain antipathies, the real cause of their occurrence being unknown. Such are the effects which certain amulets have been presumed to produce, though they have no reasonable and probable cause to produce these effects: incantations also, and certain conjurings of this kind. For the cause of these things is acknowledged by all men to be obscure: for which reason they call them *ανατιολογετα*, things of which the cause cannot be explained.

‘And there are besides these many things which occur contingently, and whichever way it happens, and neither can these be according to fate.

‘By contingent events are meant those wherein it was possible that they might not happen, as is also made clear by the very expression, “whichever way it happens”: as for example, the moving of one’s own limbs, and the casual turning of the neck, and stretching out a finger, and lifting the eyebrows, or that one who is sitting should stand up, and one who is moving should become still, and one who is talking become silent; and in thousands of cases one would find that there existed a power capable of the opposite effects, and these cases cannot depend on fate: for the things which depend on fate do not admit the opposite of their actual condition.

‘Moreover, a man’s power of deliberation is not given to him without purpose: yet he would have this power of deliberation to no purpose, if he performed his actions from necessity. But it evidently appears that man alone

has from nature this advantage over the other animals, that he does not follow the impressions of sense as they do, but has in his reason a judge of the circumstances which befall him: and by using this, if the things presented by sense are, on examination, such as they at first appeared, he assents to the impression, and so will pursue them: but if they appear to be different, he no longer abides by his previous conception, after reason has proved the representations false, in consequence of his deliberating upon them.

‘At any rate we deliberate only about things which we have power to do: and whenever we act without having deliberated, we often repent and blame ourselves for our want of consideration: and further, if we see others acting inconsiderately, we charge them with doing wrong, and bid them consult such and such advisers, as knowing that such actions are in our own power.

‘That their argument about fate is false, is sufficiently testified by the fact that even its champions themselves are not able to conform to their own statements. For they profess to exhort and to teach, and they advise men to learn and to be educated, and they reprove and punish those who do things that are not right, as sinning of their own will. Moreover, they leave behind them very many books, by which they expect the young to be educated. They would have ceased, therefore, from being so eager in their arguments if they had observed that (in their books) they claim forgiveness for involuntary offenders, but say that voluntary transgressors deserve punishment, implying evidently that to offend or not lies in their own power.

‘Thus even according to their own account the necessity arising from fate is abolished, and it is established that free-will is ours by nature, with the limitation that there are also very many things not in our own power, as the effects of natural laws, and the accidents of fortune, though even these are contrary to the doctrine of fate, as we have previously shown.’

These statements we have abridged out of a great many, because in the opinions expressed on our side the argument in favour of free-will is of great length: and with this doctrine the utterances of the philosophers which we have quoted concurred, confirming by their testimony our sacred Scriptures, and convicting of falsehood the opinions concerning fate not only of the multitude of mankind but also of the wonderful oracular gods. And some of these extracts were sarcastically aimed against the famous answers of oracles, and some were objections urged against the wonderful philosophers by their

own associates. Now therefore it is time to examine also the arguments of the astrologers against the Chaldean sect, of those, I mean, who profess this mischievous charlatanism as a learned study. And my proofs on this subject I shall present to you from one who is by birth a Syrian, and has pursued his inquiries to the highest point of Chaldean science. The man's name is Bardesanes, and in his *Dialogues* with his companions it is recorded that he spake as follows:

CHAPTER X

[BARDESANES] 'It is by natural law that man is begotten, is nourished, reaches maturity, begets children, eats, drinks, and sleeps, grows old and dies: and this is the case of every man and of every irrational animal.

'And as to the other living creatures, which have only an animal soul, and are begotten wholly by sexual intercourse, they are almost wholly borne along in the course of nature. A lion is carnivorous, and takes revenge if he be injured: and therefore all lions are carnivorous and take revenge. Ewe lambs eat grass, and touch no flesh, and if injured take no revenge: and every lamb's character is the same.

'A scorpion eats earth, and injures those who have not injured him, striking with a venomous sting: and all scorpions have the same evil disposition. An ant knows by nature the advent of winter, and by toiling through the whole summer stores up food for itself: and all ants work in like manner.

'A bee makes honey, and also feeds upon it: and all bees follow the same husbandry. And I might have set before you many kinds of animals, which being unable to depart from their own nature might have caused you much wonderment. But I thought I had given sufficient proof from the examples set forth, that all other animals according to the community or diversity of nature given to each are borne along pleasantly by necessity.

'But men alone, having as their special privilege the mind, and the reason which proceeds from it, in what they have in common follow nature, as I said before, but as to their special gift are not governed by nature.

'For they do not all even eat the same food: some feed like lions, and others like lambs: they have not one fashion of raiment: there is not one custom, nor one law of civil society among them, nor one impulse of desire for things: but each man chooses a life for himself according to his own will, not imitating his neighbour, except in what he chooses.

'For his freedom is subject to no slavery, and if ever he shall voluntarily be a slave, this also is a part of his freedom, that he is able to be a voluntary slave.

'How many of mankind, and especially among the Alans, eat raw flesh, like wild beasts, without tasting bread, and not because they have it not, but because they are not willing! Others, like tame animals, taste no flesh: some

eat only fish; while others never taste fish, not even if they be starving. Some drink water, some drink wine, and some drink strong liquor.

‘And in short there is a great difference among mankind in food and drink, as they differ even in the eating of vegetables and fruits. Moreover some, like scorpions and like asps, injure without having been injured; and some, like other animals, revenge themselves when injured: and others ravage like wolves, and steal like weasels; while others, like lambs and goats, are pursued by men of like feelings with themselves, and do no injury to those who injure them. Some also are called good, and some bad, and some just.

‘Whence we may understand that man is not altogether led by nature (for of what kind shall we say his nature is?): but is borne one way according to nature, and another way according to will. Wherefore he incurs praise and blame and condemnation in matters dependent on will: but in matters dependent on nature he has immunity from blame, not out of pity, but from reason.’

And afterwards he says:

‘Men enacted different laws in each country, some written, and some unwritten: of which I shall mention some, according to what I know and remember, beginning from the beginning of the world.

‘Among the Seres it is law that none should murder, nor fornicate, nor steal, nor worship graven images: and in that very great country you cannot see a temple, nor a harlot, nor a reputed adulteress, no thief dragged off to justice, no homicide, no murdered man.

‘For among them no man’s free-will was compelled by the fiery planet Mars in mid-heaven to kill a man with the sword, nor by the conjunction of Venus with Mars to consort with another man’s wife, though of course Mars was in mid-heaven every day, and Serians were being born every day and every hour.

‘Among the Indians and Bactrians there are many thousands of those called Brahmins, who according to the tradition of their forefathers and of their laws neither commit murder, nor worship images, nor taste animal food, nor are ever intoxicated, as they never taste wine or strong drink, have no communication with evil, but devote themselves to God; whereas the other Indians are guilty of murder and fornication and drunkenness, and worship images, and in almost everything follow the course of fate.

‘But in the same clime of India there is a certain tribe of Indians who hunt down the strangers that fall in their way, and sacrifice and eat them; and neither the beneficent stars have hindered them from blood-guiltiness and unlawful marriages, nor have the maleficent compelled the Brahmans to do evil.

‘Among the Persians it was lawful to marry their daughters, and sisters, and mothers: and these unholy marriages the Persians practised not only in that country and that clime, but also any of them who migrated from Persia, those who are called Magusaei continue to practise the same iniquity, handing down the same laws and customs to their children in succession.

‘And of these there are still many in Media and in Egypt, and in Phrygia, and in Galatia. Yet surely Venus was not found in the regions and houses of Saturn, with Mars in close company with Saturn, at the nativities of all of them.

‘Among the Geli it is customary for the women to till the ground, and build houses, and do all the labour, and to consort with whom they will, and not be blamed by the men; nor is any called an adulteress, because they are all hard workers, and consort with all, and especially with strangers.

‘The Gelan women neither perfume themselves nor wear dyed garments, but are all barefooted, although the Gelan men adorn themselves with soft clothing, and various colours, and wear gold ornaments and perfume themselves, and this not from any effeminacy in other respects, for they are brave, and very warlike, and much given to hunting.

‘And it was not the lot of all the Gelan women to find Venus an evil influence in Capricornus or in Aquarius, nor of all their men to have the Paphian goddess with Mars in Aries, where the Chaldean students say that those who are both brave and luxurious are born.

‘Among the Bactrians the women use every kind of distinguished ornament and every kind of perfume, and receive more attendance than the men from handmaidens and young pages: they promenade on horseback with great show, and adorn their horses with much gold and precious stones: nor are they chaste, but consort promiscuously with their slaves and with strangers, having immunity in this respect, and are not blamed by their husbands, over whom they in a manner domineer.

‘Yet surely the laughter-loving Aphrodite is not in her own regions in mid-

heaven with Zeus and Ares at every birth of the women in Bactria. But in Arabia and Osrhoene, not only are adulteresses put to death, but even those who are suspected are not let off without punishment.

‘Among the Parthians and Armenians murderers are put to death, sometimes by the judges, and sometimes by the blood-relations of the murdered. And if any man murder his wife, or a childless brother, or an unmarried sister, or a son or daughter, he is not accused by any one, the law being such in those countries; but among the Greeks and Romans the murderers of their kinsmen and relations are subjected to greater punishment.

‘Among the Atri he who steals anything worth an obol is stoned, among the Bactrians he who steals trifles is spit upon, among the Romans he is severely beaten: for such are their laws.

‘ From the river Euphrates, and as far as the Ocean towards the East, he who is reviled as a murderer, or a thief, is not at all indignant: but he who is reviled for sodomy avenges himself even to the death: among the Greeks, however, even their wise men are not blamed for having favourites.

‘In the same East those who suffer outrage, if it become known, are put to death by brothers, or fathers, or kinsmen, and are not thought worthy of burial in open day.

‘Among the Gauls the young men give themselves in marriage openly, not regarding this as a matter of reproach, because of the law among them. Yet it cannot possibly have been the lot of all in Gaul who thus impiously suffer outrage to have the morning-star with Mercury setting in the houses of Saturn and regions of Mars at their nativities.

‘In Britain many men have the same wife: but in Parthia many wives have one husband, and they are all chaste and obedient to him according to the law.

‘The Amazons are all without husbands, but like the brute creatures once in the year about the vernal equinox they pass beyond their own frontiers and consort with men of the neighbouring countries, counting this a sort of festival: and conceiving by them they return home, and according to the law of nature necessarily bear children at one season, and the males who are born they expose, but rear the females: and they are warlike, and attentive to gymnastic exercises.

‘Mercury in conjunction with Venus in the houses of Mercury makes modellers, and painters, and bankers; but in the houses of Venus perfumers, or

singing-masters, and actors of dramatic poems.

‘Among the Taïni and Saraceni, and in the inland part of Libya, also among the Moors, and among the Nomads by the mouth of the Ocean, and in the further part of Germany, and in the inland region of Sarmatia, and in Scythia, and in all the nations on the north of the Pontus, and in all Alania, and Albania, and Otene, and Saunia, and in Chryse, there is not a banker to be seen, nor modeller, nor painter, nor architect, nor geometer, nor singing-master, nor actor of dramatic poems; but the character proceeding from the operation of Mercury and Venus is wanting in that whole circuit of the world.

‘The Medes all cast out the still-breathing corpses to the dogs whom they carefully rear: yet they have not all of them Mars with the Moon in Cancer beneath the earth at their birth in the daytime.

‘The Indians burn their dead, and with them burn their wives with their own consent: and surely all the Indian women who are burnt alive have not the Sun with Mars, in Leo, or in the region of Mars, beneath the earth at their birth in the night.

‘Most of the Germans die by strangulation, and surely the majority of Germans have not the Moon and the hour of their birth intercepted by Saturn and Mars.

‘There are men born in every nation, every day, and with every kind of nativity: but law and custom prevail in each division of mankind because of man’s free-will. Thus their nativity does not compel the Seres to murder against their will, or the Brahmans to eat flesh, or the Persians to abstain from unlawful marriages, or the Indians to cease to be burned, or the Medes to cease from being eaten by dogs, or the Parthians to give up polygamy, or the women in Mesopotamia to be unchaste, or the Greeks to cease from practising athletic exercises with their bodies naked, or the Romans to cease to rule, or the Gauls to cease from effeminacy, or the other barbarous nations to converse with those whom the Greeks call Muses. But as I said before, each nation and each man uses his own freedom as he will and when he will, and is also a slave of his nativity and the nature which clothes him with flesh, sometimes according to his will, and sometimes contrary to his will. For everywhere and in every nation there are rich and poor, rulers and ruled, healthy and sickly, each according to the lot of his nativity.

‘These arguments, O Bardesanes, said I, have entirely persuaded me. But

the astrologers say that this earth is divided into seven zones, and that one of the seven stars rules each zone; and that the different laws have not been enacted by men for themselves, but the will of each ruling star prevails in his own region, and is regarded by those under his rule as law.

‘He replied: This answer of theirs, O Philip, is not true. For although the earth is divided into seven zones, yet nevertheless we find many differences of laws in the same division. For there are neither seven laws corresponding to the seven stars, nor twelve corresponding to the signs of the zodiac, nor thirty-six corresponding to the decani, but numberless laws.

‘You ought also to remember what I said before, that in the same clime and same region of India there are Indians who are cannibals, and there are those who abstain from animal food; also that the Magusaei marry their daughters not only in Persia, but also in every nation where they may dwell, observing the laws of their forefathers, and the initiatory rites of their mysteries.

‘Also, we gave a list of many barbarous nations living in the South and West and East and North, that is in different climes, who have no share in the science of Hermes.

‘How many wise men, think you, have set aside badly constituted laws? And how many laws have been abolished from being impracticable? How many kings after gaining power over nations have changed the laws that were before their time and established their own? Yet none of the stars had lost its proper clime.

‘Yesterday the Romans having become masters of Arabia changed the laws of the barbarians. For one free-will follows another free-will. But I will now set forth for you a fact which might convince even the incredulous.

‘The Jews who received a law through Moses all shed the blood of their male children by circumcising them on the eighth day, not waiting for the appearance of a star, nor respecting the influence of clime, nor yielding to any law of a foreign country: but whether they are in Syria, or Gaul, or Italy, or Greece, or Parthia, or wherever they may be, they perform this rite.

‘And this is not dependent on nativity, for all Jews cannot have the same natal stars. Moreover every seventh day, wherever they may be, they abstain from all work, and neither travel nor use fire: nor does his nativity compel a Jew either to build or to demolish a house, to work, to buy or to sell on the sabbath day, although on that same day Jews beget and are begotten, and

sicken and die: for these are things not dependent on freewill.

‘In Syria and Osrhoene many used to mutilate themselves in honour of Rhea: hereupon king Abgar at one stroke commanded that those who cut off the genital organs should also have their hands cut off, and from thenceforth no one in Osrhoene mutilated himself.

‘And what shall we say concerning the sect of the Christians? For we who hold those opinions have arisen in multitudes in different climes, in every nation and region, and though many in number, are called by one name.

‘And neither in Parthia do the Christians, Parthians though they are, practise polygamy, nor do those in Media cast their dead to dogs, nor do those in Persia, though they are Persians, marry their daughters, nor among the Bactrians and the Gauls do they form unnatural unions, nor do those in Egypt worship Apis or the dog, the he-goat, or the cat. But wherever they are, they are neither overcome by ill-constituted laws and customs, nor does their nativity, regulated by their ruling stars, compel them to practise the evils forbidden by their teacher, but they submit to sickness and poverty and sufferings and reputed infamies.

‘For as the free man of our idea is not compelled to be a slave, and, even if he be compelled, resists those who compel him, so also the man whom we regard as a slave cannot easily escape from his subjection.

‘For if we could do all things, we ourselves should be the all, even as, if we could do nothing, we should be instruments, as I said before, of others, and not masters of ourselves. But with God’s approval all things are possible and irresistible; for nothing can resist His will. For even the things which seem to resist, resist only because He is kind, and allows each nature to have its own privilege, and its freedom of will.’

So far the Syrian. And when I have mentioned one thing more, I will conclude the discussion. For since we have made sufficient extracts from the non-Christian writings, whilst those from the sacred Scriptures are still wanting, and since these are what we most need for *The Preparation of the Evangelic Demonstration*, it would be well to examine these also, that our argument may be deficient in none of the considerations proper to the question before us. From this source I shall also make our present subject clear to you.

You would not, however, be able to understand the bare letter of the sacred

oracles, since in most points they are obscurely expressed. And therefore I shall set before you their interpreter: and if you are not envious of stronger minds, you know perhaps the man, who to this present time still takes rank in the companies of Christ by the works which he has bequeathed, nor indeed is unknown even to those without for the zeal which he has displayed in their studies also. Consider then how many and how excellent determinations on the subject before us the admirable Origen has given in his *Commentaries on Genesis*, and how he traced out the argument concerning Fate.

CHAPTER XI

[ORIGEN] ‘One of the things most necessary to resolve is the statement that the lights, which are no other than the sun and moon and stars, are given “for signs”; not only because the nations who are alien to the faith of Christ stumble upon the topic of Fate, since all things upon earth, and the circumstances of each individual man, perhaps of brute animals also, are supposed by them to occur by the combination of the so-called wandering stars with those, in the zodiac; but also because many of those who are supposed to have received the faith are distracted by the doubt whether all human affairs are not ruled by necessity, so that it is impossible for them to take place otherwise than as the stars, according to their different configurations, bring them to fulfilment.

‘Now the consequence for those who hold these doctrines is that they utterly destroy our free-will, and therefore also both praise and blame, and commendable, or on the other hand blame-able actions.

‘But if this is the case, there is an end of the proclaimed judgement of God, and of threatenings against sinners that they shall be punished; also, on the other hand, of the privileges and beatitudes promised to those who have devoted themselves to the better life: for none of these things will any longer have a good reason for their occurrence.

‘Also if any one would look at the consequences to himself of the doctrines he holds, (he would see that) both his faith will be vain, and Christ’s advent of no avail, and all the dispensation of law and prophets, and the labours of the Apostles to establish the churches of God through Christ.

‘Unless perchance Christ Himself having, according to these so daring thinkers, been subjected to the necessity arising from the motion of the stars by the birth which He assumed, both did and suffered all, because those extraordinary powers were bestowed on Him not by God the Father of all things, but by the stars. From which arguments, atheistical and impious as they are, it follows also that believers must be said to believe in God because led to do so by the stars.

‘But we would ask of them with what purpose God made such a world, that some of the dwellers therein being men should take the place of women, not having been in any way themselves the cause of the outrage, while others

placed in the condition of wild beasts, by the course of the world having made them such, because God had so arranged the whole, give themselves over to most cruel and utterly inhuman practices, such as murder and piracy?

‘And what must we say of the things which occur among men and of the sins committed by them, countless as they are, when they are acquitted of all blame by the champions of these grand doctrines, who ascribe to God the cause of all things evil and blameable?

‘But if some of them, as if apologizing for God, say that the good God is another who has not the government of any of these things, and impute such evils as these to the Demiurge of the world —— in the first place they will not even thus be able to prove what they wish, that He is just. For how could He, who according to them is the author of so much evil, be reasonably called just?

‘And in the second place we must inquire what they will ever say about themselves? Are they subject to the course of the stars, or are they freed from it, and in their life have no influence wrought upon them from that source? For if they shall say that they are subject to the stars, it is evident that the stars granted them the power of perceiving this, and the Demiurge by the motion of the universe will have suggested the doctrine concerning the higher god whom they have invented; and this they do not wish.

‘But if they shall answer that they are exempt from the laws of the Demiurge which depend upon the stars, in order that their statement may not be a denial incapable of proof, let them endeavour to convince us more irresistibly, by showing the difference between a mind subject to nativity and fate, and another free from them. For it is evident to those who know men of this kind that, when required to give them an explanation, they will be quite unable to do so.

‘In addition to what has been said, prayers also are superfluous, being employed in vain. For if it has been fixed by necessity that this or that should happen, and if the stars do this, and nothing can take place contrary to their mutual combination, we are unreasonable in asking God to grant us this or that.

‘But why need I prolong the discussion, by proving the impiety of the trite topic concerning fate so hackneyed by the multitude without examination? For what I have already said is sufficient for an outline.

‘Let us, however, remember from what point we have come upon our present subject, while examining the passage “Let the lights be for signs.” They who learn the truth on any matters have either been eyewitnesses of the facts, and so give a faithful description of this or that circumstance, because they saw what was done and suffered by the actors and sufferers, or else they learn this or that from having heard the report of those who were in no way the causes of what happened.

‘But let us at present exclude from our argument the possibility that the actors or sufferers, by relating what they have done or suffered, bring one who has not been present to a knowledge of the facts.

‘If therefore the man, who is informed by one who is in no way the cause of the events, that this or that has occurred or will occur to certain persons, fails to distinguish that an informant concerning something that has occurred or will occur is in no way the cause of the matter being of this or that character, he will suppose that the man who has represented to him that this or that has taken place, or this or that will take place, has himself done or will do the things of which he informs him, but will evidently be mistaken in his supposition.

‘Just as if any one having met with a prophetic book which foreshowed the story of the traitor Judas, after learning what was to take place should think, on seeing it fulfilled, that the book was the cause that this or that happened afterwards, because he had learned from the book what would be afterwards done by Judas; or again should suppose that the cause was not the book but the man who wrote it at first, or he who inspired him, say, to speak, namely God.

‘But just as in the case of the prophecies concerning Judas the very expressions when examined show that God was not the author of Judas’ betrayal, but only foreshowed it because He foreknew what acts would follow from this man’s wickedness through his own fault; so if any one were to plunge deep into the question of the foreknowledge of all things by God, and by those in whom He imprinted, as it were, the language of his own foreknowledge, he would understand that neither He who foreknew was in any way the cause of the things foreknown, nor the instruments which received the impressions of the words of the foreknowledge of Him who foreknew.

‘That God indeed knows long before that every thing which is to be will happen, is evident, even apart from Scripture, from the very idea of God to the man who understands the excellence of the power of the Divine mind.

‘But if it is necessary to prove this from Scripture also, the prophecies are full of examples of this kind, and so also is the description by Susanna of God as knowing all things before they come to pass, where she speaks as follows: “O God, the Eternal, the discernor of secrets, that knowest all things before they be, Thou understandest that these have borne false witness against me.”

‘And most clearly in the third Book of Kings both the name of the king who waste reign and his deeds were recorded many years before they came to pass, being predicted as follows: “And Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in the land of Judah: and he went up unto the altar that is in Bethel, to sacrifice unto the calves that he had made.” Then after a few words: “And behold, there came a man of God out of Judah by the word of the LORD unto Bethel, and Jeroboam was standing upon his altar to burn incense. And he cried against the altar by the word of the LORD, and said, O altar, altar, thus saith the LORD: Behold a son is to be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he sacrifice the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men’s bones shall he burn upon thee. And he gave a sign in that day, saying, This is the sign which the LORD hath spoken, saying, Behold, the altar shall be rent, and the ashes that are thereon shall be poured out.”

‘And after a few words it is shown, that “both the altar was rent, and the ashes poured out from the altar according to the sign which the man of God had given by the word of the LORD.”

‘Isaiah also came long before the captivity in Babylon, and some time after that captivity came Cyrus the king of the Persians who assisted in the building of the temple in the times of Ezra; and in Isaiah there is the following prophecy concerning Cyrus by name: “Thus saith the LORD God to Cyrus mine anointed, whose right hand I have holden, that nations should obey before him, and I will break the strength of kings, I will open doors before him, and cities shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make mountains plain, I will break in pieces doors of brass, and shatter bars of iron: and I will give thee treasures of darkness, hidden unseen treasures will I open to thee,

that thou mayest know that I am the LORD God, which call thee by thy name, the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel my chosen, I will call thee by my name, and will accept thee."

'From this passage it is clearly shown that, for the sake of the people whose benefactor Cyrus had been, though he knew not the religion of the Hebrews, God granted to him the rule over many nations. And these facts one may learn also from the Greeks who recorded the history of Cyrus the subject of the prophecy.

'Moreover in Daniel, in the time of the Babylonian monarchs, there are shown to Nebuchadnezzar the kingdoms that should come after him. And they are shown by the image, in which the kingdom of Babylon is called gold, the Persian silver, the Macedonian brass, and the Roman iron.

'Again in the same prophet the events concerning Darius and Alexander, and the four successors of Alexander king of Macedon, and Ptolemy, the ruler of Egypt, who was surnamed Lagos, are thus foretold: "Behold, an he-goat came from the west over the face of the whole earth: ... and the goat had a horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had the horns, which I saw standing before the river, and ran upon him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake both his horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, and he cast him upon the ground, and trampled upon him, and there was none to deliver the ram out of his hand. And the he-goat magnified himself exceedingly. And when he was grown strong, his great horn was broken, and there came up from beneath it other horns towards the four winds of heaven, and out of one of them came forth one strong horn, and waxed exceeding great toward the south and toward the west."

'And why need I mention the prophecies concerning Christ, as for instance the place of His birth, Bethlehem, and the place where He was brought up, Nazareth, and the flight into Egypt, and the miracles which He wrought, and how he was betrayed by Judas who had been called to be an Apostle? For all these are signs of God's foreknowledge.

'Moreover the Saviour Himself says, "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed by armies, then ye shall know that her desolation is at hand." For He foretold what afterwards happened, the final destruction of Jerusalem.

'Since then we have given proofs concerning God's foreknowledge, it will

not be inopportune, in order to explain how the stars are for signs, to observe that the motion of the stars is so ordered, that the so-called planets follow a course opposite to the fixed stars, in order that from the configuration of the stars signs of all things that happen concerning each individual man, and generally, may be made known: I do not say “known” by men, for the power of truly understanding from the motion of the stars the case of each one of those who are doing or suffering whatever it may be, is far too great for man: but “known” by the powers which for many reasons must necessarily know these things, as we shall show to the best of our power in what follows.

‘But from certain observations, or even from the teaching of angels who had transgressed their own order, and to afflict our race taught something about these things, men got to understand them, and then thought that those stars from which they supposed themselves to receive the signs were the causes of those things which the Scripture says that they signify. And these very matters we will immediately discuss in a summary way, but very carefully, according to the best of our ability.

‘We will therefore propose for consideration the following questions:

‘(1) How our freedom is preserved, if God foreknows from eternity the things which are supposed to be done by every man?

‘(2) In what way the stars are not efficient causes of human affairs, but only signs of the same?

‘(3) That men cannot have exact knowledge of these affairs, but the signs are set forth by powers greater than man’s.

‘(4) What is the cause of God’s having appointed the signs for the information of those powers? This shall be the fourth subject of inquiry.

‘Let us look then at that first question, about which many of the Greeks were scrupulous, because they thought that all things are made subject to necessity, and that our freedom can in no way be maintained, if God foreknows future events: for so they rashly accepted an impious dogma, rather than admit that which, as they say, gives glory to God, but destroys our freedom, and therefore destroys praise and blame, the merit of virtues and the culpability of vices.

‘And they say, if God knew from eternity that this or that man would be unjust and would commit certain acts of injustice, and if God’s knowledge is infallible, then the man foreseen to be of such a character will certainly be

unjust, as he will commit these acts of injustice, and it is impossible that he should not do injustice: and if it is impossible that he should not do injustice, his doing injustice is compelled by necessity, and it will be impossible that he should do anything else than that which God foreknew. But if it is impossible for him to do anything else, and if no man is to be blamed for not doing an impossibility, we have no right to blame the unjust.

‘From the unjust man and deeds of injustice they pass on to the other kinds of sin, and then on the other hand to what are considered good deeds; and it follows, they say, upon God’s having foreknown the future that our free-will cannot possibly be maintained.

‘In answer to whom we have to say that, when God was contemplating the beginning of His creation, since nothing takes place without a cause, he travelled over in His mind every future event, and saw that, when this has occurred, that follows, and if this consequence occurs, that third thing follows: and when this third is settled, that other will occur; and thus having travelled on to the end of all things, he knows the things that will be, though He does not at all cause the occurrence of everything that He knows.

‘For just as, if a man should see another to be rash through ignorance, and through his rashness to be thoughtlessly walking on a slippery road, and should perceive that he will slip and fall, he does not become the cause of the other’s slipping; so we must consider that God, having foreseen of what character each man will be, discerns also the causes of this his future character, and that he will commit these sins, or perform those good deeds.

‘And if we must speak freely, we shall not say that foreknowledge is the cause of events (for God does not meddle with the man whom He has foreknown to be about to sin, at the time of his sinning): but we shall say something more strange and yet true, that the future event is the cause that the foreknowledge of it is of such a character. For it does not take place because it has been known, but it has been known because it was about to take place.

‘We must however make a distinction. For if any one interprets the expression, “It will certainly be,” as if there were a necessity that what is foreknown must take place, we do not grant him this: for we shall not say that, since it was foreknown that Judas would become a traitor, there was an absolute necessity for Judas to become a traitor. In fact in the prophecies concerning Judas there are reproaches and accusations of Judas recorded,

which prove to every one his culpability. But blame would not have attached to him, if he was of necessity a traitor, and if it was not possible for him to be like the other apostles.

‘Now see if this is not made clear by the express statements which we will bring forward, running thus: “Nor let there be any to have compassion on his fatherless children,... because that he remembered not to show mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man, and the broken in heart, to slay them. Yea, he loved cursing, and it shall come unto him: and he delighted not in blessing, and it shall be far from him.”

‘If, however, any one shall explain the expression, “It will certainly be,” by saying that though certain events will be in accordance with its indication, yet that it was possible also for it to have been otherwise, this we admit as true. For though it is “not possible that God should lie,” yet it is possible, concerning things that may either happen or not happen, that He should know either that they will happen or that they will not happen.

‘But we will state this more clearly in the following way. If it is possible for Judas to be an Apostle like Peter, it is possible for God to perceive concerning Judas that he will continue an Apostle like Peter: if it is possible for Judas to become a traitor, it is possible for God to know concerning him that he will be a traitor.

‘But if Judas will be a traitor, and God has foreknowledge of the two contingencies before mentioned, of which only one can possibly be realized, then as He foreknows the truth, He will foreknow that Judas will become a traitor: it being at the same time possible that the object of His knowledge might also come to pass in the other way. And God’s knowledge would say, “though it is possible for this man to do this, yet the contrary also is possible; but whereas both are possible, I know that this he will do.”

‘For though God might say, “It is not possible that this or that man should fly,” He cannot say in like manner, in giving an oracle, for instance, concerning any one, that it is not possible for this man to act temperately. For there is absolutely no power in the man of flying at all, but there is a power of acting temperately, and of acting intemperately.

‘And as he possesses both these powers, the man who gives no heed to words of exhortation and discipline gives himself over to the worse power; but he who has sought the truth and purposed to live according to it, gives

himself over to the better power. The one does not seek for what is true, because he inclines towards pleasure: but the other inquires concerning the truth, because he is persuaded by the general opinions of mankind and by words of exhortation.

‘Again, the one chooses pleasure, not because he has no power to resist it, but because he makes no effort; while the other despises it, because he sees the indecency that there is often in it.

‘To show, however, that God’s foreknowledge imposes no necessity on those concerning whom He has conceived such knowledge, will add to what I have already said the following argument, that in many places of the Scriptures God commands the prophets to preach repentance, without claiming for Himself the knowledge, whether those who hear will return or will continue in their sins: as in Jeremiah it is said, “It may be they will hearken and will repent.”

‘For it is not from ignorance whether they will hear or not that God Says, “It may be they will hearken and will repent”; but He shows, as it were, from the expression, that there was the even balance of the things that might happen, lest His foreknowledge, if previously announced, should make the hearers to fall, by presenting an idea of necessity, as though it were not in their own power to return; and thus His foreknowledge should itself become, as it were, the cause of their sins: or again, lest those who, from ignorance of the good foreknown, are able in their conflict and resistance against vice to live a life of virtue, should because of the foreknowledge relax in their efforts and cease to take a vigorous stand against sin, from expecting that what had been foretold would certainly come to pass. For in this way also the foreknowledge of the good to come would be a kind of hindrance.

‘So then God, in arranging all things in the world beneficially, with good reason made us blind to future events. For the knowledge thereof would have made us give up the contest against vice, and from appearing to have been clearly perceived would have weakened us and made us to cease from the struggle against sin, and so to become more readily subjected to it.

‘At the same time also the fact that there had come to this or that man the foreknowledge that he would in any case be good, would be at variance with his becoming noble and good. For in addition to our natural qualities there is need of great earnestness and exertion in order to become noble and good: but

the previous acquisition of the knowledge that one will in any case be noble and good gradually relaxes the endeavour. Wherefore it is to our advantage that we know not whether we shall be good or bad.

‘But since we have said that God made us blind to future events, see whether we can explain a certain disputed expression from Exodus, “Who made man dumb or deaf, or seeing, or blind? Is it not I, the Lord?”, in this way, that He may be seen to have made the same man both blind and seeing, seeing in reference to things present, but blind to things to come. For it is not necessary on the present occasion to explain the words dumb and deaf.

‘That very many things, however, which are not in our power, are causes of many things which are in our power, we will ourselves admit: and if they, I mean the things which are not in our power, did not take place, certain of the things which are in our power could not be done. But of the things in our power this or that is done in consequence of these antecedents which are not in our power, it being possible upon the same antecedents also to do other things than those which we do.

‘And if any one claims that our free-will is independent of everything, so that we do not choose a certain course in consequence of this or that having happened to us, he forgets that he is a part of the world, and encompassed by association with mankind and with his surroundings.

‘However, I think it has been fairly proved in a summary manner, that God’s foreknowledge does not in any way necessitate the foreknown events. So now, come, let us also contend for the fact that the stars are in no way the causes, but only the signs, of what happens among mankind.

‘Now it is clear that if this or that configuration of the stars were supposed to be an efficient cause of certain things that happen to the man (for this be the present subject of inquiry), the configuration which there may have been, say, to-day affecting this man, cannot be thought to have been the cause of the past circumstances affecting another or others: for every efficient cause is prior to its effect.

‘But as far as we can judge from the doctrines of those who profess such arts, things prior to the configuration are supposed to be foretold concerning the men.

‘For they profess that in some such manner as follows, when they have learned the hour of this or that man’s birth, they can discover how each of the

planets was situated vertically either to this or that degree of the sign of the zodiac, or of the minute divisions therein, and what star of the zodiac was on the eastern horizon, and what on the western, and what on the Meridian, and what on the Anti-Meridian.

‘And when they have settled the places of the stars, which they think they have figured for themselves, as having had such a configuration at the moment of a certain man’s nativity, then by the time of his birth they search out not only future events, but also the past, and things that had happened before the birth and before the generation of the man in question, concerning his father, of what country he is, rich or poor, whole in body or maimed, good or bad in moral disposition, of large possessions or of none, of this or that occupation. The same also concerning his mother, and elder brothers, if there happen to be any.

‘Now let us admit at present that they discover the true place (of the stars), although on this very point we shall afterwards show that it is not so: let us inquire therefore of those who suppose that human affairs are brought under necessity by the stars, in what way the configuration of to-day, which is of a certain kind, can possibly have been the cause of earlier events.

‘For if this is impossible, in proportion as the truth is discovered concerning the time of the earlier events, it is clear that the stars moving thus in the heaven cannot have caused the past events which took place before they were in this position. But if so, perhaps one who admits that they tell true, from observing what is said about future events, will say that they tell true not because the stars cause the events but only because they signify them.

‘But if any one assert that though the stars are not the cause of the past events, yet other configurations have been the causes of their production, and that the present configuration has only indicated them, but that nevertheless things to come are foreshown from the present configuration of a certain person’s nativity; let him prove the difference between being able to show that some things have been discerned with truth from the stars as efficient causes, but other things merely from their indications.

‘And if they are not able to assign the difference, they will candidly agree that none of the things which concern mankind are caused by the stars, but as we have said before are only indicated, if so it be; which is the same as if one learned both past and present events not from the stars, but from the mind of

God, by some prophetic utterance.

‘For just as we before showed that the argument on behalf of our free-will is not at all impaired by God’s knowing what every man will do, so neither do the signs which God appointed to give indications hinder our free-will. But like a book which contains future events in the language of prophecy, it is possible that the whole heaven, being as it were a book of God, may contain the things to come.

‘Wherefore in the *Prayer of Joseph* we may understand in this way what is said by Jacob, “For I read in the tablets of heaven all things that shall happen to you and to your sons.” Perhaps also the saying, “The heaven shall be rolled together as a scroll,” shows that the lessons therein contained significant of the things to come will be accomplished and, so to say, fulfilled, just as the prophecies are said to have been fulfilled by having come to pass.

‘And thus the heavenly bodies will have been for signs, according to the expression which says, “Let them be for signs.” But Jeremiah, to recall us to ourselves, and to take away the fear consequent upon the things supposed to be indicated by the stars, and perhaps suspected also of proceeding from them, says, “Be not dismayed at the signs from heaven.”

‘Let us look at a second attempt to show how the stars cannot possibly be efficient causes, but, if anything, significations. For it is possible to learn the fortunes of one man from an infinite number of nativities (but this we state as a hypothesis, granting the possibility that a knowledge of them may be attained by men): for to take an instance, whether such a man will suffer so and so, and will die by falling among robbers and being slain, this, says the astrologer, we may learn both from his own nativity, and, if he happen to have several brothers, from the nativity of each of them.

‘For they think that the nativity of each includes that a brother will die by robbers, and in like manner the nativity of the father, and that of the mother, and of his wife, and of his sons, and of his servants, and of his best friends; perhaps also of the very men who are to kill him.

‘How then, to grant them this, is it possible that the man whose fortune is involved in so many nativities should come under the configuration of the stars in this nativity rather than in the others? For the assertion that the configuration in this or that man’s particular nativity has been the cause of these events, but that the configuration in the nativity of these others has not

been the cause but only the indication, is incredible.

‘And it is silly to say that the nativity of all included in each an efficient cause of this man’s being killed, so that in fifty nativities (I am speaking according to the hypothesis) it was contained that this or that man was to be killed. Nor do I know how they will be able to maintain that, though the configuration at the nativity of nearly all men in Judaea was such that they received circumcision on the eighth day, were mutilated, and ulcerated, and likely to suffer inflammation and wounds, and at their very entrance into life were in need of physicians, yet that of the Ishmaelites in Arabia was such that they were all circumcised when thirteen years old. For this is stated in history concerning them.

‘And again that of certain tribes among the Aethiopians the knee-caps are cut away, and one of the breasts of the Amazons. For how do the stars produce these effects in these nations? I think that, if we were to give our attention to it, we should not be able even to fix anything true to say concerning them.

‘As there are so many modes of prognostication current, I do not understand how men ran upon the difficulty of saying that the methods of augury and of sacrifice do not contain the efficient cause, but only give signs, and yet do not say the same of the study of the stars and casting of nativities.

‘For if events are known (to grant that they are known), and if they are produced from the same source from which the knowledge is derived, why are the events to be caused by the stars rather than by the birds, and why by the birds rather than by the entrails of the sacrifices, or by the shooting stars? These reasons, however, will at present suffice for overthrowing the opinion that the stars are efficient causes of human affairs.

‘But as to the assumption which we have allowed, because it did not damage our argument, that it is possible for men to understand the celestial configurations, and the signs, and the things signified, let us now examine whether this is true.

‘It is said then by those who are clever in such matters, that the man who is to ascertain truly the results of the science of nativities must know not only in which of the twelve signs of the zodiac the planet is, but also in what degree of the sign, and in what minute, and the more exact say, in what second; and this they say he must do in the case of each of the planets, examining their relative position to the fixed stars.

‘Again on the Eastern horizon it will be necessary, they say, to see not only what sign was thereon, but also the degree, and the minute, or the second.

‘Since then the hour comprises, to speak broadly, half a sign of the zodiac, how is it possible for any one to find the minute, if he has not the proportionate division of the hours? How, for instance, know that a certain man is born at the fourth hour, and at the half-hour, and quarter, and eighth, and sixteenth, and thirty-secondth part of the hour?

‘For they say that the indications (given by the planets) vary greatly in consequence of the ignorance not only of the entire hour, but even of the exact division of it. For example, in the birth of twins the interval is often a very small part of an hour, and there occur many differences in the incidents and actions in their cases, because, as the astrologers say, of the relative position of the stars, and because the subdivision of the zodiacal sign which was on the horizon was not ascertained by those who are supposed to have observed the hour.

‘For it is impossible for any one to say that the interval between the birth of this child and of that is the thirtieth part of an hour. Let us, however, grant them the point concerning their calculation of the hour. Now there is a current theorem, which shows that the Ecliptic moves like the planets from West to East one degree in a hundred years, and that this in the long course of time alters the position of the signs, the calculated sign being one, and the visible figure, as it were, another. And the results, they say, are found not from the visible figure, but from the calculated sign, and this cannot possibly be ascertained.

‘But let this also be granted, that the calculated sign is ascertained, or that from the visible sign the true can be ascertained. Yet they will themselves acknowledge that they are not able entirely to preserve the conjunction, as they call it, of the planets which happen to be in these configurations, when, for instance, the malign indication from a certain planet is obscured, because it is overlooked by this other of more benign power, and to such or such a degree obscured: or frequently again when the obscuration of the malign planet by the aspect of the more benign is impeded, from the fact that another has entered into the configuration in a certain way, so as to be significant of misfortune.’

‘I think too that any one who has given attention to these subjects must

despair of the comprehension of them as being in no way accessible to man, but reaching only, if at all, to an indication. And if any one has had experience of the facts, the liability of those who talk, or even of those who have written, on the subject to failure in their conjectures, will be better known to him, than their supposed ability to succeed.

‘For instance, Isaiah, seeing that these things cannot be discovered by man, says to the daughter of the Chaldeans, who beyond all men made the greatest profession of this art, “Let now the astrologers of the sky stand up and save thee,... let them announce to thee what shall come upon thee.” For hereby we are taught that those who are entirely devoted to the study of these matters are unable to foreshow what the Lord has purposed to bring upon each nation.’

So far the author mentioned. But in fact this whole discussion of ours is summed up in two chief points, that those who have been supposed in each city to give oracular responses are not gods, and that they are not even good daemons, but are on the contrary a class of jugglers, cheats, and deceivers, who for the destruction and perversion of true religion have put forward, besides all other delusion among mankind, especially this delusion about Fate.

And since no one from the beginning except Jesus our Saviour has ransomed the whole human race from this delusion, we have had good reason for dealing seriously with all the present subjects in the commencement of the *Preparation for the Gospel*, in order that we might learn by facts from what ancestors we are sprung, and by what kind of delusion they were formerly possessed, and from how manifold and great blindness and ungodliness both we ourselves and all men living have emerged, and have found the cure for that long and inveterate daemoniacal activity in the saving doctrine of the Gospel only.

BOOK VII

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CHAPTER I

NEXT as to the Hebrews, and their philosophy and religion which we have preferred above all our ancestral system, it is time to describe their mode of life. For since it has been proved that our abandonment of the false theology of Greeks and barbarians alike has not been made without reason, but with well-judged and prudent consideration, it is now time to solve the second question by stating the cause of our claiming a share in the Hebrew doctrines. When therefore we have the necessary leisure, we shall prove that our borrowing what was profitable from barbarians brings no blame upon us; for we shall show that the Greeks and even their renowned philosophers had plagiarized all their philosophic lore and all that was otherwise of common benefit and profitable for their social needs from barbarians: but that nothing at all has yet been found among any of the nations like the boon which has been provided for us from the Hebrews, will become manifest in the following manner.

CHAPTER II

ALL the rest of mankind, from the very first establishment of social life and for all subsequent time, persisted in attending to bodily sense only, because they had formed no clear conception concerning the soul within them, and believed that nothing more than what was seen had any real subsistence; they therefore referred beauty and utility and the sole good to bodily pleasure. And as they thought that this alone was to be earnestly desired, as being the only good and agreeable and pleasant thing, and sufficient for the enjoyment of a happy life, they believed it to be the greatest of gods, and have deified it; even life itself they did not desire, if there was to be no participation in bodily pleasure, and they cherished life not for the sake of mere living but for living in pleasure, and prayed that this as the only good might be granted to their children.

Hence some conjectured that sun, moon, and stars were the sources of supply for the life in the flesh; and being also struck with a kind of wonder at beholding their light, pronounced them the first gods, and declared them to be sole causes of the universe. But others again have bestowed the title of gods upon the fruits of the earth, and the moist and dry and hot elements, and the other component parts of the world by which their bodies were nourished and fattened, and made the life of the flesh and its pleasure their pursuit: and others, long before them, with barefaced effrontery deified their own passions, and pleasure their mistress, saying that love, and desire, and lust ruled the very gods themselves. By others, certain tyrants and potentates, who had provided and invented pleasures for them, were deified, both during life and after death, in return for the enjoyments which they had gained from them. Others again, by becoming the playthings of evil spirits and daemons, gave yet greater strength to the passionate part of their soul, by procuring pleasures from them also through the customs of their worship. Others, who could not endure any of these things, introduced atheism as far better than such theology as this: and others yet more shameless than all these declared the philosophic and thrice-blessed life to be no other than the life of pleasure, having defined pleasure as the consummation of all good.

And so in this way the whole race of mankind having become enslaved to the goddess, or rather the foul and licentious daemon, pleasure, as to a harsh

and most cruel mistress, was involved in all kinds of miseries. 'For,' as the holy Apostle says, 'their women changed the natural use into that which is against nature: and likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working unseemliness, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was due.'

In this way both Greeks and barbarians, wise and simple, falling to the ground and on their belly, worshipped pleasure as a goddess; they cast themselves down on their faces like reptiles; they believed in her as an irresistible and inexorable deity, and were content. In songs also and hymns, and in the festivals of gods, and in their public spectacles, they were initiated in the orgies and celebrated the unseemly rites of none other than foul and licentious pleasure; so that this, above all, has been rightly abolished among us. 'For the devising of idols was the beginning of fornication.'

So great had been the manifold variety, to speak briefly, of the theology of the other nations, attached to impure and abominable pleasure as its one principle, but, like a hydra of many necks and many heads, carried out into many various divisions and sections.

When therefore they had entrenched themselves in so great an error, naturally in their service of the goddess and evil daemon, pleasure, evils upon evils gathered round them, while they defiled the whole of life with mad passions for women and outrages on men, marriages with mothers, and incest with daughters, and had surpassed in their excess of wickedness the savage nature of wild beasts. Such then was the character of the ancient nations, and of their false theology, as exhibited in the preceding books by the Greek historians and philosophers whom we have brought together.

CHAPTER III

IF therefore you have had a general view of the mode of life among the ancients, now set your mind to observe next how the children of the Hebrews alone among so many go off on the opposite course.

For of all mankind these were the first and sole people who from the very first foundation of social life devoted their thought to rational speculation; and having set themselves to study reverently the physical laws of the universe, first as to elements of bodies, earth, water, air, fire, of which they perceived that this universe consisted, the sun also, and moon, and stars, they considered them to be not gods, but works of God; for they perceived that the nature of bodily substance is not only irrational but also lifeless, inasmuch as it is ever in flux and liable to perish. They further argued that it is not possible that the order of the whole cosmos, so well and wisely composed, and full as it is of living beings both rational and irrational, should have a spontaneous cause ascribed to it, nor possible to suppose the creative principle of the living to be lifeless, nor the formative principle of the rational to be itself irrational.

But since a building could never be spontaneously composed of timber and stones, nor yet a garment be completed without a weaver, nor cities and states without laws and an order of government, nor a ship without a pilot, nor the smallest instrument of art exist except through an artificer, nor a ship ever gain a sheltering harbour without a good pilot, therefore neither can the nature of the universal elements, lifeless and irrational as it is, ever by its own law apart from the supreme wisdom of God attain to reason and life. With these thoughts then and such as these the fathers of the Hebrew religion, with purified mind and clear-sighted eyes of the soul, learned from the grandeur and beauty of His creatures to worship God the Creator of all.

CHAPTER IV

AND next, as they became conscious that they were themselves no small part of the whole, they believed that the one part of themselves was precious (and that this was also the true man, which is discerned in the soul), and that the other part holds the place of an envelope of the former, and that this is the body. And so having thus distinguished them, they concentrated their whole thought and diligence upon the life of the inner man.

This they reasoned must be well-pleasing with God the Creator of all, who seemingly had endowed man's nature with dominion over all things upon earth, not so much by strength of body as by excellence of soul: for of existing things some were inanimate, as stones and stocks; and some partakers of a living force, as the plants that grow out of the earth; and some admitted to share in sensation and the impulse of perception, such as are the irrational animals: but all these were subjected, to the service of the one sole race of mankind, constrained thereto not by vigour and strength of body, but by the exercise of reason and by excellence of soul, whereby they have comprehended that the privilege of rule and royalty over all things upon earth has been granted originally from the Author of the universe.

Starting from this thought, they determined to honour the body and the pleasures of the body no higher than the other creatures upon earth; but the ruling principle in themselves akin, as it were, to the Ruler of all, and the soul's rational and intelligent faculty, godlike and capable of true knowledge, bearing, as it were, the likeness of the God over all, this alone they held in high esteem.

Then as they reflected that there was no other good than God the giver of all good things, they declared that the knowledge of Him, and His friendship, were the consummation of all happiness, because on Him alone depends the cause of life itself, and soul, and body, and all things necessary to them.

To Him therefore they have eagerly consecrated themselves wholly, body and soul, making their whole life dependent upon Him, and determining to devote themselves to Him only, and to nothing else among things visible.

Having then thus been shown to be both lovers of God and beloved by Him, they were declared to be true worshippers and priests of the Most High God, or were deemed worthy to be called 'a chosen generation and a royal

priesthood and holy nation of God,' and have bequeathed to their descendants a seed of this true religion.

Do you not think then that we have with reason preferred these to the Greeks, and accepted the histories of godly men among the Hebrews rather than the gods of Phoenicia and Egypt, and the blasphemous absurdities about those gods?

CHAPTER V

OBSERVE then further to what a degree of godly virtue these men are said to have advanced. The Deity having accepted them for the general piety and wisdom of their life, and especially for their devotion to His service, now vouchsafed to them diviner oracles and manifestations of Himself and visions of angels, correcting the defects of their mortal nature by suggestions to guide their conduct, and revealing to them the knowledge of doctrines and precepts worthy of God: so that their minds were enlightened no longer by mere arguments and conjectures, but by the bright light of truth itself; and so inspired by God they pondered over the attainment of things future, as if already present, and prophesied what was to happen universally to the human race.

Such are the examples of the excellence of the Hebrews contained in the much celebrated and truly divine oracles, which we have preferred to the fables and the follies of the Greeks and of our forefathers: for these latter contained the foulest tales concerning their gods, while the other contained religious teaching concerning men beloved of God.

CHAPTER VI

THESE things were known among the forefathers of the Jews from long ages past, far before Moses and the Jewish nation existed. For indeed it is well to make this distinction also clear, that Judaism was not yet in existence at that time, but those of whom I speak were Hebrews alike by name and in character, and as yet neither were nor were called Jews.

And you may know the difference between Hebrews and Jews thus: the latter assumed their name from Judah, from whose tribe the kingdom of Judah was long ages afterwards established, but the former from Eber, who was the forefather of Abraham. And that the Hebrews were earlier than the Jews, we are taught by the sacred writings.

But as to the manner of their religion, Moses was the first author of legislation for the Jews, and taught them to observe a certain day of rest, and to keep it with the utmost care for a reminder of the study of the holy scriptures; he taught them also the distinction between animals that might or might not be eaten, and yearly festivals, and certain bodily purifications, another long period also being more religiously observed in accordance with certain covenants.

But the Hebrews who were earlier in time than Moses, having never heard of all the Mosaic legislation, enjoyed a free and unfettered mode of religion, being regulated by the manner of life which is in accordance with nature, so that they had no need of laws to rule them, because of the extreme freedom of their soul from passions, but had received true knowledge of the doctrines concerning God. But now after remarks of this kind, it is time to go through the written records.

CHAPTER VII

So then the great theologian Moses, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, if ever any was, and understanding well the customs of his forefathers, by way of preface to the sacred laws has committed to indelible records the lives of the forefathers of the Hebrews, and the blessings which God vouchsafed to them, and on the other hand the characters and the punishments of other godless and impious nations, because he thought that this would be a needful lesson for those who were to be taught his laws, both for avoidance of the like customs to those of the wicked, and for encouragement to adopt the life of the godly.

It was needful besides that they should not be ignorant, that before them, and before his own written laws, many of their forefathers by right use of reason had already been honourably distinguished for excellence in religion; who having been called friends of God and prophets, gained in his writings eternal remembrance; who also were no aliens in race to these for whom he was ordaining his laws.

Wherefore also it was the more necessary for them, as being by birth descendants of righteous men beloved of God, to show themselves emulous of the piety of their forefathers, and to be eager to obtain from God equal blessings with those who had begotten them. Nor must they grow sluggish and discouraged as if this were impossible, nor renounce the hope of those blessings for themselves; for they were possible, and had been gained with entire success by their own forefathers; whose portraits he was handing down to those who were being instructed in the things of God, recounting the lives of the men of old, and delineating as in painted likenesses the peculiar virtue of each one.

CHAPTER VIII

NOR is there anything to hinder us from briefly running over their history. First then we will take those before the Flood, according to the contents of Moses' own writing. For, as before, we ought, I think, to examine the ancestral history of the Hebrews from no other sources than their own, since we learned the Egyptian history from Egyptians, and the Phoenician from their own writers, as again the Grecian history from those illustrious among Greeks, and their philosophy from the philosophers, and not from those who were ignorant of philosophy. For from what other source would it be proper to inquire about the healing art than from those who are well skilled in it? In accordance then with this rule, I think we ought to receive the history of the Hebrews from the learned among the Hebrews, and not from any other source.

As then the story holds among them, from the beginning before the Flood, from the first creation of mankind and for the following generations there have been a certain number of righteous men beloved of God: one of whom 'hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God.'

Now this shows that to none but the Creator of all things he gave the title both of Lord and God of the universe: for he was persuaded that not only by creative power had He well and orderly disposed the whole, but also, like the lord as it were of a great city, was the ruler of the whole, and dispenser, and master of the house, being at once Lord, and King, and God.

The first to lay to heart the idea and the name of this Being as Lord and God was the godly man of whom I speak, and who in place of all substance, and title, and abundance, or rather in place of all good, 'hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God,' having procured Him for a treasure to himself of blessings both of soul and body.

In consequence of this it is recorded that he was the first to be called among the Hebrews a true man. At all events he is named Enos, which is 'true man,' by a well-applied appellation. For it is said that we ought to consider and to call no other a 'true man' than him who attains to the knowledge of God and to piety, who is at the same time full of knowledge and of reverence.

For those who are not of this character, but differ in nothing from irrational animals, as driven headlong after the belly and lust, the Hebrew Scripture teaches us to call beasts rather than men, being accustomed to use names in

their proper meaning.

Accordingly its custom is to call such men now wolves and dogs, and now swine feeding on refuse and delighting in it; and again reptiles and serpents, answering to the manifold forms of wickedness.

But if at any time it is necessary to denote the man of the common multitude and the race itself, again it uses a suitable and natural appellation, and indicates man as a whole by the name of Adam, because it suggests that this is the proper and natural name of the progenitor and forefather of all men, a name implying according to its translation into the Greek language ‘the earthborn.’

So Enos is recorded as the first of the beloved of God among the Hebrews, since he first ‘hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God,’ proving the truly rational faculty of the soul to be both capable of knowledge and of understanding the true worship of the Godhead: the first of which would be a proof of true knowledge of God, and the second of his hope in the God whom he knew.

For not to neglect nor put in a secondary place the true knowledge of God, but ever and through all to ‘hope to call upon the name of the Lord God,’ partly as lord of the household, and partly as a gracious and good Father, this must be the thrice blessed end of all.

Such then was he who among the Hebrews has been introduced as the first true man, not Adam, the earthborn by name, who for transgressing God’s commandment fell from his better lot, but the very first of God’s beloved, who ‘hoped to call upon the name of the Lord God.’

Judging therefore by sound reasoning we ourselves also were well pleased to imitate such a character as this, and welcomed the statement of the history as profitable and most beneficial to us; and made a vow that, equalling the example of the man of whom I speak, we would call upon the name of the Creator and Lord of all with a steadfast and good hope.

But now after him of whom we have spoken there was another who ‘pleased the Lord, and was not to be found,’ as Moses says, ‘because God translated him’ for the high perfection of his virtue. For difficult it is to find the truly wise.

Such, however, is he who is perfect in God, he who is withdrawn from the converse of the multitude. For the man of a different character, who frequents

the marketplaces and courts and taverns and shops and the general crowd, hustling and being hustled, is swallowed up in the very gulf of wickedness. But he who is taken by God, and translated from this world to that, though he cannot be seen or found by men, has become the friend of God, and is found by God.

Him the Hebrews love to name Enoch: and the name would signify the grace of God. We deemed it therefore a blessed thing to emulate the life of this example also as being good.

Again after these a third appeared: Noah who has received testimony as ‘a righteous man in his generation.’ And the following will be proofs of his righteousness. A great foulness and darkness of indescribable wickedness had overtaken the whole human race, and the giants talked of by every mouth were carrying on with ungodly and impious efforts their wars with God which are still so celebrated: and already the fathers of this their brood, whether they had sprung from some condition mightier than man’s nature, or in whatever way endowed, are said to have begun the teaching of curious arts among men, and to have introduced devices of witchcraft and other mischievous sorcery into their life, so that the whole human race had fallen under one sentence of judgement with God.

And so when all were about to be destroyed by one decree, this one man alone, of whom we are now speaking, is found ‘righteous in his generation,’ together with his family. While therefore all who were upon the earth were being destroyed by a flood, and the earth itself purged from the former evils by a sudden deluge of waters, the friend of God with his sons and their wives were most wonderfully preserved by God, as a spark to kindle the life that was to follow.

This man then also would be a primitive model, a living and breathing image, who had given an example to his posterity of the character that is pleasing to God.

Such were those before the Flood. And there were others again who came after it, conspicuous for piety, whose memory is preserved by the sacred oracles. One of these is announced as ‘priest of the Most High God,’ called by his Hebrew name a ‘king of righteousness.’

For all these there was not one word about bodily circumcision, nor yet about the Jewish commandments of Moses: and therefore it is not right either

to call them Jews, nor yet Greeks, because they did not believe in more gods than one like Greeks or the other nations. But they would be more properly called Hebrews, either because of Eber, or rather because of the interpretation of the name.

For by interpretation they are a kind of ‘passengers,’ who have set out on their journey from this world to pass to the contemplation of the God of the universe. For they are recorded to have travelled the straight path of virtue aright by natural reasoning and by unwritten laws, and to have passed beyond carnal pleasures to the life of perfect wisdom and piety.

Among all these then let us count also the celebrated progenitor of the whole nation, Abraham, to whose righteousness the oracles bear witness; again the righteousness not of the law of Moses, for that was not yet in existence, since Moses arose in the seventh generation after Abraham; but nevertheless he also is pronounced to be eminently righteous and pious, like those who have been mentioned above. So at least the Scripture says: ‘And Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.’ The answer indeed of God foretells that he shall be ‘a father of many nations,’ and says expressly that ‘in him shall all the nations and all the tribes of the earth be blessed,’ directly prophesying the things which are being now accomplished in our time.

But this Abraham, after he had been made perfect in righteousness which he had successfully maintained, not by the law of Moses, but by faith, and after the appearances of God which are recorded, when about to be called the father of a true-born son even in his old age, is the first who in accordance with a divine command circumcises himself, and enjoins the performance of this rite upon his posterity, whether as a manifest signification of the great multitude of the children to be born of him, or that the children might have a paternal mark to show whether they were living in emulation of their forefathers, or falling away from their virtue, or for any other causes whatsoever they were, which we have not now leisure to discuss carefully.

Such then was the character of Abraham set forth like the former for our imitation. And next to him Isaac is exhibited as the successor both to his father’s knowledge of God and to divine favour, having received this from his father as the noblest and most blessed of all inheritances. United to one wife, once only, say the sacred oracles, he begat children: but being made thereby

the father of twin children, he is said to have set this limit to his intercourse with his wife in his extreme self-control.

Here let me bring before you Jacob, who was also called Israel, a man who received a double name in consequence of the unusual eminence of his proper virtues. When exercised indeed in practical habits and modes of life, and experiencing troubles on behalf of religion, he was called Jacob, a name which when translated into the Greek language means a man in training, an athlete; but when afterwards he receives the rewards of victory over his opponents and is crowned, and is already in the enjoyment of the blessings of contemplation, then his name also is changed by the God who communes with him, who both vouchsafes to him a vision of God, and bestows by his new name the rewards of diviner gifts and honours.

And so the answer of God says to him: 'Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name, for thou hast had power with God, and shalt prevail with men' — where Israel indicates 'the man who beholds and contemplates': since the very name when translated means 'a man beholding God.'

Such then was the character of this man, from whom arose the Twelve Tribes of the Jewish nation. And countless things might be told concerning the life of these men, and their philosophic endurance and discipline, some things viewed literally, and some in allegorical suggestions: of which things others have spoken, as well as myself in my treatise 'Concerning the numerous offspring of the men of old.' Such then were these patriarchs.

Besides them I can tell you of another, whose name was Job, whom the sacred oracles testify to have been a man 'blameless, true, just, and devout, abstaining from every evil thing.' Though he did not belong at all to the Jewish race, he has received witness for all right deeds of religion.

Now as to the children of Jacob, they cherished the knowledge of God and the piety inherited from their forefathers, and advanced the fame of the elder Hebrews to a high degree of glory, so that at length they annexed the government of all Egypt.

Joseph indeed having first been crowned with the rewards of chastity, and afterwards having received the government of Egypt, displayed the divinely favoured character of the Hebrews: and him too we have made it our prayer to emulate, though he had been made a slave by the plot of his brethren, a slave

too of an Egyptian.

For I pass by all the rest of his advantages in regard to beauty and strength of body and comeliness, though the Scriptures record that he excelled all in prime of beauty: but his qualities of soul how could any one describe, though he purposed to speak his praise in a manner worthy of his virtue.

The story is that he had by nature the stamp of gentle birth, and the nobility of his disposition blooming upon his face: and so excellently was he endowed with the eminent graces of piety, that his soul shone bright in chastity and justice, in prudence and manliness, and above all in knowledge and piety towards the God of all, which his parents are said to have implanted in his soul from the cradle.

So when his master's wife fell madly in love with him, and tried to drag him as young and beautiful into licentious and amorous intercourse, and attempted first to cajole him with words, and then besought him with entreaties, and at last ventured to lay violent hands upon him, and had recourse now to immodest and shameless embraces, the hero recalling the memory of the piety of his forefathers, and showing himself both in words and deeds the religious man and true Hebrew, shakes off the base and licentious woman, putting her aside with a stronger hand, and running away as from some terrible and raging beast finds safety in flight.

Afterwards with sober reasoning he reflects as follows within himself and says: 'If my master from trusting me knoweth none of the things in his house, and hath given into my hands all that is therein, . . . how then shall I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?' For which the God of the universe, crowning him as a victor with the rewards of virtue, gives over to him the royalty and governance over his masters and over Egypt itself. Moreover, he also as a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and not a Jew (because the Jewish nation did not yet exist), has been received among the thrice blessed and most highly favoured friends of God.

But after the Hebrews who have been mentioned, the race of their descendants began to grow into a great multitude, and the Jewish nation, which they constituted, now went on multiplying daily and waxing great, until the influence of the pious conduct of their godly forefathers of old began little by little to be weakened and blunted, while the effects of their intercourse with Egyptians gained so much strength over the multitude of whom I speak,

that they forgot the virtue of their forefathers, and came round in their modes of living to like customs with the Egyptians, so that their character seemed to differ in nothing from the Egyptians.

At this point then, when they had turned out such as I have described, the God of their forefathers sends forth Moses as a leader and lawgiver, thus verifying the promises given by the oracles to their progenitors: and then having performed by his hand the wonders that are recorded and the extraordinary signs from heaven, He promulgates a law that was suited to the moral condition of those who heard it. For they were unable through moral weakness to emulate the virtue of their fathers, inasmuch as they were enslaved by passions and sick in soul; so He gave them the polity that corresponded to their condition, ordaining some things openly and clearly, and implying others enigmatically, by suggesting symbols and shadows, but not the naked truth, for them to keep and observe.

And so the Jewish polity began about that time with Moses, and continues in accordance with the voices of their own prophets until the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For this also was a prophecy of Moses himself and the prophets who followed, that the customs and ordinances of Moses should not fail before those of the Christ appeared, the ordinances, that is, of the new covenant, which has been proclaimed to all nations through our Saviour; and thus these ordinances found a fulfilment in the way which had been announced.

But since we have briefly described the life of the Hebrews before Moses, and shown the character of their religion, it is time to consider the method of their doctrine also, from the writings of Moses and the prophets who followed him.

CHAPTER IX

FIRST of all then that admirable theologian and lawgiver himself, in founding by his own writing a polity in accordance with religion for the Jewish people, did not think it fit to employ the common and trite preambles to his books; but after he had collected every law enjoining what ought to be done and forbidding what ought not to be done, and the public and civic arrangements concerning their mutual contracts, he thought it right to make his teaching begin with their ancestral theology, because he considered no other instruction to be proper to laws pertaining to religion, than that theology which had come down to him from their forefathers.

He begins therefore with God according to the hereditary doctrines of the theology of their Hebrew progenitors, not as was the wont of Egyptians, nor yet of Phoenicians, or the other nations, who like them degraded the adorable name to a multitude of gods, and regarded the luminaries in the sky as visible gods, and as unseen and invisible gods either the departed from among men, or the daemons of earth and air, according to the statements which we have previously proved.

But having made his whole narrative begin with the universal Cause and Creator of things visible and invisible, he shows that He is the Lawgiver of the constitution of the universe, and establishes Him as king of the world, as of one great city.

He teaches us therefore at the outset to regard Him as the real Author and Ruler not only of the laws which he is himself about to ordain presently for men, but also of the laws of universal nature.

CHAPTER X

IN fact he represents Him as King and Lawgiver of the whole world: for by His decree and power all things have received their being, and by His laws and limitations again the whole duration of time is directed in its course and order.

For by God's word and law first of all the firmament of heaven is firmly fixed, and the heavy and solid earth is wonderfully poised contrary to its proper nature upon the lighter elements: by the divine word and law the alternating course of night and day is carried round, and by God's word and law the sun himself and moon and the circling host of other stars fulfil their proper course in seemly order; and by the law of the universal King the tropical changes, and periodical revolutions, and yearly cycles, and annual seasons are completed in the all-harmonious concert of the universe; by God's law winter gives way to spring, and spring to the next change of seasons, the depths also of ocean surging up in the flood-tides of winter are yet by divine law shut off in their proper seas, so that they dare not transgress the bounds of their sacred laws; and the dry substance of the earth, being watered by streams of rain and snowstorms supplied likewise by divine law in due measure, brings forth innumerable kinds of plants and animals: in a word, nature the universal mother, subjected to God's command, obeys the divine laws and the counsel of the all-ruling God.

For not without design, nor as it chanced, nor by spontaneous and irrational impulse, has this so vast system been arranged; nor is this great and most beautiful construction the work of a causeless nature; but it is a creation of the all-wise Architect of the universe, and is directed by the same Being's words and sacred laws.

Having begun from this point, and assigned the laws which concern the nature of the universe before treating of human legislation, the prophet exhorted men before all things to give their mind to God the universal King, and not carelessly to forsake His laws; since the sun himself, the heaven, and the world, the earth and all things upon earth, and all that are considered works of nature serve His commandments and ordinances and sacred laws and words.

Wherefore, in just consequence, even more ought the human race, being no

small part of the whole, to adhere closely to the divine ordinances, and not be surpassed by the partial elements. For in the beginning the earth received its law from Him who said: 'Let the earth bring forth grass, yielding seed after its kind, and fruit-tree bearing fruit.' And at His word the earth, exhibiting its readiness to obey His law, never yet even to the present time disregarded the divine command.

Thus also when God said: 'Let the waters bring forth the moving things that have living souls, and fowls that fly in the firmament of heaven:' at the word, the element of water performed its work, and is now still seen rendering its obedience to His law.

If then sun and moon and stars, having been appointed by the divine law to perform their proper courses, and 'to be also for signs and for seasons and for days, and for years,' do not disregard their code of laws, what excuse can still be left for you to obtain pardon if you despise the laws of God?

By this preliminary teaching the admirable author convinced us, and with good reason made us emulous of his own divine knowledge and piety; because we have been unable to find anything like this among the theologians of the nations before mentioned.

Then after the primary theology he passes on to the second doctrine which is both physical and philosophical. That is to say, next to the knowledge of God, and the arrangement of the universe, he advances in order to that which is by nature second; the doctrine, that is, concerning the nature of man, because next to the knowledge of God it is necessary for one to know himself. For this reason he next teaches us what man is, and what it is that leads him to the knowledge and worship of God, and what is the life that corresponds to the ruling part of man. Having therefore drawn the distinction, between body and soul, he defines the true man as placed in the soul, partaking of an intelligent and incorporeal and rational essence, as having been created after the image of God; but the body as being an earthly envelope of the soul: and to these he adds a third, 'the breath of life,' a power uniting and combining that which was taken from the ground with that which had been made after the image of God.

He relates also that the man thus described has his first abode in the thrice-blessed Paradise of God, full of immortal and eternal blessings; but that having been subjected to the law of God, like the rest of the creatures in the

beginning of the world, he through heedlessness and transgression of the divine command forfeited this most enviable life.

This is the philosophy which Moses teaches in the preface to his sacred laws, making as it were a proclamation that we are not to disregard our proper dignity, and the likeness to the divine nature which we received, and from which we had been further endowed with the immortality of the soul; because it is not lawful for a king's image to be obliterated. But the original and true image of the God of the universe is His own Word, who is very Wisdom, and very Life, and Light, and Truth, and whatsoever man can conceive of noble and good: and the human mind is an image of an image, inasmuch as it is acknowledged to have been made after the image of God.

And for those who were to observe the sacred laws, this preliminary instruction he thought it necessary to receive, and to remember what was the part of them taken out of the earth and to be resolved into earth again, and what the better part in us like to God, and how we ought to behave towards each of the said parts, and not to treat with outrage and impiety the man after the image of God, nor to defile him with foul and unlawful practices; but ever to keep the desire for that first and thrice-blessed abode and life, and to be eager to recur to it, making it our prayer to win that first and thrice-blessed life and dignity, and also to prepare here already for our departure thither; because otherwise it is not possible for the profane and unpurified to tread those sanctuaries, from which the first man through heedlessness has fallen by despising the divine command.

After this the Hierophant adds another most conclusive doctrine, teaching us not to doubt that there is lying in wait for each of us an evil daemon, a slanderer and hater of goodness, plotting from the beginning against the salvation of men.

He calls him 'Dragon' and 'Serpent,' black and a lover of darkness, full of venom and wickedness: and says that he through envy of our divinely inspired life, still tries to trip up and drag down every one of those who are adhering to God; and that by his deceit the forefathers of our race fell from their diviner lot: wherefore also we must be always on the watch against the mischievous crafts of the said daemon.

But why should I thus anticipate, when I ought at once to describe the several things which I have stated out of the Scriptures themselves? Let us

then begin with God, after having in the first place invoked His aid through our Saviour.

CHAPTER XI

THEIR system then sets forth the first principle of theology by beginning from the power which made and organized the universe, not by syllogistic reasoning or plausible arguments, but in a more dogmatic and didactic manner of divination by aid of the Holy Ghost, under whose inspiration Moses commenced his doctrine of God in the following manner: ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.’

Then he says: ‘God said, Let there be light, and there was light.’ And again: ‘God said, Let there be a firmament: and it was so.’ And again: ‘God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, yielding seed after his kind and in his likeness, and every fruit-tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after his kind, upon the earth: and it was so.’ And again: ‘God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth, and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years: and it was so.’ And again: ‘God said, Let the waters bring forth moving creatures of living souls after their kind, and all the fowls of the heaven after their kind: and it was so.’ And again: ‘Let the earth bring forth four-footed beasts and creeping things and wild beasts of the earth after their kind: and it was so.’

The Scripture then by saying in these places ‘God said’ represents the divine command, and that God willed all things to be thus made, not, however, that we need suppose Him to speak with a voice and words. But summing up the whole statement, it says: ‘This is the book of the generation of heaven, and earth, in the day that God made the heaven and the earth, and all things that are therein.’

Such is the theology of the Hebrews, instructing us that all things subsist by the creative Word of God: and afterwards it teaches that the whole world was not left thus desolate by Him who constructed it, as an orphan by his father, but that it is for ever administered by the providence of God; so that God is not only the Organizer and Maker of the whole, but also the preserver, and administrator, and king, and ruler, presiding for ever over the sun itself and moon and stars and the whole heaven and world, overlooking all things with His great eye and divine power, and present with all things both in heaven and earth, and arranging and administering all things in order.

And in the very same way the succeeding prophets also with corresponding

inspiration spake at one time in the person of God Himself, saying: 'I am a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God far off. Shall a man do anything in secret, and I not know it? Do not I fill the heaven and the earth? saith the Lord.'

And at another time they spake of God thus: 'Who measured the water with His hand, and the heaven with a span, and all the earth with His fist? Who set the mountains by measure, and the hills by a balance? Who knew the mind of the Lord, and who became His counsellor?' And again: 'Who set the heaven for a canopy, and spread it out as a tent to dwell in.' And again: 'Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath showed all these.' And then: 'The LORD God that created the heaven, and fixed it, that established the earth and that which is therein, and giveth breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk thereon, I am the LORD God.' And presently: 'I stretched forth the heaven by Myself, and established the earth. I am the LORD God: there is none beside Me.'

And again: 'Thus shall ye say unto them: The gods which made not the heaven and the earth, let them perish from the face of the earth, and from under the heaven. The Lord who made the earth by His power, established the world by His wisdom, and by His understanding stretched out the heaven, and brought up clouds from the end of the earth; He made lightnings for rain, and brought forth winds out of His treasures. Every man is become too brutish for knowledge.'

And again: 'Whither shall I go from Thy spirit, and where can I be hidden from Thy presence? If I go up into heaven, Thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, there Thou art. If I should take my wings in the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall Thy hand lead me.'

These and the like are the statements of the theologians later than Moses, who were themselves also Hebrews, and spake concerning God in accordance with their earliest forefathers. But listen now to those who were before Moses, men beloved of God and highly blessed, the first Hebrews, and the very first of them all, Abraham, who has been pronounced the forefather of the whole Jewish race.

'And Abraham said to the king of Sodom, I will lift up mine hand unto the Most High God, who created the heaven and the earth.' And even before Abraham Melchizedek is introduced as priest of the Most High God, blessing

Abraham in these words: 'Blessed be Abraham of the Most High God, who delivered thine enemies into thy hand: and blessed be the God who created the heaven and the earth.'

In addition to this the narrative introduces Abraham as conversing thus with his servant: 'Put thine hand under my thigh, and I will make thee swear by the LORD the God of heaven, and the God of the earth.' And he adds: 'The LORD the God of heaven, and the God of the earth, that took me from my father's house, and from the land where I was born.'

Besides all these passages, in the appearance of God to Moses himself, when Moses asked whom he must believe God to be, the answer says: 'I AM THAT I AM. Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you.'

Let these extracts suffice as examples from among ten thousand in the theology of the Hebrews. Is it then right to set in comparison with them the theologies of the wise men of Greece? Some of whom declared that there is no God at all, and others assert that the stars are gods, and that they are red-hot masses of metal, fixed in the sky like studs and plates, and others that God is an artistic fire proceeding in a regular course; and others that the world is not administered by divine providence, but by a kind of irrational nature; and others that things in heaven alone are administered by God, but not things on earth also; and again that the world is uncreated, and was not made by God at all, but subsists spontaneously and accidentally; and others that the complex whole is made up of certain indivisible and minute corpuscles devoid of life and reason.

The doctrines, however, drawn from the oracles of the Hebrews concerning the God of the universe are briefly such as I have described: and after the God of the universe the next thing is to review the doctrines of the Hebrew philosophy concerning the first principle of things created.

CHAPTER XII

THALES of Miletus declared that the first principle of all things is water, Anaximenes the air, Heraclitus fire, Pythagoras numbers, Epicurus and Democritus corporeal atoms, Empedocles the four elements. Let us therefore look also at the oracles of the Hebrews.

Next to the Being of the God of the universe, which is without beginning and uncreate, incapable of mixture and beyond all conception, they introduce a second Being and divine power, which subsisted as the first beginning of all originated things and was originated from the first cause, calling it Word, and ‘Wisdom, and Power of God.’

And the first to teach us this is Job, saying: ‘But whence was wisdom found? And what is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the way thereof, nor yet was it found among men,... but we have heard the fame thereof. The Lord established the way thereof, and He knoweth the place thereof.’

And David also somewhere in the Psalms, addressing Wisdom by another name, says: ‘By the word of the LORD were the heavens established’: for in this manner he celebrated the Word of God the Organizer of all things. Moreover, his son Solomon also speaks as follows in the person of Wisdom herself, saying: ‘I Wisdom made counsel my dwelling, and knowledge and understanding I called unto me. By me kings reign, and rulers decree justice.’ And again:

‘The LORD created me as the beginning of His ways unto His works, from everlasting He founded me, in the beginning or ever He made the earth, and before the depths were made, . . . before the mountains were settled, and before all hills He begat me; . . . when He was preparing the heaven I was beside Him; . . . and as He was making safe the fountains beneath the heaven, . . . I was with Him arranging. I it was in whom He daily delighted, and I was rejoicing before Him in every season when He was rejoicing in having completed the habitable world.’

So Solomon speaks in Proverbs. And the words also which follow are somewhere spoken in Wisdom’s own person: ‘But what wisdom is, and how she came into being, I will declare, and will not hide mysteries from you; but I will trace her out from the beginning of creation.’ To which he afterwards

adds: 'For she is an understanding spirit, holy, alone in kind, manifold, subtil, freely moving, clear, undefiled, . . . all-powerful, all-surveying, and going through all intelligent, pure, and most subtil spirits.

'For wisdom is more moving than any motion; she penetrateth and passeth through all things by reason of her pureness. For she is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty: therefore doth nothing defiled find entrance into her. For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of His goodness. . . . And she reaches from end to end with full strength: and sweetly doth she order all things.'

Moreover, the sacred Scripture introduces this divine Word in various ways as sent from the Father for the salvation of mankind: and so it relates that it was He who showed Himself to Abraham and to Moses and to the other prophets beloved of God, and taught them so many things in oracles, and prophesied the things to come, whenever it mentions that God or the Lord appeared and entered into converse with the prophets.

That He also became known to all men as having been sent by the Greater to be a Saviour of the sick and a physician of souls, the Scripture thus declares: 'He sent His Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.' And again at another time it says: 'His Word shall run swiftly.' Whence the teaching of the Gospel also in renewing the doctrine of the prophets and fathers makes the theology clear in the following way: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made, that hath been made. In Him was life; and the life was the light of men.'

With good reason then does Moses in his perfect wisdom, when commencing his account of the creation of the world, inspired by the same Spirit declare that in the beginning aforesaid 'God created the heaven and the earth'; and introduces God communing with Him, as with His own and first-born Word, upon the creation of man, in the passage where he writes: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image and after our likeness.'

This the Psalmist also hinted, when describing the First Cause he said: 'He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created': plainly supposing the direction and command of the First Cause to the Second, as of a

father to a son. For. of course it is quite manifest that every one who speaks at all speaks to another, and he who commands, commands some other than himself.

But expressly mentioning again two Lords both together, that is to say Father and Son, Moses in his narrative of the punishment of the ungodly speaks thus: ‘And the LORD rained brimstone and fire from the LORD upon Sodom and Gomorrah.’

In accordance with which David also said in a Psalm: ‘The LORD said unto my lord, sit thou on My right hand, until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.’ And further on he hinted at His secret and utterly ineffable generation, saying: ‘From the womb I begat thee before the morning star.’

Lest, however, you should suppose that these are my subtleties, I will offer you as interpreter of the meaning of the Scripture a man of Hebrew race, who received from his forefathers an accurate knowledge of the history of his country, and had learned the doctrine from his teachers; that is, if you accept Philo as such a man. Listen then to him, how he interprets the divine utterances.

CHAPTER XIII

[PHILO IUDAEUS] ‘WHY as if speaking of another God does He say, “In the image of God I made man,” and not in the image of Himself? With consummate beauty and wisdom is this oracle expressed. For nothing mortal could be made in the likeness of the Most High God and Father of the universe, but in the likeness of the second God, who is the Word of the former. For it was right that the rational character in the soul of man should be impressed on it by the divine Word; since the God who is prior to the Word is superior to every rational nature; and it was not lawful for any created thing to be made like to Him who is set above the Word in the most excellent and unique nature.’

This is what I wish to quote from Philo’s first book of *Questions and Answers*. But the same author in the first book *On Agriculture* also calls the Word the First-born Son of God, in the following phrase:

‘All these things then God the Shepherd and King guides according to justice, having set over them as a law His own right Reason (Word) and First-born Son, who is to receive the charge of this sacred flock, as a lieutenant of a great king.’

Also again in the second book the same author writes as follows word for word:

‘If therefore any one wishes to escape the difficulties which present themselves in the questions thus raised, let him say freely that nothing material is so strong as to be able to support the weight of the world. But the eternal Word of the everlasting God is the most strong and firm support of the universe.

‘He it is who, being extended from the middle to the ends and from the extremities to the middle, runs the full length of nature’s invincible course, bringing all the parts together and binding them fast. For the Father who begat Him made Him an indissoluble bond of the universe.

‘Naturally therefore will neither all earth be dissolved by all water which its bosom contains, nor will fire be extinguished by air, nor on the other hand will air be burnt up by fire, since the divine Word sets Himself as a boundary of the elements, like a vowel between consonants, in order that the universe may be harmonious as in the case of music expressed in writing, since He by

the persuasion of His concurrence mediates and reconciles the threatenings of the adverse elements.’

Thus speaks Philo. And Aristobulus also, another wise man of the Hebrews, who flourished under the rule of the Ptolemies, confirms the doctrine as inherited from his fathers, addressing to Ptolemy himself the *Interpretation of the sacred laws*, in which he speaks as follows.

CHAPTER XIV

[ARISTOBULUS] ‘BUT the same metaphor might be used also in the case of wisdom: for all light comes from it. Wherefore also some who were of the Peripatetic School have said that it holds the place of a torch: for by following it continuously men will be kept undisturbed through their whole life. But more clearly and more beautifully one of our forefathers, Solomon, said that wisdom subsisted before heaven and earth. This accords with what was said before.’

These then and such as these are the philosophical opinions which the Hebrews have held on this point. Is not this then of all statements the most honourable to God, as referring the beginning of the constitution of the universe to the rational and all-wise power of God, or more precisely to the very Wisdom and very Word of God, rather than to the lifeless and irrational elements?

Be that as it may; such are the opinions of the Hebrews concerning the beginning of the universe. And now let us consider what they teach concerning the constitution of the rational creatures, who came after that first Beginning.

CHAPTER XV

NEXT to the being of God the Universal King, which is without beginning and unbegotten, they teach that Beginning which is begotten from no other source than the Father, being both First-born and fellow worker of the Father's will, and perfectly likened unto Him.

And this Beginning is before all originate things which followed, on which account also they are wont to call it the Image of God, and Power of God, and Wisdom of God, and Word of God, nay further the Great 'Captain of the host of the Lord,' and 'Angel of the great Counsel.'

But the intelligent and rational Powers which came after this Beginning pass man's nature to describe, both for multitude and for variety of form, except as far as it is possible to think thereon by the examples drawn from the analogy of things visible, sun, moon, and stars, and heaven itself which encompasses them all together within and beneath itself.

'For there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars,' says the divine Apostle; 'for one star differeth from another star in glory.'

In this way, therefore, we must think of the order in incorporeal and intelligent Beings also, the unutterable and infinite power of the God of the universe embracing all of them together; and the second place, next to the Father, being held by the power of the Divine Word, at once creative and illuminating. For which reason also the Hebrews are wont to call Him 'True Light,' and 'Sun of Righteousness.'

And next after this second Being there is set, as in place of a moon, a third Being, the Holy Spirit, whom also they enroll in the first and royal dignity and honour of the primal cause of the universe, He also having been appointed by the Maker of the universe for a ruling principle of the created things which came after, those I mean which are lower in rank, and need the help which He supplies.

But this Spirit, holding a third rank, supplies those beneath out of the superior powers in Himself, notwithstanding that He also receives from another, that is from the higher and stronger, who, as we said, is second to the most high and unbegotten nature of God the King of all: from whom indeed God the Word is Himself supplied, and drawing as it were from an ever-

flowing fountain which pours forth Deity, imparts copiously and ungrudgingly of the radiance of His own light to all, and especially to the Holy Spirit Himself, who is closer to Him than all and very near; and then to the intelligent and divine powers after Him.

But the Unoriginate Beginning of the whole, which is the fountain of all good, and cause of Deity and life as well as of light and every virtue, being also first of the first and beginning of all beginnings, or rather far beyond any beginning and any first and every thought that can be expressed or conceived, communicates wholly whatsoever is comprehended in His ineffable powers to His First-begotten alone, as being alone able to contain and receive that abundance of the Father's perfections which by the rest can neither be reached nor contained.

But the partial gifts He dispenses to those who are in part worthy through the ministration and mediatorship of the Second, in the measure attainable by each: and of these gifts the perfect and supremely holy have been bestowed by the Father on Him who is third from Himself, and receives the gifts through the Son, but is ruler and leader of those who follow.

Hence the whole body of Hebrew theologians, after Him who is God over all, and after Wisdom His Firstborn, regard as God the third holy Power which they call Holy Spirit, and by which they were enlightened and inspired.

Next after heaven, and sun, and moon, they say 'star differeth from star in glory.' Now though for mortal nature it is not possible to find the number of the stars, nevertheless the oracles of the Hebrews say that God the King of All is not ignorant of the numbers and of the names of the heavenly host. Wherefore in them it is said: 'Who telleth the numbers of the stars, and calleth them all by names.'

Thus then after those first luminaries which are reckoned among incorporeal powers, and excel in power and essence of intellectual light, there are countless tribes and families of stars and a vast difference incomprehensible to us, but not to the Maker of the universe.

And therefore, to represent them as comprehensible to God alone, one of their theologians says: 'Ten thousand times ten thousand ministered unto Him, and thousand thousands stood before Him': showing by the number that to God they are comprehensible, but by the greatness of the number that to us they are infinite; in accordance with our custom of calling things that are

many and infinite ‘ten thousand,’ as an expression of exceeding multitude.

A certain other prophet also, in discoursing of their nature, thus speaks of the Maker of them all as divine, saying: ‘O LORD, my God, how greatly art Thou magnified; Thou didst clothe Thyself with honour and majesty. Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment: who stretchest out the heaven like a curtain: . . . who maketh His angels winds, and His ministers a flaming fire.’

Now do not suppose that the beings here mentioned partake of the nature of this our mortal and earthly fire, nor yet of the winds proceeding from the irrational nature of air: but just as God Himself, though He is in His nature incorporeal and immaterial, and pure mind, or rather above mind, and above all reason, is yet called in a figurative way wind, and fire, and light, and certain other names adapted to mortal ears; so the divine Scriptures address the intelligent and rational Beings, angels, and archangels, and spirits, and divine powers, and heavenly hosts, principalities, and powers, and thrones, and dominions, as if they were myriads upon myriads of stars and luminaries, and say that the Sun of Righteousness and His fellow the Holy Spirit rule and preside over all.

But all of them, with the Son Himself and Holy Spirit, all intelligent and rational living beings, together with those that are seen in heaven, and the heaven itself and all that it contains within it — all these are commanded by the sacred and prophetic Scripture to render to Him alone who is God over all, who through all and in all is universal King and Ruler and cause of the whole world, as being the Framer and Maker and Guardian and Saviour of all, to render, I say, to Him His becoming praise and the worship that is proper to God, saying: ‘Praise ye God from the heavens: praise Him in the heights. Praise Him, all ye angels of His: praise Him, all His hosts. Praise Him, sun and moon: praise Him, all ye stars and light. Praise Him, ye heavens of heavens, and ye waters that are above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the LORD: for He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created; He made them fast for ever and ever: He gave them a law, and it shall not pass away.’

Such are the doctrines received from the Hebrews, which we have preferred to the erroneous polytheism and daemonism of the Greeks, knowing and duly honouring divine powers as servants and ministers of God the

universal King, but confessing Him alone as God, and worshipping Him alone, whom heaven itself, and all things that are in heaven, and things above heaven were taught to worship and praise and celebrate as God: for even the Only-begotten of God and First-born of the whole world, the Beginning of all, commands us to believe His Father alone true God, and to worship only Him.

CHAPTER XVI

NEXT we must consider what the Hebrew oracles deliver to us concerning the adverse power also. They teach that the divine powers set over the whole world by the will of the Father — — ‘the ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall inherit salvation’ —— and the holy angels of God and archangels, and all the intelligent nature which is the minister of blessings, being full of light, and almoner of all the blessings that are bestowed on men from God, are the attendants of God the sole King of all; and next that, like the stars of heaven, they circle round the Sun of Righteousness and His fellow the Holy Spirit, and enjoy the supply of their light, and for that reason are naturally compared to the luminaries in heaven.

But the nature which is turned away from these, and for its own wickedness is deprived of the company of the better spirits, and contrary to the former has exchanged light for darkness, Scripture calls by the names which befit the badness of their disposition.

The leader for instance of their fall, who had been the cause both for himself and for others of their apostasy from, the better angels, as having fallen down utterly beneath the piety of the more godlike, and wrought for himself the venom of malice and impiety, and become the author of darkness and folly in consequence of his wilful departure from the light —— him the Scripture is wont to call dragon and serpent, and black and creeping, an engenderer of deadly poison, a wild beast, and a lion devouring mankind, and the adder among reptiles.

The divine words say that the cause of his falling away was frenzy of mind and distraction of thought, and describe as follows both his fall and his insanity: ‘How is the day star, which did rise in the morning, fallen from heaven! He is crushed to the ground, which did send forth to all the nations. And thou saidst in thine heart, I will ascend into the heaven; above the stars of heaven will I set my throne. ... I will be like unto the Most High.’

And again: ‘Thus saith the Lord: Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god, I have dwelt in the habitation of God.’ And again: ‘Thou art the sealing of the pattern, and crown of beauty; thou wast born in the pleasure of the paradise of God; every precious stone was thy covering,’ and the rest.

And to this he adds: 'Thou wast in the holy mountain of God, in the midst of the stones of fire; thou wast blameless in thy days, from the day that thou wast created, till thine unrighteousness was found in thee. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty, thy knowledge was corrupted with thy beauty; because of the multitude of thy sins I have cast thee to the ground.'

By these passages then we have learned directly the former association of him of whom we speak with the diviner powers, and his fall from the better sort through his own arrogance and rebellion against God. Under him there is besides a countless race involved in similar offences, which for their impiety fell from the lot of the pious angels, and in exchange for their former lightsome and divine surrounding, and their honour in the King's palace, and a life passed among the blessed and angelic choirs, received by the just judgement and sentence of the mighty God an abode in Tartarus, the place befitting the impious, which is called by the divine word the abyss, and darkness, not such as with us, but that which is made known by the divine oracles.

And of this race a small fragment left on the earth and in the sublunar air to exercise the athletes of piety, has become a joint cause of the polytheistic delusion of mankind which is no better than atheism.

But upon these also holy Scripture has set appropriate names, more plainly when it calls them evil spirits and daemons, 'principalities and powers, world-rulers, and spiritual hosts of wickedness'; but figuratively, when it is encouraging the beloved of God to have no fear of the crowd of hostile daemons, by what it says: 'Thou shalt go upon the asp and adder: the lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.'

A proof of their hatred of God is that they wish themselves to be proclaimed gods, and steal away for themselves the honours intended for God, and attempt to entice the simple by divinations and oracles as lures and baits, and draw them away from looking up to the God of the whole world, and drag them down into the pit of utter destruction in impious, and godless superstition. Wherefore an effort to flee with all speed from their deceits was made by the Hebrews alone from the earliest ages, by expressly teaching that 'all the gods of the nations are daemons.'

But now, by God's grace we may say, through our Saviour's teaching in the Gospel all nations from all parts of the earth have been delivered from the

bondage of the daemons, and sing the praise of that God whom we have learned to be the only Saviour, and King, and God of the whole world.

CHAPTER XVII

HERE again the Phoenician and Egyptian account of the origin of animal life introduced spontaneous generation of all living beings upon the earth including even man, and described one and the same nature as springing forth in the like fortuitous manner from the earth, supposing that there is no difference at all between the irrational and the rational soul and being.

These at least were the doctrines set forth in the statements of their writers which have been previously quoted. But again with good reason we have preferred the Hebrews as having defined the circumstances of the original constitution of man with great beauty and wisdom and truth.

For the one part of ourselves they say is divine and immortal, being neither carnal nor corporeal by nature, and this they say is the true man made in the image and likeness of God; and he is the work of God, and not of chance nor of spontaneous growth, but of the universal Cause Himself, when by divine decree He had willed that the earthly regions should not be without a share of intelligent and rational being, that so the befitting hymn of praise should ascend to Him from all creatures in heaven and earth and sky, which possess reason and are able to apprehend His divine nature.

Thus then it is contained in the oracles of the Hebrews: ‘And God said, Let us make man in our image, and after our likeness: and God created man, in the image of God created He him.’ And again: ‘And God took dust from the earth and formed man, and breathed breath of life into his face; and man became a living soul.’ This again is interpreted by Philo the Hebrew, adding yet the following to his sayings which have been quoted.

CHAPTER XVIII

[PHILO IUDAEUS] ‘BUT whereas the others, who said that our mind is a part of the ethereal nature, connected man by kinship with the ether; the great Moses did not liken the form of the reasonable soul to any of the things created, but said that it was a genuine coinage of that divine and invisible Spirit, marked and stamped by the seal of God, the impress of which is the eternal Word. “For God,” says he, “breathed breath of life into his face, and man became a living soul.” So that he who receives that breath must be made like to Him that sends it forth.

‘Wherefore also it is said that man was made in the image of God, but not in the image of anything created. It naturally followed then that, as man’s soul was fashioned after the likeness of the archetypal Word of the First Cause, so his body, being raised up toward heaven the purest portion of the universe, should lift its eyes on high.’

So far Philo. With good reason then does the sacred Scripture affirm that man was not made in the same way as the other animals; because some of them came forth from the earth at one command of God the King of all, and others again at His bidding flew up out of the watery element: but of the living creatures upon earth only the most beloved of God, ourselves, have been made in our soul after the image and likeness of God. And in reference to this man is also regarded as having the nature of a ruler and a king, and is the only one of the creatures upon earth that has powers of reasoning, creating, judging, and legislating, and is capable of learning arts and sciences. For only the soul in man is an intelligent and rational essence, in which the other animals on earth do not participate.

They therefore are serfs, and fill the place of servants to man: while he as lord and ruler enslaves and subjugates those that are far superior in bodily strength, but inferior by their privation in regard to the intelligent essence.

He therefore, they say, was created with a certain singular excellence after the image and likeness of God by God Himself. And for this reason he is able to attain to a presentation of the concept of God, and to form perceptions of wisdom and righteousness and every virtue, to calculate also the courses of sun and moon and stars, and the cycles of days and seasons, thanks to the kinship with heaven, which man alone of mortal things exhibits.

But the outward frame enveloping this part of man is essentially different in kind and born of the earth, yet this also itself is a work of God taken from earth and returning to earth. And therefore we ought to care for this part as much as a master cares for a brute beast when distressed, and to treat it gently, and feed it just as a slave well attached to the service of human life; but the master within, as being of noble birth and in nature akin to God, we must honour in liberal ways, as having also received honour from the First Cause of all.

The oracles at least say that the Universal King, having adorned man's original nature with divine powers and with the likeness of God, allotted his first mode of life in accordance with the gifts which He had bestowed, and associated him with divine companies in a Paradise of good things.

Also that God on His part had in the beginning as an all-kind Father bestowed these blessings upon him, but that he by wilful choice fell away from these happier conditions, and for neglect of a divine command passed by exchange into the condition of mortality.

Wherefore also it is our highest concern to make piety our very first aim, and to amend the first transgression by a sequel of happier omen; and so to hasten on to the recurrence and restoration of our proper state. For the true end of man's nature is not here on earth sinking down into ruin and destruction, but in yonder place from which the first man fell away.

And therefore it is necessary to win back again the purity and likeness to God of the intelligent being within us; and to this all men must zealously strive with all their might to return, by devotion to piety and virtue.

Such were the philosophic doctrines concerning man's nature taught by the Hebrews originally, before any Greeks had even come into the world: for these being of yesterday and quite newly sprung up from the earth, designed to steal away the doctrines of barbarians, and did not abstain from those of the Hebrews, as our discourse in its progress will presently show.

But since it was peculiar to the Hebrew doctrines to regard the Supreme God as the one sole Creator of all things, including the substance underlying bodies, which the Greeks call *hylé* (matter), whereas countless multitudes of barbarians and Greeks alike stood opposed to this opinion, some of them declaring that matter was the source of evil and subsisted without beginning, and others that in its own nature it had neither quality nor shape, but by the

power of God had acquired its orderly arrangement together with its qualities; we must therefore show that the opinion of the Hebrews upholds a far better doctrine, approaching the question with logical demonstration, and overthrowing the opposite argument with correct reasoning.

I shall quote then the words of those who before our time have thoroughly examined the doctrine, and first of Dionysius, who in the first book of his exertations *Against Sabellius* writes on the subject before us as follows:

CHAPTER XIX

[DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS] 'NOR are they free from impiety who regarding matter as unoriginate give it over into the hand of God for orderly arrangement, inasmuch as being originally passible and changeable it yields to the alterations impressed upon it by God.

'For let them explain clearly from what source like and unlike originally subsist in God and in matter. For then we must further think of some higher than each of them, a thought which it is not lawful to entertain concerning God. For whence came it that they are unoriginate, a property said to be alike in both, and whence a third conceived to be higher than either of them?

'For if God is the absolutely unoriginate, and if the being unoriginate is, as one might say, His very essence, matter cannot be unoriginate; for matter and God are not the same: but if each is what it properly is, namely matter and God, while the unoriginate is attached to both, this manifestly is different from each of them, and earlier and higher than both.

'The idea however that these subsist together from the beginning, or rather that this one of them, the matter, subsists of itself, is utterly overthrown by the difference of their opposite conditions.

'For let them tell us the cause for which, though both be unoriginate, God on the one hand is impassible, unchangeable, immovable, actively operative, while the other is on the contrary passible, changeable, unstable, transformable.

'How then could they harmonize and agree in their course? Did God adapt Himself to the nature of matter, and so work it artistically? But this surely is absurd, that God should work like men, as a goldsmith, and a stonecutter, and in all the other handicrafts in which materials can be shaped and modelled.

'But if He gave to matter such qualities as He chose according to His own wisdom, and set His seal upon it in the manifold forms and varieties of shape and pattern of His own workmanship, then this is both a reverent and true account, and gives additional confirmation to the belief that God the real substance of the universe is unoriginate,

'For together with the being unoriginate He also combined His proper mode of existence. There is much then to be said against these men also, but it does not lie in our way now: yet in comparison with the most atheistical

polytheists these are the more reverent.'

Such are the extracts from Dionysius: but listen also to what Origen says.

CHAPTER XX

[ORIGEN] 'IF it is a difficulty to any one that, because of the case of human artists, he cannot admit that God furnished the existing world without any substratum of unoriginate matter, since neither can a statuary make his proper work without bronze, nor a carpenter without timber, nor a builder without stones, we must question him about God's power, whether God, if He wills to establish whatever He chooses, there being no defect nor weakness in His will, cannot establish that which He chooses.

'For as, according to all who bring in providence in their own argument, the qualities which were non-existent are established by Him as He chooses for the orderly arrangement of the whole by His unspeakable power and wisdom, so, the reason being the same in both cases, His will is able to bring into existence all the substance that He needs.

'For to those who will not admit that this is so we shall put the question, whether it does not follow from their argument that God by a lucky chance found the substance unoriginate, without which, had it not been supplied to Him by its unoriginate character, He could have produced no work at all, but would have continued to be no Creator, no Father, no Benefactor, no Good Being, nor anything else that is with good reason predicated of God.

'Whence also came the measurement of just so much of the substratum of matter as to suffice for the establishment of a world of the actual size? For it would seem as if some providence anterior to God must have supplied Him with the matter, providing that the art existing in Him should not have mere empty ideas from the want of any substance, with which He could co-operate in embellishing the world with so great beauty.

'Whence also has matter become capable of receiving every quality which God wills, unless God Himself made it for His own use just so much and such as He wished to have?

'At all events if we admit as a hypothesis that matter is unoriginate, this is what we shall say to those who wish to have it so; if without any providence supplying the, material substance to God it has become such as it is, what could providence, if it existed, have done more than their spontaneous chance?

'And if God Himself, when matter was non-existent, chose to prepare it,

what would His wisdom and divine power have done more than that which, as supposed, arose from the unoriginate? For if it is found that the same result would have been produced by providence, which was produced even without providence, what reason is there why we should not dispense with the Demiurge and the Artificer in the case of the world-order also?

‘For just as it is absurd in the case of this ordered world, so skilfully contrived, to say that it has become such without help from a wise Artificer, so it is also equally unreasonable that the matter, being of such extent, and such quality, and so pliable to the Artificer, the Word of God, has been unoriginate.

‘In answer, however, to those who compare the fact that no workman makes anything without material, we must say that they are comparing dissimilar cases. For providence supplies every artificer with his material, as coming from some former art either human or divine. This then will at present suffice in answer to those who, because it is said, “And the earth was invisible and unarranged,” think that material substance is unoriginate.’

So far this author. But the Hebrew Philo also in his book *Concerning Providence* gives the following account of matter:

CHAPTER XXI

[PHILO IUDAEUS] 'BUT concerning the quantity of the material substance, if it has indeed been created, there is this to be said. With a view to the creation of the world God estimated an exactly sufficient quantity of matter, so that there might be neither deficiency nor excess. For it would have been absurd that, whereas particular artists whenever they are making anything, and especially any costly thing, measure the quantity of materials that will suffice, yet He who devised numbers and measures and their equivalent relations to each other, should not have taken thought for a sufficiency.

'I shall therefore confidently assert that the world needed neither less nor more material substance for its furnishing, since otherwise it would not have been perfect, nor complete in all its parts; whereas now it has been well wrought and completed out of a perfect supply of material substance. For it is the proper mark of a workman thoroughly skilled in his art to see that he has sufficient material before beginning any fabric.

'Although therefore a man, even if he were superior in knowledge to all others, being unable entirely to escape from error which is natural to mortals, might perhaps be deceived in regard to the quantity of the matter, when practising his art, adding to it at one time as too little, and at another time taking from it as too much; yet He who is a kind of fountain of all knowledge was not likely to supply Himself with too little or too much of anything, inasmuch as He employs measures elaborated to a marvellous exactness, all satisfactory.

'But he who chooses to prate at random, might as well at once bring forward against us the works of all artists as having gained an advantage in their construction by the addition or diminution of something in the materials. However that may be, it is the part of sophistry to invent quibbles, but of wisdom to examine thoroughly everything in nature.'

Let this suffice to show the character of Philo's opinions. Maximus too, a man not undistinguished in the Christian life, has composed a special treatise *Concerning Matter*; from which I think it will be useful to quote some sentences of moderate length, for the accurate decision of the question before us.

CHAPTER XXII

[MAXIMUS] 'I DO not suppose that you any more than myself are ignorant that it is impossible for two unoriginate things to subsist together, although you certainly seem to have attached to your argument this presupposition, that it is absolutely necessary to affirm one of two things, either that God is separate from matter, or on the other hand that He is inseparable from it.

'Should any one therefore choose to say that He is united with it, that will be an assertion that the Uncreate is one only; for each will be a part of the other, and being parts each of the other they will not be two uncreated, but one consisting of different parts; for as we do not say that man though consisting of different parts is broken up into the small coin of many created things, but, as reason requires, we say that man is one being of many parts created by God, so, if God is not separate from matter, we must necessarily say that the Uncreated is one only.

'But if any one shall affirm that He is separate, there must of necessity be something that is intermediate between the two, which also makes their separation evident. For it is impossible that one thing can be proved to be separate from another, when there is no third in which the separation between them is found. And this stands true not only in this and any single case, but in very many.

'For the argument which we used in the case of two uncreated beings must necessarily succeed equally well, if the uncreated things were admitted to be three. For in their case also I should ask, whether they are separated one from another, or on the contrary each united to his neighbour.

'So if any one should choose to say that they were united, he will receive the same answer as the first; but if, on the contrary, that they are separated, he cannot avoid the necessary existence of something that separates them.

'But if perchance any one should say that there is also a third statement which may fitly be made concerning things uncreated, that is, that God is not separated from matter, nor on the other hand united with it as a part, but that God exists as it were locally in matter or matter in God, let him receive the conclusive answer, that if we call matter the place of God, we must of necessity say that He can also be contained, and is circumscribed by matter.

'Moreover He must be carried about like matter in a disorderly way, and

does not remain settled and constant in Himself, when that in which He exists is carried now this way and now that. And besides this we must also say that God has existed in things of worse nature. For if matter was once without order, and He wishing to change it for the better put it into order, there was a time when God was in things without order.

‘I might also fairly ask this question, whether God completely filled matter, or was in some portion only of it. If then any one should choose to say that God was in some portion of matter, he makes Him very much smaller than matter, if indeed a part of it contained the whole of Him: but if he should say that God is in all matter, he has to explain how He was to work upon it. For he must either say that there was a sort of contraction of God, and that when this was effected He wrought upon that part from which He had receded; or else that He wrought upon Himself together with the matter, not having any place into which He could withdraw.

‘If however any one shall say that matter is in God, it is equally necessary to inquire whether it is by God’s being separated from Himself, just as tribes of living creatures subsist in the air, by its being divided and parted for the reception of the creatures that arise in it; or whether matter is in God as in a place, that is, as water is in land.

‘For if we should say, “As in the air,” we must necessarily say that God is divisible: but if, “As water is in land,” and if matter was in confusion and disorder, and moreover contained evils, we are compelled to say that God is the place of disorder and evil: which seems to me an irreverent statement, nay more, a dangerous one. For you claim the existence of matter in order to avoid calling God the author of evil, and while wishing to escape from this you say that He is the receptacle of evil.

‘Now if you had said that from the nature of existing creatures you supposed matter to be uncreated, I should have had much to say about matter in proof that it cannot possibly be uncreated. But since you said that the origin of evil was the cause of such a supposition, I therefore think it well to proceed to the examination of this latter point. For when a clear statement has been given of the mode in which evils exist, and of the impossibility of denying that God is the author of evil, if matter is attributed to Him, I think that such a supposition is utterly overthrown.

‘You say then that co-existing from the beginning with God there is matter

without qualities, out of which He formed the beginning of this world?’

‘Such is my idea.’

‘Well then, if matter was without qualities, and if the world has been made by God, and there are qualities in the world, God must have been the maker of the qualities.’

‘That is true.’

‘Now since I heard you say before, that it is impossible for anything to be made out of the non-existent, answer me this question of mine. Do you think that the qualities of the world have not been produced out of pre-existing qualities?’

‘I think so.’

‘But are something else besides the substances?’

‘That is so.’

‘If then God made the qualities neither out of pre-existing qualities, nor out of the substances, because they are not themselves substances, we are compelled to say that they have been made by God out of non-existents. And hence I thought it was too much for you to say, that it was impossible to suppose that anything has been made by God out of non-existents.

‘However, let the argument on this point stand as follows: Even among ourselves we see men making some things out of what is non-existent, however much they seem to be making them in some material: as for instance let us take our example in the case of architects. For they make cities not out of cities, and temples in like manner not out of temples.

‘But if, because there are substances underlying these things, you suppose that they make them out of existing things, your argument deceives you. For it is not the substance that makes the city, or the temples, but the art which is employed about the substance; and the art is not produced out of some underlying art in the substances, but is produced out of an art which is non-existent in them.

‘But I suppose you will meet my argument in this way, that the artist makes the art which is in the material substance out of the art which he has in himself. Now in answer to this I think it may fairly be said, that it is not produced even in the man out of any underlying art. For it is not possible to grant that the art exists independently by itself, since it is one of the accidents, and one of those things which have existence given to them at the moment

when they are produced in a substance.

‘For the man will exist even apart from his skill as an architect, but this will have no existence unless there be first a man. And hence we are compelled to say that it is the nature of the arts to be produced in men out of what is non-existent. If therefore we have now shown this to be so in the case of men, why was it not proper to say that God was able to make not only qualities but also substances out of what was non-existent? For the proof that it is possible for something to be made out of what is non-existent shows that this is the case with the substances also.

‘But since you are anxious to inquire concerning the origin of evil, I will pass to the discussion of that subject. And I wish first to ask you a few questions. Do you think that evils are substances, or qualities of substances?

‘I think it is right to say that they are qualities of substances.

‘But matter, we said, has no quality nor shape?

‘So I declared in the preface to my argument.

‘If therefore evils are qualities of substances, and matter had no qualities, but God, you said, was the maker of qualities, God must be also the creator of evils. When therefore even in this way it is impossible to say that God is not the cause of evils, it seems to me superfluous to attach matter to Him. But if you have anything to say against this, begin your argument.

‘If our inquiry arose out of contentiousness, I should not think it right to give a second definition of evils: but since it is rather for the sake of friendship and the benefit of our neighbour that we are examining the questions, I think it right to allow a new definition concerning them.

‘I think it must have been long manifest to you, that my purpose and my earnest desire in our arguments is, that I do not wish to gain a victory by plausible statement of falsehood, but that the truth should be shown by means of accurate inquiry. And I clearly understand that you also are so disposed. Wherefore employ without any diffidence whatever kind of method you think will enable you to find the truth: for by employing the better method you will benefit not only yourself, but certainly me also on matters of which I am ignorant.’

‘I think you plainly admitted that evils also are a kind of substances?’

‘Yes, for I do not see them existing anywhere apart from substances.’

‘Since then you say, my good sir, that evils also are substances, it is

necessary for us to examine the definition of substance. Is it your opinion that substance is a kind of concrete body?’

‘It is.’

‘And does the concrete body subsist of itself independently, not requiring anything from whose previous existence it may receive its being?’

‘Just so.’

‘And do you think that evils depend on action of some kind?’

‘So it seems to me.’

‘And do actions come into being at the moment when the agent is present?’

‘Such is the case.’

‘And when the agent does not exist, there will never be any action of his?’

‘There will not.’

‘Well then, if substance is a kind of concrete body, and this requires nothing in union with which it may begin to exist, and if evils are actions of some agent, and if actions do require something in union with which they begin to exist, evils cannot be substances.

‘But if evils are substances, and murder is an evil, murder will be a substance: yet surely murder is an action of some one, and so murder is not a substance. If however you mean that the agents are substances, I too agree. For example, a man who is a murderer, in respect of his being man is a substance: but the murder which he does is not a substance, but a work of the substance.

‘So we say in one case that the man is evil, because of his committing murder, and in a contrary case that he is good, because of his doing good. And these names are attached to the substance in consequence of its accidents, which are not itself: for the substance is not murder, nor again adultery, or any of the like evils. But just as the grammarian is named from grammar, and the rhetorician from rhetoric, and the physician from the art of physic, though his substance is neither the art of physic nor yet rhetoric, nor grammar, but receives the name from its accidents, from which it seems fit to be so called, although it is neither one nor the other of them, in like manner it appears to me that the substance also acquires an additional name from what are thought to be evils, though it is neither of them.

‘And in like manner if you imagine some other being in the mind as the cause of evils in men, I would have you consider that he also, inasmuch as he

works in them and suggests the doing evil, is himself evil in consequence of what he does. For he too is said to be evil for this reason that he is the doer of evils. But the things which any one does are not himself, but his actions, from which he receives the name of being evil.

‘For if we were to say that he himself is what he does, and if he does murders and adulteries and thefts and all the like, then he himself is these: and if he is himself these, and these gain real existence at the time of being done, and in ceasing to be done cease to exist, and it is by men that they are done — then the men must be the makers of themselves and the causes of their own being and ceasing to be.

‘Whereas if you say that these are his actions, he has the character of being evil from what he does, not from what constitutes his substance. But we said that a man is called evil from the accidents pertaining to his substance, which are not the substance itself, as the physician from the art of physic.

‘If then each man is evil in consequence of his actions, and if his actions receive a beginning of existence, then that man also began to be evil, and these evils too had a beginning. And if this is so, a man will not be without a beginning in evil, nor evils un-originate, because we say that they originate with him.’

‘The argument against your opponent you seem to me, my friend, to have completed satisfactorily. For from the premises which you assumed for your argument you seemed to draw the conclusion fairly. For in very truth, if matter was without qualities, and God is the maker of qualities, and evils are qualities, then God must be the maker of evils.

‘As to the argument then against that opponent, let us grant that it has been well stated: but in my opinion it is false to say that matter has no qualities; for of no substance whatever is it permissible to say that it is without qualities. For while describing what kind of thing matter is, the speaker indicates its quality by saying that it is without qualities, for that is a certain kind of quality.

‘Therefore, if you please, take up the argument again from the beginning against me; since in my opinion matter has qualities eternally and without beginning. For so I maintain that evils arise from the emanation of matter, in order that God may not be the cause of evils, but matter the cause of them all.’

‘I welcome your ready zeal, my friend, and commend your earnestness in

these discussions. For certainly every one who wishes to learn ought not to assent simply and at random to what is said, but should make a strict examination of the arguments. For even if the opponent by giving a false definition affords his adversary an opportunity of drawing such a conclusion as he pleases, it does not follow that he will persuade the hearer of this, but if he shall say what seems possible to be said fairly. From which one of two things must follow; for either he will gain the full benefit of hearing an answer to the question which seems to be stirred, or he will convict his opponent in the argument of saying what is not true.

‘I think then that you ought not to have stated that matter possesses qualities eternally. For if this is so, of what will God be the maker? For whether we say substances, these we affirm existed before; or on the other hand qualities, these also were there.

‘Since therefore substance exists, and qualities also, it seems to me superfluous to say that God is a creator. But that I may not seem to be arranging an argument for myself, do you now answer the question, in what way do you say that God is a creator? Is it that He changed the substances so that they were no longer those which they once were, but became others different from them? Or that He kept the substances the same that they were before, but changed their qualities?’

‘I do not at all think that there has been any change of substances: for this appears to me an absurd thing to say. But I assert that there has been a certain change of the qualities, in respect to which I say that God is a creator; just as if one should chance to say that a house has been made out of stones, of which we cannot say that they are no longer stones in their substance, when the stones have become a house.

‘For I say that the house has been made by the quality of construction, the former quality of the stones having evidently been changed. Just so it seems to me that God also, while the substance remains, has made a certain change in its qualities, in reference to which I say that the creation of this world has come from God.’

‘Since therefore you assert that a certain change of the qualities has come from God, answer me a few questions which I propose to ask. Tell me now whether like myself you also think that evils are qualities of substances?’

‘I think so.’

‘And were these qualities in matter eternally, or had they a beginning of existence?’

‘I say that these very qualities were eternally co-existent with matter.’

‘But do you not say that God has made some change of the qualities?’

‘That is what I say.’

‘Was the change then for the better or for the worse?’

‘I am disposed to say, for the better.’

‘Well then, if evils are qualities of matter, and God changed its qualities for the better, we are compelled to ask, whence came the evils. For the qualities did not remain of the same kind as they were by nature. Either, if there were no evil qualities previously, but such qualities, you say, have grown around the matter from the first qualities having been changed by God, God must be responsible for the evils, as having changed what were not evil qualities so that they now are evil.

‘Or do you not think that God changed the evil qualities for the better, but say that the rest, and so many only as were neither good nor bad for the purpose of arranging the world, have been changed by God?’

‘So I held from the beginning.’

‘How then do you say that He has left the qualities of the bad as they were? Was it that He was able to annihilate them also, but had not the will; or that He had not the power? For if you say that He had the power but not the will, you must necessarily admit that He is responsible for them, because though He had power to bring evils to an end, He permitted them to remain as they were, especially at the time when He began to operate on matter.

‘For if He had taken no care at all about matter, He would not have been responsible for what He permitted to remain. But when He began to operate on a certain portion of it, but left a portion as it was, though He had power to change that also for the better, it seems to me that He incurred the responsibility of causing it, as having left a portion of matter to be mischievous in the destruction of the part on which He operated.

‘Moreover in regard to this part it seems to me that the very greatest wrong has been done: this part, I mean, of matter which He so arranged that it now participates in evils. For if one were to examine the facts carefully, he would find that matter has now fallen into a worse condition than its former disorder. For before it was arranged in order, it might have had no sensation at all of

evil; but now each of its parts becomes sensible of evils.

‘Now let me give you an example in the case of a man. For before he was fashioned and made a living creature by the Creator’s skill, he had from his nature the advantage of not participating in any evil at all: but from the time of his being made man by God, he also receives the sensation of approaching evil, and this, which you say has been done by God for the benefit of matter, is found rather to have been added to it for the worse.

‘But if you say that the reason why evils have not been made to cease was that God was not able to annihilate them, you will be asserting that God is deficient in power: and the want of power will mean either that He is by nature weak, or that being overcome by fear He has been brought into subjection by some greater power.

‘If then you will dare to say that God is weak by nature, you seem to me to be in danger for your very salvation: but if through being overcome by fear from the greater power, the evils will be greater than God, as prevailing over the impulse of His will; which seems to me an absurd thing to say of God.

‘For why will not rather these evils be gods, as being able according to your argument to overcome God, since we say that God is that which has the authority over all things?

‘I wish, however, to ask you a few questions also about matter itself. So tell me now, whether matter was something simple or compound: for the diversity of its products brings me round to such a mode of examining this subject. Since if matter was simple and uniform, but the world compound, and composed out of different substances and mixtures, (it is impossible to say that it has been made out of matter, because compounds cannot be composed out of a single thing which has no qualities); for “compound” signifies a mixture of several simple things.

‘But if on the other hand you should choose to say that matter is compound, you must of course say that it has been composed out of certain simple things. Now if it was composed out of simple things, those simple things once existed by themselves, and matter has come from their composition; whence also it is shown to be created.

‘For if matter is compound, and compounds are constituted out of simples, there was once a time when matter did not exist, that is to say, before the simples came together. But if there was once a time when matter did not exist,

but never a time when the uncreate did not exist, matter cannot be uncreate. Henceforward, however, there will be many uncreate things. For if God was uncreate, as well as the simple elements out of which matter was composed, the uncreate will not be two only.

But is it your opinion that no existing thing is contrary to itself?’

‘It is.’

‘And is water contrary to fire?’

‘It appears to me contrary.’

‘And in like manner darkness to light, and heat to cold, and also moist to dry?’

‘I think it is so.’

‘Therefore if no existing thing is contrary to itself, (and these are contrary to each other) they will not be one and the same matter, nor yet from the same matter. I wish, however, to ask you again another question like this. Do you think that the parts of a thing are not destructive one of another?’

‘I do.’

‘And that fire and water, and the rest in like manner, are parts of matter?’

‘They are so.’

‘Well then? Do you not think that water is destructive of fire, and light of darkness, and all the other similar cases?’

‘I do think so.’

‘Therefore if the parts of a thing are not destructive one of another, while the parts of matter are destructive one of another, they will not be parts one of another: and if they are not parts one of another, they will not be parts of the same matter: nay more, they will not themselves be matter, because, according to the adversary’s argument, no existing thing is destructive of itself.

‘For nothing is contrary to itself; because it is the nature of contraries to be contrary to others. As for example white is not contrary to itself, but is said to be the contrary of black: and light is shown in like manner not to be contrary to itself, but appears to have that relation to darkness, and very many other things of course in the same way.

‘If therefore there were also one kind of matter only, it would not be contrary to itself: but since such is the nature of contraries, it is proved that the one only kind of matter has no existence.’

So far the author before mentioned. And since the discourse has now been

sufficiently extended, we will pass on to the eighth book of the *Preparation for the Gospel*; and after invoking the help of God, will fill up what is wanting to the preceding speculation.

BOOK VIII

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Providence

PREFACE

IN the preceding Book, I have traced the lives of the Hebrews of old time before the appearance of Moses, men beloved of God who proved that title true by crowning themselves with the rewards of every virtue. Their pious doctrines also and instructions I described, and moreover their perfectly true and religious beliefs concerning God, which we have confessed that we Christians had come to love and to desire. And now, following the order of succession, I will pass on to the civil polity in the time of Moses, which after that first stage in religion presents a second, namely that which, is provided with legal ordinances quite peculiar to the Jewish nation.

For we shall prove at the proper opportunity that the institutions of Moses were suited to Jews alone, and not to the other nations of the world, nor were possible to be observed by all men, I mean by those who dwelt at a distance from the land of Judaea, whether Greeks or barbarians.

But now I am going to set forth this mode of life, I mean the life in the time of Moses, not in words of my own, but as before only in the words of the very authors who have been approved among the Jews for their hereditary learning: for I think it is proper for me to present the testimonies on which my proofs rest, in the same way as I began, through the authors properly belonging to each subject.

As therefore I called up Phoenicians, and Egyptians, and Greeks as witnesses of the matters well known among themselves in their own country, so it seems to me that the present occasion properly claims these Jewish witnesses, and not that I should myself be supposed to be giving a superficial sketch of matters foreign to me.

But before coming to this point, I think it necessary to set plainly before my readers, how the oracles of the Jews passed to the Greeks, and what was the method settled for the interpretation of the sacred writings entrusted to them; showing also the number and character of the interpreters, and the great zeal of the king, whereby those oracles came to be translated into the Greek language; for the explanation of these matters also will not be unadvisable in regard to my proof of the *Preparation for the Gospel*.

For when the light of the salutary preaching of our Saviour was all but ready to shine forth unto all men in the Roman empire, more than ordinary reason required that the prophecies concerning Him, and the mode of life of

the pious Hebrews of old, and the lessons of their religious teaching, hidden from long ages in their native tongue, should now at length come forth to all the nations, to whom the knowledge of God was about to be introduced; and then God Himself, the author of these blessings, anticipating the future by His foreknowledge as God, arranged that the predictions concerning Him who was to appear before long as the Saviour of all mankind, and to establish Himself as the teacher of the religion of the One Supreme God to all the nations under the sun, should be revealed to them all, and be brought into the light by being accurately translated, and set up in public libraries. So God put it into the mind of King Ptolemy to accomplish this, in preparation, as it seems, for that participation in them by all the nations which was so soon to take place.

For we should not otherwise have got from the Jews those oracles which they would have hidden away for their jealousy of us; but these in consequence of the divinely ordered interpretation were vouchsafed to us in a translation by the men who were approved among them for intelligence and hereditary culture.

These things are described by Aristeas, a man who besides being learned was moreover engaged in the transactions of the time of the second Ptolemy, surnamed Philadelphus, in whose reign the translation of the Jewish Scriptures, made through the zeal of the king, was awarded a place in the libraries of Alexandria. But it is time to listen to the author himself relating the matter word for word in the following manner:

CHAPTER II

[ARISTEAS] ‘WHEN Demetrius Phalereus was appointed over the king’s library, he acquired large sums of money with the view of collecting all the books in the world, and by making purchases and transcriptions brought the king’s purpose to completion, as far as in him lay.

‘So being asked in our presence how many myriads there are of books, he answered — — “Over twenty myriads, O king: and I shall endeavour to have the rest made up to fifty myriads in a short time. It has also been notified to me that the customs of the Jews are worthy of transcription and of a place in thy library.”

“What is there then,” said the king, “to hinder you from doing this? For all that you can require has been assigned to you.” And Demetrius replied — — “An interpretation also is required; for in Judaea they use characters peculiar to themselves, just as the Egyptians use their own position of the letters, inasmuch as they have also a language of their own. And they are supposed to employ Syriac, but that is not so, for it is a different kind of language.”

‘And when the king understood everything, he ordered a letter to be written to the High Priest of the Jews, in order that the aforesaid matters might be completed.’

And further on he adds:

‘And when this was accomplished, the king commanded Demetrius to report on the description of the Jewish books. For all matters were arranged by these kings in ordinances and with great accuracy, and nothing thrown off at random. For this reason also I have given a place to the report and to the copies of the letters, and to the number of the offerings sent, and the manufacture of each, because every one of them was distinguished by the grandeur of the parts and artistic skill. A copy of the report is as follows:’

CHAPTER III

“TO THE GREAT KING FROM DEMETRIUS.

“IN accordance with thy command, O king, that the books which were wanting to the completion of the library might be collected, and that the parts which had been damaged might be properly restored, I have very carefully given my attention to these matters, and now present my report to thee.

“There are wanting the books of the Law of the Jews, together with some few others. For they are expressed in Hebrew characters and language, and are rather carelessly written, and not as they are in the original, according to the report of those who know best, since they have not had the benefit of the king's providence.

“But it is right that thou shouldest possess these also thoroughly corrected, because this legislation, being divine, is very full of wisdom and sincerity. For which reason both prose-writers and poets and the multitude of historians have avoided the mention of the aforesaid books, and of the men who ordered their life according to them, because, as Hecataeus of Abdera says, the mode of thought therein is of a pure and venerable character.

“If therefore it seems good, O king, there shall be a letter written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, to send elderly men who have lived the most honourable lives, and are experienced in matters of their own Law, six from each tribe, in order that we may test the agreement by a large number, and after receiving the exact interpretation, may give it a distinguished place, in a manner worthy both of the circumstances and of thy purpose. Good fortune be ever thine.”

‘And when this report had been presented, the king commanded a letter to be written to Eleazar on this subject, informing him also of the release of the captives which had taken place. He also gave for the manufacture of bowls and cups, and a table, and flagons, fifty talents weight of gold, and seventy talents weight of silver, and a large quantity of precious stones.

‘And he commanded the treasurers to give to the artists the choice of whatever they should prefer, and of current coin as much as a hundred talents for sacrifices and other things. Concerning the workmanship, we will give you information, as soon as we have gone through the copies of the letters. The king's letter was in the following form:’

CHAPTER IV

“KING PTOLEMY TO THE HIGH PRIEST ELEAZAR, GREETING AND HEALTH.

“WHEREAS it happens that many Jews who were carried away from Jerusalem by the Persians in the time of their power, have been settled in our country, and many more have come with my father into Egypt as prisoners of war, of whom he enrolled many in the military class on higher pay, and likewise, when he judged the chief of them to be faithful, built fortresses and entrusted them to their charge, in order that through them the native Egyptians might be intimidated: and whereas we having succeeded to the kingdom deal very kindly with all men, and more especially with your fellow countrymen, for we have released more than ten myriads of them from captivity, by paying their masters the due price in money, and amending whatever wrong was done through the attacks of the mobs, having taken a pious resolution to do this and to dedicate a thank-offering to the Most High God, who has preserved our kingdom in peace and in the highest glory in all the world: we have also enrolled in the army those of the most vigorous age, and appointed those whom we judged capable to be about our person and worthy of trust about the court.

“And whereas we wish to show favour to thee also and to all the Jews throughout the world, and to those who shall come after, we have purposed that your Law should be translated in the Greek language out of what you call the Hebrew language, in order that these books also may be kept in our library with the rest of the royal books.

“Thou wilt, therefore, be acting well and in a manner deserving our favour, in choosing out men of honourable lives, advanced in years, who are skilled in the Law and able to interpret it, out of each tribe six, that so agreement may be obtained from the large number, because the inquiry concerns matters of great importance. For we think that if this is accomplished, we shall gain great glory from it.

“Now concerning this business we have sent Andreas one of the chiefs of our bodyguard and Aristetas, men in honour with us, to converse with thee, and to bring the first-fruits of our offerings to the temple, with a hundred talents of silver for sacrifices and other things. And do thou also write to us on

whatsoever thou desirest: for thou wilt gratify us, and be doing what deserves our friendship; for whatever things thou mayest prefer shall be performed as quickly as possible. Farewell.”

‘In answer to this, Eleazar wrote back appropriately as follows:’

CHAPTER V

“ELEAZAR HIGH PRIEST TO KING PTOLEMY, TRUE FRIEND, GREETING.

“IF thou art in good health thyself, and Queen Arsinoe thy sister, and thy children, that would be well, and as we wish; we ourselves also are well. On the receipt of thy letter we greatly rejoiced at thy purpose and noble design; and having assembled the whole people we read it before them, that they might know the reverence thou hast toward our God.

“We exhibited also the cups which thou hast sent, twenty of gold, and thirty of silver, five bowls, and a table for dedication of offerings, and a hundred talents of silver for offering sacrifices, and for whatever repairs the temple may yet need; and these have been brought by Andreas, one of those honoured in thy presence, and Aristetas, noble and virtuous men, eminent in learning, and worthy in all respects of thy training and just esteem.

“They communicated thy commands to us, and have also received from us an answer befitting thy deeds. For in all things whatsoever are expedient for thee. even if they are contrary to our natural disposition, we shall obey: since this is a mark of friendship and affection. For in many ways thou hast conferred upon our citizens benefits great and never to be forgotten.

“Immediately, therefore, we offered sacrifices on behalf of thee, and thy sister and children, and friends; and all the people prayed that it may happen to thee always according to thy desire, and that God who ruleth over all may preserve thy kingdom in peace with honour.

“Also, in order that the transcription of the sacred Law may be made conveniently and with safety, I chose out, in the presence of all, men of honour and virtue, of mature years, from each tribe six, and these I have sent with the Law. Thou wilt do well then, O righteous sovereign, in giving directions, as soon as the transcription of the books is made, that the men may be sent back to us again in safety. Farewell.”

Aristetas next interposes many statements concerning the proposed business, and after his account of the translation of the Scriptures adds in exact words:

‘And as soon as these volumes had been read, the priests and the elder men among the interpreters and rulers of the city, and the leaders of the people

stood up and said: "Since the interpretation of the books has been well and reverently made and accurately in every point, it is right that they should continue as they are, and that no revision take place." And when all had shouted in approval of this saying, they commanded that, as their custom is, any one who should make a revision by adding or by taking away or by changing anything at all in what had been written should be accursed: in which they did rightly, in order that it might be always preserved as an overflowing fountain.

'When this also had been announced to the king, he was greatly rejoiced: for he thought that the purpose which he entertained had been safely accomplished. And all was read over before him, and he greatly admired the mind of the Lawgiver, and said to Demetrius: "How is it that, when so great deeds had been performed, none of the historians or poets ever attempted to make mention of them?" And he replied: "Because the legislation was sacred, and had come through God, and some of those who attempted it were smitten by God and ceased from the attempt."

'For he said that he had heard from Theopompus, that, when intending rather rashly to add to his history some of the passages which had been previously translated out of the Law, he had suffered from confusion of mind more than thirty days, but in the interval of relief he besought God that it might be made clear to him, what the reason of the occurrence was: and when he had been taught in a dream, that he had been over-curious in his desire to publish the divine oracles to common men, and had desisted, he was thus restored to his senses.

'From Theodectes also, the tragic poet, I was informed that as he was going to convert one of the events recorded in the Book into a drama he was stricken with cataract in the eyes, and having got a suspicion that it had happened to him for this reason, he propitiated God, and after many days was restored.

'And when the king had received, as I said before, the report from Demetrius concerning these books, he revered them, and commanded that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should be preserved in purity.'

Let this abridgement from the writing of the aforesaid author suffice: so now let us take a view of the polity established by the legislation of Moses

from authors illustrious among that people. And I will give the first place to the remarks of Philo on the journeying of the Jews from Egypt, which they made under Moses as their leader, quoting from the first book of what he entitled *Hypothetica*, where, in making his defence of the Jews as against their accusers, he speaks as follows:

CHAPTER VI

[PHILO IUDAEUS] ‘THEIR ancient forefather was from Chaldaea, and this people, who had emigrated from Syria in old times, removed out of Egypt, as they were increasing in countless myriads, and the land was not sufficient for them; moreover they had been highly trained in youthful confidence of spirit, and God also began to indicate their departure by visions and dreams. Thus under divine influence they had fallen into a very great longing for the ancient land of their forefathers, from which that ancestor of theirs passed over into Egypt, either because God so determined, or he by some foresight of his own became most prosperous, so that from his time to the present the nation has existed and still continues, and is so exceedingly populous.’

Then after a few sentences he says:

‘Their leader in this exodus and journey was a man superior in no respect, if you will have it so, to men in general; so often did they reproach him as a deceiver and a mischievous flatterer. Yet what a noble deceit and craft was that, whereby, when all the people were thirsty and hungry and ignorant of the way and in want of everything, he not only carried them through in perfect safety, and as it were in the midst of abundance, with free passage from the nations that lay between, but also kept them free from mutual dissension, and very obedient towards himself! This, too, he did not, as might be supposed, for a little while, but longer than even a single household would probably dwell together in unanimity and all abundance. And neither thirst nor hunger nor bodily disease, nor fear for the future, nor ignorance of what was to happen, stirred up against that deceiver the tribes who were deluded and perishing around him!

‘Yet what would you have me say? That the man possessed any such great art, or power of eloquence, or wisdom, as to prevail over difficulties so many and so strange, which were leading them all on to destruction? For either we must admit that the men under him were not naturally ignorant nor discontented, but obedient and not wanting in provident care for the future: or else, that though they were as bad as they could be, yet God soothed their discontents, and was, as it were, the presiding guardian both of their present and their future lot. For whichever of these cases may seem to you to be most true, it evidently is strongly in favour of praise and honour and admiration for

the whole people.

‘These then were the circumstances of the exodus. But after they had come into this land, how in time they became settled and got possession of the country, is shown in the sacred records. For my own part, however, I desire not so much to follow the method of history, as to describe what was probable according to any fair calculation concerning them.

‘For which do you prefer, that still abounding in numbers, although they had been extremely afflicted, they were nevertheless strong, and then, with their arms in their hands, took forcible possession of the country, by conquering both Syrians and Phoenicians who were fighting in their own land? Or, are we to suppose that though they were unwarlike and unmanly, and extremely few, and unprovided with the means of war, they yet found respect in the eyes of these nations, and obtained the land with their willing consent? And that then after no long time they straightway built the Temple, and established the other requisites for religion and worship?

‘These things seem to show that they were acknowledged even among their enemies to be most highly favoured of God. For enemies those necessarily were, whose land they had suddenly invaded, to take it from them.

‘If then among these they met with respect and honour, is it not evident that they surpassed all others in good fortune? And what more than this are we to say next as the second or third point? Shall we speak of their good laws well obeyed, or of their holiness, and justice, and piety? So greatly did they admire that man, whoever he was who gave them their laws, that whatever he approved they approved also.

‘Whether, therefore, he advised them from his own reasoning, or as he was divinely taught, they referred it all to God: and though many years have passed, I cannot say exactly how many, but more at all events than two thousand years, they have not altered even a single word of what had been written by him, but would rather endure to die ten thousand times, than yield to any persuasion contrary to his laws and customs.’

After these statements Philo gives an epitome of the civil government founded for the Jewish nation out of the laws of Moses, writing as follows:

CHAPTER VII

[PHILO IUD.] ‘Is there then among that people any of these customs or anything like them, anything seemingly mild and gentle, admitting solicitations of justice, and pretexts, and delays, and assessments, and subsequent mitigations of penalties? Nothing; but all is simple and clear. If thou commit sodomy or adultery, if thou violate a child, not to speak of a boy, but even a girl, in like manner if thou prostitute thyself, if even at an unsuitable age thou have suffered, or seem, or intend to suffer, anything disgraceful, the penalty is death.

‘If thou outrage either a slave or a free man, if thou keep him in bonds, if thou take him away and sell him, if thou steal either common things or sacred, if thou be guilty of blasphemy, not only by deed but even by a chance word, against God Himself I may not even say (God forgive me for the very thought of such a thing), but against father or mother or thine own benefactor, again it is death, and that no common or ordinary death; but he who has only spoken blasphemy must be stoned to death, as though for blasphemous deeds he could not have been worse.

‘There were other laws again, such as, that wives should be ruled by their husbands, not from any motive of insult, but with a view to obedience in all things: that parents should rule their children, for safety and greater care: that every one should be master of his own possessions, unless at least he had invoked God’s name upon them, or gave them up as to God. But if it should happen that he so promised merely by a word, he is no longer allowed to lay hand or finger upon them, but is to be at once excluded from all.

‘Speak not of plundering what belongs to the gods, nor of stealing what others have offered; but even in regard to his own property, if, as I said, a word has fallen from him unawares, yet having spoken it, he must be deprived of all: but if he repents or tries to correct what he has said, even his life is to be taken from him.

‘Also in the case of others over whom a man has authority, there is the same principle. If a man declare a wife’s aliment to be consecrated, he must cease to support her: if a father does so to a son, or a ruler to his subject, the effect is the same. A release also of what had been consecrated was the most perfect and complete, when the High Priest absolved, for under God he had

the right to receive it: but next to this, the absolution granted by those who in each case have greater authority is allowed to declare that God is propitiated, so that it is not compulsory to undertake the consecration.

‘There are countless other rules besides these, all that either rest upon unwritten customs and usages, or are contained in the laws themselves. Let no man himself do what he hates to have done to him: let him not take up what he did not lay down, neither from garden, wine-press, nor threshing-floor: let him not steal from a heap anything whatever, great or small; let him not begrudge fire to one that asks it; not shut up running waters; but to beggars and cripples collecting food, give it. as a pious offering to God.

‘Hinder not a corpse from burial, but help them to cast on more earth, enough at least for natural piety: disturb not at all the graves or monuments of the departed: add not bonds nor any further trouble to him who is in distress: destroy not the generative power of men by excision, nor of women by abortive drugs and other contrivances. Deal not with animals contrary to the way which either God or a lawgiver has enjoined: destroy not seed: enslave not thy offspring. Substitute not an unjust balance, nor a short measure, nor false coin: betray not the secrets of friends in a quarrel. What place then, in God’s name, can we give to those famous *Buzygia*?

‘But look at other precepts besides these. Separate not parents from children, not even if they are thy captives; nor wife from husband, even if thou art their master by lawful purchase. These, doubtless, are very grave and important commandments: but there are others of a trifling and ordinary character. Rifle not the bird’s nest under thy roof: reject not the supplication of animals which flee as it were sometimes for protection: abstain from any harm that may be even less than these. You may say that these are matters of no importance; but at all events the law which governs them is important, and is the cause of very careful observance; the warnings also are important, and the imprecations of utter destruction, and God’s oversight of such matters, and His presence as an avenger in every place.’

Then after a few sentences he says:

‘Are you not surprised that during a whole day, perchance, or rather not one day only, but many, and these not following one another in immediate succession, but after intervals of as many as seven days (while the custom of the ordinary days always prevailed as is natural), they yet should not have

transgressed one of these commandments? Does not this (you may ask) result merely from their practice of self-restraint, so that they are equally strong to work actively in any labour, and to cease from their work if necessary? Certainly not. But the Lawgiver thought it was necessary, even though at the cost of some great and extraordinary pains, that they should not only be able equally to do or leave undone all other things, but that they should be moreover well acquainted with their ancestral laws and customs.

‘What then did he do on these seventh days? He required them to assemble in the same place, and to sit down one with another in reverent and orderly manner, and listen to the laws, in order that none might be ignorant of them.

‘And so in fact they do always meet together and sit down one with another, most of them in silence, except when it is customary to add a word of good omen to what is being read. But some priest who is present, or one of the old men, reads to them the holy laws, and explains each separately till nearly eventide: and after that they are allowed to depart with a knowledge of their holy laws, and with great improvement in piety.

‘Do you not think this is more necessary for them than the most urgent business? So then they do not come to oracular interpreters with questions about what they should do or not do, nor do they of themselves act recklessly from ignorance of the laws; but whomsoever of them you accost and interrogate about the national customs, he can tell you readily and easily; and each seems qualified to impart a knowledge of the laws, husband to wife, and father to children, and master to servants.

‘Moreover it is easy to speak concerning the seventh year in like manner, though not perhaps quite the same. For they do not themselves abstain from work, as on those seventh days, but they leave their land fallow until the time comes again, for the sake of productiveness. For they think that it is much better after having had a rest, and that then it may be tilled for the next year, without having been exhausted by the continuance of cultivation.

‘The same thing you may see conducing to strength in our bodies; since it is not with a view to health only that physicians prescribe intervals of rest and certain relaxations from work: for what is always continuous and monotonous, especially in the case of labour, seems to be hurtful.

‘And this is a proof of it: for if any one were to promise to cultivate the land itself for them much more this seventh year than before, and to yield up

all the fruits entirely to them, they would by no means accept it. For they think that they not only themselves need to rest from their labours (though even if they did so, it would be nothing strange), but that their land needs to get some relaxation and repose for a fresh beginning of care and cultivation afterwards.

‘Else what was there, on God’s part, to hinder them in the past year from letting the land beforehand, and collecting from those who cultivated it their tribute of the (seventh) year’s produce?’

But, as I said, they will in no wise accept anything of this kind, from care, as I think, for the land.

‘And of their humanity, the following is in truth a great proof. For since they themselves rest from their work in that year, they think that they ought not to collect or store up the fruits that are produced, as not accruing to them from their own labours: but inasmuch as it is God who has provided for them these fruits, which the land produces of its own accord, they think it right that any who choose or are in want, travellers and others, should enjoy them with impunity.

‘Now on these points you have heard enough. For as to their Law having already established these rules for the seventh-day sabbaths you are not likely to question me, having probably often heard of this before from many physicians, and physiologists, and philosophers, what kind of influence it has upon the nature of all things, and especially upon the nature of man. This is the account of the seventh day.’

So far Philo. A similar account to his is given also by Josephus, in the second Book of his work *On the Antiquity of the Jews*, where he too writes in the following manner:

CHAPTER VIII

[JOSEPHUS] ‘BUT who it was that made the best laws, and attained the worthiest belief concerning God, it is easy for us to discern from the laws themselves by comparing them one with another: for it is time now to speak of these points.

‘Now although the particular differences in the customs and laws received among all mankind are infinite, one may go over them thus in a summary way.

‘For some entrusted the authority of their civil government to monarchies, and some to oligarchical dynasties, and others to the commons. Our Lawgiver, however, paid no regard at all to these, but rendered our government, as one might call it by a strained expression, a Theocracy, ascribing the authority and the power to God, and persuading all the people to look unto Him, as being the Author of all good things, both those which are possessed by all men in common, and whatever they themselves obtained by praying to Him in difficulties; persuading them also that it was not possible for any either of one’s actions or of one’s inward thoughts to escape His knowledge.

‘But Him he represented as uncreated, and for ever unchangeable, surpassing in beauty all mortal form, and unknown in His essential nature, though known to us by His power.

‘I do not now stay to show that the wisest among the Greeks were taught to entertain these thoughts of God from the principles which he supplied: but that these thoughts are honourable and becoming to God’s nature and majesty, they have borne strong testimony; for Pythagoras and Anaxagoras and Plato, and the Stoic philosophers who came after him, and almost all others, have evidently entertained such thoughts of God’s nature.

‘But whereas these men addressed their philosophy to few, and did not dare to publish the truth of their doctrine to multitudes prejudiced with other opinions, our Legislator, inasmuch as he made his actions agree with his laws, not only persuaded the men of his own time, but also inspired those who were to be begotten of them in every age with a belief in God that nothing could remove.

‘And the reason was, that he far surpassed all others in the tendency of his legislation towards utility. For he did not make religion a part of virtue, but

made other things parts of religion, and so looked at them all together and established them: I mean justice, temperance, fortitude, and the agreement of fellow citizens one with another in all things.

‘For all our actions and occupations, and all our discourse, have reference to piety towards our God: and none of these did he leave unexamined nor undetermined.

‘For there are in all education and moral training two methods, the one of which instructs by word, and the other by the training of moral habits. Other legislators therefore were divided in their judgements, and having chosen the one of these ways, each whichever pleased him, neglected the other. As for instance the Lacedaemonians and Cretans used to educate by habits, not by words; but the Athenians, and nearly all the other Greeks, enjoined by the laws what things men ought to do or leave undone, but took little care to habituate them thereto by actual deeds.

‘Our Lawgiver, however, combined both these ways with great care; for he neither left the practice of moral habits without explanation in words, nor suffered the teaching of the Law to go unpractised; but beginning at once from the nurture of infancy and from every man’s domestic mode of life, he left none even of the smallest matters freely dependent upon the wishes of those who were to deal with them; but even about kinds of food, from which one must abstain, and which one must adopt, and concerning those who should live in common with them, and concerning their diligence in labour and on the other hand their rest, he himself made the Law a limit and a rule, in order that living under this as a father and a master we might neither wilfully nor through ignorance commit any sin.

‘For he did not leave even the excuse from ignorance, but appointed the Law to be both the best and most necessary instruction, to be heard by them not merely once, nor twice nor many times; but every week he commanded them to desist from all other employments, and assemble for the hearing of the Law, and to learn it thoroughly and exactly, a thing which all legislators seem to have neglected.

‘And so far are the greatest part of mankind from living according to their own laws, that they hardly even know them; but when they sin, then they learn from others, that they have transgressed the law. Those too who administer the greatest and most absolute powers among them acknowledge

their ignorance, for they appoint those who profess to be expert in the laws to preside with them over the administration of affairs.

‘But any one of us whom a man might ask about the laws would tell them all more easily th’an his own name. So by learning them thoroughly as soon as ever we become sensible of anything, we have them engraven as it were on our souls: and while there are few who transgress, no plea can possibly save from punishment.

‘It is this before all things that has produced in us so wonderful an agreement. For to have one and the same opinion concerning God, and no difference between one and another, is our daily life and customs, produces a most excellent harmony in men’s moral dispositions.

‘For among us alone a man will hear no statements concerning God contradictory one to another, though such things are frequent in other nations; for not only by ordinary men is the casual feeling of each expressed, but even among some of the philosophers there has been the same rashness of utterance, some having undertaken to exterminate God’s nature altogether by their arguments, while others deprive Him of His providence over mankind. Nor will one observe any difference in the habits of life; but among us there is a community in all men’s actions, and unity of statement, in agreement with the Law, concerning God, declaring that He takes oversight of all things.

‘Moreover in regard to our habits of life, a man may learn even from women and servants that all other things must have piety for their end. Hence also has resulted the charge which some bring against us, that we have not produced men who were inventors of novelties in words or in works.

‘For others think it a fine thing to abide by no customs derived from their forefathers, and testify to the shrewd wisdom of those who are boldest in transgressing them: but we on the contrary have understood that the only wisdom and virtue is neither in act nor in thought to contradict at all the original enactments of our Law.

‘And this conduct may reasonably be considered a proof that the Law was admirably ordained. For ordinances which have not this character are proved by the tests of experience to require amendment: but for us, who were persuaded that the Law was from the beginning ordained in accordance with God’s will, it would thenceforth have been impious not to guard it safely.

‘For what part of it could one have altered? Or what could one have

discovered better, or what transferred from other laws as more useful? Should the whole constitution of the state have been altered? But what could be nobler or more just than the constitution which has made God ruler of the whole, and allows the administration of the chief affairs to the priests in common, but withal has entrusted the government over the other priests to the Chief Priest of all?

‘These from the very first the Lawgiver appointed to their honourable office, not as superior in wealth nor in any other accidental advantages; but he placed the service of God in the hands of those of his companions who excelled others in persuasiveness and prudence.

‘And herein was an exact care both of the Law and of the other institutions: for the priests were appointed overseers of all things, and judges of disputed matters, and punishers of those who had been condemned.

‘What government then could be more holy than this? Or what honour more befitting to God, since the whole people were trained to religion, and the priests entrusted with an especial superintendence, and the whole state administered in the manner of a religious solemnity?

‘For what other nations call “mysteries” and “solemnities,” and cannot observe in practice for a few days, these things we observe through our whole lifetime with much delight and unalterable purpose.

‘What then are these premonitions and proclamations? They are simple and easily known. And the first and leading precept is that which says of God, God holds all things together, being all-perfect, and blessed, sufficing for Himself and for all; He is the beginning, middle, and end of all things, manifest in His works and gifts, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever, but to us in form and magnitude most invisible.

‘Every material, costly though it be, is unworthy to form His image; and every art unskilled to conceive a similitude: no likeness of Him was ever seen or conceived, or may without impiety be represented.

‘His works we behold, light, heaven, earth, sun and moon, waters, generations of animals, produce of fruits. These things God made, not with hands, not with labour, not with need of any fellow workers, but when He willed them to be beautiful, at once they were born in beauty.

‘Him all must follow, and serve Him in the practice of virtue; for this mode of worshipping God is the most holy.

‘One temple of One God (for like is ever dear to like), a temple common to all men for the common God of all. The priests continually serve Him, and their leader is ever the first by birth. He together with his fellow priests is to offer sacrifices to God, to guard the laws, to judge of disputed matters, to punish the convicted. Whoever refuses to obey him must suffer punishment, as guilty of impiety towards God Himself.

‘The sacrifices which we offer are not for our own surfeit and drunkenness (for these things are contrary to God’s will, and may be made a pretext for insolence and extravagance), but are sober, orderly, and simply arranged, that in sacrificing men may be most temperate. Also at the sacrifices we must first pray for the common salvation, and then for ourselves, for we are made for fellowship; and he who esteems this higher than his private interest would be most acceptable to God.

‘In prayer let God be invoked and entreated, not that He give good things (for He has given them of His own free will, and has imparted them in common to all), but that we may be able to receive them, and, when we have gotten, to keep them.

‘At the offering of sacrifices the Law has prescribed purifications from mourning for the dead, from defilement, from conjugal intercourse, and many other things, which it would be too long now to write. Such is our doctrine concerning God and His worship, and the same is also our law.

‘Now what are the laws concerning marriages? Our law recognizes no other than the natural intercourse with a wife, and that, if it is to be for the sake of children. The intercourse of males it abhors; and should any one attempt it, the penalty is death.

‘It bids men marry, not out of regard to dowry, nor by forcible abduction, nor yet by crafty and deceitful persuasion, but to ask a woman in marriage from him who has the right to give her, and a woman suitable in respect of kin. Woman, it says, is inferior to man in all things: therefore let her obey, not to be insulted, but that she may be ruled: for God gave power to the man.

‘With her alone the husband must consort, and to attempt another’s wife is unholy. But should any one do this, no entreaty can save him from death; nor if he should violate a virgin betrothed to another man, nor if he should entice a married woman.

‘All children the Law ordered to be reared; and forbade women to cause

abortion or to destroy what is begotten: but if discovered, she would be guilty of child-murder, for destroying life, and diminishing the human race.

‘So then if any should proceed to defile the marriage-bed, he can no longer be pure. Even after the lawful intercourse of man and wife, the Law enjoins ablution: it supposed this act to involve a transference of part of the soul to another place. For by growing into union with bodies the soul suffers ill, and again when separated from them by death. For which reason, in all such cases, the Law appointed purifications.

‘Moreover, not even on the birthdays of children did it permit us to celebrate a feast and make pretexts for drunkenness; but it directed the very beginning of education to be temperate, and commanded us to instruct children in the learning that relates to the laws, and that they should be acquainted with the deeds of their forefathers; in order that they may imitate these deeds, and being bred up in those laws may neither transgress them, nor have any excuse from ignorance.

‘It provided for the reverence due to the dead, not by costly funeral rites, nor by erection of conspicuous monuments, but appointed the nearest relations to perform the usual obsequies, and made it customary for all who were passing by at the time of a burial to draw near and join in the mourning. It also commands that the house and its inhabitants be purified from the defilement of death, in order that one who has committed murder may be very far from thinking that he is undefiled.

‘It ordained the honour of parents to be next to that of God; and the son who does not requite the benefits received from them, but fails in any point, it delivers over to be stoned.

‘It also says that the young must pay honour to every elder, since the eldest of all things is God.

‘It does not permit the concealment of anything from friends, because that is no friendship which does not trust in all things: and if any enmity occur, it has forbidden the disclosure of their secrets.

‘Should any one acting as a judge take bribes, the penalty is death. If one disregards a suppliant, when it is in his power to help him, he is responsible. What a man did not lay down, he must not take up. He is not to touch anything belonging to another. If he has lent money, he must not take usury. These ordinances, and many like to these, bind close our fellowship with one

another.

‘But it is worth while to see also what was the mind of our Lawgiver in regard to equity towards men of other nations: for it will appear that he made the best of all provision, that we might neither destroy our own institutions, nor begrudge those who wished to share in them.

‘For all who are willing to come and live under the same laws with us, he receives in a friendly spirit, considering that affinity consists not only in race, but also in the purpose of life: but those who come to us only casually he did not wish to be mixed up in close communion with us.

‘He has, however, prescribed the other gifts which we are bound to impart; to supply to all that are in need fire, water, and food, to show them the roads, not to leave a corpse unburied.

‘Also in the treatment of those who are judged to be our enemies we must be equitable: for he does not let us ravage their land with fire, nor has he permitted us to cut down fruit-trees; nay more, he has forbidden us to spoil those who have fallen in battle, and has provided for captives, that no outrage be done to them, especially to women.

‘So far did he carry his zeal to teach us gentleness and humanity, that he did not neglect the care even of brute beasts; but permitted only the accustomed use of them, and forbade all other. Any of them which take refuge in our houses, like suppliants as it were, he forbade us to destroy; nor did he suffer us to slay the parents with the young: he bade us spare the labouring cattle even in an enemy’s country, and not put them to death.

‘Thus did he provide on all sides what tended to clemency, by using the aforesaid laws to instruct us, and on the other hand enacting the penal laws without any excuse against those who transgress. For most of the transgressors the penalty is death, if one commit adultery, if he violate a damsel, if he dare to make attempt on a man, if one so attempted submit to be abused.

‘In the case of slaves, also, the Law is equally inexorable. Moreover, if any one should cheat in regard to measures or weights, or in an unfair and fraudulent sale, and if one steal another’s property, and take up what he did not lay down, for all these there are penalties, not merely such as in other nations but more severe.

‘For in regard to injury to parents, or impiety towards God, if a man even

think of it, he is immediately put to death.

‘For those, however, who act in all things according to the laws there is a reward not of silver nor gold, no, nor yet a crown of wild-olive or parsley, with a corresponding proclamation; but each man who has the testimony of his own conscience is persuaded by the prophetic declaration of the Lawgiver, and by God’s confirmation of his faith, that to those who have constantly kept His laws, and would readily die, if it were needful in their defence, God granted that they should be born again, and receive in exchange a better life.

‘I should hesitate to write thus now, were it not manifest to all by their actions that many of our countrymen many times ere now, to avoid uttering a word against the Law, have nobly preferred to endure all sufferings. And yet had it not been the case that our nation is well known to all men, and that our voluntary obedience to the laws is manifest, but had some one either read them to the Greeks, saying that he had written them himself, or had asserted that somewhere out of the limits of the known world he had met with men, who held such a reverent notion concerning God, and had through long ages lived in constant obedience to such laws, I think that all men would have marvelled, because of the continual changes among themselves. At all events when men have attempted to write anything of a like kind in regard to polity and laws, they charge them with having made a collection of marvels, and assert that they adopted impossible assumptions.

‘And here I say nothing of those other philosophers who dealt with any such subject in their writings: but Plato, though admired among the Greeks, both as distinguished by gravity of life, and as having surpassed all who have been engaged in philosophy in power of expression and persuasiveness, is little better than scoffed at continually and ridiculed by those who claim to be clever in political matters.

‘And yet any one examining his writings would constantly find things milder and more nearly like the customs of mankind in general. And Plato himself has confessed that it was not safe to publish the true opinion concerning God to the unintelligent multitudes. Some, however, think that Plato’s discourses are empty words written in a fine style of great authority.

Among lawgivers Lycurgus has been most admired; and all men sing the praises of Sparta for having so long patiently endured his laws.

‘Well then, let it be confessed that this is a proof of virtue, to be obedient to

the laws. But let those who admire the Lacedaemonians compare their duration with the more than two thousand years of our political constitution: and let them further consider that though the Lacedaemonians seemed to observe their laws strictly so long as they retained their own liberty, yet when changes of fortune occurred to them they forgot almost all their laws: but we, though involved in countless vicissitudes, because of the changes of the ruling monarchs of Asia, yet never even in the extremities of danger betrayed our laws.’

These are the statements of Josephus concerning the political constitution of the Jews established by Moses. But with regard to the allegorical meaning shadowed out in the laws enacted by him, though I might say much, I think it sufficient to mention the narratives of Eleazar and Aristobulus, men originally of Hebrew descent, and, as to date, distinguished in the times of the Ptolemies.

Of these Eleazar, as we showed a little above, had been honoured with the dignity of the High-Priesthood, and when the ambassadors had come to him from the king for the sake of the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek tongue, he sketches out the nature of the allegorical sense in the sacred laws, and presents the doctrine of his discourse in the following form:

CHAPTER IX

[ARISTEAS] 'IT is worth while to mention briefly the information which he gave in answer to our inquiries: for some things included in the legislation usually seem to most persons to be over-scrupulous, I mean about meats and drinks, and the animals supposed to be unclean.

'For when we asked why, though there *is* but one and the same creation, some animals are considered unclean for eating and some even for touching, the legislation, which is superstitious in most things, is especially superstitious in these distinctions; in answer to this he began as follows.

'You observe, he said, what an effect is wrought in us by our modes of life and our associations, because, by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities, and are miserable through their whole life. But if they live with wise and prudent persons, instead of ignorance they secure an improvement in their mode of life.

'Our Lawgiver therefore determined first the things pertaining to godliness and righteousness, and gave particular instructions concerning them, not by prohibitions only, but also by examples, showing manifestly both the injurious effects, and the visitations wrought by God upon the guilty.

'For he explained first of all that God is One alone, and that His power is made manifest through all things, every place being filled with His dominion; and nothing that is secretly done by men on earth escapes His knowledge, but all a man's deeds stand open and manifest before Him, as also the things that shall be.

'Working out these truths therefore accurately, and having made them clear, he showed that if a man should even think of working wickedness, not to say, perpetrate it, he would not escape detection; for he showed that the power of God pervades the whole legislation.

'Having therefore made this commencement, he also showed that all mankind except ourselves believe that there are many gods, though they are themselves far more powerful than those whom they vainly worship. For when they have made statues of stone or wood, they say that they are images of those who invented something useful to them in life, and they fall down and worship them, though they have proof at hand of their insensibility.

'For to ascribe it to this cause, I mean to their invention, would be utterly

foolish; since they only took some of the things already created, and by combining them showed more clearly that their constitution is most useful, but did not themselves make them: wherefore it was a vain and foolish thing to make gods of men like themselves.

‘For even now there are many men more inventive and more learned than those of former times, and they should at once fall down and worship them!

‘The makers of these images and authors of these legends think that they are the wisest of the Greeks. For of the other utterly foolish people why need we even speak, Egyptians and the like, who have placed their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifice to them both while living and when dead?

‘So then our Lawgiver in his wisdom having taken a comprehensive view of everything, and having been prepared by God for knowledge of the whole, hedged us round with unbroken ramparts and with walls of iron, so that we might not be mixed up at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, freed from vain imaginations, and worshipping the One God more than the whole creation.

‘Hence the leading priests of the Egyptians, having looked closely into many matters, and gained a knowledge of our affairs, surname us men of God: a title which belongs to no others, except any who worship the true God; but the rest are men (not of God, but) of meats and drinks and clothing; for they are wholly disposed to betake themselves to these things.

‘By our people such things are held in no esteem, but throughout their whole life their contemplation is concerned with the government of God. Lest therefore by sharing in any defilement, or associating with evil, we should ourselves become depraved, they hedged us round on all sides with rules of abstinence, by lawful meats and drinks, and touch, and hearing, and sight.

‘For, speaking generally, all things are alike in reference to the natural order, as being governed by one power, and yet taken singly there is a deep reason in each case as to the things which we abstain from using, and those which we use in common.

‘To give an example, I will run over one or two things and explain them to you. For I would not have you fall into the degraded notion that Moses enacted these laws from superstitious scruples on account of flies, and weasels, or such things as these; but all things have been reverently ordered

with a view to holy circumspection, and perfecting of moral dispositions, for righteousness' sake.

'For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, as pigeons, doves, moor-fowls, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this kind. But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be fierce and carnivorous, a tyrannizing over the others by the strength with which they are endowed, and feeding with cruelty upon the wasteful slaughter of the tame birds before-mentioned. And not only so, but they also seize lambs and kids, and hurt human beings too, whether alive or dead.

'So by calling them unclean he by them gave a sign, that those for whom the legislation is ordained must practise justice in their soul, and not tyrannize over any one in reliance upon their own strength, nor rob them of any single thing, but steer their course of life according to justice, as the tame animals among the birds before-mentioned consume the kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth, and do not tyrannize to the destruction either of those beneath them or of their own kind.

'The Lawgiver therefore taught that by such means as these indications are given to the wise, to be just, and accomplish nothing by violence, and not tyrannize over others in reliance upon their own strength.

'For whereas it was not proper even to touch the animals before-mentioned on account of their several dispositions, ought we not to guard by all means against our moral habits being broken down to this degree?

'So then all the permissions given in case of these birds and of the cattle he has set forth in a figurative sense. For the division of the hoof and separation of the claws is a sign that we should make a distinction in every particular of our actions towards the side of right. 'For the strength of our whole bodies when in action depends for support upon the shoulders and the legs: therefore by the signification herein given he obliges us to perform all our actions with discrimination towards justice; and especially because we have been distinctly set apart from all men.

'For the majority of the other nations defile themselves by promiscuous intercourse, working great iniquity; and whole districts and cities pride themselves hereupon. For they not only have intercourse with males, but also defile women after child-birth, and even daughters: but from these nations we

have been distinctly separated.

‘But as man is the object to which the aforesaid symbol of separation refers, so has the Lawgiver also characterized the symbol of memory as referring to him. For all animals which divide the hoof and chew the cud manifestly set forth to the thoughtful the idea of memory. For rumination is nothing else than a reminiscence of life and sustenance.

‘For life is wont to be sustained by means of food. Wherefore he exhorts us by the Scripture in these words: “Thou shalt surely remember the Lord God, who wrought in thee those great and wonderful things.”

‘For when closely observed they are manifestly glorious, first the construction of the body, and the distribution of the food, and the distinction of each separate limb, and far more the orderly disposition of the senses, the action of the mind and its invisible movement, its quickness in acting according to each occurrence, and its invention of arts, have a delightful character.

‘Wherefore he exhorts us to remember how the aforesaid parts are held together and preserved by a divine power. For he has marked out every place and time with a view to our continually remembering the God who rules them, while we observe the beginning, and the middle, and the end of each.

‘For in the case of meats and drinks he bids us first consecrate a part, and then straightway use the rest. Moreover from the borders of our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance: and in like manner he has commanded us also to set the inspired words upon our gates and doors, to be a remembrance of God. Also upon our hands he expressly commands the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that we ought to perform every action in righteousness, keeping a remembrance of our own creation, but in all things remembering the fear of God.

‘He bids men also when lying down to sleep, and rising up, and walking in the way, to meditate upon the works of God, not only in word, but also by observing distinctly their own movement and their self-consciousness, when they are going to sleep, and then their waking, how the alternation of these states is divine and incomprehensible.

‘There has been shown to you also the excellence of the analogy in regard to distinction and memory, according to our explanation of the division of the hoof and the chewing of the cud. For the laws have not been enacted without

consideration and just according to what came into the mind; but with a view to truth and to the indication of right reason.

‘For after the several directions about meats and drinks and cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor to listen to anything thoughtlessly, nor to resort to injustice by employing the mastery of language.

‘In the case of the wild animals also the same principle may be discovered. For the disposition of the weasel, and of mice, and such animals as these, which have been expressly mentioned, is destructive. For mice defile and damage all things, not only for their own food, but even so far as to render utterly useless to man everything whatsoever it falls in their way to damage.

‘The weasel-kind too is singular: for, besides what has been said above, it has a mischievous constitution; for it conceives through the ears, and brings forth by the mouth. For this reason therefore such a disposition is declared impure for mankind. For by embodying in speech all that they have received through hearsay, they involve others in evils, and being themselves utterly defiled by the pollution of their impiety, work no ordinary impurity.

‘And your king, as we are informed, does quite right in destroying such men.

‘Then, said I, you mean, I suppose, the informers; for he continually exposes them to tortures and to painful kinds of death.

‘Why yes, he said, I do mean these: for watching for men’s destruction is an unholy thing: and our law commands us to hurt nobody by word nor deed.

‘On these subjects therefore it is enough for a brief description to have shown you, that all things have been regulated with a view to righteousness, and nothing has been appointed by the Scripture at random nor in a fabulous way; but in order that throughout our whole life we may in our actual conduct practise righteousness towards all men, remembering the God who is our Governor.

‘So concerning lawful meats and things unclean, creeping things and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness, and the just intercourse of mankind.

‘To me then he seemed to have made a good defence on the several points. For with reference also to the calves and rams and goats which were to be offered, he said that we should take these from the herds and flocks and make them tame, and offer no wild or fierce animal, that the offerers of the

sacrifices, having perceived the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver, might feel no arrogant self-consciousness.

‘For he who brings the sacrifice makes the offering of the whole disposition, of his own soul. Therefore on these points also I think that the particulars of our conversation are worthy of consideration, because of the august character of the law, which I have been led on to explain clearly to you, Philocrates, for the love of learning which you entertain.’

These are the accurate distinctions concerning the idea set forth allegorically in the sacred laws, which the High Priest gave to those Greeks who had come to him, thinking them likely to meet with the translations of the Scriptures which were about to be published. But it is time to hear what Aristobulus, who had partaken of Aristotle’s philosophy in addition to that of his own country, declared concerning the passages in the Sacred Books which are currently understood to refer to limbs of God’s body. This is that very man who is mentioned in the beginning of the *Second Book of Maccabees*: and in his writing addressed to King Ptolemy he too explains this principle.

CHAPTER X

[ARISTOBULUS] ‘WHEN, however, we had said enough in answer to the questions put before us, you also, O king, did further demand, why by our law there are intimations given of hands, and arm, and face, and feet, and walking, in the case of the Divine Power: which things shall receive a becoming explanation, and will not at all contradict the opinions which we have previously expressed.

‘But I would entreat you to take the interpretations in a natural way, and to hold fast the fitting conception of God, and not to fall off into the idea of a fabulous anthropomorphic constitution.

‘For our lawgiver Moses, when he wishes to express his meaning in various ways, announces certain arrangements of nature and preparations for mighty deeds, by adopting phrases applicable to other things, I mean to things outward and visible.

‘Those therefore who have a good understanding admire his wisdom, and the divine inspiration in consequence of which he has been proclaimed a prophet; among whom are the aforesaid philosophers and many others, including poets, who have borrowed important suggestions from him, and are admired accordingly.

‘But to those who are devoid of power and intelligence, and only cling close to the letter, he does not appear to explain any grand idea.

‘I shall begin then to interpret each particular signification, as far as I may be able. But if I shall fail to hit upon the truth, and to persuade you, do not impute the inconsistency to the Lawgiver, but to my want of ability to distinguish clearly the thoughts in his mind.

‘First then the word “hands” evidently has, even in our own case, a more general meaning. For when you as a king send out forces, wishing to accomplish some purpose, we say, The king has a mighty hand, and the hearers’ thoughts are carried to the power which you possess.

‘Now this is what Moses also signifies in our Law, when he speaks thus : “God brought thee forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand”; and again: “I will put forth My hand,” saith God, “and will smite the Egyptians.” Again in the account of the death of the cattle Moses says to Pharaoh : “Behold, the hand of the Lord shall be upon thy cattle, and upon all that are in the fields a great

death.” So that the “hands” are understood of the power of God: for indeed it is easy to perceive that the whole strength of men and their active powers are in their hands.

‘Wherefore our Lawgiver, in saying that the effects are God’s hands, has made the word a beautiful metaphor of majesty. The constitution too of the world may well be called for its majesty God’s standing; for God is over all, and all things are subject unto Him, and have received from Him their station, so that men may comprehend that they are immovable. Now my meaning is like this, that heaven has never become earth, and earth heaven, nor the sun become the shining moon, nor again the moon become the sun, nor rivers seas, nor seas rivers.

‘And again in the case of living beings there is the same principle. For man will never be beast, nor beast man. In the case of all the rest too the same rule exists, of plants and all other things: they are not interchangeable, but are subject to the same changes in themselves, and to decay.

‘In these ways then God may rightly be spoken of as standing, since all things are set under Him. It is said too in the book of the Law that there was a descent of God upon the mountain, at the time when He was giving the Law, in order that all might behold the operation of God: for this is a manifest descent; and so any one wishing to guard safely the doctrine of God would interpret these circumstances as follows.

‘It is declared that the mountain burned with fire, as the Lawgiver says, because God had descended upon it, and that there were the voices of trumpets, and the fire blazing so that none could withstand it.

‘For while the whole multitude, not less than a thousand thousands, besides those of unfit age, were assembled around the mount, the circuit of it being not less than five days’ journey, in every part of the view around them all as they were encamped the fire was seen blazing.

‘So that the descent was not local; for God is everywhere. But whereas the power of fire is beyond all things marvellous because it consumes everything, he could not have shown it blazing irresistibly, yet consuming nothing, unless there were the efficacy given to it from God.

‘For though the places were all ablaze, the fire did not actually consume any of the things which grew upon that mountain: but the herbage of all remained untouched by fire, and the voices of trumpets were loudly heard

together with the lightning-like flashing of the fire, though there were no such instruments present nor any that sounded them, but all things were done by divine arrangement.

‘So that it is plain that the divine descent took place for these reasons, that the spectators might have a manifest comprehension of the several circumstances, that neither the fire which, as I said before, burnt nothing, nor the voices of the trumpets were produced by human action or a supply of instruments, but that God without any aid was exhibiting His own all-pervading majesty.’

Thus far Aristobulus. Now since we have gone through the commandments of the Sacred Laws, and the nature of the idea allegorically expressed in them, it would be next in order to indicate the following point, that the whole Jewish nation is divided into two sections. And while the Lawgiver meant to lead the multitude on gently by the precepts of the laws as enjoined according to the literal sense, the other class, consisting of those who had acquired a habit of virtue, he meant to exempt from this sense, and required them to give attention to a philosophy of a diviner kind too highly exalted for the multitude, and to contemplation of the things signified in the meaning of the laws.

Now this was the class of Jewish philosophers at whose strict course of life thousands even of foreigners were struck with admiration, while the most distinguished of their own countrymen, Josephus and Philo, and many others deemed them worthy of everlasting remembrance. But passing by most of these statements, I will be content at present, just merely for the sake of an example, with the testimony of Philo concerning the said persons, which he has set down in many places of his own memoirs. And of these do you take and read the following from his *Apology for the Jews*:

CHAPTER XI

[PHILO] 'BUT our Lawgiver trained to community of living many thousands of his disciples, who are called Essenes because, as I suppose, of their holiness. They dwell in many cities of Judaea and many villages, and in large and populous societies.

'Their sect is formed not by family-descent, for descent is not reckoned among matters of choice, but on account of zeal for virtue and a longing for brotherly love.

'Accordingly there is among the Essenes no mere child, nor even a scarce-bearded lad, or young man; since of such as these the moral dispositions are unstable and apt to change in accordance with their imperfect age: but they are all men full-grown and already verging upon old age, as being no longer swept by the flood of bodily impulses, nor led by their passions, but in the enjoyment of the genuine and only real liberty.

'And their mode of life is an evidence of this liberty: none ventures to acquire any private property at all, no house, nor slave, nor farm, nor cattle, nor any of the other things which procure or minister to wealth; but they deposit them all in public together, and enjoy the benefit of all in common.

'And they dwell together in one place, forming clubs and messes in companies, and they pass their whole time in managing every kind of business for the common good.

'But different members have different occupations, to which they strenuously devote themselves, and toil on with unwearied patience, making no excuses of cold or heat or any changes of weather: but before the sun is up they turn to their usual employments, and hardly give up at its setting, delighting in. work no less than those who are being trained in gymnastic contests.

'For whatever occupation they follow, they imagine that these exercises are more beneficial to life, and more pleasant to soul and body, and more permanent than athletics, because they do not become unseasonable as the vigour of the body declines.

'For some of them labour in the fields, being skilled in matters relating to sowing and tillage, and others are herdsmen, being masters of all kinds of cattle; and some attend to swarms of bees.

‘Others again are craftsmen in various arts, who, in order to avoid any of the sufferings which the wants of the necessities of life impose, reject none of the innocent ways of gaining a livelihood.

‘Of the men then who thus differ in occupation every one on receiving his wages gives them to one person who is the appointed steward: and he, on receiving them, immediately purchases the necessary provisions, and supplies abundance of food, and all other things of which man’s life is in need.

‘And they who live together and share the same table are content with the same things every day, being lovers of frugality, and abhorring prodigality as a disease of soul and body.

‘Not only have they a common table, but also common raiment: for there are set out in winter thick cloaks, and in summer cheap tunics, so that any one who will may easily take whichever he likes, since what belongs to one is considered to belong to all, and the property of all to be on the other hand the property of each one.

‘Moreover if any of them should fall sick, he is medically treated out of the common resources, and attended by the care and anxiety of all. And so the old men, even if they happen to be childless, are wont to end their life in a very happy and bright old age, inasmuch as they are blest with sons both many and good, being held worthy of attention and honour by so many, who from free good will rather than from any bond of natural birth feel it right to cherish them.

‘Further then as they saw with keen discernment the thing which alone, or most of all, was likely to dissolve their community, they repudiated marriage and also practised continence in an eminent degree. For no Essene takes to himself a wife, because woman is immoderately selfish and jealous, and terribly clever in decoying a man’s moral inclinations, and bringing them into subjection by continual cajoleries.

‘For when, by practising flattering speeches and the other arts as of an actress on the stage, she has deluded eyes and ears, then as having thoroughly deceived the servants she proceeds to cajole the master mind.

‘And should she have children, she is filled with pride and boldness of speech, and what she formerly used to hint under the disguise of irony, all this she now speaks out with greater audacity, and shamelessly compels him to practices, every one of which is hostile to community of life.

‘For the man who is either ensnared by the charms of a wife, or by force of natural affection makes children his first care, is no longer the same towards others, but has unconsciously become changed from a free man to a slave.

‘So enviable then is the life of these Essenes, that not only private persons, but also great kings are filled with admiration and amazement at the men, and make their venerable character still more venerable by marks of approbation and honour.’

Let this quotation suffice from the aforesaid book: but from that on the theme *That every good man is free*, I will bring forward the following statements:

CHAPTER XII

[PHILO] ‘ALSO Syria in Palestine, which is occupied by no small part of the very populous nation of the Jews, is not unproductive of honourable virtue.

‘There are said to be some among them named Essenes, in number above four thousand, deriving their name, though not, according to my opinion, in an accurate form of the Greek language, from holiness (ὁσιότητος), because they have devoted themselves above all men to the service of God, not by offering animal sacrifices, but by endeavouring to render their own thoughts holy and reverent.

‘These men, in the first place, dwell in villages, and avoid the cities because of the civilized vices of the citizens, knowing that an incurable contagion arises in the soul from a man’s associates, just as a disease from a pestilential atmosphere.

‘Of these men some benefit themselves and their neighbours by tilling the ground, and some by pursuing any arts that contribute to peace; not laying up treasures of silver and gold, nor acquiring large sections of land from desire of revenues, but procuring only enough for the necessary wants of life.

‘For they alone of nearly all mankind having neither money nor possessions themselves (from set purpose more than from want of good fortune), are considered to be most wealthy, because they judge moderate wants and contentedness to be, as they really are, abundance.

‘Of darts, or javelins, or daggers, or helmet, or breastplate, or shield, you would find no maker among them, nor in short any maker of arms or engines, or any one employed about implements of war: nor yet about things which in times of peace may easily slip into mischievous use: for of commerce, or trade, or ship-owning they do not even dream, abjuring the incentives to covetousness.

‘There is not a single slave among them, but all are free, giving help to each other in turn: and masters they condemn, not only as unjust in outraging equality, but also as impious in destroying the holy law of nature, which like a mother having borne and nourished all alike, made them all genuine brothers, not only in name but in very truth.

‘But this natural kinship has been thrown into disorder by the excessive prosperity of insidious covetousness, which has wrought alienation instead of

kindred affection, and hatred instead of friendship.

‘Of philosophy they have left the logical branch to word-catchers, as being unnecessary to the attainment of virtue, and the physical branch to star-gazers, as too high for human nature, except so much of it as is made a study concerning the existence of God and the creation of the universe, but the ethical branch they study very elaborately, under the training of their ancestral laws, the meaning of which it is impossible for the human soul to discern without divine inspiration.

‘These laws they are repeatedly taught both at all other times, and especially on every seventh day. For the seventh day is regarded as holy, and on it they abstain from their other works, and come to their holy places, which are called synagogues, and sit in ranks according to their ages, the young below the elder, and listen attentively in becoming order: and while some one takes and reads their sacred books, another of the most experienced comes forward and expounds all that is not easily intelligible: for most subjects are treated among them by symbols with a zealous imitation of antiquity.

‘So they are taught piety, holiness, justice, economy, statesmanship, and the knowledge of things which are in reality good, or bad. or indifferent; the choice of what is right, and the avoidance of the contrary, by using laws and rules of three kinds, namely the love of God, the love of virtue, and the love of mankind.

‘First then of the love of God thousands of examples are supplied by the constant and uninterrupted purity of their whole course of life, such as their abstinence from oaths, their freedom from falsehood, their belief that the Deity is the cause of all good and of no evil: examples too of their love of virtue, in their freedom from the love of money, of glory, of pleasure, in their continence, their endurance, also their frugality, simplicity, contentedness, their freedom from conceit, their obedience to law, their steadfastness, and all qualities of like character to these: examples also are seen of their love of man in good-will, equality, and community of interests surpassing all description, about which nevertheless it will not be out of season to say a few words.

‘In the first place then no single person has any private house, which is not found to be also common to all. For in addition to their living together in companies, the house is also thrown open to those of the same sect who come from other parts.

‘Next there is one and the same store and expenditure for all: their garments also are common, and so is their food as they have formed themselves into messes. For among no other people could any one find a common use of the same roof, the same mode of life, and the same table, more firmly established in practice, and perhaps with good reason.

‘For whatever they receive as wages after a day’s work, they do not keep as their own, but bring it out in public, and supply the benefit of it in common for all who wish to use it. The sick also are not neglected because they are unable to earn anything, but have ready at hand from the common stock what is needed for their sick-diet, so as to spend with perfect freedom out of that larger abundance.

‘For elders there is reverence and care, such as parents receive from their own children, their old age being cherished by countless hands and thoughts amid all abundance. Such are the hardy athletes of virtue produced by the philosophy which is free from the superfluous pomp of Greek names, and proposes as exercises those praiseworthy actions, from which the freedom that cannot be enslaved derives its support.

‘And of this there is proof, since many tyrants have at various times risen up against our country, who exhibited different natural dispositions and purposes: for some of them, endeavouring to surpass the untamed fierceness of wild beasts, omitted no measures of cruelty, nor ever ceased from slaughtering their subjects in droves, or even, like cooks, tearing them in pieces, limb from limb, while yet alive, until they suffered the same calamities themselves from the justice which keeps watch over human affairs.

‘And others converting their wild excitement and frenzy into another kind of wickedness, contrived an indescribable cruelty, while talking gently, and under the disguise of softer language yet betraying the heavy wrath of their disposition, and fawning like venomous dogs, became the authors of irremediable mischief and left in every city memorials of their own impiety and hatred of mankind in the never-to-be forgotten miseries of the sufferers.

‘But yet none either of those monsters of cruelty or of those masters of guile and treachery was able to lay anything to the charge of the aforesaid society of the Essenes or Saints; but all were overcome by the noble virtue of the men, and behaved towards them as being free and independent by nature, singing the praises of their joint meals and of that fellowship surpassing all

description, which is the clearest proof of a perfect and most happy life.’

It may suffice then that the particulars of the philosophic kind of training and public life among the Jews are set forth by these extracts; and our discourse has previously described the other kind of life, which the divine laws ordained for the mass of the whole nation.

After this then what is left, but to prove also that the theological tenets of the moderns are in harmony with the religious beliefs of their forefathers, so that our discussion of this subject also may be rendered complete?

Since therefore the oracles of the inspired Scripture are set forth in the Book preceding this, let us on the present occasion closely examine the thoughts of the wise men among the Jews, that we may learn what qualities the Hebrews have shown both in theology and in excellence of speech. Again therefore we must have recourse to Philo, from his first Book *On the Law*.

CHAPTER XIII

[PHILO] ‘FOR some who admired the world itself more than its Maker represented it as being uncreated and eternal, bringing a false and impious charge of great inactivity against God; whereas they ought on the contrary to have been struck with admiration of His powers as Creator and Father, instead of extolling the world beyond the bounds of moderation.

‘But Moses having early attained to the very summit of philosophy, and having been taught by divine oracles the many most binding laws of nature, knew of course that in existing things there must necessarily be both an active cause, and passive principle: and that the active cause, the mind of the universe, is most pure and unmixed, superior to science, and superior to absolute goodness and absolute beauty; while the passive principle is without life, and incapable of self-movement, but having been moved, and newly fashioned, and animated by the mind, has changed this world into the most perfect work: those therefore who assert that it is uncreated have unconsciously cut away the most beneficial and indispensable of the inducements to piety, that is, Providence.

‘For reason proves that the Father and Creator should care for that which He has made. For a human father aims at the preservation of his offspring, and an artificer of the works which he has made, and wards off by all means whatever is hurtful, but longs to provide in every way all that is useful and profitable; whereas towards that which he has not made there is no feeling of appropriation in him who has not made it.

‘Thus it is an undesirable and unprofitable doctrine to maintain that there is anarchy in this world, as in a city, as though it had neither the ephor, nor arbitrator, nor judge, by whom lawfully all things should be administered and superintended.

‘But that great man Moses deemed that the uncreated was most alien from the visible, since all that can be perceived by the senses is subject to generation and to changes, never remaining in the same conditions: he therefore attributed eternity to that which is invisible and only perceived by the mind, as being a brotherly and kindred quality, while to the sensible he assigned “creation” (γένεσιν) as its proper denomination.

‘Since therefore this world is visible and sensible, it must necessarily be

also created; wherefore it was not beside the mark that he described its creation with a noble description of the nature of God.’

This then is what he has said on the subject of the world having been created. And the same author in his treatise *On Providence* states some very vigorous arguments on the question of the universe being administered by Providence, setting out first the objections of the atheists, and answering them in order. And since most of these, though they may appear to be rather long, are nevertheless necessary, I will set them forth in a concise form. He arranges the discussion in the following manner:

CHAPTER XIV

[PHILO] ‘Do you say that a Providence exists amid so great confusion and disorder of affairs? For which of the conditions of human life has been arranged in order? Nay rather, which is not full of disorder and destruction? Or are you alone ignorant that good things come to the worst and most wicked of mankind in riotous abundance, riches, reputation, honours in the opinion of the multitude, chief power again, health, fine senses, beauty, strength, enjoyment of pleasures uninterrupted because both of the abundance of means, and of the perfectly settled and good constitution of the body, while those who love and practise wisdom and every kind of virtue are, I may almost say, all of them poor, obscure, unhonoured, and of low estate?’

After saying these and numberless other things besides in disproof of Providence, he next proceeds to solve the objections by the following arguments:

‘God is not a tyrant who has practised cruelty and violence and all the acts of a despot’s merciless rule, but as a king invested with gentle and lawful authority, He governs the whole heaven and the world in righteousness.

‘Now a king has no more appropriate title than “father”: for what parents are to children in human relationships, such is a king to a city, and God to the world, having combined in indissoluble union by unalterable laws of nature two most noble qualities, the authority of the ruler and the kindly care of a guardian.

‘Just as parents therefore do not altogether neglect their dissolute sons, but taking compassion upon their unhappiness watch over and care for them, considering that it is the part of irreconcilable enemies to exult over their misfortunes, but of friends and kinsmen to lighten their disasters. And oftentimes they lavish their gifts upon these more than upon their well-conducted children, knowing certainly that the prudent conduct of the latter is an abundant source of wealth, while their parents are the only hope of the former, and if they lose this, they will be destitute even of the necessities of life.

‘In the same way God also, being the father of the rational intellect, cares for all who have been endowed with reason, and takes thought even for those who live a culpable life, both giving them opportunity for amendment, and at

the same time not transgressing His own merciful nature, which has goodness for its attendant and such kindness towards man as is worthy to pervade the divinely ordered world.

‘This then is one argument which thou, my soul, must meanwhile receive as a sacred deposit from Him, and a second consistent and harmonious with it of the following kind. Never be thou so far misled from the truth as to suppose any one of the wicked to be divinely favoured, even though he be richer than Croesus, and more sharp-sighted than Lynceus, and stronger than Milo of Crotona, and more beautiful than Ganymede,

“Whom for his beauty’s sake the gods caught up
To heaven, to be the cupbearer of Zeus.”

‘His own divine faculty at least, I mean his mind, he has shown to be the slave of innumerable masters, of love, desire, pleasure, fear, sorrow, folly, intemperance, cowardice, injustice, and so could never be divinely favoured, even if the multitude, failing of a true judgement, think him so, through being bribed by a double evil, pride and false opinion, evils strong to ensnare and mislead souls without ballast, and about which most of mankind are anxious.

‘If, however, with the eye of the soul steadily fixed thou shouldest desire to survey the thought of God, so far as is possible for human reason, thou wilt have a clearer perception of the only true good, and wilt laugh at the things of this world, which thou wert erewhile disposed to admire. For it is ever the case that in the absence of the better things the worse are held in honour, as inheriting their place: but when the better have appeared, they withdraw, and are content with the second prize. ‘Being therefore struck with: admiration of that godlike goodness and beauty, thou wilt thoroughly understand, that with God none of the things before-mentioned has been held worthy in itself to be ranked as good; because mines of silver and of gold are the most useless part of the earth, wholly and utterly inferior to that which is given up to the production of fruits.

‘For abundance of money is not the same thing as food, without which one cannot live. One most clear test of this is hunger, whereby what is really necessary and useful is put to proof: for a hungry man would gladly give all the treasures in the world in exchange for a little food.

‘But when the abundance of the necessities of life flows in an immense

and unchecked stream, and is poured out over the cities, while indulging luxuriously in the gifts of nature, we disdain to rest content upon them alone, but making insolent surfeit the ruling principle of life, and eagerly pursuing gains of silver and gold, we equip ourselves with all things from which we may hope for any gain, and as if blinded by love of money we no longer discern in our mind that silver and gold are mere lumps of earth, for which instead of peace there is constant and uninterrupted war.

‘Our garments indeed, as the poets somewhere say, are “the bloom of sheep,” and as to the artistic skill in making them they are the weavers’ glory. And if any one thinks much of reputation, and welcomes the approval of the worthless, let him know that he is also worthless himself; for like takes pleasure in like. ‘But let him pray to get a share of purifications for the healing of his ears, for through them the chief disorders invade the soul. Also let all who are proud of their bodily vigour learn not to be arrogant, by looking at the countless herds of animals tame and untamed, who are born with strength and vigour: for it is a most absurd thing for a man to pride himself on the good qualities of beasts, and that too though surpassed by them.

‘And why should any man of good sense exult in bodily beauty, which a short time extinguishes by withering up its deceitful prime, before it has flourished its full time; and that too though in lifeless things he sees highly prized works of painters, and modellers, and other artists, in pictures, and statues, and embroidered tapestries — works renowned in every city both in Greece and in barbarous countries?

‘Of these things therefore, as I said before, none is by God held worthy to be ranked as good. And why should we wonder, if they are not so esteemed by God? For neither are they so esteemed among men who are beloved of God, by whom true excellence and beauty are held in honour, as they enjoy a well-endowed nature, and have improved that nature by study and exercise, which are the creations of a genuine philosophy.

‘But as many as devoted themselves to a spurious learning did not imitate even the physicians who heal the body that is the slave of the soul, though professing as they do to heal the mistress, the soul herself. For those physicians of the body, when any rich man has fallen sick, even if he be the great king, pass by all the colonnades, the men’s chambers, the women’s

chambers, pictures, silver, gold uncoined or coined, abundance of drinking-vessels or of tapestries, and all the other celebrated ornaments of kings, and moreover disregard the crowd of servants, and the attendance of friends or relations and subjects high in office, even his bodyguards, and when they have reached the bedside pay no thought to the decorations of his person, nor wonder that the couches are inlaid with precious stones and are of solid gold, neither that the coverlets are of the finest web or embroidered linen, nor that the patterns of his garments are of varied beauty; but even pull off the blankets that cover him, and take hold of his hands, and pressing the veins note the pulsations carefully, whether they are healthy. Oftentimes too they even draw up his shirt, and examine whether the belly is distended, whether the chest is inflamed, whether the heart beats irregularly: and then they apply the proper treatment.

‘And the philosophers also, who profess to practise the art of healing the kingly nature of the soul, ought to disregard all the vain figments of false opinions, and pass on within and feel the mind itself, whether its pulsations are unequally quickened by anger, and unnaturally excited: also to touch the tongue, whether it is rough and slanderous, whether it is given to wantonness and extravagance: to feel the belly also, whether it is distended with some insatiable form of desire: and to make a general examination of the several passions, disorders, and infirmities, if they seem to be complicated, in order that they may not mistake the remedies conducive to a cure.

‘But now being dazzled by the brilliancy of the external things around them, as they are impotent to discern an intellectual light, they have been for ever wandering in error, not having been able to reach the sovereign reason; but coming hardly so far as the outer portals, and being struck with admiration of the attendants who stand at the gates of virtue, wealth and honour and health and things of the like kind, they proceeded to worship them.

‘But in fact as it is the excess of madness to use the blind as judges of colour, or deaf men of musical sounds, so it is to take evil men as judges of what is truly good: for these likewise are blinded in their master faculty of thought, over which folly has shed a deep darkness.

‘Do we then wonder now that a Socrates and this or that virtuous man continued in poverty, as men who never practised any of the arts which lead to gain, nor even deigned to accept what they might have taken from rich friends

or from kings who offered them large gifts, because they regarded the attainment of virtue as the one thing good and beautiful, and while labouring at that took no account of whatever else was good?

‘And who would not thus disregard things spurious to provide the genuine? And if as partakers of a mortal body, and burdened with the misfortunes of humanity, and living in the midst of such a multitude of unrighteous men, the number of whom it would not be easy to discover, if, I say, they were plotted against, why should we lay the blame on their nature, when we ought rather to reproach the cruelty of their assailants?

‘For if they had been in a pestilential atmosphere, they must certainly have fallen sick; and wickedness is more, or certainly not less, destructive than a pestilential climate. And as the wise man, if he were to spend his time in the open air, when it is raining, must necessarily get wet through, and when a cold north wind is blowing must be pinched with cold and shivering, and in the height of summer must be scorched with heat, since it is a law of nature that our bodies are affected in accordance with the changes of the seasons; in the same way the man who dwells in places of this kind,

“Mid murders, famines, and all kinds of death,”

must in return necessarily incur the penalties which result from such evils.

‘For in the case of Polycrates, when for his dreadful deeds of injustice and impiety he met with a requital in the worse misery of his subsequent life —— to which you must add how he was punished by the great king, and was impaled, in fulfilment of an oracle, — — “I know,” said he, “that not long ago I seemed to see myself being anointed by the sun and washed by Zeus.” For these enigmatical utterances expressed in figurative language, though originally obscure, received the most manifest confirmation through the facts which followed.

‘And not only at the end, but throughout his whole life from the beginning, he had been unconscious that his soul was impaled before his body was: for he was worried by perpetual fear and trembling at the multitude of those who were plotting against him, and well knew that he had not one friend, but only enemies implacable because of their misery.

‘The authors too of the history of Sicily bear witness to the: unavailing and perpetual caution (of Dionysius), and say that he entertained suspicions of the wife who was dearest to his soul. And a proof of it was this: he ordered the

entrance into his apartment, by which she would have to come to him, to be loosely covered with planks, that she might never creep upon him unobserved, but might give notice of her arrival by the creaking and rattling of her passage over the boards; also that she was to come to him not simply undressed, but naked even in all those parts which ought not to be seen by men. And in addition to this, he ordered the continuity of the ground at the entrance to be cut across to the width and depth of a farm-dyke, because he feared lest some attempt at a plot should be concealed from observation, and this was sure to be detected by leaps or long strides.

‘How full of miseries then was the man who took these precautions and devices in the case of a wife, whom he ought to have trusted before all others! But in fact he was like those who, in order to observe more clearly the natural phenomena in the sky, climb precipices on a rugged mountain, and when they have with difficulty reached an overhanging ledge are neither able to ascend any further from failure of strength for the remaining height, nor have courage to descend, but turn giddy at the sight of the chasms below.

‘For having been enamoured of despotic power as a godlike and enviable lot, he began to suspect that it was neither safe to remain nor to run away: for if he remained, there were innumerable evils rushing on like a torrent one after another against him; and if he wished to run away, there was the risk of his life hanging over him, from men armed against him if not in their bodies yet certainly in their thoughts.

‘And this is made manifest also by the practical test which Dionysius is said to have employed against the friend who praised the happy life of despotic rulers. For having invited him to a display of a most brilliant and costly banquet, he ordered a well-sharpened axe to be suspended over him by a very slight thread: and when on reclining he suddenly saw this, he was neither bold enough to rise up out of his place because of the tyrant, nor able from fear to enjoy any of the luxuries provided for him; but giving no heed to the abundant and costly pleasures, he sat with neck and eyes stretched upwards expecting his own destruction.

‘And when Dionysius perceived it, he said, Do you then now understand this celebrated and enviable life of ours? For such, if one would not flatter himself, is its real nature, since it contains great abundance of supplies, without the enjoyment of any one good thing, but terrors coming one after

another, and dangers for; which there is no remedy, and a disease more grievous than any cancerous and wasting sickness, which is continually threatening irremediable destruction.

‘But the inexperienced multitude being deceived by the brilliant display are affected in the same way as those who are ensnared by ugly courtesans, who veil their ugliness by dress and gold ornaments, and pencil their eyes, and fabricate a false beauty for want of genuine to catch the beholders.

‘Such is the heavy fate with which the over-prosperous are burdened, and of which they estimate the excessive evils in their own mind and do not conceal them; but, like those who are forced by pain to acknowledge their infirmities, they give utterance to perfectly sincere expressions which are forced from them by suffering, while they live surrounded with penalties both present and expected, like beasts that are being fatted for sacrifice; for these also receive the utmost care in order that they may be slaughtered to make a plentiful feast of meat.

‘Some men also have been not obscurely but manifestly punished for sacrilegious gains: to give a list of their whole number would be a superfluous labour, but one fact may suffice to stand as an example of all. It is said then by the historians of the sacred war in Phocis, that whereas there was a law established that he who plundered a temple should be cast down a precipice, or drowned in the sea, or burnt to death, three men who had plundered the temple at Delphi, Philomelus, and Onomarchus, and Phayllus, divided the punishments among them. For the first was hurled down over a rugged and stony cliff by the fall of a rock, and crushed to death; the second was carried by his horse, which had run away, down to the sea, and being overwhelmed by the tide, went down, horse and all, into a yawning gulf. And Phayllus either wasted away by a consumptive disease (for the story about him is twofold), or perished by being burnt in the conflagration of the temple at Abae.

‘To say that these things happened by mere chance is a very perverse contention. For though it would have been reasonable to allege the uncertainty of fortune as an explanation, if some only had been punished either at different times or by other kinds of punishment; yet when the whole band were punished, and that about the same time, and not by other punishments, but by those which were included in the laws, there is good reason to affirm

that they were overtaken by the judgement of God.

‘But if any of the violent men who have been left unmentioned, and who have risen up against the people, and enslaved not only other communities but also their native countries, remained unpunished to the end, there is nothing wonderful in that. For in the first place man judgeth not as God judgeth, because, while we search out only visible facts, He noiselessly enters into the recesses of the soul, and beholds the thought as clear as in the sunlight, stripping off the coverings in which it is wrapped up, and surveying its devices in their naked truth, and instantly distinguishing the false coinage from the true.

‘Never therefore let us prefer our own judgement to that of God, and say that it is more unerring and more full of wisdom; for that is impious. For in the one the causes of error are many, illusions of the senses, insidious passions, the very formidable leaguer of vices; but in the other there is nothing that tends to deception, but justice and truth, whereby each action is judged and naturally rectified in a satisfactory manner.

‘In the next place do not think, my good friend, that a temporary despotism brings no advantage, for neither is punishment unprofitable, but for the good it is either more beneficial, or not unnecessary, to suffer retribution; for which cause this is embodied in all laws that are rightly constituted, and the lawgivers are commended by all: for punishment is in a law what a tyrant is in a people.

‘Whenever therefore a terrible want and scarcity of virtue has overtaken the cities, while an abundance of folly overflows them, then God desiring to draw off the stream of wickedness, as it were the flood of a winter torrent, in order to purify our race, gives strength and power to those who are in their natures fitted to rule.

‘For wickedness is not purged away without the help of some stern soul. And in the same way as cities support public executioners to suppress murderers and traitors and sacrilegious persons, not because they approve the disposition of the men, but. because they find by experience the usefulness of their service; in the same way the guardian of the great metropolis of this world sets up tyrants like public executioners over the cities in which He perceives violence, injustice, impiety, and all the other evils in full flood, that so He may at length stop and abate them.

‘Then also with regard to the agents, as having given their service from an impure and ruthless spirit, He thinks it right to prosecute them last of all, as being in a manner ringleaders. For just as the power of fire, after it has consumed the fuel thrown upon it, feeds at last upon itself, in the same way those also who have gained despotic power over peoples, when they have exhausted the cities and emptied them of men, perish after them at last in satisfaction of the vengeance due for all.

‘And why do we wonder, if God makes use of tyrants to drive away a flood of wickedness spread abroad in cities and countries and nations? For He often does this by Himself without using other assistants, inflicting either famine or pestilence or earthquake and any other visitations of God, by which great crowds and multitudes of men perish every day and a large portion of the habitable world is left desolate, because of His desire to maintain virtue.

‘Enough however, I think, at least for the present, has been said to prove that no wicked man is happy, a fact by which the existence of a providence is most strongly established. But if you are not yet convinced, speak out boldly the doubt still lurking in your mind: for by discussing the question both together we shall know which way the truth lies.’

And after other things he says again:

[PHILO IUD.] ‘Storms of wind and rain were not wrought by God, as you used to think, for the hurt of those at sea, or of men who till the ground, but for the benefit of our whole race. For by rains He purifies the earth, and by winds the whole region beneath the moon; and by both together He nourishes plants and animals, and makes them grow, and brings them to perfection.

‘And if sometimes He hurts those who are voyaging or tilling the earth out of due season, there is nothing wonderful in this; for they are but a small part, and His care is for the whole race of mankind. As therefore the anointing in the gymnasium is appointed for the benefit of all, yet the gymnasiarch, on account of political necessities, often changes the usual order of time, whereby some of those who were to be anointed are too late; so also God in His care for the whole world, as it were a city, is wont to make summers wintry, and winters like spring, for the general benefit, even though some shipmasters or tillers of the ground would probably be injured by the irregularities of these seasons.

‘Knowing therefore that the mutual interchanges of the elements, out of

which the world was compacted and still consists, is a very necessary work, He keeps them free from hindrance; and frosts and snows and other things of like kind follow upon the cooling of the atmosphere, and again lightnings and thunderstorms follow upon the collision and friction of the clouds: none of which things perhaps is the direct work of providence, but these are consequences of rains and winds which are the causes of life and nourishment and growth to things on earth.

‘As for example, when from rivalry a gymnasiarch often incurs unlimited expenses, some of the ill-bred being drenched with oil instead of water, shake off drops upon the ground, and then immediately there is the most slippery mud, yet no one in his right senses would say that the mud and the slipperiness had been made by the intention of the gymnasiarch, but that they had been accidental consequences of the abundance of the supplies (of oil).

‘Again, a rainbow and a halo and all things of like kind arc-consequences of the sun’s rays being mingled with the clouds, not primary works of nature, but accidents which follow upon the natural operations. Not but what these also supply some necessary use to the wiser sort of men; for from these signs they draw conjectures, and so foretell calms and winds, and fine weather and storms.

‘Do you not see the porticoes in the city? Most of these face towards the south, in order that those who walk in them may be warmed in winter, and catch the breeze in summer. But there is also another indirect consequence, which does not follow by the intention of the person who arranged them. And what is this? The shadows which fall away from our feet mark to our experience the different hours.

‘Fire moreover is a most necessary product of nature, and smoke is a further consequence of it. But nevertheless smoke itself sometimes offers an advantage. For instance in the case of beacon fires at midday, when the fire grows dim from the beams of the sun shining down upon it, the approach of enemies is indicated by smoke.

‘The same kind of explanation as in the case of the rainbow is also true of eclipses, for eclipses are the consequences of the divine natures of the sun and moon; and they are indications either of the death of kings, or of the destruction of cities, a fact to which Pindar obscurely alluded on the occasion of an eclipse in the passage previously quoted.

‘The circle too of the Milky Way partakes of the same essential nature as the other constellations, and though the cause of it is difficult to explain, those who are accustomed to investigate the principles of nature should not shrink from it; for the discovery of such things is most beneficial, and the inquiry is also most delightful in itself to those who are fond of learning.

‘As therefore the sun and moon, so also all the heavenly bodies have been made by providence, even though we in our inability to trace out their several natures and powers may be silent about them.

‘Earthquakes too, and pestilences and thunderbolts, and all tilings of this kind, though said to be sent from God. are not so in truth (for God is not the cause of any evil at all), but these are produced by the changes of the elementary atoms, and are not primary works of nature, but follow necessary laws as consequences of the primary operations.

‘If then some of the more refined experience their share in the damage which these things cause, they must not lay the blame upon the administration. For in the first place it does not follow, if certain persons are held among us to be virtuous, that they are so in reality, since God’s means of judgement are more exact than any formed according to the standard of the human mind. And in the second place foresight is content to look to the most comprehensive laws of the universe, just as in monarchies and military governments it looks to the cities and the armies, not to any one casual individual of the neglected and obscure.

‘Some too say that just as it is customary when tyrants are slain that their relatives also should be put to death, in order that wrong doings may be checked by the magnitude of the punishment, in like manner also in pestilential diseases some of the innocent perish with the rest, in order that the others may prudently keep aloof; apart from the fact that those who venture into a pestilential atmosphere must necessarily fall sick, just as those on board ship in a storm share equally in the danger.

‘Wild beasts too of great strength (for I must not pass over this in silence, although with your powerful eloquence you were inclined to anticipate my defence and pull it in pieces) have been created for the sake of training men for the conflicts of war. For gymnastic exercises and constant hunting are excellent for hardening and nerving men’s bodies, and, what is more important than their bodies, accustom their souls in the steadfastness of their

strength to disregard any sudden assaults of enemies.

‘But those who are of a peaceable nature are allowed to pass their lives shut up not only within walls but also within chamber-doors, safe from hostile designs, with abundant herds of tame animals for their enjoyment; since boars, and lions, and other beasts of like disposition are by their own natural inclination driven far away from a town, from a desire to suffer no harm from the devices of men.

‘And if any from indolence live carelessly amid the lairs of wild beasts unarmed and unprepared let them blame themselves and not nature for what happens, because they neglected to take precautions as they might have done. For instance, ere now at horse-races I have seen some persons give way to thoughtlessness, who when they ought to have been sitting in their places, and looking on in an orderly manner, stood in the course, and being knocked over by the rush of the four-horsed chariots, were crushed by the hoofs and wheels, and met the rewards of their folly.

‘On this subject then enough has been said. But of reptiles the venomous kinds have not been created according to providential design, but in the way of natural consequence, as I said before. For they are quickened into life, when the moisture that is in them changes to excessive heat. Some also are vivified by putrefaction, as worms by putrid food, and lice by sweat. But all which have their origin from a proper substance, in the primary and natural way of seminal generation, are reasonably ascribed to providence.

‘About these also, as having been created for the benefit of man, I have heard two accounts, which I must not conceal. The one was of the following kind: some said that the venomous reptiles were useful for many medical purposes, and that those who regularly pursue the art, by using them scientifically for suitable cases, are well supplied with antidotes, to the unexpected cure of persons in the most dangerous condition; and to the present day one may see those who undertake to practise medicine in no idle or careless fashion, employing the several venomous reptiles in the composition of their remedies, not without careful consideration.

‘But the other story was not medical, but philosophical, as it seems. For it asserted that these animals are prepared by God as punishments for sinners, as scourges or even iron by generals and leaders. On which account, though quiet at other times, they are stirred up to violence against the condemned,

whose nature passes sentence of death upon itself in its own incorruptible tribunal.

‘But that they have their holes especially in houses is false, for they are usually seen outside a town in open fields and desert places, avoiding man as their master. Not but what, if it is true, there is some reason in it; for refuse and filth in large quantities are heaped up in corners, and they like to slip in under these, besides that the smell also has an attractive force.

‘If swallows also live among us, it is nothing strange, for we abstain from hunting them. And the desire of safety is implanted not only in rational souls, but also in irrational. But none of those animals which we use for food lives among us, because of our designs against them, except in nations where the use of such animals is forbidden by law.

‘On the sea-coast of Syria there is a city named Ascalon. Having been there at the time when I was journeying to the Temple of my fathers to offer prayers and sacrifices, I saw an incredible number of pigeons upon the roads and at every house. And when I asked the cause, they said that it was not lawful to catch them, for the inhabitants had been forbidden from ancient times to use them for food. So thoroughly has the animal grown tame from fearlessness, that it constantly came not only under the same roof but also to the same table, and revelled in its freedom from attack.

‘But in Egypt there is a still more wonderful thing to be seen. For the crocodile, the most troublesome of all animals, addicted also to devouring men, being born and bred in the most sacred waters of the Nile, although it lives in the depths is conscious of the benefit bestowed upon it. For among the people by whom it is honoured it multiplies exceedingly, but never appears at all among those who injure it: so that in some places even the boldest of voyagers dare not put down even the tip of a finger where the crocodiles congregate in shoals, while in other places even the most timid persons leap out and swim in sport.

‘But in the country of the Cyclopes, since their race is a legendary fiction, in the absence of sowing and husbandmen there grows no eatable fruit, just as nothing is produced out of that which does not exist. We must not accuse Greece of being poor and barren, for here also there is much deep rich soil. And if the country of the barbarians excels in fruitfulness, then though superabounding in food, it falls short in the people to be fed, for whose sake

the food is produced. For Greece alone is truly the mother of men, as giving birth to a plant of heavenly origin, and a godlike germ which has been brought to perfection, namely reasoning united to science. And the cause is this: by the lightness of the atmosphere the mind is naturally sharpened.

‘Wherefore also Heracleitus makes no mistake in saying, “Where the soil is dry, the soul is most wise and virtuous.” And this one might conjecture also from the fact that the sober and frugal are more intelligent, while those who are always filling themselves with drink and food are least sensible, inasmuch as their reason is drowned by the things which overlay it.

‘Wherefore in the land of the barbarians plants and trunks of trees are very tall from being well nourished, and the most prolific of irrational animals it produces abundantly, but very little intelligence: because the successive and continuous exhalations of earth and water have prevailed to hinder it from being raised up out of the air which is its source.

‘But the various kinds of fishes and birds and land animals are no reasons for accusing nature as inviting us to luxury, but a terrible reproach to our intemperate use of them. For to the completeness of the universe, that order might exist in every part of it, it was necessary that all species of animals should be produced; but it was not necessary that man, the creature most akin to wisdom, should rush to feast upon them, and change his nature into the fierceness of wild beasts.

‘Wherefore even to the present day those who have regard to temperance abstain altogether from them all, and feed with the sweetest enjoyment upon green vegetables and fruits of trees as their dainties. But against those who think that the feasting upon the aforesaid animals is according to nature there have risen up in various cities teachers, censors, lawgivers, whose care it has been to check men’s immoderate appetites, by not permitting an unscrupulous use of all things to them all.

‘Roses also and crocuses, and all the other variety of flowers, are meant, if for health, yet not all for pleasure. For their virtues are infinite, and they are beneficial of themselves by their scents, filling us all with fragrance; and far more beneficial in the medicinal compositions of drugs. For some of them when compounded make their own virtues more conspicuous, just like the union of male and female for the generation of an animal, each separately not being fitted by nature to effect what both can do combined.

‘These arguments I have been obliged to state in answer to the rest of the questions raised by you, and they are sufficient to produce a satisfactory belief, in those who are not contentious on the subject, of God’s careful superintendence of human affairs.’

These then are the brief extracts which. I have made from the writer before mentioned, both by way of showing what sort of men the Hebrews have been according to the testimony of the moderns, and at the same time of clearly establishing the facts of their pious judgement concerning God, and of their agreement with their forefathers. But now it is time to pass from this point to the testimonies of foreigners on the same subjects.

BOOK IX

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CHAPTER I

Now since we have surveyed the proofs that our acceptance of the Hebrew oracles has not been made without just reasoning, but with carefully tested judgement and thought, it is time to observe that the most illustrious of the Greeks themselves have not been unacquainted with the affairs of the Hebrews; but some of them testified to the truth of the historical narratives current among them as well as to their mode of life, while others treated doctrinal theology also in the same manner as they did.

I will bring forward in the first place the subjects which naturally come first, showing how many of the Greek historians have mentioned by name both Jews and Hebrews, and the philosophy anciently taught and practised among them, as well as the history of their forefathers from the earliest times.

And I shall begin my account with their mode of life, so as to teach you that it is not without sober reasoning that we have preferred their philosophy to that of the Greeks.

At all events not only their own sacred books, but also the most illustrious of the Greek philosophers, famous even in our own day, bear witness that the duties of practical morality are performed by them in accordance with the rules which have been already examined in the preceding Book. So now take and read the statements of Theophrastus contained in the writings of Porphyry *On Abstinence from Animal Food*, as follows:

CHAPTER II

[PORPHYRY] ‘NEVERTHELESS,’ says Theophrastus, ‘though the Syrians [of Judaea], because of their original mode of sacrifice, continue to offer animal sacrifices at the present time, if any one were to bid us sacrifice in the same way, we should revolt from the practice. For instead of feasting upon what had been sacrificed, they made a whole burnt-offering of it by night, and by pouring much honey and wine over it they consumed the sacrifice more quickly, in order that even the all-seeing sun might not be a spectator of the dreadful deed.

‘And while doing this they fast throughout the intermediate days; and all this time, as being a nation of philosophers, they converse with one another about the Deity, and at night they contemplate the heavenly bodies, looking up to them, and calling upon God in prayers. For these were the first to dedicate both the other animals, and themselves, which last they did from necessity and not from any desire.’

CHAPTER III

ALSO in the fourth book of the same treatise Porphyry narrates concerning the same people such things as the following:

[PORPHYRY] ‘The Essenes then are Jews by birth, but united among themselves even more closely than the rest of the Jews.

‘They abhor pleasures as wickedness, and regard self-control and resistance to the passions as virtue. Marriage they disdain for themselves, but choose the sons of others while still easily moulded towards learning; and regarding them as their kindred, impress them with their own moral dispositions: thus without destroying marriage, and the succession of the race thereby produced, they guard themselves against the wantonness of women.

‘They despise riches, and there is among them a wonderful community of goods, so that it is impossible to find any one exceeding others in wealth. For they have a law that those who enter the sect give up their substance to the common fund of the order, so that among them all there is seen neither humiliation of poverty nor excess of wealth; but every one’s possessions being mixed up together, they all have one property like brothers.

‘Oil they consider a defilement, and if any one be anointed against his will, he has his body wiped: for they think it becoming to have a dry skin, and always to wear white.

‘The superintendents of their common interests are elected, and they are severally chosen for their offices by the whole body. They have no one city of their own, but a number of them make their abode in each city, and their means are mutually thrown open to those of the sect who have come from elsewhere; and they are received as familiar friends by those whom they have never seen before: for which reason when they travel they bring nothing with them for expenses.

‘They change neither robe nor sandals before they are altogether ragged, or worn out by time. They neither buy nor sell anything, but each gives what he has himself to the man that wants it, and receives from him in return what is useful to him: and even without this return there is no hindrance to their getting a share from whomsoever they will.

‘With regard to the Deity, however, their piety is of a peculiar kind. For they utter no common words before the sun has risen, but address to him

certain prayers handed down by their fathers, as if entreating him to rise. After this they are dismissed by the superintendents to the crafts known to each, and after working vigorously till the fifth hour they then assemble again in one place, and having girded themselves with loin-cloths, so proceed to wash their body with cold water.

‘After this purification they meet in a building of their own, in which none of another sect is permitted to join them; but being themselves purified, they come into the dining-room as if entering some holy place. And when they have quietly taken their seats, the baker sets loaves in a row before them, and the cook sets before each a single dish of one kind of meat. Then the priest first says a prayer over the food, as being pure and clean, and it is unlawful for any to taste the food before the prayer. And when they have finished the meal he again offers a prayer, and thus they honour God both at the beginning and at the end.

‘Then they lay aside their robes as holy, and turn to work again till evening; when they come back and sup in like manner, the guests sitting down with them, if there happen to be any present.

‘And neither clamour nor tumult ever profanes their house, but in conversation they give way in turn to each other; and to those outside the silence of those within seems like some awful mystery. The cause of this is their constant sobriety, and their limitation of food and drink to the satisfying of hunger.

‘To those who desire to join the sect admission is not immediately granted, but for the space of a year while one remains outside they prescribe the same mode of life, and give him a shovel, an apron, and a white robe. And when in this period he has given proof of self-control, he approaches more nearly to their mode of life, and partakes of the purer waters for ablution.

‘He is not, however, admitted as yet to the life of the community. For after the proof of his endurance his moral disposition is tested by two more years, and, if found worthy, he is then enrolled in their company.

‘But before he touches the common food, they make him swear tremendous oaths: first that he will reverently worship God, then that he will observe justice towards men, and will harm no man either of his own will or under command, but will always hate the unjust and succour the righteous; that he will show fidelity to all, but especially to those in power, for it is not

without God's will that the government is acquired by any man: also that, if he be himself a ruler, he will never be insolent in using his authority, nor outshine his subjects in dress or any excessive adornment: that he will always love the truth, and expose liars; keep his hands clear of theft, and his soul of unholy gain; and will neither hide anything from the members of the sect, nor disclose any secret of theirs to others, though any one should press him by violence even unto death.

'In addition to this, he swears that to no one will he impart their doctrines otherwise than he himself received them, and will abstain from, robbery, and will guard with equal care the books of their sect, and the names of the angels.

'Such are the oaths; and those who are found guilty and expelled, perish by a miserable fate. For being bound by their oaths and by their customs, they cannot partake of the food which other men have, but eating grass and wasting away by famine, they thus perish. So for this reason they have taken compassion upon many in the extremity of their distress, and received them back, considering that they had suffered punishment enough for their offences in being thus tortured to death.

'The shovel they give to those who intend to be members of the sect, because they do not themselves sit down without having dug a trench a foot deep, and covered themselves with their cloak, so as not to insult the eyes of God. And so great is their simplicity and sparingness in regard to food, that they do not need to ease nature on the seventh day, which they are accustomed to keep for singing hymns to God and for rest.

'From this asceticism they have acquired so great endurance, that though they be racked and wrenched and burned, and pass through all the instruments of torture, in order to make them blaspheme their Lawgiver, or eat some unaccustomed food, they cannot endure to do either.

'And this they clearly showed in the war against the Romans: since they cannot endure either to fawn on their tormentors, or to shed tears, but smiling in the midst of their pains, and bantering those who applied the tortures, they cheerfully gave up their lives with the hope of receiving them again. For indeed this opinion is firmly fixed among them, that though their bodies are perishable, and their material substance not lasting, their souls remain for ever immortal; and coming from the subtlest ether, drawn down by some natural force, they become entangled with the body, but when they are released from

the bonds of the flesh they then rejoice, as if delivered from long bondage, and are borne up aloft.

‘From such a mode of life then, and from their training in truth and piety, there are naturally many among them, who even foreknow the tilings to come, as being brought up among sacred books, and various purifications and utterances of the prophets: and they seldom, if ever, go wrong in their predictions.’

This was the testimony of Porphyry, drawn probably from ancient records, both to the piety and the philosophy of the persons aforesaid, in the fourth book of his careful work *On Abstinence from Animal Food*.

CHAPTER IV

BUT Hecataeus of Abdera, who was both a philosopher and very competent in active life, devoted a special book to the history of the Jews, and gives very many details concerning them, from which it will for the present suffice to quote the following:

[JOSEPHUS] 'For most of the strongholds and villages in the country belong to the Jews; and one strong city Jerusalem, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by about a hundred and twenty thousand men, and is called Hierosolyma.

'And here about the middle of the city is a stone enclosure, about five hundred feet in length, and a hundred cubits wide, with two gates: and herein is a square altar, of unhewn stones collected and just put together in a rough state, twenty cubits long on each side, and the height ten cubits.

'And beside it is a large building, wherein, is an altar and a candlestick, both of gold, two talents in weight: and upon these is a light which is never extinguished either day or night. But there is no image nor any votive offering at all, nor any plant, absolutely nothing of the nature of a grove or anything of this kind. 'And there are priests who pass both their nights and days in the temple, performing certain purifications, and never drinking any wine while there.'

After these statements, lower down:

'He has borne witness that they also served in the army of king Alexander, and afterwards of his successors. And I will quote what he says was done by a Jew in the expedition when he was himself present: he speaks as follows:

'When therefore I was marching towards the Red Sea, among the other Jewish horsemen who escorted us, we were accompanied by a man named Mosollam, a person of great spirit, and good strength, and acknowledged by all to be the best archer among either the Greeks or Barbarians.

'So while many were marching along the road, and a certain soothsayer was taking auguries, and requiring all to halt, this man asked what they were waiting for. And when the soothsayer showed him the bird, and said, that if it remained in the same place, it was expedient for all to halt, but if it rose and flew forward, they should advance, and if it flew back, they must retire again, then this man made no reply, but drew his bow and shot, and hit the bird and

killed it.

‘And when the soothsayer and some others were indignant and began to curse him, he said, Why are ye so mad, unhappy men? Then taking the bird into his hands, he said, For how could this bird, which could not foresee how to save itself, have given us any sound information concerning our march? For had it been able to foreknow what would happen, it would not have come to this place, for fear lest Mosollam the Jew should shoot at and kill it. These are the statements of Hecataeus.’

CHAPTER V

[JOSEPHUS] 'BUT Clearchus the Peripatetic philosopher, in his first book *Concerning Sleep*, attributes to Aristotle the philosopher a statement such as follows concerning the Jews, writing word for word thus:

'But though it would be too long to tell the greater part, it will not be amiss to go through those of his statements which are alike marvellous and philosophical. Now, said he, understand clearly, Hyperochides, I shall seem to you to relate what is as marvellous as dreams. Then Hyperochides modestly replied, Yes, that is the very reason why we all desire to hear it.

'Well then, said Aristotle, according to the rule of the rhetoricians, let us first describe the man's origin, that we may not disobey the teachers of the narrative style.

'Tell it so, if you please, said Hyperochides.

'Well then, the man was by origin a Jew, from Coele-Syria. Now these are descendants of the philosophers of India; and philosophers, it is said, are called among the Indians Calani, but among the Syrians they are called Judaeans, having taken their name from the place. For the place which they inhabit is called Judaea: and the name of their city is very awkward, for they call it Hierusalem.

'This man then, who was hospitably entertained by many on his way down from the inland districts to the sea-coasts, was Greek not only in language but also in spirit. And as at that time we were dwelling in Asia, the man having landed in the same neighbourhood fell into conversation with us and some others of the studious sort, to make trial of their wisdom. And as he had lived in intimacy with many of the learned, he imparted somewhat more than he received.'

Such is the story of Clearchus.

CHAPTER VI

THIS man is mentioned also by our Clement in his first *Miscellany*, in what he says as follows:

[CLEMENT] ‘Clearchus the Peripatetic says that he knew a Jew who associated with Aristotle.’

And afterwards he adds:

‘But Numa the king of the Romans, though he was a Pythagorean, received benefit from the teaching of Moses, and forbade the Romans to make an image of God in the shape of man or any animal. So in the first hundred and seventy years, though they built themselves temples, they made no image, neither in sculpture nor yet in painting.

‘For Numa used to teach them in secret, that it was not possible for the Perfect Good to be reached by language, but only by the mind.’

Further than this, in what follows below, he speaks thus:

‘But most plainly does Megasthenes, the historian who lived with Seleucus Nicator, write as follows in his third book *On Indian Affairs*.

‘All that has been said about nature among the ancients is said also among the philosophers outside Greece, partly among the Indians by the Brachmans, and partly in Syria by those who are called Jews.’

Besides this Clement also mentions Aristobulus the Peripatetic and Numenius the Pythagorean, saying:

‘Aristobulus, in his first book addressed to Philometor, writes in these words: Plato too has followed our legislation, and has evidently studied carefully the several precepts contained in it.

‘And others before Demetrius, and prior to the supremacy of Alexander and of the Persians, have translated both the narrative of the Exodus of our fellow countrymen the Hebrews from Egypt, and the fame of all that happened to them, and their conquest of the land, and the exposition of the whole Law.

‘So it is perfectly clear that the philosopher before-mentioned has borrowed much, for he is very learned; as also was Pythagoras, who transferred many of our precepts into his own system of doctrines.

‘And Numenius, the Pythagorean philosopher, writes expressly: “For what is Plato, but Moses speaking in Attic Greek?”’

So far Clement.

CHAPTER VII

ALSO from the Pythagorean philosopher himself, I mean Numenius, I will quote as follows from his first book *On the Good*:

[NUMENIUS] ‘But when one has spoken upon this point, and sealed it by the testimonies of Plato, it will be necessary to go back and connect it with the precepts of Pythagoras, and to appeal to the nations of good repute, bringing forward their rites and doctrines, and their institutions which are formed in agreement with those of Plato, all that the Brachmans, and Jews, and Magi, and Egyptians arranged.’

So much then on these points.

CHAPTER VIII

ALSO in his third book the same author makes mention of Moses, speaking as follows:

‘And next in order came Jannes and Jambres, Egyptian sacred scribes, men judged to have no superiors in the practice of magic, at the time when the Jews were being driven out of Egypt.

‘So then these were the men chosen by the people of Egypt as fit to stand beside Musaeus, who led forth the Jews, a man who was most powerful in prayer to God; and of the plagues which Musaeus brought upon Egypt, these men showed themselves able to disperse the most violent.’

Now by these words Numenius bears witness both to the marvellous wonders performed by Moses, and to Moses himself as having been beloved of God.

CHAPTER IX

[JOSEPHUS] ‘CHOERILUS also, an ancient poet, has mentioned the Jewish nation, and how they served with king Xerxes in his expedition against Greece. And thus he speaks:

“Next passed a nation wondrous to behold,
Whose lips pronounced the strange Phoenician tongue;
Upon the hills of Solyma they dwelt
By the broad inland sea. Rough and unkempt
Their close-cropped hair, and on their heads they wore
The smoke-dried skin flayed from a horse’s face.”

‘Now that he spake this concerning Jews is evident from the fact that Hierosolyma lies on the mountains called by the Greeks Solyma, and that near it is the Asphaltic lake, which is very broad as the poet says, and larger than any of the lakes in Syria.’

Such then is this man’s testimony.

CHAPTER X

BUT Porphyry, in the first book of his *Philosophy from Oracles*, introduces his own god as himself bearing witness to the wisdom of the Hebrew race as well as of the other nations renowned for intelligence.

It is his Apollo who speaks as follows in an oracle which he is uttering; and while still explaining the subject of sacrifices, he adds words which are well worthy of attention, as being full of all divine knowledge:

[PORPHYRY] ‘Steep is the road and rough that leads to heaven,
Entered at first through portals bound with brass.
Within are found innumerable paths,
Which for the endless good of all mankind
They first revealed, who Nile’s sweet waters drink.
From them the heavenward paths Phoenicia learned,
Assyria, Lydia, and the Hebrew race:’

and so forth: on which the author further remarks:

‘For the road to the gods is bound with brass, and both steep and rough; the barbarians discovered many paths thereof, but the Greeks went astray, and those who already held it even perverted it. The discovery was ascribed by the god to Egyptians, Phoenicians, Chaldeans (for these are the Assyrians), Lydians, and Hebrews.

‘In addition to this Apollo also says in another oracle:

“Only Chaldees and Hebrews wisdom found
In the pure worship of a self-born God.”

‘And being asked again, for what reason men speak of many heavens, he gave the following response:

“One circle girds the world on every side,
In seven zones rising to the starlit paths:
These, in their sevenfold orbits as they roll,
Chaldees and far-famed Hebrews ‘heavens’ surnamed.”

“With regard then to the name Jews and Hebrews, and their religion and

philosophy of old renown, let these extracts suffice: but concerning their ancestral history observe how many writers have agreed.

Moses, in his ancient history of the whole world, had given an account of a deluge, and how he whom the Hebrews call Noe was preserved with his family in an ark made of wood; and Josephus, in the first book of his *Antiquities*, sets forth in the following manner how the historical writers. Berossus the Chaldee, and Hieronymus the Egyptian, and Nicolaus of Damascus, make mention of the same things.

CHAPTER XI

[JOSEPHUS] 'THIS deluge and the ark are mentioned by all who have written histories of the Barbarians, among whom is Berossus the Chaldean. For in narrating the circumstances of the flood, he describes it thus:

'It is said that there is still a portion of the vessel in Armenia near the mountain of the Cordyaei, and that persons scrape off and carry away some of the pitch. And the people use what they carry away chiefly for charms to avert misfortunes.

'This is mentioned also by Hieronymus the Egyptian, who wrote *The Archaeology of Phoenicia*, and by Mnaseas, and several others. Nicolaus also of Damascus gives an account of them in his ninety-sixth book, speaking thus: There is above Minyas a great mountain in Armenia called Baris, to which, as the story goes, many fled for refuge at the time of the deluge and were saved; and a certain man borne on an ark landed on the top of the mountain, and the remains of the timbers were preserved for a long time. Now this must be the same of whom Moses, the Lawgiver of the Jews, wrote.'

So writes Josephus.

CHAPTER XII

BUT after mentioning the Median and Assyrian records from the work of Abydenus, I will set before you his statements concerning this same story, as follows:

[ABYDENUS] ‘After him reigned among others Sisithrus, to whom Kronos foretold that there would be a great rain on the fifteenth day of Desius, and commanded him to hide everything connected with literature at Heliopolis in the country of the Sippari.

‘And when Sisithrus had accomplished this, he straightway sailed up towards Armenia, and immediately what God had predicted overtook him. But on the third day, when the rain had abated, he proceeded to let loose some of the birds, to try whether they saw land anywhere that had emerged from the water.

‘But as they were met by a vast unbroken ocean, and were at a loss where to find a haven, they came safe back to Sisithrus, and others after them did the same.

‘But when he was successful with the third set, for they came back with their feet full of mud, the gods removed him from men’s sight: but in Armenia the ship supplied the people of the country with wooden amulets as antidotes to poison.’

These then are his statements.

CHAPTER XIII

BUT again, as Moses asserted that the first generations of mankind had been long-lived, Josephus brings forward the Greek writers as witnesses of this statement also, speaking as follows:

[JOSEPHUS] ‘From comparing the life of the men of old with the life now, and the short years that we live, let no one suppose that the statements concerning the former are false, inferring that they did not attain to that length of life from the fact that men do not now extend the time of their life so long.

‘For as they were beloved of God, and created by God Himself, and as their kinds of food were better fitted for a longer continuance, it was natural for them to live so many years.

‘Further, God may have granted them a longer life on account of their virtue, and the usefulness of the arts which they invented, astronomy and geometry, things which they could not have announced with certainty, had they not lived at least six hundred years, for by that number the great year is completed.

‘And the truth of my argument is testified by all who have written on ancient history among Greeks and Barbarians. For both Manetho who recorded the *Egyptian History*, and Berossus who collected the Chaldean annals, and Molos, and Hestiaeus, and in addition to them the Egyptian Hieronymus, and the compilers of Phoenician history, agree with what I say. Hesiod too, and Hecataeus, and Hellanicus, and Acusilaus, and besides these Ephorus and Nicolaus record that the ancients lived a thousand years. So on these matters let men speculate each as it may please him.’

CHAPTER XIV

AGAIN, whereas Moses wrote an account of the building of the tower, and how from one language men passed into the confusion of many dialects, the author just before mentioned, in his work entitled *Of Assyrian History*, bears the like testimony, speaking as follows:

[ABYDENUS] ‘But there are some who say that the men who first arose out of the earth, being puffed up by their strength and great stature, and proudly thinking that they were better than the gods, raised a huge tower, where Babylon now stands: and when they were already nearer to heaven, the winds came to the help of the gods, and overthrew their structure upon them, the ruins of which were called Babylon. And being up to that time of one tongue, they received from the gods a confused language; and afterwards war arose between Cronos and Titan.

[JOSEPHUS] ‘And the place in which they built the tower is now called Babylon, because of the confusion of what at first was clear in their language. For the Hebrews call confusion “Babel.”’

CHAPTER XV

‘THE Sibyl also mentions this tower and the diversity of language among mankind, speaking thus:

““When all mankind were of one language, some built a very lofty tower, intending by it to mount up to heaven. But the gods sent winds against the tower and overthrew it, and gave to each man a peculiar language, and for this reason it came to pass that the city was called Babylon.” And the plain which is called Sennaar in the country of Babylonia is mentioned by Hestiaeus, who speaks thus: “But those of the priests who escaped took the sacred things of Zeus Enyalios, and came to Sennaar in Babylonia: afterwards they were scattered thence, and everywhere formed their communities from speaking the same language, and took possession of the land which each lighted upon.””

CHAPTER XVI

AGAIN, as Moses has set forth at large the history of Abraham the forefather of the Hebrews, Josephus says that the foreign historians also bear witness to him, writing as follows:

[JOSEPHUS] ‘Berossus mentions our father Abraham, not by name, but in these terms: “In the tenth generation after the flood there was among the Chaldeans a righteous and great man, experienced also in heavenly things.”

‘But Hecataeus has done something more than mentioning him; for he left behind him a book which he had composed concerning him.

‘And Nicolaus Damascenus, in the fourth book of his *Histories*, speaks thus: “Abraham was king of Damascus, having come as a stranger with an army from the land which lies beyond Babylon, called Chaldaea. But after no long time he removed from this country also, and migrated with his own people into what was then called Canaan, but now Judaea, and so did afterwards the multitude of his descendants, concerning whom I shall relate in another discourse what is recorded in history. Even now the name of Abraham is glorified in the district of Damascus, and a village is pointed out which is called from him the *Habitation of Abraham*.”

‘When in later times a famine had fallen upon the land of Canaan, Abraham having been informed that the Egyptians were in prosperity was eager to cross over to them, both to partake of their abundance, and to be a hearer of their priests, to learn what they said about the gods; intending either to follow them, if they were found superior, or to bring them over to the better belief, if his own opinions were preferable.’

Then next he adds:

‘And he associated with the most learned of the Egyptians, and the result was that his virtue and his consequent reputation became more illustrious from this cause.

‘For whereas the Egyptians delight in different customs, and disparage one another’s usages, and are for this reason ill-disposed towards each other, he by conferring with them severally, and discussing the arguments which they used in defence of their own practices, proved them to be empty and devoid of all truth.

‘Being therefore admired by them in their conferences as a very wise man,

and strong not only in intelligence but also in persuasive speech on whatever subjects he undertook to teach, he freely imparts to them the science of arithmetic, and also communicates to them the facts of astronomy. For before Abraham's arrival the Egyptians were ignorant of these subjects; for they passed from the Chaldees into Egypt, and thence came also to the Greeks.'

So writes Josephus.

CHAPTER XVII

AND with this agrees also Alexander Polyhistor, a man of great intellect and much learning, and very well known to those Greeks who have gathered the fruits of education in no perfunctory manner: for in his compilation, *Concerning the Jews*, he records the history of this man Abraham in the following manner word for word:

[ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR] ‘Eupolemus in his book *Concerning the Jews of Assyria* says that the city Babylon was first founded by those who escaped from the Deluge; and that they were giants, and built the tower renowned in history.

‘But when this had been overthrown by the act of God, the giants were dispersed over the whole earth. And in the tenth generation, he says, in Camarina a city of Babylonia, which some call the city Uria (and which is by interpretation *the city of the Chaldees*), + in the thirteenth generation + Abraham was born, who surpassed all men in nobility and wisdom, who was also the inventor of astronomy and the Chaldaic art, and pleased God well by his zeal towards religion.

‘By reason of God’s commands this man came and dwelt in Phoenicia, and pleased their king by teaching the Phoenicians the changes of the sun and moon and all things of that kind. And afterwards the Armenians invaded the Phoenicians; and when they had been victorious, and had taken his nephew prisoner, Abraham came to the rescue with his servants, and prevailed over the captors, and made prisoners of the wives and children of the enemy.

‘And when there came to him ambassadors asking that he would ransom them for money, he did not choose to trample upon the unfortunate, but on receiving food for his young men restored the booty; he was also admitted as a guest into the temple of the city called Argarizin, which being interpreted is “Mount of the Most High,” and received gifts from Melchizedek, who was the king, and the priest of God.

‘But when there came a famine Abraham removed into Egypt with all his household, and dwelt there, and the king of Egypt took his wife in marriage, Abraham having said that she was his sister.

‘He also related fully that the king was unable to consort with her, and that it came to pass that his people and his household were perishing. And when

he had called for the soothsayers, they said that the woman was not a widow; and thus the king of Egypt learned that she was Abraham's wife, and gave her back to her husband.

‘And Abraham dwelt with the Egyptian priests in Heliopolis and taught them many things; and it was he who introduced astronomy and the other sciences to them, saying that the Babylonians and himself had found these things out, but tracing back the first discovery to Enoch, and saying that he, and not the Egyptians, had first invented astrology.

‘For the Babylonians say that the first man was Belus, who is Kronos; and that of him was born a son Belus, and Chanaan; and that this Chanaan begat the father of the Phoenicians, and that his son was Churn, who is called by the Greeks Asbolus, and is father of the Aethiopians, and a brother of Mestram the father of the Egyptians. But the Greeks say that Atlas invented astrology, and that Atlas is the same as Enoch: and that Enoch had a son Methuselah, who learned all things through angels of God, and thus we gained our knowledge.’

CHAPTER XVIII

‘ARTABANUS in his *Jewish History* says that the Jews were called Ermiuth, which when interpreted after the Greek language means Judaeans, and that they were called Hebrews from Abraham. And he, they say, came with all his household into Egypt, to Pharethothes the king of the Egyptians, and taught him astrology; and after remaining there twenty years, removed back again into the regions of Syria: but that many of those who had come with him remained in Egypt because of the prosperity of the country.

‘In certain anonymous works, however, we found that Abraham traced Lack his origin to the giants, and that they dwelling in Babylonia were destroyed by the gods for their impiety; but that one of them, named Belus, escaped death and settled in Babylon, and lived in a tower which he had built, and which was called Belus from the Belus who built it: and that Abraham having been instructed in the science of astrology came first into Phoenicia, and taught astrology to the Phoenicians, and afterwards passed on into Egypt.’

CHAPTER XIX

‘BUT Molon, the author of the collection *Against the Jews*, says that at the time of the Deluge the man who survived departed from Armenia with his sons, being driven out of his home by the people of the land; and after crossing the intermediate country came into the mountain-district of Syria which was uninhabited.

‘After three generations Abraham was born, whose name is by interpretation “Father’s friend,” and that he became a wise man, and travelled through the desert. And having taken two wives, the one of his own country and kindred, and the other an Egyptian handmaiden, he begat by the Egyptian twelve sons, who went off into Arabia and divided the land among them, and were the first who reigned over the people of the country: from which circumstance there are even in our own day twelve kings of the Arabians, bearing the same names as the first.

‘But by his lawful wife he had one son, whose name in Greek is Γέλως, “laughter.” Abraham died of old age, but Gelos and a wife of his own country had eleven sons, and a twelfth, Joseph, and Moses was in the third generation from him.’

So much says Polyhistor; and to this he adds, after some sentences, what follows:

‘But not long after God commanded Abraham to offer his son Isaac as a whole burnt-offering to Him. And he led his son up to the mountain, and heaped up a pyre, and set Isaac thereon; but when about to slay him he was forbidden by an Angel, who provided him with a ram for the offering: and Abraham took down his son from the pyre, and offered the ram.’

CHAPTER XX

‘PHILO also speaks of this in the first book of his work *Concerning Jerusalem*:

[PHILO] “Ἐκλυον ἀρχεγόνοισι τὸ μυρίον ὥς ποτε θεσμοῖς
Ἀβραὰμ κλυτοηγὲς ὑπέρτερον ἄμματι δεσμῶν
παμφαές, πλήμμυρε, μεγαυχητοῖσι λογισμοῖς,
θειοφιλῇ θέλγητρα. Λιπόντι γὰρ ἀγλαὸν ἔρκος
αἰνοφύτων, ἔκκαυμα βριήπυος αἰνετὸς ἰσχων,
ἀθάνατον ποίησεν ἐὴν φάτιν, ἐξ ὅτ’ ἐκείνου
ἔκγονος αἰνογόνοιο πολύμνιον ἔλλαχε κῦδος.”

and the rest: to which after a few lines he adds:

“Ἀρτίχερος θηκτοῖο ξιφηφόρον ἐντύνοντος
λήμματα, καὶ σφαράγοιο παρακλιδὸν ἀθροισθέντος,
ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐν χεীরεσσι κερασφόρον ὥπασε κριόν.”

and the rest that follows this.’

This then from the fore-mentioned work of Polyhistor. But Josephus also in the first book of his *Antiquities* mentions the same author in the following passage:

[JOSEPHUS] ‘Now it is said that this Afren made an expedition into Libya and subdued it; and his grandsons having settled there called the land Africa after his name.

‘And my statement is confirmed by Alexander Polyhistor, who speaks thus:

“‘But Cleodemus the prophet, who is also called Malchas, in narrating the history of the Jews even as Moses their Lawgiver has narrated it, says that by Chettura Abraham had many sons: and he also mentions their names, calling three of them Afer, Assur, and Afran.

‘And from Assur Assyria was named; and from the other two, Afra and Afer, a city Afra and the country Africa. And these, he says, joined Hercules in his expedition against Libya and Antaeus: and Hercules having married the daughter of Afra begat of her a son Diodorus. And of him was born Sophonas, from whom the barbarian Sophae are called.”’

Let it suffice then that the story of Abraham is briefly set forth in these quotations.

CHAPTER XXI

Now let us return to Polyhistor.

[ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR] ‘Demetrius says that when Jacob was seventy (seven) years old he fled to Charran in Mesopotamia, having been sent away by his parents on account of the secret enmity with his brother Esau (the cause of which was that his father had blessed him thinking that he was Esau), and also in order that he might take a wife from that country.

‘Jacob therefore set out for Charran in Mesopotamia, having left his father Isaac a hundred and thirty-seven years of age, and being himself seventy-seven years old.

‘So after spending seven years there he married two daughters of his uncle Laban, Leah and Rachel, when he was eighty-four years old: and in seven years more there were born to him twelve sons; in the eighth year and tenth month Reuben, and in the ninth year and eighth month Symeon, and in the tenth year and sixth month Levi, and in the eleventh year and fourth month Judah. And as Rachel did not bear she became envious of her sister, and gave her own handmaid Zilpah to be Jacob’s concubine, at which same time Bilhah conceived Nephthalim, in the eleventh year and fifth month, and bare a son in the twelfth year and second month, and Leah called him Gad: and of the same mother in the same year and twelfth month he begat another son, who was also named by Leah Asher.

‘And in return for the mandrake apples, which Reuben brought ia and gave to Rachel, Leah again conceived in her womb, and her handmaid Zilpah at the same time, in the twelfth year and third month, and bare a son in the same year and twelfth month, and called his name Issachar.

‘And again Leah bare another son in the thirteenth year and tenth month, and his name was Zabulon; and the same Leah bare a son named Dan in the fourteenth year and eighth month. And at the same time when Leah bare a daughter Dinah, Rachel also conceived in her womb, and in the fourteenth year and eighth month bare a son, who was named Joseph, so that in the seven years spent with Laban there were born twelve children.

‘But when Jacob wished to go back to his father in Canaan, he was requested by Laban to stay six years more, so that in all he abode twenty years with Laban in Charran.

‘And when he was on his way to Canaan an Angel of the Lord wrestled with him, and touched the hollow of Jacob’s thigh, and he was benumbed and went lame: wherefore the sinew on the thigh of cattle is not eaten. And the Angel said to him, that henceforth he should no longer be called Jacob but Israel.

‘And he came to another city of the land of Canaan called Sikima, having with him his children, Reuben twelve years and two months old, Symeon eleven years and four months, Levi ten years and six months, Judah nine years and eight months, Nephthalim eight years and ten months, Gad eight years and ten months, Asher eight years, Issachar eight years, Zabulon seven years and two months, Dinah six years and four months, Joseph six years and four months.

‘Now Israel dwelt beside Emmor ten years; and Israel’s daughter Dinah was defiled by Sychem the son of Emmor, she being sixteen years and four months old. And Israel’s sons Symeon being twenty-one years and four months old, and Levi twenty years and six months, rushed forth and slew both Emmor and his son Sychem, and all their males, because of the defilement of Dinah: and at that time Jacob was a hundred and seven years old.

‘So when he was come to Luz of Bethel, God said that his name was no longer to be Jacob but Israel. Thence he came to Chaphratha, and thence journeyed to Ephratha, which is Bethlehem, and begat there a son Benjamin; and Rachel died after giving birth to Benjamin, when Jacob had lived with her twenty-three years.

‘Thence Jacob came to Mambri of Hebron, to his father Isaac. Now Joseph was at that time seventeen years old, and he was sold into Egypt, and had remained in the prison thirteen years, so that he was then thirty years old; and Jacob was a hundred and ten years old, one year before which time Isaac died, being a hundred and eighty years old.

‘And Joseph having interpreted the king’s dreams, governed Egypt seven years, in which time he married Aseneth daughter of Pentephres the priest of Heliopolis, and begat Manasseh and Ephraim: and then there followed two years of the famine.

‘But though Joseph had prospered for nine years, he did not send to his father, because he was a shepherd, as were Joseph’s brethren: and with the Egyptians it is disgraceful to be a shepherd. And that this was the reason why

he did not send for him, Joseph himself declares. For when his kindred came, he told them that, if they should be summoned by the king and asked what was their occupation, they should say that they were breeders of cattle.

‘And at the dinner they could not understand why in the world Joseph gave Benjamin a portion five times as much as theirs, as it was not possible for him to consume so much flesh. He had done this because his father had had seven sons by Leah, and two by his mother Rachel: therefore he set five portions before Benjamin, and himself took two; so they had seven portions, as many as the sons of Leah received.

‘In like manner also while giving to each two changes of raiment, to Benjamin he gave five, and thirty pieces of gold, and sent to his father in the same proportion, so that his mother’s house might be equal to the other.

‘Now from the time when Abraham was chosen from among the Gentiles and migrated into Canaan they had dwelt in that land, Abraham twenty-five years, Isaac sixty years, Jacob a hundred and thirty years; so that all the years in Canaan were two hundred and fifteen.

‘And in the third year of the famine in Egypt, Jacob came into Egypt, being a hundred and thirty years old, Reuben forty-five years, Symeon forty-four, Levi forty-three, Judah forty-two years and three months, Asher forty years and eight months, Nephthalim forty-one years and seven months, Gad forty-one years and three months, Zabulon forty years, Dinah thirty-nine years, Benjamin twenty-eight years.

‘Joseph, it is said, was in Egypt thirty-nine years; and from Adam until Joseph’s brethren came into Egypt there were three thousand six hundred and twenty-four years; and from the Deluge until Jacob’s coming into Egypt one thousand three hundred and sixty years; and from the choice of Abraham from among the Gentiles and his coming from Charran into Canaan until Jacob and his family came into Egypt two hundred and fifteen years.

‘But Jacob came from Charran to Laban, when he was eighty years old, and begat Levi, and Levi was afterwards seventeen years in Egypt from the time of his coming from Canaan into Egypt, so that he was sixty years old when he begat Clath; and in the same year in which Clath was born Jacob died in Egypt, after he had blessed the sons of Joseph, being himself one hundred and forty-seven years old and leaving Joseph fifty-six years old. And Levi was a hundred and thirty-seven years old when he died; and when Clath

was forty years old he begat Amram, who was fourteen years old when Joseph died in Egypt being a hundred and ten years old: and Clath was a hundred and thirty-three years old when he died. Amram took to wife his uncle's daughter Jochabet, and when he was seventy-five years old begat Aaron and Moses; but when he begat Moses Amram was seventy-eight years old, and Amram was a hundred and thirty-six years old when he died.'

These statements I quote from the work of Alexander Polyhistor. Next let me add the following:

CHAPTER XXII

[THEODOTUS] ‘Now Theodotus says in his work *Concerning the Jews* that Sikima took its name from Sikimius son of Emmor; for he was also the founder of the city: and in his book *Concerning the Jews* he describes its situation as follows:

“Rich was the land, well-watered, browsed by goats,
Nor far from field to city was the road.
No leafy copse the weary wanderer found:
Yet from it two strong mountains close at hand,
With grass and forest trees abounding, rise.
Midway a narrow path runs up the vale,
Beneath whose farther slope the sacred town
Of Sikima mid sparkling streams is seen
Deep down the mountain’s side, around whose base
E’en from the summit runs the well-built wall.”

‘Afterwards, he says, it was subdued by the Hebrews, when Emmor was the ruler: for Emmor begat a son Sychem. Thus he speaks:

“Thence Jacob from the wandering shepherd-life
Sought Shechem’s spacious streets, where o’er his tribe
Emmor with Sychem ruled, a stubborn pair.”

‘Then concerning Jacob and his arrival in Mesopotamia, and the marriage of his two wives, and the birth of his children, and his coming from Mesopotamia to Shechem, he says:

“To Syria rich in cattle Jacob came
From broad Euphrates’ loud-resounding stream,
To shun his twin-born brother’s bitter wrath.
Him Laban gladly welcomed to his home,
Laban his mother’s brother, who alone
O’er Syria ruled, his sons as yet new-born.
He then his youngest daughter for a wife
To Jacob promised, but was loth to give.

Contriving thus a crafty wile, he sends
Leah, the elder, to the marriage-bed.
Such fraud could not escape the husband's eye,
But for the other daughter seven more years
He served, and both his cousins took to wife.
Eleven sons he gat both wise and brave,
And one fair daughter, Dinah, whose bright face
And faultless form a noble soul expressed."

'From the Euphrates Jacob, it is said, came to Shechem to Emmor; and he welcomed him, and gave him a part of his country. So Jacob himself was a landholder, but his sons, eleven in number, were shepherds, and his daughter Dinah and his wives wrought wool. And Dinah while yet a virgin came to Shechem when there was a great festival, wishing to see the city: and Sychem the son of Emmor saw her and loved her, and seized and carried her off to his own home, and ravished her.

'But afterwards he came with his father to Jacob, to ask her for his partner in marriage; but he said he would not give her, until all the inhabitants of Shechem were circumcised and followed the customs of the Jews: and Emmor said he would persuade them.

'With regard to the need of their being circumcised, Jacob says:

"It is forbidden by our Hebrew laws
To bring a bridegroom to our daughters' home,
Save one who boasts to come of kindred race."

'Then a little lower down about circumcision:

"The God, who Abraham from his home had called,
Bade him from heaven to set the blood-stained seal
On flesh of every male; and it was done.
And changeless still the law which God decreed."

'When Emmor therefore was gone into the city, and was exhorting his subjects to be circumcised, one of Jacob's sons, whose name was Symeon, being unwilling to bear his sister's disgrace in a politic manner, determined to slay Emmor and Sychem: and this determination he communicated to his

brother Levi, and took him as an accomplice and set forth to do the deed, alleging an oracle, that God said He would give ten nations to Abraham's descendants to destroy.

‘And this is how Symeon speaks to Levi:

“For well have I remembered God's own word,
To give ten nations o'er to Abraham's sons.”

‘But God, it is said, had put this thought into their mind, because the inhabitants of Shechem were ungodly men. And this is what he says:

“The Shechemites who spared no guest that came,
Nor bad nor good regarded, God would smite.
No law nor justice in their state was found,
But all their thoughts were set on deeds of death.”

‘Levi therefore and Symeon came armed into their city, and first killed those who came in their way, and then murdered both Emmor and Sychem.

‘And of their slaying them he speaks thus:

“So fiercely then on Emmor Symeon rushed,
And smote his head, and in his left hand seized
His throat, but quickly left him gasping still,
For other task appeared. Levi meanwhile
Seized Sychem, fiercely raging, by the hair
And dashed with force resistless to the earth:
Vainly he clasped the victor's knees, who drave
His keen sword deep twixt neck and shoulder-blade,
And swiftly from his breast the spirit fled.”

‘And when the other brethren heard of their deed, they came to their aid, and sacked the city, and rescuing their sister carried her back with the captives to their father's abode.’

CHAPTER XXIII

To this let us add what comes next concerning Joseph out of the same work of Polyhistor:

[ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR] ‘Artapanus says, in his book *Concerning the Jews*, that Joseph was a descendant of Abraham and son of Jacob: and because he surpassed his brethren in understanding and wisdom, they plotted against him. But he became aware of their conspiracy, and besought the neighbouring Arabs to convey him across to Egypt: and they did what he requested; for the kings of the Arabians are offshoots of Israel, being sons of Abraham, and brethren of Isaac. And when he had come to Egypt and been commended to the king, he was made administrator of the whole country. And whereas the Egyptians previously occupied the land in an irregular way, because the country was not divided, and the weaker were unjustly treated by the stronger, he was the first to divide the land, and mark it out with boundaries, and much that lay waste he rendered fit for tillage, and allotted certain of the arable lands to the priests.

‘He was also the inventor of measures, and for these things he was greatly beloved by the Egyptians. He married Aseneth a daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, by whom he begat sons. And afterwards his father and his brethren came to him, bringing much substance, and were set to dwell in Heliopolis and Sais, and the Syrians multiplied in Egypt.

‘These he says built both the temple in Athos and that in Heliopolis, and were called Ermiuth. Soon afterwards Joseph died, as did also the king of Egypt. So Joseph while governor of Egypt stored up the corn of the seven years, which had been immensely productive, and became master of Egypt.’

CHAPTER XXIV

‘PHILO also, in his fourteenth book *Concerning Jerusalem*, testifies to the truth of the sacred Scriptures, speaking as follows:

“For them the mighty lord of all the land
A happy home prepared —— he, now most high,
Who from the ancient stock of Abraham
And Isaac sprang, and Jacob rich in sons
Claimed as his sire —— Joseph of royal dreams
The wise interpreter, who seated high
On Egypt’s throne now sways the sceptre’s power,
Much tossed erewhile by waves of fickle fate:”

and so forth. So much concerning Joseph.’

CHAPTER XXV

BUT hear also what the same author tells concerning Job:

‘Aristeas says, in his book *Concerning the Jews*, that Esau married Bassara in Edom and begat Job. This man dwelt in the land of Uz, on the borders of Idumaea and Arabia.

‘He was a just man, and rich in cattle; for he had acquired “seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, five hundred she-asses at pasture”; and he had also much arable land.

‘Now this Job was formerly called Jobab: and God continually tried him, and invoked him in great misfortunes. For first his asses and oxen were driven off by robbers; then the sheep together with their shepherds were burned up by fire which fell from heaven, and not long after the camels also were driven off by robbers; then his children died, from the house falling upon them; and the same day his own body also was covered with ulcers.

‘And while he was in evil case, there came to visit him Eliphaz the king of the Temanites, and Bildad the tyrant of the Shuhites, and Zophar the king of the Minnaei, and there came also Elihu the son of Barachiel the Zobite.

‘But when they tried to exhort him, he said that even without exhortation he should continue steadfast in piety even in his sufferings. And God being pleased with his good courage, relieved him from his disease, and made him master of great possessions.’

So much says Polyhistor on this subject.

CHAPTER XXVI

AND concerning Moses the same author again brings forward many things, which are worth hearing:

[ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR] ‘But Eupolemus says that the first wise man was Moses, and that he was the first to teach the Jews letters, and from the Jews the Phoenicians received them, and from the Phoenicians the Greeks, and that Moses was the first to give written laws to the Jews.’

CHAPTER XXVII

‘AND Artapanus says, in his book *Concerning the Jews*, that after the death of Abraham, and of his son Mempasathenoth, and likewise of the king of Egypt, his son Palmanothes succeeded to the sovereignty.

‘This king behaved badly to the Jews; and first he built Kessa, and founded the temple therein, and then built the temple in Heliopolis.

‘He begat a daughter Merris, whom he betrothed to a certain Chenephres, king of the regions above Memphis (for there were at that time many kings in Egypt); and she being barren took a supposititious child from one of the Jews, and called him Mouses (Moses): but by the Greeks he was called, when grown to manhood, Musaeus.

‘And this Moses, they said, was the teacher of Orpheus; and when grown up he taught mankind many useful things. For he was the inventor of ships, and machines for laying stones, and Egyptian arms, and engines for drawing water and for war, and invented philosophy. Further he divided the State into thirty-six Nomes, and appointed the god to be worshipped by each Nome, and the sacred writing for the priests, and their gods were cats, and dogs, and ibises: he also apportioned an especial district for the priests.

‘All these things he did for the sake of keeping the sovereignty firm and safe for Chenephres. For previously the multitudes, being under no order, now expelled and now set up kings, often the same persons, but sometimes others.

‘For these reasons then Moses was beloved by the multitudes, and being deemed by the priests worthy to be honoured like a god, was named Hermes, because of his interpretation of the Hieroglyphics.

‘But when Chenephres perceived the excellence of Moses he envied him, and sought to slay him on some plausible pretext. And so when the Aethiopians invaded Egypt, Chenephres supposed that he had found a convenient opportunity, and sent Moses in command of a force against them, and enrolled the body of husbandmen for him, supposing that through the weakness of his troops he would easily be destroyed by the enemy.

‘But Moses with about a hundred thousand of the husbandmen came to the so-called Nome of Hermopolis, and there encamped; and sent generals to pre-occupy the country, who gained remarkable successes in their battles. He adds that the people of Heliopolis say that this war went on for ten years.

‘So Moses, because of the greatness of his army, built a city in this place, and therein consecrated the ibis, because this bird kills the animals that are noxious to man. And he called it Hermes’ city.

‘Thus then the Aethiopians, though they were enemies, became so fond of Moses, that they even learned from him the custom of circumcision: and not they only, but also all the priests.

‘But when the war was ended, Chenephres pretended to welcome him, while in reality continuing to plot against him. So he took his troops from him, and sent some to the frontiers of Aethiopia for an advanced guard; and ordered others to demolish the temple in Diospolis which had been built of baked brick, and build another of stone from the quarries of the neighbouring mountain, and appointed Nacheros superintendent of the building.

‘And when he was come with Moses to Memphis, he asked him whether there was anything else useful for mankind, and he said the breed of oxen, because by means of them the land is ploughed: and Chenephres having given the name Apis to a bull, commanded the troops to found a temple for him, and bade them bring and bury there the animals which had been consecrated by Moses, because he wished to bury the inventions of Moses in oblivion. ‘But when the Egyptians were alienated from him, he bound his friends by an oath not to report to Moses the plot which was being contrived against him, and he appointed the men who were to kill him.

‘When however no one would obey him, Chenephres reproached Chanethothes, whom he had especially addressed; and he, on being thus reproached, promised to make the attempt when he found an opportunity.

‘And Merris having died about this time, Chenephres professed to give the body to Moses and Chanethothes to carry it over into regions beyond Egypt and bury it, supposing that Moses would be slain by Chanethothes.

‘But while they were on the way, one of those who were cognizant of the plot reported it to Moses; and he being on his guard buried Merris himself, and called the river and the city thereby Meroe. And this Merris is honoured by the people of the country not less highly than Isis.

‘Then Aaron the brother of Moses, having learned about the plot, advised his brother to flee into Arabia; and he took the advice, and sailed across the Nile from Memphis, intending to escape into Arabia.

‘But when Chanethothes was informed of the flight of Moses, he lay in

ambush intending to kill him; and when he saw him coming, he drew his sword against him, but Moses was too quick for him, and seized his hand, and drew his sword and slew Chanethoths.

‘So he made his escape into Arabia, and lived with Raguel the ruler of the district, having married his daughter. And Raguel wished to make an expedition against the Egyptians in order to restore Moses, and procure the government for his daughter and son-in-law; but Moses prevented it, out of regard for his own nation: and Raguel forbidding him to march against the Arabs, ordered him to plunder Egypt.

‘About the same time Chenephres died, having been the very first person attacked by elephantiasis; and he is said to have incurred this misfortune because he ordered the Jews to wear linen garments and not to wear woollen clothing, in order that they might be conspicuous, and be punished by him.

‘But Moses prayed to God now at last to put an end to the sufferings of the tribes. And God being propitiated, fire, it is said, suddenly blazed up out of the earth, and went on burning though there was no wood nor any other fuel in the place. And Moses was frightened at the occurrence and took to flight; but a divine voice spake to him, to march against Egypt, and rescue the Jews and lead them into their old country.

‘So he took courage and determined to lead a hostile force against the Egyptians: but first he came to his brother Aaron. And when the king of Egypt heard of the arrival of Moses, he called him before him, and asked what he had come for: and he said, Because the Lord of the world commanded him to deliver the Jews.

‘And when the king heard this, he shut him up in prison. But when it was night, all the doors of the prison-house opened of their own accord, and of the guards some died, and some were sunk in sleep, and their weapons broken in pieces.

‘So Moses passed out and came to the palace; and finding the doors opened he went in, and the guards here also being sunk in sleep he woke up the king. And he being dismayed at what had happened bade Moses tell him the name of the God who sent him, scoffing at him: but Moses bent down and whispered in his ear, and when the king heard it he fell speechless, but was held fast by Moses and came to life again.

‘And he wrote the name in a tablet and sealed it up; and one of the priests

who made light of what was written in the tablet was seized with a convulsion and died.

‘Also the king told him to work some sign for him, and Moses threw down the rod which he held and turned it into a serpent; and when they were all frightened, he seized it by the tail and took it up, and made it a rod again.

‘Then he went forth a little, and smote the Nile with the rod, and the river became flooded and deluged the whole of Egypt, and it was from that time its inundation began: and the water became stagnant, and stank, and killed all living things in the river, and the people were perishing of thirst.

‘But when these wonders had been wrought, the king said that after a month he would let the people go, if Moses would restore the river to its proper state; and he smote the water again with his rod, and checked the stream.

‘When this was done, the king summoned the priests from above Memphis, and said that he would kill them all, and demolish the temples, unless they also would work some wonder. And then they by some witchcraft and incantations made a serpent, and changed the colour of the river.

‘And the king, being puffed up with pride at what was done, began to maltreat the Jews with every kind of vengeance and punishment. Then Moses, seeing this, both wrought other signs, and also smote the earth with his rod, and brought up a kind of winged animal to harass the Egyptians, and all their bodies broke out in boils. And as the physicians were unable to heal the sufferers, the Jews thus again gained relief.

‘Again Moses by his rod brought up frogs, and besides them locusts and lice. And for this reason the Egyptians dedicate the rod in every temple, and to Isis likewise, because the earth is Isis, and sent up these wonders when smitten by the rod.

‘But as the king still persisted in his folly, Moses caused hail and earthquakes by night, so that those who fled from the earthquake were killed by the hail, and those who sought shelter from the hail were destroyed by the earthquakes. And at that time all the houses fell in, and most of the temples.

‘At last after having incurred such calamities the king let the Jews go: and they, after borrowing from the Egyptians many drinking-vessels, and no little raiment, and very much other treasure, crossed the rivers on the Arabian side, and after traversing a wide space came on the third day to the Red Sea.

‘Now the people of Memphis say, that Moses being acquainted with the country waited for the ebb, and took the people across the sea when dry. But the people of Heliopolis say, that the king hastened after them with a great force, having also with him the consecrated animals, because the Jews were carrying off the property which they had borrowed from the Egyptians.

‘There came, however, to Moses a divine voice bidding him to smite the sea with the rod [and that it should divide]: and when Moses heard it, he touched the water with the rod, and so the stream divided, and the force passed over by a dry path.

‘But when the Egyptians went in with them and were pursuing them, a fire, it is said, shone out upon them from the front, and the sea overflowed the path again, and the Egyptians were all destroyed by the fire and the flood: but the Jews having escaped this danger spent forty years in the wilderness, God raining down meal for them like millet, similar in colour to snow. And Moses they say was tall and ruddy, with long white hair, and dignified: and he performed these deeds when he was about eighty-nine years old.’

CHAPTER XXVIII

‘WITH regard to Moses being exposed by his mother in the marsh, and taken up and reared by the king’s daughter, Ezekiel the tragic poet gives an account, taking up the narrative from the beginning when Jacob and his family came into Egypt to Joseph. And he tells it as follows, bringing Moses forward as the speaker:

“When Jacob from the land of Canaan down
To Egypt came, with threescore souls and ten,
He there begat a multitudinous race,
Who much endured and long, by wicked men
And tyrant’s hand to this our day crushed down.
For when he saw our people had waxed strong,
The king with subtle craft our fathers ruled,
And some in making bricks ho sore oppressed,
And some in raising heavy stones to build
His lofty towers, for their despite contrived.
Next he commands that all the Hebrew race
Cast every man-child in the Nile’s deep flood.
And I have often heard my mother tell,
How at that time she hid me for three months:
Fearing detection then, she wrapped me close
In rough attire, and laid me secretly
‘Mid the thick rushes by the river’s bank.
My sister Miriam close at hand kept watch,
Till Pharaoh’s daughter with her maids came down
To bathe her shining limbs in the cool stream.
She saw the babe, and straightway took it up,
And knew its Hebrew birth. My sister then
Ran up, and to the princess thus she spake:
‘Wilt thou I find as nurse for this fair child
Some Hebrew wife?’ The princess bade her speed,
And to her mother quick she told the tale,
Who came with speed, and took me in her arms.
Then spake the Pharaoh’s daughter, ‘Take this child

To nurse, good dame, and I will pay thy wage.’
‘Moses’ the name she gave, to mark the fact
That from the river’s brink she drew me forth.”

‘To this farther on in the tragedy Ezekiel adds more on the following points, bringing Moses forward as speaking:

“So when my time of infancy was past,
My mother led me to the princess’ home,
But first she told me all the tale, my birth
And kindred, and God’s gifts of old.
The princess then through all my boyhood’s years,
As I had been a son of her own womb,
In royal state and learning nurtured me.
But when the circle of the days was full,
I left the palace, urged to lofty deeds
By my own soul, and by the king’s device.
Then the first day I saw two men at strife,
Egyptian one, and one of Hebrew race.
And when I saw that we were quite alone,
None else in sight, I to the rescue came,
Avenged my kinsman, and the Egyptian slew,
And buried in the sand, that none might see
What we had ventured, and lay bare the deed.
But on the morrow’s dawn again I saw
Two of our kin in deadly strife, and cried,
‘Why smitest thou thy weaker brother thus?’
But he replied, ‘And who made thee a judge,
Or ruler here? Me also wouldest thou slay,
As that man yesternorn?’ Then to myself
In fear I said, ‘How came that deed abroad?’
All this was quickly carried to the king.
And Pharaoh sought to take away my life.
His plot I learned, and from his hands escaped,
And now to other lands am wandering forth.”

‘Then, concerning the daughters of Raguel he adds this:

“But here, behold! some seven fair maids I see.”

‘And on his asking them what maidens they were, Zipporah replies:

“The land, O stranger, bears the common name
Of Libya, but by various tribes is held
Of dark-skinned Aethiops: yet the land is ruled
By one sole monarch, and sole chief in war.
This city has for ruler and for judge
A priest, the father of myself and these.”

‘He then describes the giving drink to the cattle, and adds the account of his marriage with Zipporah, bringing forward Chum and Zipporah as speaking in alternate verses:

“*Ch.* ‘Yet this thou need’st must tell me, Zipporah.’

Z. ‘My father gave me for this stranger’s wife.’”

CHAPTER XXIX

‘DEMETRIUS described the slaying of the Egyptian, and the quarrel with him who gave information about the deceased man, in the same way as the writer of the Sacred Book. He says, however, that Moses fled into Midian, and there married Zipporah the daughter of Jothor, who was, as far as one may conjecture from the names, one of the descendants of Keturah, of the stock of Abraham, from Jexan who was the son of Abraham by Keturah: and from Jexan was born Dadan, and from Dadan Raguel, and from Raguel, Jothor, and Hobab: and from Jothor Zipporah, whom Moses married.

‘The generations also agree; for Moses was seventh from Abraham, and Zipporah sixth. For Isaac, from whom Moses descended, was already married when Abraham at the age of a hundred and forty married Keturah, and begat by her a second son Isaac. Now he begat Isaac when he was a hundred years old; so that Isaac, from whom Zipporah derived her descent, was born forty-two years later than Isaac.

‘There is therefore no inconsistency in Moses and Zipporah having lived at the same time. And they dwelt in the city Madiam, which was called from one of the sons of Abraham. For it says that Abraham sent his sons towards the East to find a dwelling-place: for this reason also Aaron and Miriam said at Hazeroth that Moses had married an Aethiopian woman.

‘Ezekiel also speaks of this in the *Exodus*, adding to the tradition the dream that was seen by Moses and interpreted by his father-in-law. And Moses himself talks with his father-in-law in alternate verses, as follows:

“Methought upon Mount Sinai’s brow I saw
A mighty throne that reached to heaven’s high vault,
Whereon there sat a man of noblest mien
Wearing a royal crown; whose left hand held
A mighty sceptre; and his right to me
Made sign, and I stood forth before the throne.
He gave me then the sceptre and the crown,
And bade me sit upon the royal throne,
From which himself removed. Thence I looked forth
Upon the earth’s wide circle, and beneath
The earth itself, and high above the heaven.

Then at my feet, behold! a thousand stars
Began to fall, and I their number told,
As they passed by me like an armed host:
And I in terror started up from sleep.”

‘Then his father-in-law thus interprets the dream:

“This sign from God bodes good to thee, my friend.
Would I might live to see thy lot fulfilled!
A mighty throne shalt thou set up, and be
Thyself the leader and the judge of men!
And as o’er all the peopled earth thine eye
Looked forth, and underneath the earth, and high
Above God’s heaven; so shall thy mind survey
All things in time, past, present, and to come.”

‘With regard to the burning bush, and the mission of Moses to Pharaoh, he again brings Moses forward as holding converse alternately with God. Moses speaks thus:

“Ha! see! What sign is this from yonder bush?
A marvel such as no man might believe.
A sudden mighty fire flames round the bush,
And yet its growth remains all green and fresh.
What then? I will go forward, and behold
This wondrous sign, that passes man’s belief.”

‘Then God speaks to him:

“Stay, Moses, faithful servant, draw not nigh,
Ere thou hast loosed thy shoes from off thy feet:
The place thou standest on is holy ground;
And from this bush God’s word shines forth for thee.
Fear not, My son, but hearken to My words.
Of mortal birth, thou canst not see My face;
Yet mayest thou hear the words I came to speak.
Thy fathers’ God, the God of Abraham,

Of Isaac, and of Jacob, I am God.
I do remember all My gifts to them,
And come to save My people Israel;
For I have seen their sorrows and their toils.
Go then, and signify thou in My name,
First to the Hebrews gathered by themselves,
Then to the king of Egypt, this My will,
That thou lead forth My people from the land.”

‘Then lower down Moses himself speaks some lines in answer:

“I am not eloquent, O Lord, but slow
Of speech my tongue, and weak my stammering voice
To utter words of mine before the king?”

‘Then God in answer to this says to him:

“Thy brother Aaron I will send with speed:
First tell thou him all I have told to thee;
And he before the king, and thou with
Me Alone shalt speak, he what he hears from thee.”

‘With regard to the rod, and the other wonders thus he speaks in alternate verse:

“*God.* ‘Say, what is that thou holdest in thine hand? ‘
M. ‘A rod, wherewith to smite or beasts or men.’
God. ‘Cast it upon the ground, and flee in haste;
For a fierce serpent will affright thine eye.’
N. ‘Lo! there I cast it. Save me, gracious Lord!
How huge, how fierce! In pity spare Thou me.
I shudder at the sight in every limb.’
God. ‘Fear not: stretch forth thy hand, and seize the tail.
Again ‘twill be a rod. Now thrust thy hand
Into thy bosom: take it out again.
See, at My word, ’tis leprous, white as snow.
Now thrust it in again, ’tis as before.’”

To this, after some words that he has interposed, he adds the following:

‘Now this is what Ezekiel says in *The Exodus*, when he brings forward God speaking of the signs, as follows:

“With this thy rod thou shalt work all these plagues.

The river first shall flow all red with blood,

And every spring, and stream, and stagnant pool.

Then frogs and lice shall swarm o’er all the land.

Next ashes from the furnace sprinkled round

In ulcers sore shall burst on man and beast.

And swarms of flies shall come, and sore afflict

The bodies of the Egyptians. After that

On those hard hearts the pestilence and death

Shall fall. And heaven’s wrath let loose on high

Shall pour down fire and hail and deadly storm

On man, and beast, and all the fruits of earth.

Then shall be darkness over all the land

For three whole days, and locusts shall devour

All food, all fruits, and every blade of grass.

Moreover I will slay each first-born child,

And crush this evil nation’s wanton pride.

Yet none of these My plagues shall touch the king,

Until he see his first-born son lie dead:

Then will he send you forth in fear and haste.

This also speak to all the Hebrew race:

‘This month shall be the first month of your year,

Wherein I bring you to that other land,

As to the fathers of your race I swear.’

Also command the people, in this month,

At evening ere the moon’s full orb appear,

To sacrifice the Passover to God,

And strike the side-posts of the door with blood:

So shall My messenger of death pass by.

But the flesh eat ye roast with fire at night.

Then will the king drive forth your gathered host

In haste; but ere ye go, I will give grace

To this My people in the Egyptians' eyes,
So that each woman from her neighbour's store
All needful vessels freely shall receive,
Silver and gold, and raiment meet for man,
To make requital for their evil deeds.
And when ye shall have reached your promised land,
Take heed that, from the morn whereon ye fled
From Egypt and marched onward seven whole days,
From that same morn so many days each year
Ye eat unleavened bread, and serve your God,
Offering the first-born of all living things,
All males that open first the mother's womb."

'And again concerning this same feast he says that the poet has spoken
with more careful elaboration:

"And when the tenth day of this month is come,
Let every Hebrew for his household choose
Unblemished lambs and calves, and keep them up
Until the fourteenth day; and then at eve
Offer the solemn sacrifice, and eat
The flesh and inward parts all roast with fire.
Thus shall ye eat it, with your loins girt up,
And shoes upon your feet, a staff withal
Held ready in your hand; for in great haste
The king will bid them drive you from his land.
Let each man's eating for the lamb make count;
And when the victim has been duly slain,
Take a full bunch of hyssop in your hand,
Dipped in the sacred blood, and therewith strike
The posts and upper lintel of the door;
That death may pass o'er every Hebrew's house.
Keep ever thus this feast unto the Lord,
Eating for seven days unleavened bread,
And in your houses let no leaven be found.
For ye shall be delivered, and the Lord

Shall lead you forth from Egypt in this month,
Henceforth to be the first month of your year.”

Again, after some other passages he further says:

‘Ezekiel also, in the drama which is entitled *The Exodus*, brings forward a Messenger describing both the condition of the Hebrews and the destruction of the Egyptians, as follows:

“For when king Pharaoh from his house set forth
With all this crowd of countless men-at-arms,
With horsemen, and with four-horsed chariots,
In serried ranks in front and on each flank,
The embattled host was dreadful to behold.
The centre footmen held in phalanx deep
With spaces for the chariots to drive through.
And on the right wing and the left were set
The best of all the Egyptian chivalry.
The numbers of our army which I asked,
Were thousand thousands brave well-armed men.
The Hebrews, when overtaken by our host,
Lay some in groups hard by the Red Sea shore
Worn out with toil, and others with their wives
To feed their tender infants were intent:
Cumbered with flocks and herds and household goods.
The men themselves with hands not armed for fight,
At sight of us, set up a doleful cry,
And all, with hands uplift to heaven, invoked
Their fathers’ God. Great was their multitude;
But on our side all jubilant our camp
Behind them close we pitched, where by the sea
There lies a city, Baal-zephon high.
And as the sun was near his western couch,
We waited, longing for the fight at dawn,
Trusting our mighty host and deadly arms.
But now the signs of heaven’s own wrath began,
A dread and wondrous sight. For suddenly

A pillar of cloud rose high above the earth
Midway between the Hebrew camp and ours:
And then their leader Moses took his rod
Of power divine, which late on Egypt wrought
So many baneful signs and prodigies.
Therewith he struck the waves, and the deep sea
Was cleft asunder; and with eager steps
Their host rushed swiftly o'er that briny path.
We then upon their track without delay
Trode the same path, and marching forward met
The darkness of the night; when suddenly,
As if fast bound in chains, our chariot wheels
Refused to turn; and from the sky a flame
As of a mighty fire before us shone.
Their God, methinks, was there to succour them:
For they no sooner reached the farther shore,
Than close at hand we heard the mighty roar
Of surging waves; and one in terror cried:
'Flee from the vengeful hand of the Most High,
For it is He that helps our enemies,
And works for our destruction.' Then the sea
Surged o'er our path, and overwhelmed our host."

And again soon after:

'Thence they went forward three days, as Demetrius himself says, and the Holy Scripture agrees with him: but as he found there no sweet water, but bitter, at God's command he cast the wood of a certain tree into the fountain, and the water became sweet. And thence they came to Elim, and found there twelve springs of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees. As to these, and the bird which appeared there, Ezekiel in *The Exodus* introduces some one who speaks to Moses concerning the palm-trees and the twelve springs thus:

"See, my lord Moses, what a spot is found
Fanned by sweet airs from yonder shady grove.
For as thyself mayest see, there lies the stream,
And thence at night the fiery pillar shed

Its welcome guiding light. A meadow there
Beside the stream in grateful shadow lies
And a deep glen in rich abundance pours
From out a single rock twelve sparkling springs.
There tall and strong, and laden all with fruit,
Stand palms threescore and ten; and plenteous grass
Well watered gives sweet pasture to our flocks.”

‘Then lower down he gives a full description of the bird that appeared:

“Another living thing we saw, more strange
And marvellous than man e’er saw before.
The noblest eagle scarce was half as large:
His outspread wings with varying colours shone;
The breast was bright with purple, and the legs
With crimson glowed, and on the shapely neck
The golden plumage shone in graceful curves:
The head was like a gentle nestling’s formed:
Bright shone the yellow circlet of the eye
On all around, and wondrous sweet the voice.
The king he seemed of all the winged tribe,
As soon was proved; for birds of every kind
Hovered in fear behind his stately form:
While like a bull, proud leader of the herd,
Foremost he marched with swift and haughty step.”

And after a few words he adds that:

‘Some one asked how the Israelites got weapons, as they came out unarmed. For they said that after they had gone out a three days’ journey, and offered sacrifice, they would return again. It appears therefore that these who had not been overwhelmed in the sea made use of the others’ arms.’

CHAPTER XXX

‘BUT Eupolemus says, in some comment on the prophecy of Elias, that Moses prophesied forty years; then Jesus the son of Nave thirty years, and he lived a hundred and ten years, and pitched the holy tabernacle in Silo.

‘And afterwards Samuel rose up as a prophet: and then by God’s -will Saul was chosen king by Samuel, and died after a reign of twenty-one years.

‘Then his son David reigned, who subdued the Syrians which live beside the river Euphrates, and Commagene, and the Assyrians in Galadene, and the Phoenicians; he also made expeditions against the Edomites, and Ammonites, and Moabites, and Ituraeans, and Nabathaeans, and Nabdaeans.

‘And again he made an expedition against Suron king of Tyre and Phoenicia; and compelled these nations to pay tribute to the Jews; and contracted a friendly alliance with Vaphres king of Egypt.

‘And when David wished to build a temple for God, he entreated God to point out to him a place for the altar; whereupon there appeared to him an angel standing above the place, where the altar is built in Jerusalem, who commanded him not to build the temple, because he was defiled with men’s blood and had passed many years in war.

‘And the angel’s name was Dianathan; and he bade him commit the building of the temple to his son, but himself to prepare the things pertaining to the building, gold, silver, brass, stones, cypress wood and cedar.

‘And on bearing this David built ships in Aelan a city of Arabia, and sent miners to the island Drphe which lies in the Red Sea, and contains gold mines. And thence the miners transported the gold into Judaea.

‘When David had reigned forty years he gave over the government to Solomon his son, who was twelve years old, in the presence of Eli the High Priest and the twelve princes of the tribes, and delivered to him the gold and silver and brass and stone and cypress wood and cedar. Then David died, and Solomon was king, and wrote to Vaphres king of Egypt the letter which is transcribed below.

CHAPTER XXXI

“KING SOLOMON TO VAPHRES KING OF EGYPT, HIS FATHER’S FRIEND, GREETING.

“KNOW thou that I have succeeded to the kingdom of my father David by the help of the Most High God, who has also enjoined on me to build a temple to the God who made heaven and earth: and withal to write to thee, to send me some of thy peoples, who shall stay and help me, until we shall have completed all things that are required, according to the injunction laid on me.”

CHAPTER XXXII

KING VAPHRES TO SOLOMON THE GREAT KING GEEETING.

“I REJOICED much when I read thy letter, and both I and all my kingdom kept a festive day in honour of thy succession, to the throne after a man so good and approved by so great a God. But as to what thou writest to me concerning the men among our peoples here, I have sent thee eighty thousand, and have clearly explained to thee their numbers and the places from which they come: from the Sebrithitic nome tea thousand, and from the Mendesian and Sebennytic twenty thousand: from the nomes of Busiris Leonto-polis and Athribites ten thousand each. And do thou carefully provide what things they require, and for the rest, that they may be in good order, and may be restored to their own country, as soon as they cease to be wanted.”

CHAPTER XXXIII

“KING SOLOMON TO SURON KING OP TYRE AND SIDON AND PHOENICIA, HIS FATHER’S FRIEND, GREETING.

“KNOW thou that I have received the kingdom from my father David by help of the Most High God, who also enjoined on me to build a temple to the God who made the heaven and the earth, and withal to write to thee to send me some men from thy peoples, who shall stay and help us until we have fulfilled the requirement of God, according to the injunction laid upon me. I have written also to Galilee, and Samaria, and the land of Moab, and Ammon, and Gilead, to supply them with necessaries from the country every month, ten thousand cors of corn (a cor is six artabae) and ten thousand homers of wine (the homer of wine is ten measures): and oil and the rest shall be supplied to them from Judaea, and from Arabia, victims for sacrifice on which to feed.”

CHAPTER XXXIV

SURON TO SOLOMON THE GREAT KING GREETING.

“BLESSED be God, who made the heaven and the earth, who hath chosen a worthy son of a worthy father. As soon as I read thy letter I rejoiced greatly, and gave praise to God for thy succession to the kingdom.

“And as to what thou writest concerning the men in our various peoples, I have sent thee of Tyrians and Phoenicians eighty thousand, and as chief architect I have sent thee a man of Tyre, of a Jewish mother of the tribe of David: on whatsoever thou shalt ask him of all things under heaven, relating to architecture, he will give thee advice, and will carry out the work.

“And with regard to necessary provisions, and to the servants whom I send to thee, thou wilt do well in commanding the local governors, that all things necessary he provided.”“

‘When Solomon with his father’s friends had passed over to mount Lebanon with the Sidonians and Tyrians, he transported the timber which had previously been cut by his father to Joppa by sea, and thence by land to Jerusalem. And he began to build the temple of God when he was thirteen years old: and the work was done by the nations before-mentioned, and the twelve tribes of the Jews supplied the hundred and sixty thousand with all things necessary, one tribe each month; and they laid the foundations of the temple of God, sixty cubits in length, and sixty cubits in breadth, but the breadth of the building and of the foundations was ten cubits, for so had Nathan the prophet of God commanded him.

‘And they built alternately a course of stone and a beam of cypress-wood, fastening the two courses together with bronze cramps of a talent in weight. And when he had built it thus, he boarded it outside with planks of cedar and cypress, so that the stone building was not visible: and covered the temple with gold on the inside, by piling up bricks of gold five cubits long, and nailing them to the walls with silver nails of a talent in weight, four in number, and shaped like a breast.

‘Thus he covered it with gold from floor to roof, and the ceiling he made of golden panels, and the roof he made of brass, that is of brass tiles, having smelted brass and poured it into moulds. He made also two columns of brass,

and covered them with pure gold, a finger's breadth in thickness.

'And the columns were as high as the temple, and in size each pillar ten cubits in circumference: and they stood one on the right side of the house, and the other on the left. He made also golden lamp-stands, weighing ten talents each, having taken as a pattern the lamp-stand set by Moses in the tabernacle of the Testimony.

'And he set them on either side of the shrine, some on the right and some on the left. He made also seventy golden lamps, so that there might be seven burning on each lamp-stand. He built also the gates of the temple, and adorned them with gold and silver, and roofed them over with panels of cedar and cypress.

'He made a porch also on the north side of the temple, and supported it on forty-eight pillars of brass. He made also a brazen laver, twenty cubits in length, and twenty cubits in width, and five cubits high. And upon it he made a brim projecting on the outside towards the base one cubit, in order that the priests might stand up on it, and wash their feet and hands. Also he made the bases of the laver, twelve in number, molten and chased, and of the height of a man, and set them at the hinder side beneath the laver, on the right side of the altar.

'He made also a brazen step two cubits high, near the laver, that the king might stand upon it, when praying, so that he might be seen by the Jewish people. Also he built the altar of twenty-five cubits by twenty cubits, and twelve cubits high.

'He made also two brazen rings of chain-work, and set them upon machines rising twenty cubits in height above the temple, and they cast a shadow over the whole temple: and to each net-work he hung four hundred brass bells of a talent in weight, and the net-works he made solid, that the bells might sound, and frighten away the birds, that they might not settle upon the temple, nor nest upon the panels of the gates and porches, and defile the temple with their dung.

'He also surrounded the city Jerusalem with walls and towers and moats, and built a palace for himself.

'And the Lord's house was at first called the Temple of Solomon (Ἱερὸν Σολομῶνος); afterwards by a corruption the city was named Hierusalem from the Temple, but by the Greeks was called Hierosolyma after the king's name.

‘And when he had completed the Temple and the walls of the city, he went to Shiloh, and offered a thousand oxen for a burnt-offering. And he took the Tabernacle, and the altar, and the vessels which Moses made, and brought them to Jerusalem, and put them in the house.

‘Moreover the Ark, and the golden altar, and the lamp-stand, and the table, and the other vessels he deposited there, as the prophet commanded him.

‘And he offered to God an immense sacrifice, two thousand sheep, three thousand five hundred calves. And the whole amount of gold which was expended upon the two pillars and the temple was four millions six hundred thousand talents: and upon the nails and the rest of the furniture one thousand two hundred and thirty-two talents of silver: and of brass for the columns and the laver and the porch eighteen thousand and fifty talents.

‘And Solomon sent away both the Egyptians and the Phoenicians each to their own country, having given to every man ten shekels of gold; now the shekel is a talent. And to Vaphres the king of Egypt he sent ten thousand measures of oil, a thousand measures of dates, a hundred vessels of honey, and spices.

‘And to Suron at Tyre he sent the golden pillar which is dedicated in the temple of Zeus at Tyre.

‘But Theophilus says that Solomon sent the gold that remained over to the king of Tyre; and that he made a life-sized figure as an image of his daughter, and made the golden column into a covering for the statue.

‘And Eupolemus says that Solomon made also a thousand golden shields, each of which weighed five hundred staters of gold. He lived fifty-two years, of which he reigned forty in peace.’

CHAPTER XXXV

‘TIMOCHARES, in his *Life of Antiochus*, says that Jerusalem has a circuit of forty furlongs, and is difficult to take, being shut in on all sides by abrupt ravines: and that the whole city is flooded with streams of water, so that even the gardens are irrigated by waters which flow off from the city. But the country from the city as far as forty furlongs is without water: but beyond the forty furlongs again it is well watered.’

CHAPTER XXXVI

‘THE author of the *Metrical Survey of Syria* says in his first book that Jerusalem lies upon a lofty and rugged site: and that some parts of the wall are built of polished stone, but the greater part of rubble; and that the city has a circuit of twenty-seven furlongs, and that there is also within the place a spring which spouts up abundance of water.

CHAPTER XXXVII

‘PHILO too says, in his *Account of Jerusalem*, that there is a fountain, and that it is dried up in winter, but becomes full in summer. And in his first Book he speaks thus:

“Νηχόμενος δ’ ἐφύπερθε τὸ θαμβηέστατον ἄλλο
δέρκηθρον συναοιδὰ μεγιστούχοιο λοετροῖς
ρεύματος ἐμπίπλησι βαθὺν ῥόον ἐξανείσης.”

‘And so forth. Again, lower down he adds to these a description of the refilling:

“For flashing from on high the joyous stream,
Flooded by rain and snow, rolls swiftly on
Beneath the neighbouring towers, and spreading o’er
The dry and dusty ground, far-shining shows
The blessings of that wonder-working fount.”

‘And the rest that follows. Then again, concerning the High Priest’s fountain and the canal that carries off the water, he proceeds as follows:

“A headlong stream by channels under ground
The pipes pour forth,”

‘And all that follows this.’

Thus far then our quotations from Alexander Polyhistor.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

BUT Aristéas also, in the book which he wrote *Concerning the Interpretation of the Law of the Jews*, gives the following account of the waters in Jerusalem:

[ARISTEAS] ‘Now the house looks towards the East, and the back part of it to the West. The whole site is paved with stone, and has slopes towards the proper places for the influx of the waters for the purpose of washing away the blood from the sacrifices: for many myriads of cattle are offered on the several feast-days.

‘And there is an inexhaustible reservoir of water, as would be expected from an abundant spring gushing up naturally from within; there being moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns under ground, of five furlongs, according to their showing, all round the foundation of the temple, and countless pipes from them, so that the streams on every side met together. And all these works have been fastened with lead at the bottom and the side-walls, and over these has been spread a great quantity of plaster, all having been carefully wrought.’

CHAPTER XXXIX

BESIDES this, as Polyhistor has made mention of the prophecy of Jeremiah, it would be a most unreasonable thing for us to pass it over in silence. Let this then also be set down:

[POLYHISTOR] ‘Then Jonachim: in his time prophesied Jeremiah the prophet. He was sent by God, and found the Jews sacrificing to a golden image, the name of which was Baal.

‘And he foreshowed to them the calamity which was to come. Jonachim then attempted to burn him alive: but he said that with that fuel they should cook food for the Babylonians, and as prisoners of war should dig the canals of the Tigris and Euphrates.

‘When Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Babylonians, had heard of the predictions of Jeremiah, he summoned Astibares, the king of the Medes, to join him in an expedition. And having taken with him Babylonians and Medes, and collected a hundred and eighty thousand infantry and a hundred and twenty thousand cavalry, and ten thousand chariots, he first subdued Samaria, and Galilee, and Scythopolis, and the Jews who lived in the region of Gilead; and afterwards took Jerusalem, and made Jonachim, the king of the Jews, a prisoner. And the gold that was in the temple, and the silver and brass, they chose out and sent to Babylon, except the Ark and the tables that were in it: but this Jeremiah retained.’

CHAPTER XL

To this I must necessarily append also the account of the captivity of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar:

[JOSEPHUS] 'Nebuchadnezzar having encountered the rebel and joined battle with him, both mastered him, and brought the country at once under his own rule.

'And it happened that his father Nabopallasar fell sick at this time, and departed from life in the city of Babylon, after having reigned twenty-one years. And when Nebuchadnezzar heard soon after of his father's death, he set in order the affairs of Egypt and of the rest of the country, and having committed the prisoners of the Jews and Phoenicians and Syrians, the nations near Egypt, to certain of his friends, came to Babylon.'

After other statements he says:

'So then Nebuchadnezzar, after he had begun the wall before-mentioned, fell sick and died, after a reign of forty-three years, and his son Evil-Merodach became master of the kingdom.

'He governed the affairs of the kingdom in a lawless and outrageous manner, and was plotted against and put to death by his sister's husband Neriglisar, after having reigned two years.

'And after he was slain Neriglisar, who had plotted against him, succeeded to the government and reigned four years. His son Chabassoarach succeeded to the kingdom, though he was but a boy, and held it nine months; but because he showed many evil dispositions, a plot was made against him by his friends, and he was beaten to death.

'Upon his death, those who had plotted against him met together, and by common consent conferred the kingdom on Nabonnedus, who was a Babylonian and one of the same conspiracy.

'In his reign the walls of Babylon adjacent to the river were handsomely repaired with baked brick and asphalt. And in the seventeenth year of his reign Cyrus came from Persia with a great force, and, after subduing all the rest of the kingdom, invaded Babylonia.

'Nabonnedus, on being informed of his advance, met him with his army, and having joined battle was defeated, and fled with a few attendants, and was shut up in the city Borsippus.

‘And Cyrus having taken Babylon, and ordered the demolition of the outer walls of the city because the city had proved very troublesome to him, and hard to take, moved his army to Borsippus, to besiege Nabonnedus.

‘But as Nabonnedus did not wait for the siege, but gave himself up beforehand, Cyrus treated him in a kindly manner, and, giving him Carmania to dwell in, sent him away from Babylonia. The rest of his time therefore Nabonnedus passed in that country, and there ended his life.

‘This narrative contains the truth in agreement with our books. For in them it is written that Nebuchadnezzar in the eighteenth year of his reign laid waste our temple, and it remained unregarded fifty years. But in the second year of the reign of Cyrus the foundations were laid, and it was completed again in the tenth year of the reign of Darius.’

Thus far Josephus.

CHAPTER XLI

I FOUND also the following statements concerning Nebuchadnezzar in the work of Abydenus *Concerning the Assyrians*:

[ABYDENUS] ‘Now Megasthenes says that Nebuchadnezzar was braver than Hercules, and made an expedition against Libya and Iberia, and, having subdued them, settled a part of their inhabitants on the right shore of Pontus.

‘And afterwards, the Chaldeans say, he went up to his palace, and being possessed by some god or other uttered the following speech:

“‘O men of Babylon, I Nebuchadnezzar here foretell to you the coming calamity, which neither Belus my ancestor, nor Queen Beltis are able to persuade the Fates to avert.

“‘There will come a Persian mule, aided by the alliance of your own deities, and will bring you into slavery. And the joint author of this will be a Mede, in whom the Assyrians glory. O would that before he gave up my citizens some Charybdis or sea might swallow him up utterly out of sight; or that, turning in other directions, he might be carried across the desert, where there are neither cities nor foot of man, but where wild beasts have pasture and birds their haunts, that he might wander alone among rocks and ravines; and that, before he took such thoughts into his mind, I myself had found a better end.”

‘He after uttering this prediction had immediately disappeared, and his son Amil-marudocus became king. But he was slain by his kinsman Iglisar, who left a son Labassoarask. And when he died by a violent death, Nabannidochus, who was not at all related to him was appointed king. But after the capture of Babylon, Cyrus presents him with the principality of Carmania.’

Also concerning the building of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar the same author writes thus:

‘It is said that all was originally water, and called a sea. But Belus put a stop to this, and assigned a district to each, and surrounded Babylon with a wall; and at the appointed time he disappeared.

‘And afterwards Nebuchadnezzar built the wall which remained to the time of the Macedonian empire, and was furnished with gates of brass.’

After other statements he adds:

‘When Nebuchadnezzar had succeeded to the kingdom, he fortified Babylon with a triple circuit of walls in fifteen days, and he changed the course of the river Armacales, which is a branch of the Euphrates, and also of the Acracanus. To protect the city of the Sippareni he dug out a reservoir having a circuit of forty parasangs and a depth of twenty fathoms, and put gates to it, by opening which they irrigated the plain; and they call them Echetognomones.

‘He also walled off the inundation of the Red Sea, and built the city Teredon at the place of the incursions of the Arabs. His palace too he adorned with trees, and gave it the name of the Hanging Gardens.’

I have wished to make these quotations from the book before mentioned, because in the prophecy of Daniel it is said that Nebuchadnezzar, walking in the palace of his kingdom in Babylon, in proud thought spoke out arrogantly and said: ‘Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place, by the might of my power and for the glory of my majesty?’ ‘ While the word is yet in his mouth the catastrophe which followed has come upon him.

This then is enough for me to have quoted on the present subject.

CHAPTER XLII

BUT after all let me add the statements from the *Antiquity of the Jews* by Josephus, where, after quoting word for word the sayings of numberless writers, he adds the following:

[JOSEPHUS] ‘Nevertheless the records of the Syrians and Chaldeans and Phoenicians suffice for the proof of our antiquity, and in addition to them so many writers among the Greeks, and yet further in addition to those mentioned Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, Euemerus also, and: Conon, and Zopyrion, and many others perhaps (for I have not read all the books) have made no slight or passing mention of us.

‘Most, however, of the persons mentioned missed the truth of our earliest history because they had not read our Sacred Books: nevertheless all alike have borne testimony concerning our antiquity, the subject on which I proposed to speak at this time. Demetrius Phalereus, however, and Philo the elder, and Eupolemus, did not go far astray from the truth. And they deserve to be excused, for it was not in their power to follow our scriptures with entire accuracy.’

So says Josephus. And any one who is pleased to read his statements concerning the *Antiquity of the Jews* will find very many testimonies agreeing with those which I have set forth.

Also there pours in upon me a further great crowd of writers both ancient and modern as witnesses, who set their seal upon the like judgement with the authors who have been quoted; but being anxious to preserve the due limits of my discourse, I leave their utterances for students to search out and examine, and will myself pass on to fulfil the remainder of my promise.

BOOK X

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to the Greek philosophy
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- XIV. That the times of the Greek Philosophers are more recent than the
whole history of the Hebrews

CHAPTER I

WE have previously explained for what reasons we (Christians) have preferred the philosophy of the Hebrews to that of the Greeks, and on what kind of considerations we accepted the sacred Books current among the former people; and then afterwards we proved that the Greeks themselves were not ignorant of that people, but mentioned them by name, and greatly admired their mode of life, and have given a long account both of their royal capital, and other matters of their history. Now then let us go on to observe how they not only deemed the record of these things worthy to be written, but also became zealous imitators of the like teaching and instruction in some of the doctrines pertaining to the improvement of the soul.

I shall show then almost immediately how, from various sources, one and another of these wonderful Greeks, by going about among the Barbarians, collected the other branches of learning, geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy, medicine, and the very first elements of grammar, and numberless other artistic and profitable studies.

In the previous part of my discourse I proved that they had received from Barbarians their opinion concerning a multitude of gods, and their mysteries and initiations, and moreover their histories, and their fabulous stories about gods, and their physical explanations of the fables as expressed in allegory, and the rest of their superstitious error. This, I say, was proved at the time when we convicted the Greeks of having wandered over much of the earth, and then set up their own. theology on all points, not indeed without labour and care, but by contributions from the learning current among Barbarians: and soon it shall be proved that from no other source than from Hebrews only could they have procured the knowledge of the worship of the One Supreme God, and of the doctrines most in request for the benefit of the soul, which of course would also be most conclusive of their discussions on philosophy.

Or otherwise, if any one should say that they were moved to the same conclusions by innate conceptions, even this would be in our favour, that we preferred to be zealous followers of the doctrines delivered not only to Hebrews from the earliest ages by prophets who spake of God, but also, if not to all, yet to some, and those certainly the very men who were greatly renowned in Greece, doctrines carefully examined also in the discussions of the philosophers.

Now these men you would find to be few in number, because all excellence is proverbially difficult to attain; but nevertheless they have been honoured with the first place among the philosophers of Greece, so that through their great fame they overshadow the reputation of their fellows.

But you must not be surprised if we say that possibly the doctrines of the Hebrews have been plagiarised by them, since they are not only proved to have stolen the other branches of learning from Egyptians and Chaldees and the rest of the barbarous nations, but even to the present day are detected in robbing one another of the honours gained in their own writings.

At all events one after another they surreptitiously steal the phrases of their neighbours together with the thoughts and whole arrangement of treatises, and pride themselves as if upon their own labours. And do not suppose that this is my statement, for you shall again hear the very wisest of them convicting one another of theft in their writings.

And this very fact, since we have once mentioned it, we must consider as evidence before all else of the character of the said persons. Our Clement then, in his sixth *Miscellany*, has arranged the proof of this point at full length: so take and read me his words first, such as the following:

CHAPTER II

[CLEMENT] 'Now after having shown, that the significance of Greek thought was illumined on all sides from the truth bestowed on us through the Scriptures, according to the sense which we took in proving that the theft of the truth (if it be not offensive to say so) came home to them; let us proceed to bring forward the Greeks as witnesses of the theft against themselves.

'For they who so openly filch their own works one from another establish the fact that they are thieves, and betray, however unwillingly, that they are secretly appropriating to their own countrymen the truth borrowed from us. For if they do not keep their hands off even from one another, it is not likely that they will from our writers.

'Now of their philosophical doctrines I shall say nothing, since the very men who have divided themselves into sects, confess in writing, in order that they may not be convicted of ingratitude, that they have received the most important of their doctrines from Socrates. But after employing a few testimonies of men familiarly known and renowned among the Greeks, and exposing their style of plagiarism, by dealing with various periods, I shall turn to the subjects next in order.'

After these statements by way of preface, he brings forward his proofs in order, using all kinds of evidence, and calls the poets first to account as having stolen the thoughts from other poets, by a comparison of their respective utterances.

Then next he adds the following:

'In order that we may not allow philosophy, nor history, nor even rhetoric to pass free from the same charge, it is reasonable to bring forward a few passages from them also.'

Then he successively compares passages of Orpheus, Heracleitus, Plato, Pythagoras, Herodotus, Theopompus, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Lysias, Isocrates, and ten thousand others, of whose sayings it is superfluous for me to make a catalogue, as the author's work is ready at hand, in which, after the evidences concerning the said authors, he again speaks as follows:

'Let then these specimens of Greek plagiarism in thought suffice, being such as they are, for a clear example to one who has any power of discernment. But further they have been detected not only in filching and

paraphrasing the thoughts and the expressions, but, as shall be shown, they have stolen the works of others wholesale, and brought them out as their own; as Eugamon of Cyrene stole the entire book *Concerning the Thesprotians* from Musaeus.'

Clement having afterwards added to these very many proofs of his argument, again at the end makes this addition:

'Life would fail me, should I attempt to go over in particular detail the proof of the selfish plagiarism of the Greeks, and how they claim as their own the discovery of the noblest doctrines current among them, which they have taken from us.

'But now they are convicted not only of stealing their doctrines from the Barbarians, but also of copying our records of deeds so wonderfully wrought of old by the divine power through men of holy lives for our study, and exhibiting them in the marvellous stories of Greek mythology.

'And so we shall inquire of them whether these stories which they relate are true or false. False they would not say; for they would not willingly convict themselves of the great folly of recording falsehoods; but they would of necessity confess that they are true.

'But how then do the deeds miraculously exhibited by Moses and the other prophets any longer appear incredible to them? For the Almighty God in His care for all men tries to convert them to salvation, some by commandments, some by threatenings, some by miraculous signs, and some by gentle promises.

'Moreover, once when a drought was for a long time ruining Greece, and a dearth of food prevailed, the Greeks, those of them who were left, it is said, because of the famine came as suppliants to Delphi, and asked the Pythoness how they might be delivered from the danger. And she answered them that there was only one way of escape from the calamity, that they should employ the prayer of Aeacus, So Aeacus was persuaded by them, and went up to the Hellenic Mount, and, stretching out his pure hands to heaven, called upon God as the common Father, and prayed Him to have pity upon Hellas in her distress.

'And while he was yet praying there was a portentous sound of thunder, and all the surrounding air grew clouded, and violent and continuous rains burst forth and filled the whole country. Thence an abundant and rich harvest,

produced by the husbandry of the prayers of Aeacus, is brought to perfection.

“*And Samuel (says the Scripture) called upon the Lord, and the Lord gave thunder and rain in the day of harvest. Seest thou that there is One God, who sendeth rain upon the just and unjust by means of the powers subject to Him?*

“ And the rest.

To this Clement subjoined countless instances, and convicted the Greeks of having been plagiarists by indisputable proofs. But if you do not think him trustworthy, inasmuch as he, like us, has himself preferred the philosophy of the Barbarians to that of Greece, well then let him be dismissed, although he conducted his argument not in words of his own, but in those of Greeks themselves. But what would you say. if you should learn the like facts even from your noble philosophers themselves? Listen then to their testimonies also.

CHAPTER III

[PORPHYRY] ‘WHEN Longinus was entertaining us in Athens at the banquet in memory of Plato, he had invited among many others Nicagoras the Sophist, and Major, and Apollonius the Grammarian, and Demetrius the Geometer, and Prosenes the Peripatetic, and Callietes the Stoic.

‘With these reclined the host himself making seven, and while supper was going on, and some question about Ephorus had arisen among the others, he said, Let us hear what is this clamour about Ephorus? Now the disputants were Caystrius and Maximus: for the latter was for preferring him to Theopompus, while Caystrius called him a plagiarist.

“For what,” said he, “belongs properly to Ephorus, who transfers from the writings of Daimachus, and Callisthenes, and Anaximenes word for word sometimes as much as three thousand whole lines?”

‘In answer to whom Apollonius the Grammarian said, “Yes, for you are not aware that even Theopompus, whom you prefer, is infected with the same fault, as having in the eleventh book of his *History of Philip* copied word for word from the *Areopagiticus* of Isocrates that famous passage, “that nothing good and nothing evil comes to men quite of itself,” and the rest.

‘And yet he despises Isocrates, and says that his master was defeated by himself in the contest in honour of Mausolus. Then he has committed a theft of facts, by transferring what he found told of some men to others, that in this way he might also be convicted of falsehood.

‘For whereas Andron in *The Tripod*, writing of the philosopher Pythagoras, had narrated the story of his predictions, and said that once at Metapontium having been thirsty, and having drawn up and drunk water from a certain well, he foretold that on the third day there would be an earthquake. And after adding some other remarks to these, he proceeds:

“So whereas Andron had told this story concerning Pythagoras, Theopompus filched it all. If he had mentioned Pythagoras, perhaps others also would have known about it, and said, The Master also said that. But now the change of the name has made the plagiarism manifest; for he has made use of the same facts, but substituted another name: and he has represented Pherecydes of Syros as uttering this prediction.

‘And not only by this name does he try to conceal the theft, but also by a

change of localities: for the prophecy of the earthquake narrated by Andron as spoken in Metapontium, Theopompus says was uttered in Syria. And the incident about the ship was observed, he says, not from Megara in Sicily, but from Samos: and the capture of Sybaris he has transferred to that of Messene.

‘But in order that he might seem to say something more than common, he has also added the name of the stranger, saying that he was called Perilaus.’ “I too,” says Nicagoras, “in reading his *Hellenics* and Xenophon’s, have detected him in transferring many things from Xenophon; and the mischief is that he has changed them for the worse.

“For instance, the account of the conference of Pharnabazus with Agesilaus through the mediation of Apollophanes of Cyzicus, and their conversations with each other under a truce, which Xenophon in his fourth Book recorded very gracefully and in a manner becoming to both, Theopompus has transferred into the eleventh Book of his *Hellenics*, and deprived of all vigour, and movement, and effect.

“For while, in order to hide his theft, he strives to throw in and to display forcible and elaborate language, he appears slow, and hesitating, and procrastinating, and destroys the animation and vigour of Xenophon.”

‘After Nicagoras had thus spoken, Apollonius said, But what wonder that the vice of plagiarism infected Theopompus and Ephorus, who were merely very dull men, when even Menander was full of this infirmity, though in censuring him Aristophanes the Grammarian, because of his excessive friendship for him, dealt gently in his parallel extracts from him and from those whom he plagiarised. But Latinus in six books, which he entitled *Of Menander’s Appropriations*, exposed the multitude of his plagiarisms.

‘In the same way Philostratus of Alexandria began a treatise *On the Plagiarism of Sophocles*. And Caecilius, thinking that he has discovered something of great importance, says that Menander transcribed a whole drama, *The Augur* of Antiphaeus, from beginning to end, into *The Superstitious Man*.

‘But since, says he, it has seemed good to you, I know not how, to bring forward the plagiarists, I myself also inform against the charming Hyperides as having stolen many things from Demosthenes, both in the speech *Against Diondas* and in the one *Concerning the bribes of Eubulus*.

‘And that one of them has borrowed from the other is manifest: but as they

were contemporaries it must be your task, Apollonius, says he, to track the plagiarist from the dates. Now I suspect that the one who has stolen is Hyperides: but as it is uncertain which it was, I admire Demosthenes, if he borrowed from Hyperides and made appropriate corrections; but I blame Hyperides if he borrowed from Demosthenes, and perverted it for the worse.’

And soon after he says:

“Why need I tell you, how the *Barbarian Customs* of Hellanicus is a compilation out of the works of Herodotus and Damastes? Or how Herodotus in his second Book has transferred many passages of Hecataeus of Miletus from the *Geography*, verbally with slight falsifications, as the account of the bird Phoenix, and of the hippopotamus, and of the hunting of crocodiles?

‘Or how the statements in Isaeus concerning torture, in his oration *Concerning the inheritance of Cylon*, are found also in the *Trapeziticus* of Isocrates, and in the oration of Demosthenes *Against Onetor on an action of ejectment* are expressed almost in the same words?

‘Or how Dinarchus in his first speech *Against Cleomedon in an action for assault* has transferred many things word for word from the speech of Demosthenes *Against Conon for assault*?

‘Or how this sentiment of Hesiod’s,

“Nought can man better than a good wife win,
Nor find a worse bane than a vicious shrew,”

was borrowed by Simonides in his eleventh Book, who took it thus:

“Of all the prizes man can win, a wife
If good is best, if evil far the worst.”

‘And by Euripides in *Melanippe the Captive*:

“For than a bad wife nought can e’er be worse,
Nor aught excel a virtuous woman’s worth;
But of their natures there is difference great.”

‘And whereas Euripides said:

“A race most wretched we poor women are,”

Theodectes says in the *Alcmaeon*:

“Tis a true proverb in the mouths of men,
Than woman nought more wretched e’er was born.”

This author has not only taken the suggestion from that passage, but has also employed the very words; and he craftily preferred to give it a proverbial character, and to employ it as a saying used by many, rather than to seem to have taken it from its original author.

‘Antimachus too steals Homer’s verse, and blunders in correcting it. For Homer having said:

“Idas was strongest born of men on earth,”

Antimachus says:

“Idas was strongest of all men on earth.”

And Lycophron praises the alteration on the ground that the line is thereby strengthened.

‘As to Homer’s

“Τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Διομήδης”

I say nothing, since Homer has been ridiculed in comedy by Cratinus because of his frequent repetition of

“Τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος”

which, though so trite, Antimachus did not hesitate to borrow.

‘The line,

“The tribes he ruled with mild paternal sway,”

is Homer’s: and again in another place it is written,

“They on either side

In closer ranks the deep battalions ranged.”

But Antimachus, by transferring half-lines, has made the verse

“Of all the tribes they ruled

In closer ranks the deep battalions ranged.”

‘But lest while charging others with plagiarism I should be convicted as a plagiarist myself, I will indicate those who have treated this subject. There are two books of Lysimachus *Concerning the Plagiarism of Ephorus*. Alcaeus also, the poet of the vituperative Iambics and Epigrams, has detected and parodied the plagiarisms of Ephorus: then there is an epistle of Pollio to

Soteridas *Concerning the Plagiarism of Ctesias*, and a book of the same author *Concerning the Plagiarism of Herodotus*, and in the book entitled *The Searchers* there are many statements concerning Theopompus, and there is a treatise of Aretades *Concerning Coincidence*, from which works one may learn many examples of this kind.’

After other passages he adds:

‘Prosenes also said, The other plagiarists you have detected: but that even this hero Plato himself, after whom the feast which . we are celebrating to-day is named, makes use of many works of his predecessors (for in his case I feel too much respect to use the term “plagiarism”), this you have not proceeded to discover.

‘What say you? said Callietes. I not only say, replied Prosenes, but I also offer the proof of my statement. Now the books of Plato’s predecessors are rare: else perhaps one might have detected more of the philosopher’s plagiarisms. As to one, however, which I myself lighted upon by chance, in reading the discourse of Protagoras *Concerning Being* against those who represent “Being “ as one, I find him employing answers of the following kind; for I was careful to remember wlfat he said in his very words.’

And after this preface he sets out the proofs at large.

But I think that out of numberless examples those which have been mentioned are sufficient to show what was the character of the Greek writers, and that they did not spare even the exposure one of another. Yet in farther preparation for showing the benefit which has overflowed to the Greeks from the Hebrew Scriptures, I think it will be right and necessary for me to prove generally that all the celebrated learning and philosophy of the Greeks, both their elementary studies, and their grand system of logical science, have been collected by them from Barbarians, so that none of them may any longer lay blame upon us, because forsooth we have preferred the religion and philosophy of the Barbarians to their grand doctrines.

CHAPTER IV

You may judge that not without sound reason have we given a secondary place to the doctrines of the Greek philosophy, and preferred the theology of the Hebrews, when you learn that even among the Greeks themselves those who have most of all treated philosophy correctly, and thought out something more and better than the vulgar talk about the gods, have discovered no other true doctrines than those which had received a previous sanction among the Hebrews.

For some of them, being carried away hither and thither by various false opinions, were driven about into an abyss of idle prating; while others, who have in some degree employed candid reasoning, have shown themselves partakers in the teaching of the Hebrews in those points wherein they attained to the conception of the truth.

It is probable at all events that having become very learned, and having curiously investigated both the customs and the learning of the nations, they were not unacquainted with the philosophy of the people just mentioned, being younger in time, so to speak, than all men, not Hebrews only, nor yet Phoenicians and Egyptians only, but also than the ancient Greeks themselves.

For these ancients some doctrines derived from Phoenicia were arranged by Cadmus son of Agenor; and others concerning the gods from Egypt or elsewhere, mysteries and rites, the setting up of statues, and hymns, odes, and epodes, either by the Thracian Orpheus, or some other Greek or Barbarian, who became their leaders in error: for the Greeks themselves would acknowledge that they know no men more ancient than these.

They say at least that Orpheus nourished first of all, then Linus, and afterwards Musaeus about the time of the Trojan war, or a little before. But certainly in their time nothing more than the theology of the Phoenicians and Egyptians, with its manifold errors, had a home among the Greeks.

Moreover, among the other nations, in all countries and cities, these very doctrines and others similar to them were carefully observed in sacrifices and mysteries. At all events, the aforesaid doctrine concerning the gods largely prevailed among all mankind: and very beautiful shrines were everywhere furnished and adorned with all kinds of statues and offerings: moreover, images of all kinds of material were moulded into every form of mortal

animals and tastefully finished.

And further, there was among them all a manifold and profuse abundance of oracles. Indeed a certain god especially revered and mighty among the Greeks was at that time most nourishing, the Pythian, Clarian, and Dodonaean god: and then Amphiaraus, and Amphi-lochus, and after these flowed on a countless multitude of soothsayers rather than of poets and rhapsodists.

But at length, long ages after them, philosophy arrived among the Greeks, and found among their forefathers nothing that properly belonged to herself, but discovered that the sanctities and antiquities of the theology which had come to them from their fathers, and even the marvellous and universally famous divinities and oracles, were in reality superfluous and unprofitable.

Wherefore she proceeded to put these back into a secondary place, as they could not be of any use to her for the discovery of things necessary and true: and thenceforth, as one naked and destitute of any reasonings or learning of her own, she went about examining the foreign and barbarous systems, and providing, collecting, and borrowing what was useful to her from all sides, whatever she found among the several nations.

For indeed she began to discover that not only the true theology was lacking to the Greeks, but also the most useful in daily life of all the other arts and sciences. Indeed the Greeks themselves confess that it was after Orpheus, Linus, and Musaeus, the most ancient of all their theologians and the first to introduce among them the error of polytheism, that their seven men whom they surnamed Sages were celebrated for wisdom. And these nourished about the time of Cyrus king of Persia.

Now this was the time in which the very latest of the Hebrew prophets were prophesying, who lived more than six hundred years after the Trojan war, and not less than fifteen hundred years after the age of Moses: and this will be manifest to you when presently going through the records of the chronology.

Born somewhere about this recent period the Seven Sages are remembered for a reform of moral conduct, but nothing more is recorded of them than their celebrated maxims. But somewhat late, and lower down in time, the philosophers of the Greeks are reported to have flourished.

First among these Pythagoras the pupil of Pherecydes, who invented the name 'philosophy,' was a native, as some say, of Samos, but according to

others of Tyrrhenia; while some say that he was a Syrian or Tyrian, so that you must admit that the first of the philosophers, celebrated in the mouth of all Greeks, was not a Greek but a Barbarian.

Pherecydes also is recorded to have been a Syrian, and Pythagoras they say was his disciple. He is not, however, the only teacher with whom, as it is said, Pythagoras was associated, but he spent some time also with the Persian Magi, and became a disciple of the Egyptian prophets, at the time when some of the Hebrews appear to have made their settlement in Egypt, and some in Babylon.

In fact the said Pythagoras, while busily studying the wisdom of each nation, visited Babylon, and Egypt, and all Persia, being instructed by the Magi and the priests: and in addition to these he is related to have studied under the Brahmans (these are Indian philosophers); and from some he gathered astrology, from others geometry, and arithmetic and music from others, and different things from different nations, and only from the wise men of Greece did he get nothing, wedded as they were to a poverty and dearth of wisdom: so on the contrary he himself became the author of instruction to the Greeks in the learning which he had procured from abroad.

Such then was Pythagoras. And first in succession from him the so-called Italian philosophy was formed, which derived its title to the name from its abode in Italy: after this came the Ionic school, so called from Thales, one of the seven Sages: and then the Eleatic, which claimed as its founder Xenophanes of Colophon.'

Even Thales, however, as some relate, was a Phoenician, but as others have supposed, a Milesian: and he too is said to have conferred with the prophets of the Egyptians.

Solon also who was himself one of the Seven Sages, and is said to have legislated for the Athenians, is stated by Plato to have resorted in like manner to the Egyptians, at the time when Hebrews were again dwelling in Egypt. At least he introduces him in the *Timaeus* as receiving instruction from the Barbarian, in the passage where the Egyptian says to him, 'O Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children, and there is not one old man among the Greeks, nor is there among you any learning grown hoary with time.'

This same Plato, too, after having attended the teaching of the Pythagoreans in Italy, was not contented with his studying with them only, but is said to have sailed to Egypt and devoted a very long time to their

philosophy. This testimony indeed he himself bears to the Barbarians in many passages of his own discourses, and therein, I think, does well, and candidly confesses that the noblest doctrines are imported into philosophy from the Barbarians. Accordingly in many places, and especially in the *Epinomis*, you may hear him mentioning both Syrians and Egyptians in the following manner:

[PLATO] ‘The cause of this is that he who first observed these phenomena was a Barbarian: for it was a very ancient region which bred those who first took notice of these things because of the beauty of the summer season, which both Egypt and Syria fully enjoy. . . . Whence the knowledge has reached to all countries, including our own, after having been tested by thousands of years and time without end.’

And lower down he next adds:

‘Let us take it then that, whatever Greeks may have received from Barbarians, they work out and finish it with greater beauty.’

So says Plato. But Democritus also, still earlier, is said to have appropriated the ethical doctrines of the Babylonians. And somewhere, boasting about himself, he says:

[DEMOCRITUS] ‘But of the men of my time I have wandered over the most land, investigating the most distant parts, and have seen the most climates and soils, and listened to the greatest number of learned men, nor did any one ever yet surpass me in the construction of lines accompanied by demonstration, nor yet those Egyptians who are called Arpedonaptae, for all which purposes I passed as much as five years in foreign lands.’

For this man also visited Babylon, and Persia, and Egypt, and was a disciple of the Egyptians and their priests.

What if I were to count up to you Heracleitus and all the other Greeks, by whom civil life among the Greeks is proved to have been left for long ages very poor, and devoid of all learning.

It was embellished indeed with temples of the gods, and images and statues, and prophecies and oracles, and the manifold pomp of the fraudulent daemons, but of true wisdom and of useful science it was utterly destitute.

Nor did their useless oracles contribute aught to the discovery of good counsels: but even their wonderful Pythian god did not help them at all in philosophy, nor did any other deity assist them in the pursuit of any needful

good. But wandering hither and thither, and running about all their life they bedecked themselves, according to the fable, with borrowed plumes; so that now their whole philosophy consisted of what they begged.

For by copying different sciences from different nations, they got geometry from the Egyptians, and astrology from the Chaldeans, and other things again from other countries; but nothing among any other nations like the benefit which some of them found from the Hebrews.

For this was the knowledge of the God of the universe, and the condemnation of their own gods, which our argument as it proceeds a little farther will prove.

But thus much at present it indicates to the readers, that the ancient Greeks were destitute not only of true theology, but also of the sciences which are profitable to philosophy; and not of these only, but also of the common habits of civil life.

And I believe that this indication will assist me in the demonstration of the object which I have proposed; inasmuch as my proposal is to uphold the plea, that we have not unreasonably preferred the theology of the Hebrews, and that of the Barbarians, as they would call it, to the philosophy of the Greeks.

If then it should be seen they have themselves gathered it all long before from Barbarians, and have received from their own gods no help at all in philosophy, but have even found fault justly with their gods; and if some of them for these reasons have preferred atheism to the worship of the gods, then what right have they any more to find fault with us, instead of welcoming and commending us, because from having loved the better part, or rather from having found and recovered that which alone is true, we have withdrawn from the falsehood, without either turning round like the wise men of the Greeks to atheistic reasoning, or on the other hand mixing up the error of polytheism with the knowledge of the Supreme God, in a similar way to their admirable philosophers, nor yet have confused the falsehood with the truth?

Let us not, however, discuss these points yet, but first let me ask you to consider those proofs by which, the Greeks are convicted of having stolen everything from Barbarians, not only their philosophical science, but also the common inventions which are useful in daily life.

CHAPTER V

FIRST therefore he who introduced to the Greeks the common letters, even the very first elements of grammar, namely Cadmus, was a Phoenician by birth, from which circumstance some of the ancients have surnamed the alphabet Phoenician.

But some say that the Syrians were the first who devised letters. Now these Syrians would be Hebrews who inhabited the neighbouring country to Phoenicia, which was itself called Phoenicia in old times, but afterwards Judaea, and in our time, Palestine. And it is evident that the sound of the Greek letters is very closely connected with these.

For example, each letter among the Hebrews has its name from some significant idea, a circumstance which it is not possible to trace among the Greeks: on which account especially it is admitted that the letters are not originally Greek.

Now the Hebrews have in all twenty-two letters: of which the first is 'Alph,' which translated into the Greek language would mean 'learning': and the second 'Beth,' which is interpreted 'of a house': the third is 'Gimel,' which is 'fullness': the fourth 'Delth,' which signifies 'of tablets': the fifth 'He,' which is 'this.' And all these together make up a meaning of this kind, 'Learning of a house, fullness of tablets this.'

Then after these is a sixth letter called among them 'Wau,' which is 'in it': then 'Zai,' which is 'liveth': after which comes 'Heth,' which is 'the living': that the whole may be 'in it liveth the living.'

After these a ninth letter, 'Teth,' which is 'good': then 'Yoth,' which is interpreted 'beginning'; the two together, 'good beginning.' After these 'Chaph,' which is 'nevertheless': then 'Labd,' which is 'learn': the whole being 'nevertheless learn.'

'After these is a thirteenth letter 'Mem,' which is 'from them': then 'Nun,' which is 'eternal.' Then 'Samch,' which is interpreted 'help': that the meaning may be, 'from them eternal help.'

After these is 'Am,' which being translated signifies 'fountain,' or 'eye': then 'Phe,' 'mouth.' Then next 'Sade,' 'righteousness': of which the meaning is 'fountain (or 'eye') and mouth of righteousness.'

After these is a letter 'Koph,' which is interpreted 'calling': then 'Res,'

which is 'head': and after these 'Sen,' which is 'teeth': last of all the twenty-second letter is called with them 'Thau,' which means 'signs.' And the sense would be, 'calling of the head, and signs of the teeth.'

Among the Hebrews such is the paraphrase and interpretation of the letters, making up a meaning in words appropriate to the learning and promise of the letters. But the like you cannot find among the Greeks, whence, as I said, it must be acknowledged that they do not belong originally to the Greeks, but have been imitated directly from the language of the Barbarians.

This is also proved from the very name of each letter. For in what does 'Alpha' differ from 'Alph'? Or 'Beta' from 'Beth'? Or 'Gamma' from 'Gimel'? Or: 'Delta' from 'Delth'? Or 'Epsilon' from 'He'? Or 'Zeta' from 'Zai'? Or 'Theta' from 'Teth'? And all the like cases.

So that it is indisputable that these names belong not originally to the Greeks: therefore they belong to the Hebrews, among whom each of them shows some signification. And having originated with them the letters passed on to other nations, and so to the Greeks. About the letters of the alphabet I have said enough: but you must hear also what Clement says in dealing with the subject before us.

CHAPTER VI

[CLEMENT] ‘THE healing art is said to have been invented by Apis the Egyptian . . . and afterwards improved by Aesculapius. Atlas the Libyan was the first who built a ship, and sailed the sea. . . .

‘Astrology also was first made known among men by the Egyptians and Chaldeans. . . . Some, however, say that prognostication by the stars was devised by the Carians. The Phrygians were the first to observe the flights of birds.

‘The inspection of sacrificial victims was accurately practised by the Tuscans who border on Italy. The Isaurians and Arabians perfected augury, and the Telmessians, doubtless, divination by dreams.

‘The Tyrrhenians invented the trumpet, and Phrygians the flute; for both Olympus and Marsyas were Phrygians. . . . The Egyptians again first taught men to burn lamps, and divided the year into twelve months, and forbade intercourse with women in temples, and enacted that none should enter temples after intercourse without bathing.

‘The same people again were the inventors of geometry. . . . Kelmis and Damnameneus, the Idaean Dactyls, first discovered iron in Cyprus. And the tempering of bronze was invented by Delas, another Idaean, or, as Hesiod says, a Scythian. ‘Certainly Thracians were the first who invented the so-called scimitar, which is a curved sword, and they first used targes on horseback: in like manner the Illyrians invented the so-called targe (πέλτη). Further they say that the Tuscans invented the art of moulding clay: and Itanus, who was a Samnite, fashioned the long shield.

‘Cadmus the Phoenician invented stone-cutting, and discovered the gold mines near Mount Pangaeus. Moreover another nation, the Cappadocians, first invented the so-called “nabla,” as the Assyrians the lyre of two strings.

‘The Carthaginians were the first to fit out a quadrireme, and it was built off hand by Bosporus. Medea of Colchis, the daughter of Aeetes, first devised the dyeing of the hair.

‘The Noropes (a Paeonian tribe, now called Noricum) worked copper, and were the first to refine iron. Amyous, the king of the Bebryces, invented boxing-thongs.

‘With regard to music, Olympus the Mysian was fond of practising the

Lydian harmony: and the so-called Troglodytes invented a musical instrument, the sambuca.

‘They say also that the slanting pipe was invented by Satyrus the Phrygian, and in like manner the trichord, and the diatonic harmony by Hyagnis who also was a Phrygian: notes likewise by Olympus the Phrygian; as the Phrygian harmony and the Mixo-Phrygian, and the Mixo-Lydian by Marsyas, fellow countrymen of those just named: and the Dorian was invented by Thamyras the Thracian.

‘We have heard too that the Persians were the first who made a carriage, and couch, and footstool, and that the Sidonians first built a trireme. The Sicilians who are close to Italy were the first to invent a lyre, not far inferior to the harp, and devised castanets.

‘Robes of fine linen are said to have been invented in the time of Semiramis, queen of the Assyrians: and Atossa who reigned over the Persians is said by Hellanicus to have been the first to use folded letters.

‘These things then were related by Scamondryus of Mitylene, and Theophrastus of Ephesus, and Cydippus of Mantinea, also by Antiphanes, and Aristodemus, and Aristotle, and besides these by Philostephanus, and Straton the Peripatetic in the books *Concerning Inventions*. And I have quoted a few of them in confirmation of the inventive and practical genius of Barbarians, from whom the Greeks have received the benefit of their institutions.’

These things Clement states in these very words in the *Miscellanies*. And to what has now been mentioned I think it well to append also the extracts from the writing of Josephus the Hebrew, which he composed in two books, *Of the Antiquity of the Jews*, on the point that the Greeks are a young nation, and have received help from the Barbarians, and have dissented from each other in their writings. This too will contribute to the accurate and sure confirmation of my statements. Hear therefore what he also writes, word for word.

CHAPTER VII

[JOSEPHUS] 'MY first thought then is of utter astonishment at those who think it right to attend to none but Greeks concerning the most ancient facts, and to seek to learn the truth from them, but to disbelieve us and the rest of mankind.

'For I see that the very opposite is the case, if at least we are not to follow vain opinions, but draw the just conclusion from the facts themselves. For you will find all things among the Greeks to be recent, having come into existence, as one might say, yesterday or the day before; I mean the foundation of their cities, and their invention of the arts, and the registration of their laws: and the writing of their histories is almost the latest object of their attention.

'Doubtless, however, they themselves admit that the most ancient and most constant traditional record is that of the events which have occurred among the Egyptians, and Chaldeans, and Phoenicians (for at present I omit to include ourselves with these).

'For they all inhabit regions which are least subject to destruction from the surrounding atmosphere, and have taken much care to leave none of the facts of their history unrecorded, but to have all continually enshrined by their wisest men in public registers.

'But the region about Greece has been invaded by thousands of destructive plagues, which blotted out the memory of past events: and as they were always setting up new modes of life, they each of them supposed that their own was the beginning of all.

'Tardily and painfully they learned the nature of letters. Those at least who assign the greatest antiquity to their use of them boast of having learned it from the Phoenicians and Cadmus.

'Nevertheless no one could show any record that is preserved even from that time either in temples or on public monuments: seeing that there has been great doubt and inquiry, whether even those who so many years later went on the expedition to Troy, made use of writing; and the true opinion is rather that they were ignorant of the use now made of written letters.

'In short, there is no undisputed writing found among the Greeks older than Homer's poetry: and he was evidently later than the Trojan war. They say too

that even he did not leave his poetry in writing, but that it was transmitted by memory and afterwards put together from the songs, and that this is the cause of its many discrepancies.

‘Those, however, among them who undertook to write histories — I mean Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus of Argos, and any others who are said to have come after him — lived but a short time before the expedition of the Persians against Greece.

‘Moreover all with one voice acknowledge, that the first among the Greeks who philosophized about things celestial and divine, as Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, got their learning from Egyptians and Chaldeans, and wrote but little: and these writings are thought by the Greeks to be the oldest of all, and they do not quite believe that they were written by those authors.

‘Is it not then necessarily unreasonable for the Greeks to have been puffed up, as though they alone understood the events of early times, and handed down the truth concerning them correctly? Or who could not easily learn from the same historians, that they had no certain knowledge of anything which they wrote, but gave each their own conjectures about the facts?

‘Accordingly in their books they frequently refute one another, and do not hesitate to make the most contrary statements concerning the same events. But it would be superfluous labour for me to teach those who know better than myself on how many points Hellanicus has dissented from Acusilaus in regard to the genealogies, and how often Acusilaus sets Hesiod right; or in what fashion Ephorus exposes Hellanicus as making very many false statements, and Ephorus is exposed by Timaeus, and Timaeus by those who came after him, and Herodotus by them all.

‘Nor did Timaeus deign to agree with Antiochus and Philistus or Callias about Sicilian history, nor again have the authors of Athenian histories followed each other’s statements about the affairs of Attica, nor the historians of Argos about the affairs of Argolis.

‘And why need I speak about the smaller affairs of the several states, seeing that the most celebrated authors have disagreed about the Persian invasion and the events which happened therein? And on many points even Thucydides is accused by some of falsehood, although he is thought to write the history of his own time with the greatest accuracy.

‘Now of dissension such as this many other causes might perhaps be brought to light by those who wish to seek for them; but I myself attach the greatest importance to two causes which shall now be set forth.

‘And I will mention first that which seems to me to be the more decisive. For the fact that from the beginning there was no zealous care among the Greeks to have public records kept of contemporary events —— this most of all was the cause of error, and gave impunity for falsehood to those who afterwards wished to write about ancient history.

‘For not only among the other Greeks was the care of the records neglected, but even among the Athenians themselves, who are said to be aborigines and studious of culture, nothing of this kind is found to have been done: but the oldest of their public records they say are the laws about murder written for them by Draco, a man born a little before the tyranny of Peisistratos.

‘What need is there to speak of the Arcadians, who boast of antiquity? For they even at a later period were scarcely instructed in the use of letters.

‘Inasmuch therefore as no record had been published, which would have taught those who wished to learn, and convicted those who were guilty of falsehood, there ensued the great disagreement of the historians among themselves.

‘But besides this there is that other second cause to be assigned. For those who set themselves to write made no serious study of the truth —— although they have always this profession ready at hand —— but tried to display their power of language; and adapted themselves to any style in which they thought to surpass the rest in reputation on this point; and some of them turned to writing mythical tales, and some, to gain favour, took to eulogizing cities or kings; while others had recourse to censuring men’s actions or those who had described them, thinking that they should gain reputation herein.

‘In short they are constantly doing what is of all things the most contrary to history. For it is a test of true history, whether all spake and wrote the same accounts of the same events; but these men imagined that if they wrote different accounts from others, they should thus appear to be themselves; most truthful of all.’

So much, says Josephus. And these statements may be confirmed by the testimony of Diodorus, which I shall quote from the first Book of the

Bibliotheca compiled by him, and which is word for word as follows:

CHAPTER VIII

[DIODORUS] ‘AFTER having thoroughly explained these points, I must state how many of those who have been famed among the Greeks for intelligence and culture made a voyage to Egypt in ancient times, in order that they might gain some knowledge of its customs and culture.

‘For the priests of the Egyptians report from the records in their sacred books that they were visited by Orpheus, and Musaeus, and Melampus, and Daedalus, and besides these by the poet Homer, and Lycurgus the Spartan; also by Solon the Athenian, and Plato the philosopher; and that there came also Pythagoras of Samos, and Eudoxus the mathematician, Democritus of Abdera also, and Oenopides of Chios.

‘And as evidences of all these they point to the images of some, and the names of places or buildings called after others. Also from the branch of learning studied by each the priests bring proofs of the fact that they had brought over from Egypt everything whereby they gained admiration among the Greeks.

‘Thus Orpheus, they say, brought away from the Egyptians most of the mystic rites, and the orgiastic celebration of his own wandering, and the fable concerning those in Hades. For the rite of Osiris is the same as that of Dionysus: and that of Isis is very similar to that of Demeter, with only the change of names. And the punishments of the ungodly in Hades, and the meadows of the godly, and the making of moulded images (of the shades) common among the multitude he is said to have introduced in imitation of the Egyptian customs in regard to burial.

‘For Hermes the conductor of souls, according to the ancient custom among the Egyptians, having brought up the body Of Apis to a certain place gives it over to him who wears the face of Cerberus. And after Orpheus had made this known among the Greeks, Homer, it is said, following him wrote in his poem:

“Cyllenian Hermes waved his golden wand,
And summoned forth the souls of heroes slain.”

Then again farther on he adds:

‘They say that Melampus brought from Egypt the customary rites

performed in honour of Dionysus among the Greeks, and the mythological tales concerning Kronos, and those concerning the war of the Titans, and the entire history of the sufferings of the gods.

‘Daedalus, it is said, imitated the winding of the labyrinth which remains up to the present time, but was built, as some say, by Mendes, or, as others say, by king Marus many years before the reign of Minos: the proportion too of the ancient statues in Egypt is said to be the same with that of the statues made by Daedalus in Greece.

‘Daedalus was also said to have been the architect of the very beautiful vestibule of Hephaestus in Memphis, for which he was admired, and received a wooden statue in the said temple, wrought by his own hands. And at last being held in great honour for his genius, and having made many more discoveries, he received divine honours. For in one of the islands near Memphis there is still a temple of Daedalus venerated by the inhabitants.

‘Of Homer’s visit to Egypt they bring forward among other proofs especially the drugging of Telemachus by Helen in the house of Menelaus, and his oblivion of the evils that had befallen him. For it is evident that the poet had carefully examined the soothing drug which he says that Helen had obtained from Egypt, from Polydamna the wife of Thon.

‘Even at the present time they still say that the women in this country use the same medicine, and they assert that a remedy for anger and sorrow has been discovered from ancient times among the women of Diospolis only: and that Thebes and Diospolis are the same city: also that among the inhabitants Aphrodite is called the “golden” from an ancient tradition, and that near the city named Momemphis there is a so-called “plain of golden Aphrodite.”

‘Also the mythical tales concerning Zeus and Hera and their intercourse, and their travelling to Ethiopia, Homer is said to have brought thence. For among the Egyptians, year by year, the shrine of Zeus is carried across the river into Libya, and after some days it returns again, as if the god were come from Ethiopia: and that the intercourse of these deities takes place when at their festivals both their shrines are carried up into a mountain crowned with all kinds of flowers by the priests.

‘They say that Lycurgus also, and Plato, and Solon, inserted many of the customs of Egypt in, their codes of law, and that Pythagoras learned from the Egyptians the doctrines of the *Sacred Word*, and the theories of geometry, and

the science of numbers, and besides these the migration of the soul into every kind of animal.

‘They suppose also that Democritus spent five years among them, and was taught many of the principles of astrology; and that Oenopides in like manner lived with the priests and astrologers and learned, among other things, that the sun’s orbit has an oblique path, and that he is carried in the opposite direction to the other heavenly bodies.

‘In like manner also it is said that Eudoxus studied astrology with them, and published much useful information to the Greeks, whereby he acquired a notable reputation.

‘And of; all the ancient statuaries those whose names are most widely known had sojourned with them, Telecles and Theodorus the sons of Rhoecus, who had -made the statue of the Pythian Apollo for the Samians.’

Thus far Diodorus. But here I must let this argument, with such proof as has been given, come to an end. Henceforth then we ought not to be charged with unreasonableness, if in our desire for the true religion we have ourselves resorted to the teachers of the wise Greeks and even of their philosophers, I mean the Barbarians, if at least the Hebrews, are Barbarians.

Now it would be well to examine their chronology, I mean the dates at which Moses and the prophets after him nourished: since this would be one of the most conclusive evidences for the argument before us, that before dealing with the learned men among the people we should first decide about their antiquity; in order that, if the Greeks should be found to hold the same doctrines with the prophets and theologians of the Hebrews, you may no longer be in doubt who were likely to have borrowed from the others; whether the elder from the younger, Hebrews from Greeks, and Barbarians from philosophers, whose language even they were not likely to understand; or, what is more likely, that the younger borrowed from, the elder, and that those Greeks who had most busily studied the history of the various nations were not unacquainted with the writings of the Hebrews, which had been long before translated into the Greek language.

CHAPTER IX

WITH regard to Moses and the antiquity of the prophets who came after him, very many others have carefully laid down the evidence in their own writings, from which I shall presently make some few quotations.

But I myself shall take a more novel course than the said authors, and shall adopt the following method. As there is an acknowledged agreement between the times of the Roman emperor Augustus and the birth of our Saviour, and as Christ began to teach the gospel in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, any one who may choose to count up the number of the years from this point proceeding to the earlier times, until Darius king of the Persians, and the restoration in his time of the temple in Jerusalem, which took place after the return of the Jewish nation from Babylon, will find that from Tiberius to the second year of Darius there are five hundred and forty-eight years.

For the second year of Darius coincides with the first year of the sixty-fifth Olympiad: and the fifteenth of the reign of Tiberius at Rome falls in with the fourth year of the two hundred and first Olympiad,

The Olympiads therefore between Darius the Persian and Tiberius the Roman emperor are a hundred and thirty-seven, which make up a period of five hundred and forty-eight years, four years being counted to the Olympiad.

But since the seventieth year of the desolation of the temple in Jerusalem was in the second year of Darius, as the records of Hebrew history show, if we run back from this point again, from the second year of Darius to the first Olympiad there would be made up two hundred and fifty-six years, sixty-four Olympiads: and the same you would find to be the number of years from the last year of the desolation of the said temple going back to the fiftieth year of Uzziah king of Judah, in whose time prophesied Isaiah and Hosea, and all who were contemporary with them. So that the first Olympiad of the Greeks falls in with the time of the prophet Isaiah and his contemporaries.

Again, going back from the first Olympiad to the previous times as far as the capture of Troy, you will find a sum of four hundred and eight years, as contained in the chronological records of the Greeks.

And according to the Hebrews, from the fiftieth year of Uzziah king of Judah going back to the third year of Labdon as judge of Israel, you will make up the same number of years, four hundred and eight; so that the capture of

Troy was in the times of Labdon the judge, seven years before Samson ruled over the Hebrews, who is said to have been irresistible in strength of body, like the famous Hercules among the Greeks.

If from this point also you go back to the earlier generations, and count up to yourself four hundred years, you will find among the Hebrews Moses, and among the Greeks Cecrops the earthborn.

Now the history of the events so celebrated among the Greeks is later than the times of Cecrops. For after Cecrops comes the deluge in the time of Deucalion, and the conflagration in the time of Phaethon, and the birth of Erichthonius, and the rape of Persephone, and the mysteries of Demeter, the establishment of the Eleusinian mysteries, the husbandry of Triptolemus, the abduction of Europa by Zeus, the birth of Apollo, the arrival of Cadmus at Thebes, and, still later than these, Dionysus, Minos, Perseus, Asclepius, the Dioscuri, and Hercules.

Now Moses is proved to have been older than all these, as having been in the prime of life at the time of Cecrops. And going back again from Moses to the first year of the life of Abraham, you will find five hundred and five years. And counting up as many for the earlier time from the aforesaid year of the reign of Cecrops, you will come to Ninus the Assyrian, who is said to have been the first ruler of all Asia except India: after him was named the city Ninus, which among the Hebrews is called Nineve; and in his time Zoroastres the Magian reigned over the Bactrians. And the wife of Ninus and his successor in the kingdom was Semiramis; so Abraham was contemporary with these.

Now in the Canons of Chronology composed by us these events were proved to demonstration to be as I have said. But on the present occasion in addition to what has been stated I shall adduce as witness of the antiquity of Moses the very bitterest and fiercest enemy both of the Hebrews and of us Christians, I mean that philosopher of our time, who having in his excessive hatred published his compilation against us, subjected not us only, but also the Hebrews and Moses himself and the prophets after him, to the like slanders. For I believe that I shall thus confirm my promise beyond controversy by the confession of our enemies.

Well then in the fourth Book of his compilation against us Porphyry writes what follows, word for word:

[PORPHYRY] ‘The truest history of the Jews, as being that which most perfectly accords with their localities and names, is that of Sanchuniathon of Berytus, who received their records from Hierombalus the priest of the God Jevo; he dedicated his history to Abelbalus king of Berytus, and was approved by him and by his examiners of truth. Now the times of these men fall before the date of the Trojan war, and approach closely to that of Moses, as is shown by the successions of the kings of Phoenicia. And Sanchuniathon, who with careful regard to truth made a collection of all ancient history from the records of each city and the registers of the temples, and wrote it in the language of the Phoenicians, lived in the time of Semiramis queen of Assyria.’

So says Porphyry. We must then calculate the proposed dates as follows. If Sanchuniathon lived in the time of Semiramis, and she is acknowledged to have been, long before the Trojan war, Sanchuniathon also must be older than the Trojan war.

But he is said to have received the records from others older in time than himself: and they being themselves older than he are said to have approached closely to the times of Moses, though not even themselves contemporary with Moses, but approaching closely to his times: so that Sanchuniathon was as much younger than Moses, as he was later than his own predecessors who were acknowledged to approach near to Moses.

It is difficult, however, to say by how many years Moses probably preceded those of whom I speak: for which reason I think it well to pass over this point. But granting that Moses lived in the very time of this Sanchuniathon, and no earlier, I shall follow up the proof in this way.

If Sanchuniathon was becoming well known in the time of Semiramis queen of Assyria, even granted that Moses was no earlier, but nourished in his time, then he too would be contemporary with Semiramis,

But whereas our calculation went to show that Abraham was in her time, our philosopher’s calculation proves that even Moses was older. Now Semiramis is shown to have been full eight hundred years before the Trojan war. Therefore Moses also will be as many years earlier than the Trojan war according to the philosopher.

Now the first king of Argos is Inachus, the Athenians at that time having as yet no city and no name. But the first ruler of the Argives is contemporary with the fifth king of Assyria after Semiramis, a hundred and fifty years after

her and Moses, in which time nothing remarkable is recorded to have happened among the Greeks. But at this period of time the Judges were ruling among the Hebrews.

Then again more than three hundred years later, when more than four hundred were now completed from the time of Semiramis, the first king of the Athenians is Cecrops their celebrated Autochthon when Triopas was ruler of Argos, who was seventh from Inachus the first Argive king.

And in the interval between these the flood in the time of Ogyges is recorded, and Apis was the first to be called a god in Egypt, and Io the daughter of Inachus, who is worshipped by the Egyptians under the altered name of Isis, became known, as also Prometheus and Atlas.

From Cecrops to the capture of Troy are reckoned little short of other four hundred years, in which fall the marvellous tales of Greek mythology, the flood in the time of Deucalion, and the conflagration in the time of Phaethon, there having been, probably, many catastrophes on the earth in various places.

Now Cecrops is said to have been the first to call God Zeus, He not having been previously so named among men: and next to have been the first to found an altar at Athens, and again the first to set up an image of Athena, as even these things were not existing of old.

After his time come the genealogies of all the gods among the Greeks. But among the Hebrews at this time the descendants of David were reigning, and the prophets who succeeded Moses were flourishing: so that according to the published testimony of the philosopher there are more than eight hundred years reckoned in all from Moses to the capture of Troy.

But far more recent still than the Trojan war are the traditional times of Homer and Hesiod and the rest. And after these, only yesterday as it were, about the fiftieth Olympiad, Pythagoras and Democritus and the subsequent philosophers gained a name, somewhere about five hundred years after the Trojan war.

Moses therefore and the Hebrew prophets who succeeded him are proved to be fifteen hundred years earlier than the philosophers of the Greeks, according to the confession of the aforesaid author.

Such, then is in brief my statement. But it is time to examine also the arguments upon the same subject of those who have preceded me. There have been then among us men of learning, second to none of the cultivated class,

who have also devoted themselves with no little care to sacred literature, and who, after an accurate examination of the present subject, defended the antiquity of the Hebrews by the use of a rich and varied arrangement of proof.

For some of them computed the times from certain well acknowledged histories, and others confirmed their testimony by quotations of an earlier date. And some made use of Greek authors, and others of those who had recorded the history of the Phoenicians and of the Chaldeans and Egyptians. But all of them together, having collected the Greek and the Barbarian records and those of the Hebrews themselves, and having set all their histories side by side, and, as it were, shaken them together one against the other, have made a combined examination of the things done about the same periods in all those nations.

Then, after each had made his arrangement of the events to be proved by methods of his own, they brought forward their proof with common consent and agreement. And for this reason especially I thought it right to give place in the present discussion to their own words, in order that the authors of the arguments might not be deprived of their due rewards, and at the same time the maintenance of the truth might receive indisputable confirmation not by one witness but by many.

CHAPTER X

[AFRICANUS] ‘UNTIL the beginning of the Olympiads no accurate history has been written by the Greeks, the earlier accounts being all confused and in no point agreeing among themselves: but the Olympiads have been accurately recorded by many, because the Greeks compared the registers of them at no long interval of time, but every four years.

‘For which, reason I shall collect and briefly run over the most celebrated of the mythical histories down to the first Olympiad: but of the later any which are remarkable I shall combine together in chronological order each to each, the Hebrew with the Greek, carefully examining the Hebrew and touching upon the Greek, and shall fit them together in the following manner. By seizing upon one action in Hebrew history contemporary with an action narrated by Greeks, and adhering to it, while either deducting or adding, and indicating what Greek or Persian or any one else synchronized with the Hebrew action, I shall perhaps succeed in my aim.

‘Now a most remarkable event is the migration of the Hebrews, when carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, which continued seventy years, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah. Now Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned by Berossus the Babylonian.

‘After the seventy years of the Captivity Cyrus became king of Persia, in the year in which the fifty-fifth Olympic festival was held, as one may learn from the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus, and the histories of Thallus and Castor, also from Polybius and Phlegon, and from others too who were careful about Olympiads: for the time agreed in all of them.

‘So then Cyrus in the first year of his reign, which was the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad, made the first partial dismissal of the people by the hand of Zerubbabel, contemporary with whom was Jesus the son of Josedek, after the completion of the seventy years, as is related in the Book of Ezra among the Hebrews.

‘The narratives therefore of the reign of Cyrus and of the end of the Captivity synchronize: and the calculations according to the Olympiads will thus be found to agree down to our time; for by following them we shall fit the other histories also one to another according to the same principle.

‘And the Athenian chronology computes the earlier events in the following

way; from Ogyges, who was believed among them to be an aboriginal, in whose time that great and first flood occurred in Attica, when Phoroneus was king of Argos, as Acusilaus relates, down to the first Olympiad from which the Greeks considered that they calculated their dates correctly, a thousand and twenty years are computed, which agrees with what has been stated before, and will be shown to agree also with what comes after.

‘For both the historians of Athens, Hellanicus and Philochorus who wrote *The Attic Histories*, and the writers on Syrian history, Castor and Thallus, and the writer on universal history, Diodorus the author of the *Bibliotheca*, and Alexander Polyhistor, and some of our own historians recorded these events more accurately even than all the Attic writers. If therefore any remarkable narrative occurs in the thousand and twenty years, it shall be extracted as may be expedient.’

And soon after he proceeds:

‘We assert therefore on the authority of this work that Ogyges, who has given his name to the first deluge, as having been saved when many perished, lived at the time of the Exodus from Egypt of the people with Moses, proving it in the following way.

‘From Ogyges to the first Olympiad aforesaid there will be shown to be a thousand and twenty years: and from the first Olympiad to the first year of the fifty-fifth, that is the first year of the reign of Cyrus, which was the end of the Captivity, two hundred and seventeen years. From Ogyges therefore to Cyrus there were one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven years. And if any one would carry back a calculation of one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven years from the end of the Captivity, there is found by analysis the same distance to the first year of the Exodus of Israel from Egypt by the hand of Moses, as from the fifty-fifth Olympiad to Ogyges who founded Eleusis. Which is the more notable point to take as the commencement of the Athenian chronology.’

Again after an interval:

‘So much for events prior to Ogygea. Now about his times Moses came out of Egypt: and that there is no reason to disbelieve that these events occurred at that time, we show in the following manner.

‘From the Exodus of Moses to Cyrus, who reigned after the Captivity, there were one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven years. For the

remaining years of Moses' life were forty: of Joshua, who became the leader after him, twenty-five years: of the elders who were judges after him, thirty years; and of those included in the Book of Judges, four hundred and ninety years. Of the priests Eli and Samuel, ninety years. Of the kings of the Hebrews, who came next, four hundred and ninety years: and seventy of the Captivity, the last year of which was, as we have said before, the first year of the reign of Cyrus.

'From Moses to the first Olympiad there were one thousand and twenty years, since there were one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven years to the first year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad: and the time in the Greek chronology agreed with this.

'But after Ogyges, on account of the great destruction caused by the flood, what is now called Attica remained without a king one hundred and eighty-nine years until the time of Cecrops. For Philochorus asserts that that Actaeon who comes after Ogyges, and the fictitious names, never even existed.'

And again:

'From Ogyges therefore to Cyrus there were as many years as from Moses to the same date, namely one thousand two hundred and thirty-seven. And some of the Greeks also relate that Moses lived about those same times; as Polemon in the first book of his Hellenic histories says, that "in the time of Apis son of Phoroneus a part of the Egyptian army was expelled from Egypt, who took up their abode not far from Arabia in the part of Syria called Palestine," being evidently those who went with Moses.

'And Apion the son of Poseidonius, the most inquisitive of grammarians, in his book *Against the Jews*, and in the fourth Book of his *Histories*, says that in the time of Inachus king of Argos, when Amosis was reigning in Egypt, the Jews revolted, with Moses as their leader.

'Herodotus also has made mention of this revolt and of Amosis in his second Book; and, in a certain way, of the Jews themselves, enumerating them among those who practise circumcision, and calling them the Assyrians in Palestine, perhaps on account of Abraham.

'And Ptolemaeus of Mendes, in writing the history of the Egyptians from the beginning, agrees with all these, so that the variation of the dates is not noticeable to any great extent.

'But it is to be observed that whatever especial event is mentioned in the

mythology of the Greeks because of its antiquity, is found to be later than Moses, their floods, and conflagrations, their Prometheus, Io, Europa, Sparta, Rape of Persephone, Mysteries, Legislations, exploits of Dionysus, Perseus, labours of Hercules, Argonauts, Centaurs, Minotaur, tale of Troy, return of the Heracleidae, migration of Ionians, and Olympic Festivals.

‘It seemed good then to me, when about to compare the Hellenic histories with the Hebrew, to explain the aforesaid date of the monarchy in Athens: for it will be open to any one who will, by taking his starting-point from me, to calculate the number of years in the same way as I do.

‘So then in the first year of the thousand and twenty years set forth from the time of Moses and Ogyges to the first Olympiad there occurs the Passover, and the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt, and in Attica the flood in the reign of Ogyges; and very naturally.

‘For when the Egyptians were being scourged by the wrath of God with hailstorms and tempests, it was natural that some parts of the earth should suffer with them; and that the Athenians should experience the same fate with the Egyptians was natural, being supposed to be emigrants from them, as is asserted, among others, by Theopompus in the *Three-headed*.

‘The intermediate time, in which no special event has been recorded by the Greeks, is passed by. But after ninety-four years, as some say, came Prometheus, who was said in the legend to form men; for being a wise man he tried to reform them out of their extreme uncouthness into an educated condition.’

Thus writes Africanus. And now let us pass on to another.

CHAPTER XI

[TATIAN] 'BUT now I think it behoves me to prove that our philosophy is older than the institutions of the Greeks. And Moses and Homer shall be set as our limits: for since each of them is very ancient, and the one the oldest of poets and historians, and the other the founder of all Barbaric wisdom, let them now be taken into comparison by us.

'For we shall find that our doctrines are older not only than the learning of the Greeks, but even than the invention of letters. And I shall not adopt our own native witnesses, but rather make use of Greeks as my allies. For the one course would be injudicious, because it would not be accepted by you; but the other, if proved, would be admirable, if at any time by opposing you with your own weapons I should bring against you proofs beyond suspicion.

'For concerning the poetry of Homer, and his parentage, and the time at which he flourished, previous investigations have been made by very ancient writers, as Theagenes of Ehegium who lived in the time of Cambyses, and Stesimbrotus of Thasos, and Antimachus of Colophon, Herodotus also of Halicarnassus, and Dionysius of Olynthus: and after them Ephorus of Cumae, and Philochorus of Athens, and Megacleides and Chamaeleon the Peripatetics: then the grammarians, Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Callimachus, Crates, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, Apollodorus.

'Now of these Crates says that he flourished before the return of the Heracleidae, within eighty years after the Trojan war; but Eratosthenes says, after the hundredth year from the capture of Troy; while Aristarchus says, at the time of the Ionian migration, which is a hundred and forty years after the Trojan war; and Philochorus says, forty years after the Ionian migration, in the archonship at Athens of Archippus, a hundred and eighty years after the Trojan war; and Apollodorus says, a hundred years after the Ionian migration, which would be two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war: but some said that he lived before the Olympiads, that is four hundred years after the capture of Ilium; while others brought down the time, and said that Homer had been contemporary with Archilochus; now Archilochus flourished about the twenty-third Olympiad, in the time of Gyges king of Lydia, five hundred years after the Trojan war.

'With regard then to the times of the aforesaid poet, I mean Homer, and the

dispute and disagreement among those who gave an account of him, let this our summary statement suffice for those who are able to examine the matter carefully. For it is in every man's power to show that their opinions also about the historical statements are false; for with those authors whose record of times is inconsistent, the history cannot possibly be true.'

Again shortly after:

'Granted, however, that Homer was not only not later than the Trojan war, but let him be supposed to have lived at that very time of the war, and further even to have shared in the expedition, with Agamemnon, and, if any wish to have it so, to have lived even before the invention of letters had taken place: for the aforesaid Moses will be shown to be very many years older than the actual capture of Troy, much more ancient too than the building of Troy was, and than Tros and Bardanus.

'And for proof of this I will employ the testimony of Chaldeans, Phoenicians, and Egyptians. But why need I say much? For one who professes to persuade ought to make his narration of the facts to his hearers very brief.

'Berossus, a Babylonian, a priest of their god Belus, who lived in the time of Alexander, composed the history of the Chaldaeans in three Books for Antiochus the third successor of Seleucus; and in setting forth the account of the kings he mentions the name of one of them Nabuchodonosor, who made an expedition against the Phoenicians and Jews; events which we know to have been announced by our prophets, and which took place long after the age of Moses, and seventy years before the Persian supremacy.

'Now Berossus is a most competent man, and a proof of this is given by Iobas, who writing *Concerning the Assyrians* says that he has learned their history from Berossus: he is the author of two books *Concerning the Assyrians*,

'Next to the Chaldaeans, the case of the Phoenicians is as follows. There have been among them three authors, Theodotus, Hypsicrates, Mochus. Their books were rendered into the Greek language by Laetus, who also wrote an accurate treatise on the lives of the philosophers.

'In the histories then of the aforesaid authors the rape of Europa is shown to have taken place in the time of one of the kings, also the arrival of Menelaus in Phoenicia, and the story of Hiram, who gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of the Jews, and presented him with timber of all

kinds for the building of the Temple.

‘Menander also of Pergamus wrote the record of the same events. Now the date of Hiram approaches somewhat near to the Trojan war; and Solomon the contemporary of Hiram is much later than the age of Moses.

‘Then the Egyptians have accurate registers of dates. And Ptolemy, not the king but a priest of Mendes, the translator of their writings, in narrating the actions of their kings says that the journey of the Jews from Egypt to whatever places they chose, under the leadership of Moses, took place in the time of Amosis king of Egypt.

‘And this is how he speaks: “Now Amosis lived in the time of king Inachus.” After him Apion the grammarian, a man of great reputation, in the fourth Book of his *Egyptian History* (there are five of his Books) among many other things says that Amosis demolished Avaris, and that he lived in the time of Inachus the Argive, as Ptolemy of Mendes recorded in his *Chronology*.

‘Now the time from Inachus to the capture of Troy makes up twenty generations; and the mode of the proof is as follows:

‘The kings of the Argives have been these: — Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Argeius, Criasus, Phorbas, Triopas, Crotopus, Sthenelaus, Danaus, Lynceus, Abas, Proetus, Acrisius, Perseus, Eurystheus, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, in the eighteenth year of whose reign Troy was taken.

‘Also the intelligent reader must understand quite distinctly that according to the tradition of the Greeks there was no written record of history among them. For Cadmus, who taught the aforesaid people the alphabet, landed in Boeotia many generations afterwards.

‘After Inachus Phoroneus with difficulty put an end to their savage and wandering mode of life, and the people were brought into a state of order. Wherefore if Moses has been shown to have been contemporary with Inachus, he is four hundred years earlier than the Trojan war.

‘And this is proved to be so both from the succession of the kings of Athens, and Macedonia, and the Ptolemies, and also those of the dynasty of Antiochus; “whence it is manifest that if the most illustrious deeds among the Greeks were recorded in writing and begin to be known after the time of Inachus, they were also later than the time of Moses.

‘For as contemporary with Phoroneus who followed Inachus the Athenians mention Ogyges, in whose time the first flood occurred: and as contemporary

with Phorbas Actaeus, from whom Attica was called Actaea: and as contemporary with Triopas Prometheus, and Epimetheus, and Atlas, and Cecrops of double sex, and Io.

‘In the time of Crotopus there was Phaethon’s conflagration, and Deucalion’s flood: in the time of Sthenelaus was the reign of Amphictyon, and the arrival of Danaus in the Peloponnese, and the colonization of Dardania by Dardanus, and the abduction of Europa from Phoenicia to Crete.

‘In the time of Lynceus there was the rape of Persephone, and the foundation of the sanctuary at Eleusis, and the husbandry of Triptolemus, and the arrival of Cadmus at Thebes, and the reign of Minos.

‘In the reign of Proetus occurred the war of Eumolpus against the Athenians; and in that of Acrisius the crossing of Pelops from Phrygia, and the arrival of Ion at Athens, and the second Cecrops, and the exploits of Perseus. And in the reign of Agamemnon Troy was taken.

‘Therefore from what has been said above Moses is shown to be older than all heroes, cities, or daemons: and he who preceded them in age ought rather to be believed, than the Greeks who drew his doctrines from the fountain-head without fully understanding them.

‘For there were many sophists among them, who indulged a meddling curiosity, and these attempted to put a false stamp on all that they had learned from Moses and those who agreed, with his philosophy, in order first that they might be thought to say something original; and secondly that, disguising what they did not understand by a kind of rhetorical artifice, they might misrepresent the truth as being a mere fable.

‘With regard, however, to our polity, and the history of our laws, and all that the learned among the Greeks have said, and how many and who they are that have mentioned us, proof shall be shown in my “Answer to those who have set forth opinions concerning God.”

‘But for the present I must endeavour with all accuracy to make it clear that Moses is earlier not only than Homer, but also than the writers before him, Linus, Philammon, Thamyris, Amphion, Orpheus, Musaeus, Demodocus, Phemius, the Sibyl, Epimenides the Cretan, who came to Sparta, Aristaeus of Pro-connesus, who wrote the *Arimaspiæ*, and Asbolus the Centaur, and Basis, and Drymon, and Euclus of Cyprus, and Horus of Samos, and Pronapides of Athens.

‘For Linus was the teacher of Hercules, and Hercules has been shown to be one generation earlier than the Trojan war; and this is manifest from his son Tlepolemus, who joined the expedition against Troy.

‘Orpheus was contemporary with Hercules; moreover, the writings afterwards attributed to him are said to have been composed by Onomacritus of Athens, who lived during the government of the Pisistratidae about the fiftieth Olympiad.

‘Musaeus was a disciple of Orpheus. And as Amphion was two generations earlier than the Trojan war, this prevents our collecting more about him for the information of the studious. Demodocus too and Phemius lived at the very time of the Trojan war; for they abode, the one among the suitors, the other with the Phaeacians. Thamyris also and Philammon are not much more ancient than these.

‘So then with regard to their work of various kinds and their dates and record, I think I have described them to you with all possible accuracy. But that we may also complete what is as yet deficient, I will further set forth the evidence concerning those who are considered the Sages.

‘For Minos, who was considered to be pre-eminent in all wisdom, and sagacity, and legislation, lived in the time of Lynceus who reigned after Danaus, in the eleventh generation after Inachus. And Lycurgus, born long after the capture of Troy, made laws for the Lacedaemonians a hundred years before the commencement of the Olympiads.

‘Draco is found to have lived about the thirty-ninth Olympiad, and Solon about the forty-sixth, and Pythagoras about the sixty-second. Now we showed that the Olympiads began four hundred and seven years after the Trojan war.

‘So then, after these facts have been thus proved, a few more words will suffice to record the age of the Seven Sages. For as Thales the eldest of them lived about the fiftieth Olympiad, the approximate dates of those who came after him are thus stated concisely.

‘This is what I have composed for you, O men of Greece, I, Tatian, a follower of the Barbarians in philosophy, born in the land of the Assyrians, but instructed first in your doctrines, and afterwards in such as I now profess to preach. And knowing henceforward who God is, and what is the doing of His will, I present myself to you in readiness for the examination of my doctrines, while my mode of life according to God’s will remains incapable of

denial.’

Thus much says Tatian. But let us now pass on to Clement.

CHAPTER XII

[CLEMENT] 'THE subject has indeed been carefully discussed by Tatian in his *Discourse to the Greeks*, and by Cassian in the first book of his *Exegetics*. But nevertheless my commentary demands that I also should run over what has been said upon the topic.

'Apion then the grammarian, who was surnamed Pleistonices, in the fourth Book of his *Egyptian Histories*, although being an Egyptian by birth he was so spitefully disposed towards the Hebrews as to have composed a book *Against the Jews*, when he mentions Amosis the king of Egypt and the transactions of his time, brings forward Ptolemaeus of Mendes as a witness.

'And his language is as follows:

“But Avaris was demolished by Amosis, who lived in the time of Inachus the Argive, as Ptolemaeus of Mendes recorded in his *Chronology*.”

'Now this Ptolemaeus was a priest, who published *The Acts of the Kings of Egypt* in three whole books, and says that the departure of the Jews out of Egypt under Moses as their leader took place in the time of Amosis king of Egypt; from which, it is clearly seen that Moses flourished in the time of Inachus.

'Now Dionysius of Halicarnassus teaches us in his *Chronology* that the history of Argos, I mean the history from Inachus downwards, is mentioned as older than any Hellenic history.

'Forty generations later than this is the Athenian history, beginning from Cecrops the so-called aboriginal of double sex, as Tatian says in so many words: and nine generations later the history of Arcadia from the time of Pelagus, who also is called an aboriginal.

'More recent than this last by other fifty-two generations is the history of Phthiotis from the time of Deucalion. From Inachus to the time of the Trojan war twenty or twenty-one generations are reckoned, four hundred years, we may say, and more.

'And whether the Assyrian history is many years earlier than the Hellenic, will appear from what Ctesias says. In the four hundred and second year of the Assyrian empire, and in the thirty-second year of the reign of Beluchus the eighth, the movement of Moses out of Egypt took place in the time of Amosis king of Egypt, and of Inachus king of Argos.

‘And in Hellas in the time of Phoroneus the successor of Inachus the flood of Ogyges occurred, and the reign in Sicyon, of Aegialeus first, then of Europs, and then of Telchis, and in Crete the reign of Cres.

‘For Acusilaus says that Phoroneus was the first man: whence also the author of the poem “Phoronis” says that he was “the father of mortal men.”

‘Hence Plato in the *Timaeus*, following Acusilaus, writes: “And once when he wished to lead them on to a discussion about antiquity, he said that he attempted to speak of the most ancient things in this city, about Phoroneus who was called ‘the first’ man, and about Niobe, and the events that followed the flood.”

‘Contemporary with Phorbas was Actaeus, from whom Attica was called Actaea: and contemporary with Triopas were Prometheus, and Atlas, and Epimetheus, and the biform Cecrops, and Io: in the time of Crotopus there was Phaethon’s conflagration, and the flood of Deucalion: and in the time of Sthenelaus was the reign of Amphictyon, and the arrival of Danaus in the Peloponnese, and the colonization of Dardania by Dardanus, whom Homer calls

“The first-born son of cloud-compelling Zeus,”

and the abduction of Europa from Crete to Phoenicia.

‘In the time of Lynceus was the rape of Core, and the foundation of the sanctuary at Eleusis, and the husbandry of Triptolemus, and the arrival of Cadmus in Thebes, and the reign of Minos. In the time of Proetus there was the war of Eumolpus against the Athenians: and in the time of Acrisius the migration of Pelops from Phrygia, and the arrival of Ion in Athens, and the second Cecrops, and the exploits of Perseus and Dionysus, and also Orpheus and Musaeus.

‘And in the eighteenth year of the reign of Agamemnon Troy was taken, in the first year of the reign in Athens of Demophon son of Theseus, on the twelfth day of the month Thargelion, as Dionysius the Argive says.

‘But Agius and Dercylus in their third Book say, on the eighth day of the last decade of the month Panemus: Hellanicus says, on the twelfth of Thargelion; and some of the writers of Athenian history say, on the eighth of the last decade, in the last year of the reign of Menestheus, at the full moon. The poet who wrote *The Little Iliad* says:

“At midnight, when the moon was rising bright.”

But others say, on the same day of the month Scirophorion.

‘Now Theseus, who was a rival of Hercules, is older than the Trojan war by one generation: Homer at least mentions Tlepolemus, who was the son of Hercules, as having joined in the expedition against Troy.

‘Moses therefore is shown to be six hundred and four years older than the deification of Dionysus, if at least he was deified in the thirty-second year of the reign of Perseus, as Apollodorus says in his *Chronicles*.

‘And from Dionysus to Hercules and the chiefs who sailed in the Argo with Jason, there are sixty-three years comprised. Asclepius too and the Dioscuri sailed with them, as Apollonius Rhodius testifies in the *Argonautica*.

‘From the reign of Hercules in Argos to the deification of Hercules himself and of Asclepius there are comprised thirty-eight years, according to Apollodorus the chronicler: and from that point to the deification of Castor and Pollux fifty-three years: and somewhere about this time was the capture of Troy.

‘And if we are to believe the poet Hesiod, let us hear what he says:

“Admitted to the sacred couch of Zeus,
Fairest of Atlas’ daughters, Maia bare
Renowned Hermes, herald of the Gods.
And linked with Zeus in sweetest bonds of love
Fair Semele conceived a glorious son,
Great Dionysus, joy of all mankind.”

‘Cadmus the father of Semele came to Thebes in the reign of Lynceus, and became the inventor of the Greek letters. And Triopas was contemporary with Isis in the seventh generation from Inachus.

‘But there are some who say that she was called Io from her going (ιέβα) through all the earth in her wanderings: and Istrus in his book *Of the migration of the Egyptians* says that she was the daughter of Prometheus: and Prometheus was contemporary with Triopas, in the seventh generation after Moses; so that Moses would be earlier even than the origin of mankind was according to the Greeks.

‘Now Leon, who wrote a treatise *On the gods of Egypt*, says that Isis was called by the Greeks Demeter, who is contemporary with Lynceus in the eleventh generation after Moses.

‘Apis also the king of Argos was the founder of Memphis, as Aristippus says in the first Book of the *Arcadica*.

Moreover Aristeeas of Argos says that this Apis was surnamed Sarapis, and that it is he whom the Egyptians worship.

‘But Nymphodorus of Amphipolis, in the third Book of *The Customs of Asia*, says that when Apis the bull died and was embalmed, he was deposited in a coffin (σούριον) in the temple of the daemon who was worshipped there, and thence was called Soroapis and afterwards Sarapis. And Apis is the third from Inachus. ‘Moreover Latona is contemporary with Tityus:

“For Leto erst he strove to violate,
The noble consort of immortal Zeus.”

‘And Tityus was contemporary with Tantalus. With good reason therefore the Boeotian Pindar writes:

“For late in time Apollo too was born.”

‘And no wonder, since he is found in company with Hercules serving Admetus

“A whole long year.”

‘Zethus too and Amphion, the inventors of music, lived about the age of Cadmus. And if any one tell us that Phemonoe was the first who uttered an oracle in verse to Acrisius, yet let him know that twenty-seven years after Phemonoe came Orpheus, and Musaeus, and Linus the teacher of Hercules.

‘But Homer and Hesiod were much later than the Trojan war, and after them far later were the lawgivers among the Greeks, Lycurgus and Solon, and the Seven Sages, and Pherecydes of Syros, and the great Pythagoras, who lived some time later about the beginning of the Olympiads, as we proved.

‘So then we have demonstrated that Moses was more ancient than most of the gods of the Greeks, and not merely than their so-called Sages and poets.’

So far Clement. But since the question before us was carefully studied before our Christian writers by the Hebrews themselves, it would be well to consider also what they have said: and I shall use the language of Flavius Josephus as representative of them all.

CHAPTER XIII

[JOSEPHUS] ‘I WILL begin then first with the writings of the Egyptians. It is not possible, however, to quote their own actual words; but Manetho an Egyptian by birth, a man who had a knowledge of Hellenic culture, as is evident from his having written the history . of his own country in the Greek language, and translated it, as he says himself, out of the sacred books, who also convicts Herodotus of having from ignorance falsified many things in Egyptian history —— this Manetho then, I say, in the second Book of his *Egyptian History* writes concerning us as follows: and I will quote his words, just as if I brought himself forward as a witness.

“We had a king whose name was Timaëus. In his time God was angry with us, I know not why, and men from the Eastern parts, of obscure origin, were strangely emboldened to invade the country, and easily took possession of it by force without a battle.”“

And soon after he adds:

“The name of their whole nation was Hycsos, that is ‘shepherd-kings.’ For ‘Hyc’ in the sacred language means ‘king,’ and Sos is ‘shepherd,’ and ‘shepherds’ in the common dialect: and thus combined it becomes ‘Hycsos.’ But some say that they were Arabs.”

‘But in another copy he says that “kings” are not meant by the name “Hyc,” but on the contrary “captive-shepherds” are signified. For Hyc in Egyptian, and Hac, aspirated, expressly means “captives.” And this seems to me more probable, and in agreement with ancient history.

‘Now these before-named kings, both those of the so-called “Shepherds,” and their descendants, ruled over Egypt, he says, five hundred and eleven years.

‘But after this, he says, there was a revolt of the kings from the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt against the Shepherds, and a great and long war broke out. But in the time of a king ‘whose name was Misphragmuthosis, he says that the Shepherds were defeated, and though, driven out of the rest of Egypt, they were shut up in a place having a circumference of ten thousand *arurae*: the name of the place was Avaris.

‘The whole of this. Manetho says, the Shepherds surrounded with a great and strong wall, that so they might have all their possessions and their booty

in a stronghold.

‘But Thmouthis the son of Misphragmouthis attempted to subdue them by a siege, having sat down against their walls with four hundred and eighty thousand men: but after giving up the siege in despair, he made terms of agreement with them, that they should leave Egypt, and all go away uninjured whithersoever they chose. And upon these conditions they with their whole families and possessions, being not less in number than two hundred and forty thousand, made their way from Egypt across the desert into Syria.

‘But being afraid of the power of the Assyrians (for they were at that time the rulers of Asia), they built a city in what is now called Judaea, to suffice for so many thousands of inhabitants, and called it Jerusalem.’

Next to this he recounts the succession of the kings of Egypt, together with the duration of their reigns, and adds:

‘So says Manetho. And when the time is calculated according to the number of years mentioned, it is evident that the so-called Shepherds, our ancestors, departed from Egypt and colonized this country three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus arrived in Argos: and yet he is considered by the Argives as very ancient.

‘Two things therefore of the greatest importance Manetho has testified in our favour out of the writings of the Egyptians. First their arrival in Egypt from some other country, and afterwards the departure thence at so ancient a date as to be nearly a thousand years before the Trojan war.’

The extracts from Egyptian history have been recorded thus somewhat at large by Josephus. But from Phoenician history, by employing the testimony of those who have written on Phoenician affairs, he proves that the Temple in Jerusalem had been built by King Solomon a hundred and forty-three years and eight months earlier than the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians: then he passes on, and quotes from the history of the Chaldaeans their testimonies concerning the antiquity of the Hebrews.

CHAPTER XIV

BUT why need I heap up proofs upon proofs, when every one who is a lover of truth, and not of spitefulness, is satisfied with what has been stated, as containing varied confirmation of the proposed argument? For our proposal was to prove that Moses and the Prophets were more ancient than Greek history.

Since therefore Moses has been proved to have lived long before the Trojan war, let us look also at all those who came after him. Now that Moses appeared in the world later in time than those former true Hebrews, Heber and Abraham, from whom the derived name has been applied to the people, and than all the other godly men of old, is manifest from his own history.

Next to Moses therefore Jesus ruled the nation of the Jews thirty years, as some say: then, as the Scripture says, foreigners ruled eight years. Then Gothoniel, fifty years: after whom Eglom king of Moab eighteen years: after whom Ehud eighty years. After him strangers again twenty years: then Debbora and Barak forty years. Then the Madianites seven years: then Gredeon forty years. Abimelech three years. Tola twenty-three years: Jair twenty-two years: the Ammonites eighteen years: Jephtha six years: Esbon seven years: Aealon ten years: Labdon eight years: strangers forty years: Samson twenty years: then Eli the Priest, as the Hebrew says, forty years; about whose time the capture of Troy occurred. And after Eli the Priest Samuel was the ruler of the people.

After him their first king Saul reigned forty years: then David forty years: then Solomon forty years; who also was the first to build the Temple in Jerusalem. After Solomon Soboam reigns seventeen years: Abia three years: Asa forty-one years: Jehoshaphat twenty-five years: Joram eight years: Ahaziah one year: Athaliah seven years: Joash forty years: Amaziah twenty-seven years: Uzziah fifty-two years; in whose reign prophesied Hosea, Amos, Esaias, Jonah: and after Uzziah Jotham reigned sixteen years: after whom Ahaz sixteen years. In his time was held the first Olympic festival, in which Coroebus of Elis won the foot-race.

Hezekiah succeeds Ahaz for twenty-nine years; and in his time Romulus built Home and became king. And after Hezekiah Manasses reigned fifty-five years: then Amon two years: then Josiah thirty-one years; in whose time

prophesied Jeremiah, Baruch, Huldah, and other prophets.

Then Jehoahaz three months: after whom Jehoiachim eleven years; and after him last of all Zedekiah twelve years. In his time Jerusalem having been besieged by the Assyrians, and the Temple burned, the whole nation of the Jews is carried away to Babylon, and there Daniel prophesies, and Ezekiel.

And after the number of seventy years Cyrus becomes king of Persia, and he remitted the captivity of the Jews, and allowed those of them who would to return to their own land, and to raise up the Temple again: at which time Jesus the son of Josedek returned, and Zerubbabel the son of Salathiel, and they laid the foundations, when Haggai, and Zechariah, and Malachi prophesied last of all, after whom there has been no more a prophet among them.

In the time of Cyrus Solon of Athens was flourishing, and the so-called Seven Sages among the Greeks, than whom their records mention no more ancient philosopher.

Of these seven then Thales of Miletus, who was the first natural philosopher among the Greeks, discoursed concerning the solar tropics and eclipse, and the phases of the moon, and the equinox. This man became most distinguished among the Greeks.

A pupil of Thales was Anaximander, the son of Praxiades, himself also a Milesian by birth. He was the first designer of gnomons for distinguishing the solar tropics, and times and seasons, and equinox.

And a pupil of Anaximander was Anaximenes son of Eurystratus of Miletus; and his pupil was Anaxagoras, son of Hegesibulus, of Clazomenae. He was the first who clearly defined the subject of first principles. For he not only published his opinions concerning the essence of all things, like his predecessors, but also concerning the moving cause thereof. 'For in the beginning,' he says, 'all things were confused together. But mind entered and brought them out of disorder into order.'

Anaxagoras had three pupils, Pericles, Archelaus, and Euripides. Pericles became the first man of Athens, and excelled his contemporaries both in wealth and birth: Euripides turned to poetry, and was called by some 'the philosopher of the stage': and Archelaus succeeded to the school of Anaxagoras in Lampsacus, but migrated to Athens and lectured there, and had many Athenians as pupils, and among them especially Socrates.

At the same time with Anaxagoras there flourished the physical

philosophers Xenophanes and Pythagoras. Pythagoras was succeeded by his wife Theano, and his sons Telauges and Mnesarchus.

A pupil of Telauges was Empedocles, in whose time Heracleitus 'the obscure' became famous. Xenophanes is said to have been succeeded by Parmenides, and Parmenides by Melissus, and Melissus by Zeno the Eleatic, who, they say, concocted a plot against the tyrant of that time, and was caught, and when tortured by the tyrant that so he might give a list of those who were his accomplices, paid no regard to the tyrant's punishments, but bit through his tongue, and spat it at him, and died in this obstinate endurance of the tortures.

He had for his pupil Leucippus, and Leucippus Democritus, and he Protagoras, in whose time Socrates flourished. One may also find scattered here and there other physical philosophers who lived before Socrates: all, however, beginning with Thales appear to have flourished later than Cyrus king of Persia: and it is manifest that Cyrus lived long after the carrying away of the Jewish nation into captivity at Babylon, when the Hebrew prophets had already ceased, and their holy city had been besieged. So you must admit that Greek philosophy was much later than Moses and the Prophets who came after him; and especially the philosophy of Plato, who having been at first a hearer of Socrates, afterwards associated with the Pythagoreans, and shot far beyond all his predecessors both in eloquence and wisdom and in his philosophical doctrines.

Now Plato lived about the end of the Persian monarchy, a little earlier than Alexander of Macedon, and not much more than four hundred years before the Emperor Augustus.

If therefore it should be shown to you that Plato and his successors have agreed in their philosophy with the Hebrews, it is time to examine the date at which he lived, and to compare the antiquity of the Hebrew theologians and prophets with the age of all the philosophers of Greece.

But since this has been already proved, it is now the proper time to turn back and observe that the wise men of the Greeks have been zealous imitators of the Hebrew doctrines, so that our calumniators can no longer reasonably find fault with us, if we ourselves, admiring the like doctrines with their philosophers, have determined to hold the Hebrew oracles in honour.

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PREFACE CONCERNING THE ARGUMENT

THE preceding Book, which is the tenth of the *Evangelical Preparation*, was intended to prove by no statements of my own, but by external testimonies, that as the Greeks had contributed no additional wisdom from their own resources, but only their force and elegance of language, and had borrowed all their philosophy from Barbarians, it was not improbable that they were also not unacquainted with the Hebrew Oracles, but had in part seized upon them also; seeing that they did not keep their hands clean from theft even of the literary efforts of their own countrymen. For, as I said, it was not my statement but their own that proved them to be thieves.

Moreover in the same Book we learned by the comparison of dates that they were very young in age as well as in wisdom, and fell very far short of the ancient literature of the Hebrews.

Such were the contents of the preceding Book: but in this present one we hasten on at once to pay as it were a debt, I mean the promise which was given, and to exhibit the agreement of the Greek philosophers with the Hebrew Oracles in some if not in all their doctrinal theories. Dismissing therefore those of whom it is superfluous to speak, we call up the leader of the whole band, deeming it right to adopt as umpire of the question Plato alone as equivalent to all: since it is likely that as he surpassed all in reputation he will be sufficient by himself for the settlement of our question.

But if at any point it should be necessary, for the sake of giving clearness to his thought, I shall also make use of the testimony of those who have studied his philosophy, and shall set forth their own words for the settlement of the question before us.

Let me, however, make this reservation, that not every matter has been successfully stated by the master, although he has expressed most things in accordance with truth. And this very point also we shall prove at the proper season, not in order to disparage him, but in defence of the reason for which we confess that we have welcomed the Barbarian philosophy in preference to the Greek.

CHAPTER I

WHEREAS Plato divided the whole subject of philosophy into three branches, Physics, Ethics, Logic, and then again divided his Physics into the examination of sensibles, and the contemplation of incorporeals, you will find this tripartite form of teaching among the Hebrews also, seeing that they had dealt with the like matters of philosophy before Plato was born.

It will be right then to hear Plato first, and so afterwards to examine the doctrines of the Hebrews. And I shall quote the opinions of Plato from those who give the highest honour to his system; of whom Atticus, a man of distinction among the Platonic philosophers, in the work wherein he withstands those who profess to support the doctrines of Plato by those of Aristotle, recounts the opinions of his master in the following manner:

CHAPTER II

[ATTICUS] ‘SINCE therefore the entire system of philosophy is divided into three parts, the so-called Ethical topic, and the Physical, and also the Logical; and whereas the aim of the first is to make each one of us honourable and virtuous, and to bring entire households to the highest state of improvement, and finally to furnish the whole commonalty with the most excellent civil polity and the most exact laws; while the second pertains to the knowledge of things divine, and the actual first principles and causes, and all the other things that result from them, which part Plato has named *Natural Science*; the third is adopted to help in determining and discovering what concerns both the former. Now that Plato before and beyond all others collected into one body all the parts of philosophy, which had till then been scattered and dispersed, like the limbs of Pentheus, as some one said, and exhibited philosophy as an organized body and a living thing complete in all its members, is manifestly asserted by every one.

‘For it is not unknown that Thales, and Anaximenes, and Anaxagoras, and as many as were contemporary with them spent their time solely on the inquiry concerning the nature of existing things. Nor moreover is any one unaware that Pittacus, and Periander, and Solon, and Lycurgus, and those like them, applied their philosophy to statemanship. Zeno too, and all this Eleatic School, are also well known to have studied especially the dialectic art. But after these came Plato, a man newly initiated in the mysteries of nature and of surpassing excellence, as one verily sent down from heaven in order that the philosophy taught by him might be seen in its full proportions; for he omitted nothing, and perfected everything, neither falling short in regard to what was necessary, nor carried away to what was useless.

‘Since therefore we asserted that the Platonist partakes of all three, as studying Nature, and discussing Morals, and practising Dialectic, let us now examine each point separately.’

So speaks Atticus, And the Peripatetic Aristocles also adds his testimony to the same effect, in the seventh Book of the treatise which he composed *Of Philosophy*, speaking thus word for word:

CHAPTER III

[ARISTOCLES] 'IF any man ever yet taught a genuine and complete system of philosophy, it was Plato. For the followers of Thales were constantly engaged in the study of Nature: and the school of Pythagoras wrapped all things in mystery: and Xenophanes and his followers, by stirring contentious discussions, caused the philosophers much dizziness, but yet gave them no help.

'And not least did Socrates, exactly according to the proverb, add fire to fire, as Plato himself said. For being a man of great genius, and clever in raising questions upon any and every matter, he brought moral and political speculations into philosophy, and moreover was the first who attempted to define the theory of the Ideas: but while still stirring up every kind of discussion, and inquiring about all subjects, he died too early a death.

'Others took certain separate parts and spent their time upon these, some on Medicine, others on the Mathematical Sciences, and some on the poets and Music. Most of them, however, were charmed with the powers of language, and of these some called themselves rhetoricians and others dialecticians.

'In fact the successors of Socrates were of all different kinds, and opposed to each other in their opinions. For some sang the praises of cynical habits, and humility, and insensibility; but others, on the contrary, of pleasures. And some used to boast of knowing all things, and others of knowing absolutely nothing.

'Further some used to roll themselves about in public and in the sight of all men, associating with the common people, while others on the contrary could never be approached nor accosted.

'Plato however, though he perceived that the science of things divine and human was one and the same, was the first to make a distinction, asserting that there was one kind of study concerned with the nature of the universe, and another concerned with human affairs, and a third with dialectic.

'But he maintained that we could not take a clear view of human affairs, unless the divine were previously discerned: for just as physicians, when treating any parts of the body, attend first to the state of the whole, so the man who is to take a clear view of things here on earth must first know the nature of the universe; and man, he said, was a part of the world; and good was of

two kinds, our own good and that of the whole, and the good of the whole was the more important, because the other was for its sake.

‘Now Aristoxenus the Musician says that this argument comes from the Indians: for a certain man of that nation fell in with Socrates at Athens, and presently asked him, what he was doing in philosophy: and when he said, that he was studying human life, the Indian laughed at him, and said that no one could comprehend things human, if he were ignorant of things divine.

‘Whether this, however, is true no one could assert positively: but Plato at all events distinguished the philosophy of the universe, and that of civil polity, and also that of dialectic.’

Such being the philosophy of Plato, it is time to examine also that of the Hebrews, who had studied philosophy in the like manner long before Plato was born. Accordingly you will find among them also this corresponding tripartite division of Ethical, and Dialectical, and Physical studies, by setting yourself to observe in the following manner:

CHAPTER IV

As to Ethics then, if you thoroughly examine what the Hebrews taught, you will find that this subject before all others was zealously studied among them in deeds much earlier than in words. Since as the end of all good, and the final term of a happy life, they both admired and pursued religion and that friendship with God which is secured by the right direction of moral habits; but not bodily pleasure, like Epicurus; nor again the threefold kinds of good, according to Aristotle, who esteems the good of the body, and external good on an equality with the good of the soul; no, nor yet the utter void of knowledge and instruction, which some have announced by a more respectable name as ‘suspension of judgement’; nay, nor even the virtue of the soul; for how much is there of this in men, and what can it contribute by itself without God to the life that knows no sorrow?

For the sake of that life they fastened their all on hope in God, as a cable that could not break, and declared that the friend of God was the only happy man: because God the dispenser of all good, the purveyor of life and fountain of virtue itself, being the provider of all good things for the body, and of outward fortune, must be alone sufficient for the happy life to the man who by thoroughly true religion has secured His friendship.

Hence Moses, the wisest of men and the first of all to commit to writing the life of the godly Hebrews before his time, has described in an historical narrative their mode of life both political and practical. In beginning that narrative he drew his teaching from universal principles, assuming God as the cause of the universe, and describing the creation of the world and of man.

Thus from universal principles he next advanced in his argument to particulars, and by the memory of the men of old urged his disciples on to emulation of their virtue and piety; and moreover being himself declared the author of the holy laws enacted by him, it must be manifest that on all points he was careful to promote the love of God by his attention to moral habits, a point which in fact our argument anticipated and made clear in what has gone before.

It would be too long to set down in this place the prophets who came in succession after Moses, and their arguments to encourage virtue, and dissuade from all kinds of vice. But what if I were to bring before you the moral

precepts of the all-wise Solomon, to which he devoted a special treatise and called it a book of *Proverbs*, including in one subject many concise judgements of the nature of apophthegms?

And in this way from old times, before the Greeks had learned even the first letters, the Hebrews were both themselves instructed in the ethical branch, and freely imparted of the same instruction to those who came to them.

CHAPTER V

ALSO the dialectic branch of Hebrew philosophy they thought it right to pursue not, as the Greeks were wont, with clever sophistries, and arguments cunningly framed to deceive, but by the conception of actual truth, which with souls illumined by divine light their religious philosophers discovered, and were by it enlightened.

And to make those who were being instructed in the learning of their country more keen in pursuit of this truth, they used even from the age of infancy to deliver to them recitations of holy words, and tales from sacred histories, and metrical compositions of psalms and canticles, problems also and riddles, and certain wise and allegorical theories, combined with beauty of language, and eloquent recitation in their own tongue.

Moreover they had certain expositors (δευτερωταί) of primary instruction (for so it pleases them to name the interpreters of their scriptures), who by translation and explanation made clear what was obscurely taught in riddles, if not to all, at least to those who were fitted to hear these things.

Thus again Solomon the wisest among them started from this principle in the beginning of his book of *Proverbs*, teaching us that this was mainly the cause of his writing, by stating in express terms that every man ought to know wisdom, and instruction, and to discern the words of understanding, and to perceive the turns of language, and understand true righteousness, and give right judgement. ‘That I may give,’ he says, ‘subtily to the simple, and to the young man perception and thoughtfulness. For the wise man will hear these things and be wiser, and the man of understanding will obtain guidance: he will understand a proverb and a dark saying, the words of the wise, and riddles.’

Suet were the terms of the promise of the said book: and the particular Questions proposed and their solutions, and the dialectic treatment carried through all their prophetic scriptures in a manner proper to the wisdom and language of the authors, any one who wishes may learn by taking in hand and studying at leisure the books of their discourse. And if any one were also to study the language itself with critical taste, he would see that, for Barbarians, the writers are excellent dialecticians, not at all inferior to sophists or orators in his own language.

There would also be found among them poems in metre, like the great Song of Moses and David's 118th Psalm, composed in what the Greeks call heroic metre. At least it is said that these are hexameters, consisting of sixteen syllables: also their other compositions in verse are said to consist of trimeter and tetrameter lines, according to the sound of their own language.

While such is the relation of their diction to its logical sense, the thoughts must not be brought into comparison with those of men. For they comprise the oracles of God and of absolute truth to which they have given utterance, prophecies, and predictions, and religious lessons, and doctrines relating to the knowledge of the universe.

And of the authors' accuracy in reasoning you may find indications from their correctness in the application of names, concerning which it will be evident that Plato also bears witness to the opinion of the Hebrews, and is on this very point in agreement with the philosophy of their authors, as indeed it is easy to discern from what follows.

CHAPTER VI

LONG before the name of philosophy was known to the Greeks, Moses had been the first throughout all his writing to treat in numberless instances of the giving of names, and sometimes had arranged the names of all things about him in exact accordance with their nature, and at other times referred to God the decision of the new name given to devout men, and had taught that names are given to things by nature and not conventionally; Plato in following him assents to the same opinions, and does not omit to mention Barbarians, and affirm that this custom is maintained among them, hinting probably at the Hebrews, since it is not easy to observe a theory of this kind among other Barbarians.

He says, at all events, in the *Cratylus*:

[PLATO] ‘The name of anything is not whatever men agree to call it, pronouncing over it some small portion of their own language, but there is a kind of natural correctness in names, the same for all both Greeks and Barbarians.’

And then farther on he says:

‘So then as long as the legislator, whether here or among the Barbarians, assigns to each thing the form of name that properly belongs to it, whatever syllables he may use, you will not deem him to be a worse legislator, whether in this country or anywhere else.’

Then again after asserting that the man who understands the correctness of names is a dialectician and a legislator, he next speaks thus:

‘A carpenter’s work then is to make a rudder under the superintendence of a pilot, if the rudder is to be a good one.

‘Evidently.

‘And a legislator’s work, as it seems, is to give a name, having a dialectician to direct him, if the name is to be rightly given.

‘That is true.

‘The giving of names then, Hermogenes, is likely to be no light matter, as you suppose, nor a work for light persons, nor for chance comers: and Cratylus speaks truly, when he says that things have their names by nature, and that not every one is an artist in names, but only that man who looking to the name which by nature belongs to each thing is able to impose its form

upon both the letters and the syllables.'

After these statements, and many more, he again brings up the mention of the Barbarians, and then expressly acknowledges that most of the names have come to the Greeks from the Barbarians, saying in exact words:

'I have an idea that the Greeks, and especially those who live under the Barbarians, have taken many names from them.

'Well, what then?

'If any one should try to find how these names are fitly given according to the Greek language, and not according to that language from which each name happens to be derived, you know that he would be in difficulty.

'Naturally.'

So says Plato. He is anticipated, however, by Moses; for hear what he says, as being a wise legislator and withal a dialectician. 'And out of the ground God formed all the beasts of the field and all the fowls of the heaven, and brought them to Adam, to see what he would call them. And whatsoever Adam called a living being, that was the name thereof.'

For by saying 'that was the name thereof does he not show that the appellations were given in accordance with nature? For the name just now given, he says, was long before contained in the nature, and that in each of the things named there existed from the beginning this name which the said man inspired by a superior power has given it.

Moreover the very name Adam, being originally a Hebrew noun, would become with Moses an appellation of the earth-born man, because among the Hebrews the earth is called Adam, wherefore also the first man made out of the earth is with true etymology called by Moses Adam.

But the name may also have another meaning, being otherwise taken for 'red,' and representing the natural colour of the body. However, by the appellation 'Adam' he signified the earthlike, and earthly, and earthborn, or the man of body and of flesh.

But the Hebrews also call man otherwise, giving him the name 'Enos,' which they say is the rational man within us, different in nature from the earthlike 'Adam.' Enos also has a meaning of its own, being in the Greek language interpreted 'forgetful.'

And such the rational part within us is by nature apt to be, on account of its combination with the mortal and irrational part. For the one being altogether

pure, and incorporeal, and divine, and rational, comprehends not only the memory of the things that are past, but also the knowledge of the things that are to come, through the supreme excellence of its vision. While the other close-packed in flesh, pierced through with bones and nerves, and laden with the great and heavy burden of the body, was seen by the Hebrew Scripture to be full of forgetfulness and ignorance, and called by an apt designation ‘Enos,’ which means ‘the forgetful.’

It is written at least in a certain Prophet ‘What is man, that Thou art mindful of him? Or the son of man, that Thou visitest him?’ For which the Hebrew, in the first naming of ‘man,’ contains the word ‘Enos’: as if he said more plainly, What is this forgetful one, that Thou, O God, rememberest him, forgetful though he is? And the other clause, ‘Or the son of man that Thou visitest him?’ is read among the Hebrews, ‘Or the son of Adam’: so that the same man is both Adam and Enos; the fleshly nature being represented by Adam, and the rational by Enos.

In this way do the Hebrew oracles distinguish the etymology of the two words. But Plato asserts that man is called ἄνθρωπος in the Greek language from looking upward, saying:

‘But man no sooner sees, that is the meaning of ὄπωπε, than he both looks up (ἀναθρεῖ), and considers that which he has seen, that he may be one who looks up at what he sees (ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπε).’

Again the Hebrews call the man ‘Ish’ (Ἔϊς): and the name is derived by them from Ἔς, by which they signify fire, that the man may be so named because of the hot and fiery temper of the masculine nature.

But the woman, since she is said to have been taken out of man, also shares the name in common with the man: for the woman is called among them ‘Issha,’ as the man is ‘Ish.’ But Plato says that the man (ἄνθρωπος) is so named because of the upward flux (τὴν ἄνω ῥοήν); and he adds ——

‘And γυνή (woman) seems to me to be the same as γονή (birth).’

Again Moses calls the heaven in the Hebrew tongue *the firmament* etymologically, because the first thing after the incorporeal and intellectual essence is the *firm* and sensible body of this world. But Plato says that the name οὐρανός is rightly given to the heaven, because it makes us look upward (ὄραν ἄνω).

Again the Hebrews say that the highest and proper name of God may not

be spoken or uttered, nor even conceived in the imagination of the mind: but this actual name by which they speak of God, they call Elohim, from El, as it seems: and this they interpret as ‘strength,’ and ‘power’; so that among them the name of God has been derived by reasoning from His power and strength, by which He is conceived as Allpowerful and Almighty, as having established all things. But Plato says that the names θεός and θεοί (god and gods) were given because the luminaries in heaven are always running (θέειν).

Of some such kind, to speak generally, are the investigations of the Hebrews and those of Plato on the correctness of names. The names also among men, Plato says, have been given with some meaning, and he tries to render the reason of them: for he says that Hector somehow or other is named from having and ruling (ἔχειν καὶ κρατεῖν) because he was king of the Trojans; and Agamemnon because he was very persistent (ἄγαν μένειν), and persevered vigorously and constantly in his determinations about the Trojans; Orestes because of the mountainous (ὄρεινόν) and fierce and savage quality of his disposition; and Atreus, because of his having been a mischievous (ἀτηρόν) sort of person in character; and Pelops as one who saw nothing at a distance, but only the things that were close and near (πέλας). Tantalus, he says, means a most miserable man (ταλάντατον) because of the misfortunes which beset him.

These examples and countless others such as these you will find stated by Plato, in endeavouring to teach that the first men had their names given to them by nature and not by convention.

But you would not say that the explanations found also in Moses are forced, nor framed according to any sophistical invention of words, when you have learnt that the Hebrew ‘Cain’ is translated among the Greeks as ‘jealousy’; and the person in question was judged deserving of this appellation because he was jealous of his brother Abel.

‘Abel’ also is interpreted ‘sorrow,’ because he too became the cause of such suffering to his parents, who by some diviner foresight gave these names to their children at birth.

But what if I should quote Abraham to you? He was a kind of meteorologist, and formerly, while he was acquiring the wisdom of the Chaldees, he had become learned in the contemplation of the stars and in the knowledge of the heavens, and was called Abram; and this in the Greek

language means 'high father.'

But God leading him on from things of this world to things invisible and lying beyond the things that are seen, employs an appropriate change of name, saying, 'Thy name shall no more be called Abram, but Abraham shall be thy name; for a father of many nations have I made thee.'

Now it would be long to tell with what thought this is connected: but it is sufficient in this matter also to adopt Plato as a witness to my statement, when he says that some names have been given by a more divine power.

He says indeed in express words:

'For here most of all ought care to have been taken in the giving of names: and perhaps some of them may even have been given by a higher power than that of men.'

This very point is also certified by many examples in the sacred Scriptures of the Hebrews; and first of all by Moses, who taught that Abraham, and his son Isaac, and also Israel, received their names from a diviner power. 'Isaac' is interpreted 'laughter,' bringing with it the token of the virtuous joy, which God has promised to give as a special reward to the friends of God.

His son Israel had formerly borne the name of 'Jacob,' but instead of 'Jacob' God bestows upon him the name 'Israel,' transforming the active and practical man into the contemplative.

For 'Jacob' is interpreted 'supplanter,' as one who strives in the contest of virtue: but 'Israel' is interpreted 'seeing God,' a description which would suit the mind in man that is capable of knowledge and contemplation.

Why need I now refer to the perfect wisdom of Moses, or to the sacred oracles of the Hebrews, to explain, by countless other examples, the correctness of their imposition of proper names, when the details of the subject require longer leisure?

To go no farther, the Greeks would be unable to state the etymologies even of the letters of the alphabet, nor could Plato himself tell the meaning or the reason of the vowels or the consonants.

But the Hebrews would tell us the reason of 'Alpha,' which with them is called 'Al'ph,' and this signifies 'learning': and of 'Beta,' which it is their custom to call 'Beth,' which name they give to a house; so as to show the meaning, 'learning of a house,' or as it might be more plainly expressed, 'a kind of teaching and learning of household economy.'

‘Gamma’ also is with them called ‘Gimel’: and this is their name for ‘fullness.’ Then since they call tablets ‘Delth,’ they gave this name to the fourth letter, signifying therewith by the two letters, that ‘written learning is a filling of the tablets.’

And any one going over the remaining letters of the alphabet, would find that they have been named among the Hebrews each with some cause and reason. For they say also that the combination of the seven vowels contains the enunciation of one forbidden name, which the Hebrews indicate by four letters and apply to the supreme power of God, having received the tradition from father to son that this is something unutterable and forbidden to the multitude.

And one of the wise Greeks having learned this, I know not whence, hinted it obscurely in verse, saying as follows:

‘Seven vowels tell My Name, —— the Mighty God,
The everlasting Father of mankind:
The immortal lyre am I, that guides the world,
And leads the music of the circling spheres.’

You would find also the meanings of the remaining Hebrew letters, by fixing your attention on each; but this we have already established by our former statements, when we were showing that the Greeks have received help in everything from the Barbarians.

And any one diligently studying the Hebrew language would discover great correctness of names current among that people: since the very name which is the appellation of the whole race has been derived from Heber; and this means the man that ‘passes over,’ since both a passage and the one who passes over are called in the Hebrew language ‘Heber.’

For the term teaches us to cross over and pass from the things in this world to things divine, and by no means to stay lingering over the sight of the things that are seen, but to pass from these to the unseen and invisible things of divine knowledge concerning the Maker and Artificer of the world. Thus the first people who were devoted to the one All-ruler and Cause of the Universe, and adhered to Him with a pure and true worship, they called Hebrews, naming men of this character as travellers who had in mind passed over from earthly things.

But why should I spend more time in collecting all the instances of the propriety and correctness of the Hebrew names, when the subject requires a special treatise of its own. However, speaking generally, I think that even by what has been said I have supplied the evidence of the art of reasoning among the Hebrews: if indeed, as Plato said, it is a task for no mean or ordinary men, but for a wise lawgiver and dialectician, to discover the kind of names naturally belonging to things, —— a man such as Moses who has made known to us the Hebrew oracles. So then what follows next after the subject of Dialectics, but to examine what was the condition of the Hebrew people in regard to Physics?

CHAPTER VII

THIS third branch also of Hebrew philosophy which, we said, is Physics, was divided among them also into the contemplation of things incorporeal and discerned only by the mind, and the Natural Science of things sensible. This too their all-accomplished Prophets knew, and mingled in their own discourses, when the occasion required; for they had not learned it by conjectures and by application of human thought, nor did they boast of men as their teachers, but ascribed their knowledge to the inspiration of a Higher Power, and the afflatus of a divine Spirit.

From this source came their countless prophecies concerning future events, and countless physical explanations of the constitution of the world, and descriptions likewise countless of the nature of animals, and very many things concerning plants which each set down in his own prophecies.

And Moses, understanding also the qualities of precious stones extremely well, exercises a very careful consideration of them in the case of the High Priest's dress. Again that Solomon, above all others, excelled in knowledge of the nature of such things is testified by the sacred Scripture in the following words:

‘And Solomon spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were five thousand; and he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes. And there came all peoples to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and from all the kings of the earth, as many as heard his wisdom.’

Starting from this description the author who ascribed to his person the perfection of wisdom, spake also thus: ‘For Himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that are, to know the constitution of the world, and the operation of the elements; the beginning and end and middle of times, the alternations of the solstices and the changes of seasons, the circuits of the year and the positions of stars; the natures of living creatures and the ragings of wild beasts, the violences of winds and the thoughts of men, the diversities of plants, and the virtues of roots; and all things that are either secret or manifest I learned, for Wisdom the artificer of all things taught me.’

And again the same Solomon, explaining the nature of the fleeting

substance of bodies, says in *Ecclesiastes*: ‘Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. What profit hath man in all his labour, wherein he laboureth under the Sun.’ And he adds: ‘What is that which hath been? The very thing that shall be. And what is that which hath been done? The very thing that shall be done. And there is nothing new under the sun.’

For these and such as these were his physiological conclusions concerning corporeal substance. And you will find, if you go on, that the other wise Hebrews were not without a share of the like science. At all events, as I said before, there are numberless sayings of theirs about plants and animals, whether of the land or of the water, and moreover about the nature of birds.

Nay further, about the constellations in the heaven also: since there is conveyed in the writings of the said authors especial mention of Arctos and Pleias, Orion and Arcturus, which the Greeks are wont to call Arctophylax and Bootes.

Also concerning the constitution of the world, and the revolution and change of the universe, and concerning the essence of the soul, and the creation of the nature both visible and invisible, of all rational beings, and the universal Providence, and still earlier than these, the . opinions concerning the First Cause of the universe, and the doctrine of the divinity of the Second Cause, and the arguments and speculations about the other things that can be perceived only by thought, they have comprehended accurately and well: so that one would not err in saying, that those among the Greeks who have afterwards investigated the nature of these things have been like younger men following the guidance of the old.

This then is what we have to say of their Natural Science of the Universe. But as they divided this subject into two parts, the one which concerns things perceived by the senses they did not think it necessary to make known accurately to the multitude, nor to teach the common people the causes of the nature of existing things, except only so far as it was necessary for them to know that the universe has not been self-created, and has not been produced causelessly and by chance from an irrational impetus, but is led on by the Divine Reason as its guide, and governed by a power of ineffable Wisdom.

With regard, however, to things seen only by the mind, that they exist, and what they are, and what their condition is in regard to arrangement, power, and diversity, has been already mentioned and is laid down in the Sacred

Books, and has been audibly delivered to all men, so far as the knowledge was necessary for those who profess religion, with a view to the recovery of a pious and sober life.

But the deep and occult reason of these things they left to be sought out and learned in secret communications by those who were capable of being initiated in matters of this kind. It will be well, however, to describe in a general way a few points in the contemplation of these matters, and to show that herein also Plato entertained the sentiments which were dear to the said people.

CHAPTER VIII

BUT in fact it is manifest from his own words that the admirable Plato followed the all-wise Moses and the Hebrew Prophets in regard also to the teaching and speculation about things incorporeal and seen only by the mind; whether it were that he learned from hearsay which had reached him (since he is proved to have made his studies among the Egyptians at the very time when the Hebrews, having been driven the second time out of their own country, were in the habit of visiting Egypt during the Persian supremacy), or whether of himself he hit upon the true nature of the things, or, in whatever way, was deemed worthy of this knowledge by God. 'For God,' says the Apostle, 'manifested it unto them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived by means of the things that are made, even His eternal power and divinity, that they may be without excuse.' And you may learn what I have stated by examining the matter as follows:

CHAPTER IX

MOSES in his declarations of sacred truth uttered a response in the person of God: 'I AM THAT I AM. Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you,' and so represented God as the sole absolute Being, and declared Him to have been properly and fitly honoured with this name.

And Solomon again spake concerning the origin and the decay of things corporeal and sensible: 'What is that which hath been? The very thing that shall be. And what is that which hath been done? The very thing that shall be done. And there is nothing new under the sun, whereof a man shall speak and say, See, this is new. It hath been already, in the ages which were before us.'

In accordance with them we also divide the All into two parts, that which can be perceived only by the mind, and that which can be perceived by the senses: and the former we define as incorporeal and rational in its nature, and imperishable and immortal; but the sensible as being always in flux and decay, and in change and conversion of its substance. And all things being summed up and referred to one beginning, we hold the doctrine that the uncreate, and that which has proper and true being, is One, which is the cause of all things incorporeal and corporeal.

Now see in what manner Plato, having imitated not only the thought, but also the very expressions and words of the Hebrew Scripture, appropriates the doctrine, explaining it more at large, as follows:

'What is that which always is and has no becoming? And what is that which is always becoming and never is? The former is that which may be comprehended by intelligence combined with reason, being always in the same conditions. The latter is that which may be conjectured by opinion with the help of unreasoning sensation, becoming and perishing but never really being.'

Does it not plainly appear that the admirable philosopher has altered the oracle which in Moses declared 'I AM THAT I AM' into 'What is that which always is and has no becoming?' And this he has made still clearer when he says that true 'being' is nothing else than that which is not seen by eyes of flesh, but is conceived by the mind. So having asked, What is 'being'? he makes answer to himself, saying: 'That which may be comprehended by

intelligence combined with reason.'

And as to Solomon's maxim which said, 'What is that which hath been? The very thing that shall be. And what is that which hath been done? The very thing that shall be done,' it must be evident that he translated this almost in the very words, saying, 'But that which may be conjectured by means of irrational sensation is becoming and perishing, but never really "being."' To which he also adds:

'For all these are parts of time, the "was" and "shall be"; which we unconsciously but wrongly transfer to the eternal essence. For we say that "It was, and is, and shall be." But to this essence the "is" alone is truly appropriate; and the "was" and the "will be" are proper to be spoken of the generation in time, for they are movements. But to that which is always immovably in the same conditions it belongs not to become either older or younger through time: nor that it ever became, nor has now become, nor will be hereafter at all, nor be subject to any of the conditions which becoming attaches to the things which pass to and fro in sensation: but these are forms of time, imitating eternity and moving by number in a circle. And besides these there are such expressions as the following; what has become is become, and what becomes is becoming, and what will become is about to become.'

And lest any one should suppose that I am misinterpreting the philosopher's words, I will make use of commentaries which explain the meaning of these statements. There are indeed many who have set themselves to the consideration of these matters; but at present it is enough for me to quote the expressions of an illustrious man, Numenius the Pythagorean, which he uses in his second Book *Concerning the Good*, as follows:

CHAPTER X

[NUMENIUS] ‘COME then, let us mount up as nearly as we possibly can to true “being,” and let us say that “being” neither at any time “was,” nor ever can “become,” but always “is” in a definite time, the present only.

‘If, however, any one wishes to rename this present time eternity, I too am willing. But the time past we ought to consider altogether gone, already so gone away and escaped as to exist no longer: and on the other hand the time to come as yet is not, but professes to be able at some future time to come into being.

‘It is not therefore reasonable to suppose “being,” at least in one and the same sense, either not to be or to be no longer, or not yet. Since when this is so stated, there arises in the statement one great impossibility, that the same thing at the same time should both be and not be.

‘For if this were so, scarcely would it be possible for anything else to be, if “being” itself in regard to its very “being” be not. For “being” is eternal and constant, ever in the same condition, nor has it been generated and destroyed, nor increased and diminished: nor did it ever yet become more or less: and certainly neither in other senses nor yet locally will it be moved.

‘For it is not right for it to be moved, either backward or forward: nor upward ever, nor downward: neither to the right hand nor to the left shall “being” ever pass: nor shall it ever be moved around its own centre; but rather it shall stand fast, and shall be fixed and set firm, ever in the same conditions and same mode.’

And then, after other statements, he adds:

‘So much then for my introduction. But for my own part I will no longer make pretences, nor say that I do not know the name of the incorporeal; for now at length it seems likely to be pleasanter to speak than not to speak it. And so then I say that its name is that which we have so long been examining.

‘But let no one laugh, if I affirm that the name of the incorporeal is “essence” and “being.” And the cause of the name “being” is that it has not been generated nor will be destroyed, nor is it subject to any other motion at all, nor any change for better or for worse; but is simple and unchangeable, and in the same idea, and neither willingly departs from its sameness, nor is compelled by any other to depart.

‘Plato too said in the *Cratylus* that names are exactly adapted to a likeness of the things. Be it granted then and agreed that “being” is the incorporeal.’

Then lower down he adds:

‘I said that “being” is incorporeal, and that this is that which can be perceived by the mind only. Their statements then, so far as I can remember, were certainly of this kind: but any one who feels the want of an explanation I am willing to encourage with just this suggestion, that if these statements do not agree with the doctrines of Plato, yet at least he must consider them to be those of some other great man of the highest ability, such as Pythagoras.

‘Plato at all events says — come, let me remember how he says it — What is that which, always is and has no becoming? And what that which is always becoming, and never is? The first that which may be comprehended by intelligence combined with reason, and the other that which may be conjectured by opinion with the aid of unreasoning sensation, becoming and perishing, but never really “being.”

‘For he was inquiring what is “being,” and saying that it is unquestionably without beginning. For he said that for “being” there is no becoming: for then it would be changed, but that which is liable to change is not eternal.’

Then below he says:

‘If then “being” is altogether and in every way eternal and unchangeable, and by no means departs in any way from itself, but abides in the same conditions, and remains fixed in the same manner, this surely must be that which can be comprehended by intelligence combined with reason.

‘But if body is in flux and is carried off by the change of the moment, it passes away and no longer exists. Wherefore is it not utter folly to deny that this is something undefinable, and that can only be conjectured by opinion, and, as Plato says, becoming and perishing, but never really “being”?’

Thus then speaks Numenius, explaining clearly both Plato’s doctrines and the much earlier doctrines of Moses. With reason therefore is that saying currently attributed to him, in which it is recorded that he said, ‘For what else is Plato than Moses speaking Attic Greek?’

But see, besides this, whether Plutarch in further unfolding the same thought may not agree both with the statements of philosophers which have been brought forward, and the theological doctrines of the Hebrews set forth again in other places, whereby at one time the God who makes answer is

introduced as saying: 'For I am the LORD your God, and I am not changed': and at another time the Prophet directs his speech with a view to Him, saying that the things which are seen would all some time be changed and removed, 'but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail.' Observe then whether — when He who spake in Moses, as if proposing a question, said, 'I AM THAT I AM,' and, 'I am the LORD your God, and I am not changed': and again, 'But Thou art (εἶ) the same' — whether, I say. Plutarch would not seem to be interpreting the meaning of this in his treatise *Concerning the Εἶ at Delphi*, when he speaks word for word thus:

CHAPTER XI

‘NEITHER number therefore, nor order, nor conjunction, nor any other of the non-significant particles, does the letter seem to indicate. But it is an address and appellation of the god complete in itself, which as soon as the word is uttered sets the speaker thinking of the power of the god.

‘For the god, welcoming as it were each of us who approach him here, addresses to us the words “Know thyself,” which is nothing less than “Hail”: and we answering the god again say “Thou art” (Εἶ), rendering to him the appellation of “being” as his true and unerring and solely appropriate name.

‘For we have in reality no share in “being,” but every mortal nature is set in the midst between becoming and perishing, and presents a phantom and a faint and uncertain seeming of itself.

‘And if any one closely press the thought, from wishing to grasp it, then just as the violent grasping of water by pressing and squeezing it together causes what was enclosed to slip through and be lost, so when Reason seeks too much actuality in any thing passible and subject to change, it goes astray on this side to the part that is becoming, and on that to the part that is perishing, being unable to lay hold of anything permanent, or of any true “being.”

‘For it is not possible, according to Heracleitus, to step twice into the same river, nor to touch a mortal substance twice in the same condition, but by the swiftness and suddenness of its change it scatters and again collects, or rather we must not say “again” nor “afterwards,” but it is at the same time both combining and passing away, both coming on and going off.

‘Wherefore neither does the part that is becoming attain to being, because the becoming never ceases nor stands still; but from a seed by constant change it makes an embryo, then a babe, then a child, in due order a youth, a young man, a man, an elder, an old man, destroying the first becomings and ages by those which come after.

‘We, however, are ridiculously afraid of one death, although we have already died and are dying so many. For not only, as Heracleitus used to say, is “the death of fire the birth of air,” but still more manifestly in our own case the man in his prime perishes when the old man is coming, and the young man has passed away into the man in his prime, and the child into the young man,

and the infant into the child, and the man of yesterday has died into the man of to-day, and the man of to-day (is dying) into the man of to-morrow; and not one abides nor is *one*, but we become many, while matter is circulating around some one phantom and common mould, and then slipping away.

‘Else how is it, if we remain the same, that we delight now in some things, formerly in others, that we love and hate the contrary things, and praise and blame, use different language, have different feelings, retain no more the same appearance, form, or thought?

‘For neither is it natural to have different feelings without a change, nor can one who changes be the same. But if he is not *the same*, he *is* not, but is changing from *this*, and becoming other from other: and our sense, through ignorance of true “being,” falsely declares the apparent to “be.”

‘What then is true “being”? The eternal and uncreate, and imperishable, to which no time brings change. For time is something moveable, and imagined in connexion with the movement of matter, and ever flowing and not holding water, as it were a vessel of perishing and becoming. And so when it is said of time “after” and “before,” and “will be” and “has been,” there is at once an acknowledgement of “not-being.”

‘For to say of that which has not yet come into being, or has already ceased from being, that it “is” is silly and absurd. But at the very moment when, trying to fix our perception of time, we say “it is present,” “it is here,” and “now,” our reason slips away again from this and loses it. For it is thrust aside into the future and into the past, just as a visual ray is distorted with those who try to see what is necessarily separated by distance.

‘And if the nature which is measured is subject to the same conditions as the time which measures it, this nature itself has no permanence, nor “being,” but is becoming and perishing according to its relation to time.

‘Hence nothing of this kind may be said of “being,” such as “was” or “will be”: for these are a kind of inflexions, and transitions, and alternations of that which is not fitted by nature to continue in “being.”

‘But we ought to say of God, HE is, and is in relation to no time, but in relation to eternity the motionless, and timeless, and changeless, in which is no “before” nor “after,” nor future, nor past, nor elder nor younger: but being One He has filled the “Ever” with the one “Now”; and is the sole self-dependent real “Being,” having neither past nor future, without beginning and

without end.

‘Thus then ought we in worship to salute and address Him, or even indeed as some of the ancients did, THOU ART ONE, For the Deity is not many, as each of us is, a promiscuous assemblage of all kinds compounded of numberless differences arising in its conditions: but “being” must be One, just as One must be “being”: for *otherness*, as a differentia of “being,” inclines towards a becoming of “not-being.”’

CHAPTER XII

WHEREAS Moses and all the Hebrew Prophets teach that the Divine nature is ineffable, and indicate the symbol of the ineffable Name by the notation which may not be pronounced among them, hear how Plato also in agreement with them speaks in his great *Epistle* word for word.

[Ps.-PLATO] ‘For it can by no means be defined in words as other branches of learning, but from long converse on the subject itself, and from living with it, on a sudden a light, as it were kindled from a spark leaping out of the fire, comes to the soul, and thenceforth is self-sustained.’

This example also of ‘light’ another Hebrew Prophet had previously set forth, saying, ‘The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, was shown upon us.’ And again another, ‘In Thy light shall we see light.’

CHAPTER XIII

As Moses declared concerning the God of all the world, ‘Hear, O Israel, the LORD our God is one LORD,’ Plato again concurring with him teaches that there is one God as also one heaven, speaking thus in the *Timaeus*:

[PLATO] ‘Have we then been right in speaking of one heaven, or was it more correct to say that there are many and infinite? One, if indeed it is to have been created according to the pattern. For that which includes the ideals of all living creatures whatsoever cannot possibly be second to another.’

But that he has a knowledge of one God, even though in accordance with the custom of the Greeks he commonly speaks of them as many, is evident from the *Epistle to Dionysius*, in which, giving marks to distinguish his letters written in earnest from those thrown off at random, he said that he would put the name of ‘The gods’ as a sign at the head of those which contained nothing serious, but the name of ‘God’ at the head of those which were thoughtfully composed by him. Accordingly he thus speaks word for word:

[PS.-PLATO] ‘With regard then to the distinctive mark concerning the letters which I may write seriously, and which not, though I suppose you remember it. nevertheless bear it in mind and give great attention to it. For there are many who bid me to write, whom it is not easy for me openly to refuse. So then the serious letter begins with “God,” and the less serious with “gods.”’

And the same author expressly acknowledges that he has learned the doctrine of the one ‘God’ from men of old, as he says in the *Laws*:

‘God then, as the old tradition says, holding the beginning and end and middle of all things that exist, passes straight through while travelling round in nature’s course. Justice is ever His companion, taking vengeance on those who depart from the divine law: and the man who is to be happy holds fast to her and follows on humbly in orderly array. But if any man lifted up by arrogance, or elated by riches or honours, or personal beauty, has his soul inflamed with youthfulness and folly combined with insolence, as feeling no need of a ruler or guide, but being competent even to guide others, he is left forsaken of God: and when he is thus forsaken, and has also taken to himself others of like mind, he prances about and throws all things into confusion, and to many he seems to be somebody, but after no long time pays to justice no

contemptible penalty, and brings utter destruction upon himself as well as on his family and city.’

Thus Plato writes. And now beside the description, ‘God holding the beginning and end and middle of all things that exist,’ set thou this from Hebrew prophecy, ‘I God am first and I am with the last’: and beside the sentence, ‘passes straight through while travelling on in nature’s course,’ set this, ‘His countenance doth behold uprightness.’

Also with the phrase, ‘Justice is ever His companion, taking vengeance on those who depart from the divine law,’ compare this, ‘Righteous is the LORD, and He loveth righteousness’; and this, ‘Vengeance is Mine, I will repay, saith the LORD ‘; and this, ‘For the Lord is an avenger, and repayeth them that work exceeding proudly’; and with this, ‘the man who is to be happy holds fast to her and follows on humbly in orderly array,’ there agrees, ‘Thou shalt walk after the LORD thy God.’ And with this, ‘But he that is lifted up by pride is left forsaken of God,’ agrees, ‘God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble’; and, ‘But the joy of the ungodly is a sudden fall.’ These then are a few out of countless passages concerning Him who is God over all. But observe also the passages concerning the Second Cause.

CHAPTER XIV

IN regard then to the First Cause of all things let this be our admitted form of agreement. But now consider what is said concerning the Second Cause, whom the Hebrew oracles teach to be the Word of God, and God of God, even as we Christians also have ourselves been taught to speak of the Deity.

First then Moses expressly speaks of two divine Lords in the passage where he says, ‘Then the LORD rained from the LORD fire and brimstone upon the city of the ungodly’: where he applied to both the like combination of Hebrew letters in the usual way; and this combination is the mention of God expressed in the four letters, which is with them unutterable.

In accordance with him David also, another Prophet as well as king of the Hebrews, says, ‘The LORD said unto my Lord, sit Thou on My right hand,’ indicating the Most High God by the first LORD, and the second to Him by the second title. For to what other is it right to suppose that the right hand of the Unbegotten God is conceded, than to Him alone of whom we are speaking?

This is He whom the same prophet in other places more clearly distinguishes as the Word of the Father, supposing Him whose deity we are considering to be the Creator of the universe, in the passage where he says, ‘By the Word of the LORD were the heavens made firm.’

He introduces the same Person also as a Saviour of those who need His care, saying, ‘He sent His Word and healed them.’

And Solomon, David’s son and successor, presenting the same thought by a different name, instead of the ‘Word’ called Him Wisdom, making the following statement as in her person:

‘I Wisdom made prudence my dwelling, and called to my aid knowledge and understanding.’ Then afterwards he adds, ‘The LORD formed me as the beginning of His ways with a view to His works: from everlasting He established me, in the beginning before He made the earth, . . . before the mountains were settled, and before all hills He begat me. . . . When He was preparing the heaven, I was beside Him.’

And there is this again of the same author, ‘God by Wisdom founded the earth, and by understanding He prepared the heavens.’ The following also is said to be the same author’s: ‘And all things that are either secret or manifest I

learned: for Wisdom, the artificer of all things, taught me.’

Then he adds, ‘But what wisdom is, and how she came into being, I will declare, and will not hide mysteries from you, but will trace her out from the beginning of creation.’

And afterwards he gives such explanations as the following: ‘For she is a spirit quick of understanding, holy, alone in kind, manifold, subtil, freely moving, clear in utterance, unpolluted, . . . all-powerful, all-survey ing, and penetrating through all spirits, that are quick of understanding, pure, most subtil. For wisdom is more mobile than any motion; yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness. For she is a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty. Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her. For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the operation of God, and an image of His goodness. . . . And she reacheth from end to end with full strength, and ordereth all things graciously.’ Thus the Scripture speaks: but Philo the Hebrew, explaining the meaning of the doctrine more clearly, represents it in the manner following:

CHAPTER XV

[PHILO] ‘FOR it becomes those who have made companionship with knowledge to desire to behold the true Being, but should they be unable, then at least to behold His image, the most holy Word.’

Also in the same treatise he says this:

‘But even if one be not as yet worthy to be called the son of God, let him strive earnestly to be adorned after the likeness of His first-begotten Word, who is the eldest of the Angels, and as an Archangel has many names.

‘For He is called the Beginning, and the Name of God, and the Word, and the Man after God’s image, and He who seeth Israel. For which cause I was induced a short time ago to praise the virtues of those who assert that we are all sons of one Man.

‘For even if we have not yet become fit to be deemed children of God, yet surely we may be children of His eternal Image, the most holy Word: for His eldest Word is the Image of God.’

And again he adds:

‘I have, however, heard also one of the companions of Moses utter an oracle of this kind: Behold I the man whose name is the East. A very strange appellation, if you suppose the man who is composed of body and soul to be meant: but if you mean that incorporeal Being who wears the divine form, you will fully acknowledge that the ‘East’ was happily given to Him as a most appropriate name: for the Universal Father made Him rise as His eldest Son, whom elsewhere He named “First-begotten.” And indeed He that was begotten, imitating the ways of His Father, looked to His archetypal patterns in giving form to the various species.’

Let it suffice at this point to have made these quotations from, the Hebrew Philo, taken from the treatise inscribed with the title, *On the worse plotting against the better*. But already in an earlier part of *The Preparation for the Gospel*, in setting forth the doctrines of the religion of the ancient Hebrews, I have also sufficiently discussed those which relate to the Second Cause, and to those passages I will now refer the earnest student. Since therefore these have been the theological opinions held among the Hebrews in the way that I have described concerning the Second Cause of the Universe, it is now time to listen to Plato speaking as follows in the *Epinomis*:

CHAPTER XVI

[PLATO] ‘AND let us not, in assigning offices to them, give to this one a year, and to that a month, and to others appoint no portion, nor any time in which to perform his course, and help to complete the order, which Reason (λόγος), of all things most divine, appointed; Reason, which the happy man at first admires, and then gets a desire to understand, as much as is possible for mortal nature.’

Also in the Epistle to Hermeias, and Erastus, and Coriscus, he has laid down the doctrine with excellent caution, writing as follows word for word:

‘This letter you three must all read, together if possible; but if not, by two and two together, as you can, as often as possible: and must make an agreement and valid law, adding an oath as is right, and with earnestness not unworthy of the Muses, and with culture the sister of earnestness, invoking the God who is the Ruler of all things that are and that shall be, and Father and Lord of Him who is the Ruler and the Cause: Whom, if we rightly study philosophy, we all shall know clearly as far as is possible for favoured mortals.’

Does it not seem to you that in speaking thus Plato has followed the doctrines of the Hebrews? Or from what other source did it occur to him to name another God who is mightier than the cause of all things, whom also he calls Father of the All-ruler? And whence came his idea of setting the name of Lord on the Father of the Demiurge, though never before him had any one brought this to the ears of the Greeks, nor even set it down in his own mind.

And if we yet want other witnesses for an indisputable confirmation of the philosopher’s meaning, and of the construction of our argument, hear what explanations Plotinus gives in the treatise which he composed *Concerning the three Primary Hypostases*, writing as follows:

CHAPTER XVII

[PLOTINUS] 'IF any one admires this world of sense, beholding at once its greatness and beauty and the order of its eternal course, and the gods that are therein, some visible, and some invisible, the daemons, and animals and all kinds of plants, let him mount up to its original pattern and to the more real world, and there let him see all intelligible things, and things which are of themselves eternal in their own understanding and life, see also the pure intelligence and the infinite wisdom that presides over them.'

Then afterwards in addition to this he says:

'Who then is He that begat Him? He who is simple, and prior to a plurality of this kind, who is the cause both of His being, and of His plurality. For number came not first: since before the duad is the one; and the duad is second, and produced from the one.'

And again he goes on and adds:

'How then and what must we conceive concerning that abiding substance? A light shining around and proceeding from it, while it remains itself unchanged, as from the sun proceeds the bright surrounding light that runs around it, ever produced out of it, while it remains unchanged itself.

'And all existing things, so long as they remain, give forth necessarily from their own essence and from the power present in the substance which surrounds them externally and is dependent upon them, being as it were an image of the archetypes from which it sprang.

'Thus fire gives forth the heat which proceeds from it, and snow does not merely retain its cold within itself. And especially all fragrant things bear witness to this fact: for as long as they exist, a something from them goes forth around them, which is enjoyed by whatever is near.

'Moreover all things as soon as they are perfect begin to generate: so that which is always perfect is always generating a something eternal, and what it generates is less than itself.

'What then must we say concerning the Most Perfect? That He either generates nothing from Himself, or the things which are the greatest next to Himself. But after Him mind is the greatest and the second. For the mind beholds Him and has need of Him alone, but He has no need of it: and that which is begotten from a superior mind, must be mind; and mind is superior

to all things, because all the rest come after it.'

After this he says further:

'Now everything desires and loves that which begat it, and especially when that which begat and that which is begotten exist alone. And when that which begat is also the very best, the begotten is necessarily so joined with it, as to be separated only by its otherness. But, since it is necessary to speak more plainly, I mean that mind is His image.'

And to this again he adds:

'This is the reason also of Plato's trinities: for he says that around the King of all are all the primaries, and around the second the secondaries, and around the third the tertiaries. He says also that the Cause has a Father, meaning that Mind is the Cause, for with Plato Mind is the Creator.

'And Mind, he says, makes the Soul in that cup of his. And the Cause which is Mind has for its Father, he says, the Good, and that which transcends both Mind and essence. But in many places he speaks of Being and of Mind as the Idea. So that Plato recognizes Mind as proceeding from the Good, and the Soul from Mind: and these are no new doctrines, nor now first stated, but long since, though not publicly divulged: and the doctrines of the present time have been interpretations of the former, which by the testimony of Plato's own writings have confirmed the antiquity of these opinions.'

This is what Plotinus says. And Numenius highly commending Plato's doctrines in his treatise *Of the Good* gives his own interpretation of the Second Cause, as follows:

CHAPTER XVIII

[NUMENIUS] ‘THE man who is to understand about the First and Second God must previously distinguish the several questions by some orderly arrangement: and after this seems to be set right, he must then endeavour also to discuss the matter in a becoming manner, or otherwise not at all. Else he who handles it prematurely, before the first steps have been taken, will find his treasure become dust, as the saying is.

‘Let us then not suffer the same; but after invoking God to be the guide of our discussion concerning Himself, and to show us the treasure of His thoughts, so let us commence. At once we must offer our prayer, and then make our distinction.

‘The First God, being in Himself, is simple, because, being united throughout with Himself, He can never be divided. God however the Second and Third is one: but by being associated with matter which is duality, He makes it one, but is Himself divided by it, because it has a tendency to concupiscence, and is always in flux.

‘Therefore by not adhering to the intelligible (for so He would have been adhering to Himself), because He regards matter and gives attention to it, He becomes regardless of Himself.

‘And He lays hold of the sensible and busies Himself with it, and moreover from setting His desire upon matter He takes it tip into His own moral nature.’

And after other statements he says:

‘For it is not at all becoming that the First God should be the Creator; also the First God must be regarded as the father of the God who is Creator of the world.

‘If then we were inquiring about the creative principle, and asserting that He who was pre-existent would thereby be preeminently fit for the work, this would have been a suitable commencement of our argument.

‘But if we are not discussing the creative principle, but inquiring about the First Cause, I renounce what I said, and wish that to be withdrawn, but will pass on in pursuit of my argument, and hunt it out from another source.

‘Before capturing our argument, however, let us make an agreement between ourselves such as no one who hears it ‘can doubt, that the First God is free from all kinds of work and reigns as king, but the Creative God

governs, and travels through the heaven.

‘And by Him comes also our equipment for the chase, mind being sent down in transmission to all who have been appointed to partake of it. .

‘So when God is looking at and turned towards each of us, the result is that our bodies then live and revive, while God cherishes them with His radiations. But when He turns away to the contemplation of Himself, these bodies become extinguished, but the mind is alive and enjoying a life of blessedness.’

This is what Numenius writes. And now do you set beside it the passages from David’s prophecy, sung of old among the Hebrews in the following fashion: ‘How mighty are Thy works, O Lord: in wisdom hast Thou made them all. The earth is filled with Thy creation. ... All things wait upon Thee, to give them their meat in due season. When Thou givest it them, they will gather it; and when Thou openest Thine hand, they all will be satisfied with goodness. But when Thou turnest away Thy face, they will be troubled: if Thou takest away their breath, they will die, and turn again to their dust. Thou wilt send forth Thy Spirit, and they will be created, and Thou wilt renew the face of the earth.’

For in what would this differ from the thought of the philosopher, which declares, as we saw, that ‘When God is looking at and turned towards each of us, the result is that our bodies then live and revive, while God cherishes them with His radiations; but when God turns to the contemplation of Himself, these become extinguished.’

And again, whereas with us the Word of Salvation says, ‘I am the vine, . . . My Father is the husbandman, ... ye are the branches,’ hear what Numenius says concerning the deity of the Second Cause.

[NUMENIUS] ‘And as again there is a relation between the husbandman and him that planteth, exactly in the same way is the First God related to the Demiurge. The former being the seed of all soul sows it in all things that partake of Himself. But the Lawgiver plants, and distributes, and transplants into each of us the germs which have been previously deposited from that higher source.’

And afterwards again he speaks as follows of the mode in which the Second Cause arose out of the First.

‘Now all things which, when given, pass to the receiver, and have left the giver, such as are attendance, property, silver unstamped or coined, — these

things, I say, are mortal and human: but divine things are such as, when they are distributed and have come from one to another, have not forsaken the former, and have brought with them benefit to the latter, without hurting the other; nay, have brought him a further benefit by recalling to memory what he understood before.

‘Now this excellent thing is that good knowledge which brings profit to the receiver and is not lost to the giver. Just as you may see a lamp lit from another lamp shining with a light of which it did not deprive the former, but had its own material kindled at the other’s flame.

‘Such a thing is knowledge, which when given and received remains the same with the giver, and is communicated to the receiver.

‘And the cause of this, my friend, is not anything human; but that the state and essence which possesses knowledge is the same both in God who has given, and in you and me who have received it.

‘Wherefore also Plato said that wisdom was brought to mankind “with a brilliant flame of fire by Prometheus.”’

And again afterwards lower down he says:

‘Now the modes of life of the First God and of the Second are these: evidently the First God will be at rest, while the Second on the contrary is in motion. So then the First is engaged with intelligibles, and the Second with both intelligibles and sensibles. ‘And be not surprised at my saying this, for you are going to hear something far more surprising. For instead of that motion which belongs to the Second I assert that the rest which belongs to the First is His natural motion, from which both the order of the world, and its eternal continuance, and its safety is diffused throughout the universe.’

After this in the sixth Book also he adds the following:

‘Since Plato knew that the Creator alone was known among men, but that the First Mind, which is called Absolute Being, is altogether unknown among them, therefore he spoke in this way, just as if one were to say; The First Mind, my good sirs, is not that which you imagine, but another mind before it, more ancient and more divine.’

And after other passages he adds:

‘A pilot when driven along in mid ocean, sits high above the helm, and steers the ship by the tillers, but his eyes and mind are strained directly at the sky, looking at things aloft, as his course passes across the heaven above,

while he sails upon the sea below. So also the Creator having bound matter together in harmony that it may neither break out nor slip away, is Himself seated above matter, as above a ship on the sea: and in directing the harmony He steers by the ideas, while instead of the sky He looks to the High God who attracts His eyes, and takes His judgement from that contemplation, and His energy from that impulse.'

Also the Word of our Salvation says, 'The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing.' Enough, however, has been said by Numenius on this subject: and there is no need to add anything to his own words to show that he was explaining not his own opinions but Plato's. And that Plato is not the first who has made these attempts, but has been anticipated by the Hebrew sages, has been proved by the examples already set forth. Naturally therefore Amelius also, who was distinguished among recent philosophers, and above all others an admirer of Plato's philosophy, who moreover called the Hebrew theologian a Barbarian, even though he did not deign to mention John the Evangelist by name, nevertheless bears witness to his statements, writing exactly what follows word for word:

CHAPTER XIX

[AMELIUS] ‘AND this then was the Word, on whom as being eternal depended the existence of the things that were made, as Heracleitus also would maintain, and the same forsooth of whom, as set in the rank and dignity of *the beginning*, the Barbarian maintains that He *was with God and was God: through whom absolutely all things were made*; in whom the living creature, and life, and being had their birth: and that He came down into bodies, and clothed Himself in flesh, and appeared as man, yet showing withal even then the majesty of His nature; aye, indeed, even after dissolution He was restored to deity, and is a God, such as He was before He came down to dwell in the body, and the flesh, and Man.’

This, it must be evident, is paraphrased from the Barbarian’s theology, no longer under any veil, but openly at last and ‘with forehead bold and bare.’ And who was this Barbarian of his but our Saviour’s Evangelist John, a Hebrew of the Hebrews? Who in the beginning of his own Scripture states the doctrine of the deity thus, ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that hath been made. In Him was life, and the life was the light of men. . . . And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of the Only-begotten from the Father.’

Hear also what another Hebrew theologian says concerning the same Person: ‘Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation: for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, whether visible or invisible,... and by Him all things consist, and in Him were they all created.’

But since we have found such agreement between the philosophers of the Greeks and the doctrines of the Hebrews concerning the constitution and substantiation of the Second Cause, let us then pass on to other matters.

CHAPTER XX

WHEREAS next to the doctrine of Father and Son the Hebrew oracles class the Holy Spirit in the third place, and conceive the Holy and Blessed Trinity in such a manner as that the third Power surpasses every created nature, and that it is the first of the intellectual essences constituted through the Son, and third from the First Cause, observe how Plato also intimated some such thoughts, speaking thus in his *Epistle to Dionysus*:

[PLATO] ‘I must explain it to you then in riddles, that if the tablet suffer any harm in the remote parts of sea or land, the reader may learn nothing. For the matter is thus: Around the King of the Universe are all things, and all are for His sake, and that is the cause of all things beautiful: and around the Second are the secondary things, and around the Third the tertiary. The soul of man therefore strains after them to learn what sort of things they are, looking upon the things akin to its own nature.’

These statements are referred, by those who attempt to explain Plato, to the First God, and to the Second Cause, and thirdly to the Soul of the Universe, defining it also as a third God. But the sacred Scriptures regard the Holy and Blessed Trinity o’f Father and Son and Holy Ghost as the beginning, according to the passages already set forth.

The next point to this is to examine the nature of the Good.

CHAPTER XXI

THE Sacred Scripture of the Hebrews explains the nature of the Good in various ways, and teaches that the Good itself is nothing else than God, both in the statement, 'The LORD is good to all them that wait for Him, to the soul that will seek Him,' and in this, 'O give thanks unto the LORD; for He is good: for His mercy endureth for ever'; and also by what the Word of our Salvation declared to the man who asked Him concerning this, saying, 'Why askest thou Me concerning that which is good? None is good save one, even God.'

Now then listen to what Plato says in the *Timaeus*:

'Let me then tell you for what cause the Creator formed a creation, and made this universe. He was good. And in one who is good no jealousy of anything ever finds place: and being free from jealousy He desired that all things should be made as like to Himself as possible.'

In the *Republic* also he speaks thus:

'Is it not true then that the sun though not itself sight, is yet the cause of sight, and is itself discerned by this very sight? It is so, said he. Well then, said I, you may say that this is he whom I call the offspring of the good, whom the good begat as analogous to itself, that this should be in the visible world in relation to sight and the things of sight, what the good is in the intellectual world in relation to mind and the things of mind.'

And afterwards he adds:

'Well then, this which imparts truth to the things which are known, and bestows on the knower his faculty of knowledge, this you may call the idea of the good.'

And again he says:

'You would say, I suppose, that the sun imparts to visible things not only their power of being seen, but also their generation, growth, and nourishment, though he is not himself generation. How could it be otherwise? You would also say then that things which become known receive from the good not only the property of being known, but also their existence and their essence, though the good is not an essence, but far transcends essence in dignity and power.'

Herein Plato says most distinctly that the intellectual essences receive from 'the good,' meaning of course from God, not merely the property of being

known, but also their existence and essence; and that 'the good ' is 'not an essence, but far transcends essence in dignity and power.' So that he does not regard the ideas as co-essential, nor yet suppose that they are unbegotten, because they have received their existence and their essence from Him who is not an essence, but far transcends essence in dignity and power, whom alone the Hebrew oracles with good reason proclaim as God, as being the cause of all things.

So then things which have neither their existence nor their essence from themselves, nor yet are of the nature of the good, cannot reasonably be regarded as gods, since the good does not belong to them by nature: for to One only and to no other can this be ascribed, to the Only Good, which Plato admirably proclaimed as 'far transcending all essence both in dignity and power.' Again Numenius also in his treatise *Of the Good*, in explaining Plato's meaning, discourses in the following manner:

CHAPTER XXII

[NUMENIUS] ‘BODIES, therefore, we may conceive by inferences drawn from observing similar bodies, and from the tokens existing in the bodies before us: but there is no possibility of conceiving the good from anything that lies before us, nor yet from anything similar that can be perceived by the senses. For example, a man sitting on a watch-tower, having caught a quick glimpse of a small fishing-boat, one of those solitary skiffs, left alone by itself, and caught in the troughs of the waves, sees the vessel at one glance. Just so, then, must a man withdraw far from the things of sense, and commune in solitude with the good alone, where there is neither man nor any other living thing, nor body great or small, but a certain immense, indescribable, and absolutely divine solitude, where already the occupations, and splendours of the good exist, and the good itself, in peace and benevolence, that gentle, gracious, guiding power, sits high above all being.

‘But if any one, obstinately clinging to the things of sense, fancies that he sees the good hovering over them, and then in luxurious living should suppose that he has found the good, he is altogether mistaken. For in fact no easy pursuit is needed for it, but a godlike effort: and the best plan is to neglect the things of sense, and with vigorous devotion to mathematical learning to study the properties of numbers, and so to meditate carefully on the question, What is being?’

This is in the first Book. And in the fifth he speaks as follows:

‘Now if essence and the idea is discerned by the mind, and if it was agreed that the mind is earlier than this and the cause of it, then mind itself is alone found to be the good. For if God the Creator is the beginning of generation, the good is the beginning of essence. And God the Creator is related to the good, of which He is an imitator, as generation is to essence, of which it is a likeness and an imitation.

‘For if the Creator who is the author of generation is good, the Creator also of essence will doubtless be absolute good, innate in essence. For the second god, being twofold, is the self-maker of the idea of Himself, and makes the world as its Creator: afterwards He is wholly given to contemplation.

‘Now as we have by our reasoning gathered names for four things, let them be these four. The first, God, absolute good; His imitator, a good Creator: then

essence, one kind of the first God, another of the Second; and the imitation of this essence, the beautiful world, adorned by participation in the beautiful.’

Also in the sixth Book he adds:

‘But the things which partake of Him participate in nothing, else, but only in wisdom: in this way then, but in no other, they may enjoy the communion of the good. And certainly this wisdom has been found to belong to the First alone. If then this belongs exclusively to Him alone, from whom all other things receive their colouring and their goodness, none but a stupid soul could doubt any longer.

‘For if the second God is good, not of Himself but from the First, how is it possible that He, by communion with whom this Second is good, should not Himself be good, especially if the Second has partaken of Him as being good?

‘It is in this way that Plato has shown by syllogistic reasoning to any one who is clear-sighted that the good is one.’

And again afterwards he says:

‘But Plato represented these things as true differently in different places; for in the *Timaeus* peculiarly he wrote the common inscription on the Creator, saying, “He was good.” But in the *Republic* he called the good the idea of good: meaning that the idea of the Creator was the good, because to us He is manifested as good by participation in the First and only Good.

‘For as men are said to have been fashioned by the idea of man, and oxen by that of an ox, and horses by the idea of a horse; so also naturally if the Creator is good by participation in the First Good, the first Mind would be an idea, as being absolute good.’

CHAPTER XXIII

[PLATO] ‘AND having been created in this way’ (evidently the world is meant) ‘it has been framed with a view to that which is apprehended by reason and thought and which is unchangeable. And if this be so, it necessarily follows that this world is an image of something. . . . For that contains in itself all intelligible beings, just as this world contains us.’

So Plato speaks in the *Timaeus*. And the meaning of his statements I will set forth from the collections of Didymus *Concerning the Opinions of Plato*: and this is how he writes:

[DIDYMUS] ‘He says that the Ideas are certain patterns arranged class by class of the things which are by nature sensible, and that these are the sources of the different sciences and definitions. For besides all individual men there is a certain conception of man: and besides all horses, of a horse; and generally, besides the animals, a conception of an animal uncreated and imperishable.

‘And in the same way as many impressions are made of one seal, and many images of one man, so from each single idea of the objects of sense a multitude of individual natures are formed, from the idea of man all men, and in like manner in the case of all other things in nature.

‘Also the idea is an eternal essence, cause, and principle, making each thing to be of a character such as its own.

‘As, therefore, the particular archetypes, so to say, precede the bodies which are perceived by sense, so the Idea which includes in itself all Ideas, being most beautiful and most perfect, exists originally as the pattern of this present world; for that has been made by its Creator like this Idea, and wrought according to the providence of God out of the universal essence.’

These are extracts from the aforesaid author. Moses, however, the all-wise, anticipates even these doctrines, teaching us that before the visible sun and stars and before the heaven that we behold, which he calls the firmament, and before this our dry land, and before our day and night, another light besides the light of the sun, and day and night, and the rest, had been made by God the universal Ruler and Cause of all.

Moreover the Hebrews who came after Moses declare that there is a certain incorporeal sun not visible to all, nor subjected to mortal eyes, as says the

Prophet speaking in the person of God, ‘And to them that fear Me shall the Sun of righteousness arise.’

Also righteousness itself, not that of a certain kind among men, but the Idea of that, is known to another Hebrew Prophet, who said concerning God, ‘Who raised up righteousness from the East? He called it before His face, and it shall go forth as it were before the nations.’

Also a divine Word, incorporeal and essential, was just lately shown to us by our ordinary word in the previous quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures: concerning which Word there is also the following statement among the same people: ‘Who was made unto us wisdom from God, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.’

He is called also Life, He is called Wisdom, and Truth. Also the Scriptures of the Hebrews (since the Apostles also and disciples of our Saviour are Hebrews) make known to us all things which have essential being and subsistence, nay more, they show us myriads of other incorporeal powers beyond both heaven and all material and fleeting essence; and the images of these powers, they say, He expressed in things sensible, after which they have now received the name each of its image.

Man, for instance, they have expressly stated to be the image of an ideal pattern, and the whole life of men *passeth on in an image*. Moses in fact says, ‘And God created man, in the image of God created He him.’ And again another Hebrew writer, following the philosophy of his forefathers, says, ‘Surely man walketh in an image.’ And now hear how the interpreters of the sacred laws explain the thought contained in the writings of Moses. The Hebrew Philo, in fact, speaks thus word for word in interpreting the doctrines of his forefathers.

CHAPTER XXIV

[PHILO] ‘Now if any one should wish to use names in a plainer way, he would not call the intelligible world anything else than the Word (or, Reason) of God already engaged in the creation of a world. For neither is the intelligible city anything else than the reasoning of the architect, when already designing to build the visible city [by help of the intelligible].

‘But this is Moses’ doctrine, not mine. For instance, in recording the creation of man he expressly avows, in what follows, that he was fashioned after the image of God.

‘Now if the part (man) is an image of an image, evidently also the whole species, I mean the whole of this visible world, which is greater than the human image, is a copy of a divine image; and the archetypal seal, as we call the intelligible world, must itself evidently be the archetypal pattern, the Idea of the Ideas, the Word (Reason) of God.

‘He says too that “In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth”; taking the beginning to be not, as some suppose, the beginning in time; for time was not before the world, but either has begun with it, or after it.

‘For since time is the interval of the motion of the universe, and motion could not begin before that which was to be moved, but must necessarily be established either after it or with it, so time also must necessarily either have been of the same age as the universe or younger than it, and to venture to represent it as older is unphilosophical.

‘But if in the present passage *the beginning* is not taken to be the beginning in time, then the beginning according to number would naturally be signified, so that *in the beginning God created* would be equivalent to “first He created the heaven.”’

Then afterwards he says:

‘First, therefore, the Maker proceeded to make an immaterial heaven, and an invisible earth, and an ideal form of air and of empty space, the former of which He called *darkness*, because the air is by nature black, and the latter He called *the deep*, for the empty space is very deep and vast.

‘Then He made the incorporeal essence of water and of wind, and over all the essence of light, the seventh in order, which again was incorporeal, and then an intelligible model of the sun. and of all stars that were destined to be

established as luminaries in the heaven.

‘And the wind and the light were honoured with special privilege: for the one he called *the Spirit of God*, because spirit is the most life-giving thing, and God is the author of life; and light, because it excels in beauty. For the intelligible is, I suppose, as much more brilliant and radiant than the sensible, as the sun is than darkness, and day than night, and the mind, which is the guide of the whole soul, than the criteria of sense, and the eyes than the body.

‘But that invisible and intelligible light is made an image of the Divine Word, which explained its origin; and it is a super-celestial star the source of the visible stars, which one would not be wrong in calling “universal light,” from which sun and moon and the other planets and fixed stars draw their appropriate splendours in proportion to the power of each, while that unmingled and pure light becomes obscured, whenever it begins to turn in direction of the change from intelligible to sensible; for of the things subject to sense none is pure.’

Also after a few words he adds:

‘But when light came, and darkness yielded and retired, and bounds were set in the intervals between them, namely evening and morning, there was at once completed, according to the necessary measure of time, that which the Creator rightly called “day,” and not *the first day* but *one day*, which it is called because of the singleness of the intelligible world, which has the nature of unity.

‘So then the incorporeal world was now complete, being founded in the divine Reason (Word); and after the model thereof the sensible world was now to be produced in its perfection: so the Creator proceeded to make first that which was also the best of all its parts, namely the heaven, which He rightly named *the firmament*, as being corporeal. For body is by nature solid, because it is of three dimensions: and what other idea is there of a solid and a body, except extension in every direction? Naturally therefore He called this the firmament, as contrasting the sensible and corporeal world with the intelligible and incorporeal.’

So writes Philo. And Clement also agrees with him, speaking as follows in the Fifth *Miscellany*.

CHAPTER XXV

[CLEMENT] ‘AND again the Barbarian philosophy knows one world of thought, and another of sense, the one an archetype, and the other an image of the fair model. And the former it assigns to Unity, as being perceptible to thought only; but the sensible it assigns to the number six: for among the Pythagoreans six is called marriage, as a number that generates.

‘And in the Unity it establishes an invisible heaven, and a holy earth, and an intellectual light. For “In the beginning,” says Moses, “God created the heaven and the earth: and the earth was invisible.” Then he adds, “And God said, let there be light, and there was light.” But in the cosmogony of the sensible world He creates a solid heaven (and the solid is sensible), and a visible earth, and a light that is seen.

‘Does it not seem to you from this passage that Plato leaves the *idsas* of living creatures in the intelligible world, and creates the sensible species *after their kinds* in the intelligible world?

‘With good reason then Moses says that the body was fashioned out of earth, which Plato calls an “earthly tabernacle,” but that the reasonable soul was breathed by God from on high into man’s face.

‘For in this part, they say, the ruling faculty is seated, interpreting thus the accessory entrance of the soul through the organs of sense in the case of the first-formed man; for which reason also man, they say, is made *after the image and likeness* of God. For the image of God is the divine and royal Word, the impassible Man; and an image of that image is the human mind.’

But let us now listen to what remains to be said.

CHAPTER XXVI

FURTHER than this Plato follows the doctrines of the Hebrews, when he says that there are not only good incorporeal powers but also those of opposite nature, writing as follows in the tenth Book of the *Laws*:

[PLATO] ‘As then the soul directs and inhabits all things that move in any direction, must we not say that it also directs the heaven? Of course. One soul, or more? More, I will answer for you. Less than two surely we must not suppose, the one that does good, and the other that has power to work evil.’

Then lower down he says:

‘For since we have agreed that the heaven is full of many good things and also of many evil things, and these the more numerous, a conflict of this kind, we say, is immortal, and requires marvellous watchfulness. But gods and daemons are our allies, and we are their possessions.’

Whence these ideas came to Plato, I cannot explain: but what I can truly say is that thousands of years before Plato was born this doctrine also had been acknowledged by the Hebrews.

Accordingly their Scripture says, ‘And there was, as it were, this day when the angels of God came to stand before God; and the devil came in the midst of them, after going round the earth and walking about in it’; where it calls the adverse power *devil*, and the good powers *angels of God*.

And these good powers it also calls divine spirits, and God’s ministers, where it says, ‘Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a flame of fire.’

Moreover the conflict of the adverse powers is thus represented by him who said, ‘Our wrestling is not against Wood and flesh, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of the darkness of this age, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.’

Also the oracle of Moses which said, ‘When the Most High was dividing the nations, when He was separating the children of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God,’ seems to be directly paraphrased by Plato in the words whereby he defined the whole human race to be ‘the possessions of gods and daemons.’

CHAPTER XXVII

IN the doctrine of the immortality of the soul Plato differs not at all in opinion from Moses. For Moses was the first to define the soul in man as being an immortal essence, when he said that it is originally an image of God, or rather has been made ‘after the image of God.’ For his words were, ‘God said, Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness. . . . And God made man, in the image of God made He him.’

And afterwards dividing the compound man in his description into the visible body and the man of the soul that is discerned only by the mind, he adds, ‘And God took dust from the earth and formed man, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul.’

Moreover he says that man was made fit to be ruler and king of all the creatures upon earth. So he says, ‘And God said, Let us make man after our image, and after our likeness, and let them have dominion over the fishes of the sea, and over the fowls of the heaven, and over the cattle, and over all the earth. . . . And God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him.’

Now in what other way could an image and likeness of God be conceived than in reference to the powers that are in God, and to the likeness of virtue? Hear then how in the *Alcibiades* Plato speaks on this point also as one who had been taught by Moses:

[PLATO] ‘Can we then mention any part of the soul that is more divine than that with which knowledge and wisdom have to do?’

‘We cannot.

‘This then is the part of it like God; and any one who by looking upon this has learned all that is divine, both God and wisdom, will thus get to know himself also most perfectly.

‘It is evident.

[‘So then, just as there are mirrors clearer than the mirror in the eye, and purer and brighter, so God is something purer and brighter than the best that is in our soul.

‘It seems so, Socrates.

‘In looking then on God, we should be using that noblest mirror of man’s nature also for looking into the virtue of the soul; and in this way should best

see and learn to know ourselves. Certainly.']

This is in the *Alcibiades*. But in the dialogue *On the Soul* observe how he explains these topics more at length.

'May we then, said he, assume two kinds of existing things, one visible and the other invisible?

'Let us assume it, said he.

'And the invisible constant and immutable, but the visible never constant?

'This also let us assume.

'Well then, said he, is not the one part of ourselves body, and the other soul?

'Exactly so, said he.

'To which class then should we say that the body is more like and more akin?

'Oh, that is manifest to every one, said he; to the visible.

'And what of the soul? Is it visible or invisible?

'Not visible at any rate by men, Socrates.

'But we surely were speaking of the things that are visible or not visible to the nature of man; or was it, think you, to some other nature?

'To man's nature.

'What do we say then about the soul? Is it visible or invisible?

'Invisible.

'Then it is unseen?

'Yes.

'Soul then is more like the unseen than body is, and body like the visible?

'It must certainly be so, Socrates.

'Well then, were we not also saying long ago, that whenever the soul uses the help of the body to examine anything, either by sight, or by hearing, or by any other sense (for this is what is meant by "the help of the body," to examine a thing by the help of sense), that then she is dragged by the body into the midst of these ever-changing objects, and loses her own way, and becomes confused, and giddy as if drunken, from trying to lay hold of things of this same kind?

'Quite so.

'But whenever she is contemplating anything by herself alone, she passes at once into yonder world, to the pure, and eternal, and immortal, and

unchangeable, and there and with that world she ever communes as one of kindred nature, whenever she can be alone, and have opportunity; and so she has rest from her wandering, and with that world she is constant and unchangeable, as trying to lay hold of things of this same kind. And this condition of the soul is called thoughtfulness.

‘Very nobly and truly spoken, Socrates, said he.

‘To which class then does it now seem to you, from both our former and our present arguments, that the soul is more like and more akin?

‘Every one, I think, Socrates, said he, even the most stupid, would from this method of inquiry agree that soul is in every way much more like to that which is ever constant than to that which is not.

‘And what of the body?

‘More like the other.

‘Look at it then again in this way; that, when soul and body are combined in one, nature orders the body to serve and to obey, and the soul to rule and to govern. Now in these respects again which of the two seems to you to be like the divine, and which like the mortal? Do you not think that the divine is naturally fitted to rule and to lead, and the mortal to be ruled and to serve?

‘I think so.

‘To which of the two then is the soul like?

‘Evidently, Socrates, the soul is like the divine, and the body like the mortal.

‘Consider then, Cebes, said he, whether from all that has been said we obtain these results: that soul is most like the divine, and immortal, and intelligible, and uniform, and indissoluble, and ever unchangeable and self-consistent; and the body on the other hand most like the human, and mortal, and unintelligible, and multiform, and dissoluble, and never consistent with itself.

‘Have we anything else to say against this, my dear Cebes, to show that it is not so?

‘We have not.

‘Well then? This being so, is it not a property of body to be quickly dissolved, but of soul on the other hand to be altogether indissoluble, or nearly so?

‘Certainly.

‘Do you then observe, that after a man is dead, the body, the part of him which is visible and lies in the visible world, and is called a corpse, the property of which is to be dissolved, and decomposed, and scattered by the winds, does not at once suffer any change of this kind, but remains for a considerable time —— if the man die with his body in a vigorous state and at a vigorous time of life, for a very considerable time indeed. For when the body has shrunk and been embalmed, like those who were embalmed in Egypt, it remains almost entire an incredible time. And even if the body be decayed, some parts of it, bones and sinews and all such parts, are nevertheless, so to say, immortal, are they not?’

‘Yes.

‘But then the soul, the unseen, that has passed to another place like herself, noble, and pure, and unseen, the true Hades, to the presence of the good and wise God, whither, if it be God’s will, my own soul is presently to go —— is then, I say, this soul of ours, such as she is and so endowed by nature, on being released from the body, immediately scattered to the winds and lost, as most men say?’

‘Far from it, my dear Cebes and Simmias; but the truth is much rather this. If the soul is pure when released, drawing nothing of the body after her, as she never during this life had any communication with it willingly, but shrank from it, and was gathered up into herself, as making this her constant study, and this is nothing else than practising true philosophy, and preparing in reality to die cheerfully, —— Or would not this be a preparation for death?’

‘Certainly.

‘In this condition then the soul departs to that world which is like herself, the unseen, the divine, and deathless, and wise: and on arriving there she finds ready for her a happy existence, released from error, and folly, and fears, and wild desires, and all other human ills, and, as they say of the initiated, she truly passes the rest of her time with the gods. Is it thus, Cebes, that we ought to speak, or otherwise?’

‘Thus assuredly, said Cebes.

‘But, I suppose, if when she departs from the body she is polluted and impure, from being in constant communion with the body, and cherishing it, and loving it, and having been so bewitched by it, I mean by its desires and pleasures, as to think that nothing else is true except the corporeal, just what a

man might touch, and see, and eat, and drink, and use for his lusts —— but accustomed to hate and fear and shun what to the eyes is dark and invisible, but intelligible to thought and attainable by philosophy —— in this condition then do you suppose that a soul will depart pure in herself and unalloyed?

‘By no means, said he.’

This is what Plato says. And his meaning is explained by Porphyry in the first Book of his *Answer to Boethus Concerning the Soul*, where he writes in the following manner:

CHAPTER XXVIII

[PORPHYRY] 'FOR example, he said, the argument from similarity was thought by Plato to be forcible in proof of the immortality of the soul. For if she is like that which is divine, and immortal, and invisible, and inseparable, and indissoluble, and essential, and firmly established in incorruption, how can she fail to be of the corresponding class to the pattern?

'For whenever there are two extremes manifestly contrary, as rational and irrational, and it is a question to which side some third thing belongs, this is one mode of proof, by showing to which of the opposites it is like. For thus, although the human race in the first stage of life is held down in an irrational condition, and although many even to old age are full of the errors of unreason, nevertheless, because it has many similarities to that which is purely rational, this race was believed to be from the beginning rational.

'Since therefore there is a divine constitution manifestly incapable of admixture and of damage, namely that of the gods, and since there is evidently on the other hand the earthly, and soluble, subject to corruption, and since with some it is doubted to which side of the said opposition the soul is attached, Plato's opinion was that we should trace out the truth from similarity.

'And since she is in no way like to the mortal and soluble and irrational and inanimate, which is therefore also tangible, and sensible, and becoming, and perishing, but like the divine, and immortal, and invisible, and intelligent, which partakes of life, and is akin to truth, and has all the properties which he enumerates as belonging to her, — since this is so, he thought it not right, while granting that she had the other points of likeness to God, to consent to deny her the similarity of essence, which is the cause of her having received these very properties.

'For as the things which were in their operations unlike God were at once found to differ also in the constitution of their essence, so he thought it followed, that the things which partook in a measure of the same operations had previously possessed the similarity of essence. For because of the quality of the essence the operations also were of a certain quality, as flowing from it, and being offshoots of it.'

Hear then what Boethus, in detracting from the force of this argument, has

written in the very beginning of his treatise, as follows:

[BOETHUS] 'To show whether the soul is immortal, and is a nature too strong for any kind of destruction, a man must persistently travel round many arguments.

'But one would not need much discussion to believe that nothing about us is more like God than the soul, and that, not only because of the continuous and incessant motion which she generates within us, but also because of the mind belonging to her.

'In view of which fact the physical philosopher of Crotona said that the soul as being immortal naturally shrank from all quiescence, like the bodies that are divine.

'But also to the man who had once discerned the idea of the soul, and especially how great purposes and what impulses the mind that rules within us often sets in motion, there would gradually appear a great likeness to God.'

And afterwards he adds:

'For if the soul is shown to be of all things most like to the divine, of what further use is it to require by way of preface all the other arguments in proof of her immortality, instead of reckoning this as one among the many, sufficient as it is to convince the fair-minded, that the soul would not have participated in the activities which are similar to those of the divine, if she were not also divine herself.

'For if, although buried in the body which is mortal, and soluble, and unintelligent, and by itself dead, and constantly perishing and wasting away towards its change of final destruction, the soul both forms it and holds it together, and displays her own divine essence, although she is obstructed and impeded by the all-ruinous mould which lies around her, must she not, if by our hypothesis she were separated as gold from the clay plastered round it, at once display her own specific form as being like God alone, and moreover preserving through her participation in Him the similarities in her operations, and even in her most mortal condition (as she is when imprisoned in the mortal body) escaping dissolution for this reason, that she is, as we said, of the nature which has nothing in common with decay?'

And lower down he says:

'But naturally she appears to be both divine from her assimilation to the Indivisible, and mortal from her approaches to the mortal nature: and she

descends and ascends, and is both akin to the mortal, and yet like the immortals.

‘For even he who stuffs himself full and hastes to be surfeited like the cattle is a man: and he too is a man, who by knowledge is able in perils by sea to save the ship, and he who can save life in diseases, and he who discovers truth, and has devised methods for the attainment of knowledge, and inventions for kindling fire, and observations of horoscopes, and manufactures imitations of the works of the Creator.

‘For it was a man who thought of fashioning upon earth the conjunctions of the seven planets together with their motions, imitating by mechanism the phenomena in heaven. And in fact what did not man devise, showing thereby the mind within him that is divine and on a par with God?

‘And though thereby he displayed the daring efforts of an Olympian and divine and altogether immortal being, yet because the multitude through the selfishness of their own downward inclination were not able to discern his character, he misled them into supposing from the outward appearances that he was like themselves of mortal nature: there being but this one mode of deriving consolation from their baseness, that because of external appearances they found satisfaction in seeing others share equally in their wretchedness, and persuaded themselves that as in external things so also in their inner nature all men are alike.’

Of all these doctrines Moses has been seen to be the teacher, for in describing the first creation of man in the language already quoted, he by his assimilation to the divine confirmed the arguments concerning the immortality of the soul.

But since the opinions of Moses and Plato were in full harmony and accord concerning the incorporeal and invisible essence, it is time to review the remaining portions of Plato’s philosophy, and to show that he was friendly to the Hebrews on all points, except where perchance he was led astray and induced to speak more after the manner of man, than in accordance with the word of truth.

For instance, all the philosopher’s sayings which have been rightly expressed will be found to agree with the doctrines of Moses, but in whatever he assumed that did not agree with Moses and the prophets, his argument will not be well established. And this we shall prove at the proper season. But

meanwhile, since his positions in the contemplation of the intelligible world have been discovered to be in perfect agreement and harmony, it is time to go back again to the physical theory of the sensible world, and briefly run over the philosopher's agreement with the doctrines of the Hebrews.

CHAPTER XXIX

MOSES declared that this universe had a beginning as having been made by God; he says at all events in the commencement of his own writing, ‘In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,’ and after the particulars he adds, ‘This is the book of the generation of heaven and earth, when they were created, in the day that God made the heaven and the earth.’ And now listen to Plato, how close he keeps to the thought, when himself writing as follows:

‘And again all that comes into existence must of necessity proceed from some cause; for it is impossible for anything to have been generated without a cause.’

And he adds:

‘The whole heaven then or world, or by whatever other name it would most acceptably be called, so let us call it — we have first to ask a question concerning it, which it is assumed that one must ask on every subject at the outset — did it always exist, without any beginning of generation, or has it been generated and had some beginning?

‘It has been generated: for it is visible, and tangible, and has a body; and all such things are sensible: and all sensible things were shown to be apprehensible by opinion and generated. But that which is generated must, we say, have been generated by some cause. It is a hard task, however, to discover the maker and artificer of this universe, and after discovering Him it is impossible to speak of Him to all men.’

And again afterwards he says:

‘Thus therefore we must say, according to probable reason, that this world was in truth made through the providence of God a living being endowed with soul and mind.’

CHAPTER XXX

AGAIN Moses, by what he said of the heavenly bodies, taught that they also are created: ‘And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth; . . . and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days and for years. . . . And God made the two great lights, ... and the stars; and set them in the firmament of the heaven.’

In like manner Plato speaks:

‘Such then being the reason and the thought of God in regard to the generation of time, in order that time might be brought into existence there have been created the sun and moon and five other bodies which are called planets, for distinguishing and preserving the numbers of time. And when He had made their bodies, God set them in their orbits.’

Now observe whether Plato’s expression, ‘Such then being the reason (λόγου) and thought of God,’ must not be like that of the Hebrew who says, ‘By the word (λόγω) of the LORD were the heavens established, and all the powers thereof by the breath of His mouth.’ Moreover as Moses said, ‘And He set (ἔθετο) them in the firmament,’ Plato has used a like word, ‘set,’ when he says, ‘And when He had made their bodies, God set (ἔθηκεν) them in their orbits.’

CHAPTER XXXI

As the Hebrew Scripture after each of the creations adds the phrase, ‘And God saw that it was good,’ and after the summing up of all says, ‘And God saw them all, . . . and behold they were very good’; now hear how Plato speaks:

‘If then indeed this world is fair, and its Creator good, it is evident that he was looking to that pattern which is eternal.’

And again:

‘For the world is the fairest of things created, and He the best of causes.’

CHAPTER XXXII

ON this point also the whole Hebrew Scripture speaks throughout, at one time saying, ‘And the heaven shall be rolled together as a scroll,’ and at another adding, ‘And the heaven shall be new, and the earth new, . . . which I make to remain before Me, saith the LORD ‘; and again at another time saying, ‘For the fashion of this world passeth away.’ Hear then how Plato also confirms the doctrine, saying in the *Timaeus*:

[PLATO] ‘And He established a visible and tangible heaven: and for these reasons, and out of these elements such as I have described, being four in number, the body of the world was formed in harmony by due proportion, and gained from them a friendly union, so that having entered into unity with itself it became indissoluble by everything else except Him who bound it together.’

Then afterwards he says:

‘So then time has come into existence together with the heaven, that having been produced together they may also be dissolved together, if there should ever be any dissolution of them.’

And again he adds:

‘Ye gods and sons of gods, the works whereof I am the Creator and Father are indissoluble save by my will.’

Afterwards he adds:

‘Therefore though all that is bound may be dissolved, yet only an evil being would wish to dissolve that which is well combined and in right condition. Wherefore also since ye have been created, though ye are not altogether immortal nor indissoluble, nevertheless ye shall not be dissolved, nor incur the fate of death, since in my will ye have found a still stronger and more valid bond than those by which ye were bound together at the time of your creation.’

Also in the *Politicus* or *Statesman* the same author speaks as follows:

‘For there is a time when God Himself goes round with the universe, which He helps to guide and wheel; and there is a time when the revolutions having now completed their proper measure of time, He lets it go, and the universe, being a living creature and having received intelligence from Him who arranged it at first, revolves again of its own accord in the opposite direction. And this retrogression has of necessity been implanted in its nature for the

following reason.

‘For what reason, pray?

‘Because it is a property of none but the most divine things to be always changeless in condition and self-consistent and the same, and bodily nature is not of this class. And though that which we have called the heaven and the world has been endowed by its Creator with many blessings, nevertheless it also partakes of body; whence it is impossible for it to be always free from change; as far as possible however, and in a very great degree, it moves in the same orbit in one and the same relative course, because the reversal to which it is subject is the least possible alteration of its proper motion.

‘But it is almost impossible for anything to continue for ever turning itself, except for the Ruler of all things that are moved. And for Him to move anything now one way, and now again in the opposite way, would not be right. From all this then we must neither say that the world always turns itself, nor that it is all turned by God in two opposite courses, nor again that some two gods, who are of opposite minds, turn it, but, as was said just now, and this alone remains possible, that at one time it is guided in its course by another divine cause, acquiring again its life, and receiving from its Creator a restored immortality, and at another time when let go it moves of itself, having been let go at such a time that it travels backwards during countless periods, because being of vast size and most perfectly balanced it moves upon the smallest pivot.

‘Certainly all the details which you have described seem to be very probable.

‘Let us then draw our conclusions and consider closely the effect produced from what I have just mentioned, which effect we said was the cause of all the wonders: for surely it is this very thing.

‘What thing?

‘The fact that the course of the world at one time is guided in the direction of its present revolution, and at another time in the opposite direction.

‘How then?

‘This change we must believe to be the greatest and most complete of all variations in the heavenly motions.

‘It seems so indeed.

‘We must suppose therefore that very great changes occur at that time to us

who dwell under the heaven.

‘This too is probable.

‘But do we not know that animal nature ill endures many great and various changes occurring at the same time?

‘Of course.

‘Very great destruction therefore of all other animals necessarily occurs at that time, and moreover very little of the human race survives. And with regard to these survivors, among many other marvellous and strange effects which occur the greatest is this, which also follows immediately upon the reversal of the motion of the universe at the time when the revolution opposite to that which is at present established takes place.’

Afterwards lower down he adds to all this the following remarks on the restoration of the dead to life, taking a similar course to the opinions of the Hebrews.

CHAPTER XXXIII

‘BUT how were animals produced in those days, Stranger, and in what way were they begotten one of another?’

‘It is evident, Socrates, that the generation of one animal from another did not exist in the order of nature at that time, but the earth-born race which was said to exist formerly —— this it was that in this other period sprang up out of the earth again. The tradition was recorded by our earliest ancestors, who in the following period were not far from the end of the former revolution, but were born in the beginning of the present: for they were the heralds to us of these traditions, which are now disbelieved by many without good reason.

‘For we ought, I think, to observe what follows therefrom. With the fact that old men pass on to the natural condition of the child it is consistent, that from those who have died and been laid in the earth, some being brought together again there and restored to life should follow the changed order, the wheel of generation being at the same time turned back in the opposite direction: and so in this manner necessarily springing up out of the earth they are thus named and accounted earth-born, except any whom God reserved for another destiny.

‘This is certainly quite consistent with what was said before.’

Then again, as he goes on further, he discourses in the following manner concerning the consummation of the world, in agreement with the doctrines of the Hebrews:

CHAPTER XXXIV

[PLATO] 'FOR when the period of all these events was completed, and a change was to take place, and moreover the earth-born race had now all perished, each soul having fulfilled all its generations, and fallen into the earth for as many sowings as were appointed for each, then at length the pilot of the universe let go, as it were, the handle of the rudder, and withdrew into his own watch-tower, and Fate and an innate desire began to turn the course of the world back again.

'So all the gods who locally share the government of the chief divinity, as soon as they learnt what was going on, let go in turn the portions of the world belonging to their charge. And the world turning back and clashing together, as having received an opposite impulse from before and from behind, was mightily convulsed in itself, and wrought another destruction of animals of all kinds.

'And after this in long process of time the world ceasing from tumults and confusion and convulsions welcomed a calm, and entered in orderly array upon its own accustomed course, having charge and control over itself and all things in it.'

Again after a little while he says:

'Wherefore God, who had first set the world in order, when at length He saw that it was in helpless strait, being anxious that it should not be shattered in the confusion of the storm, and sink down into the infinite gulf of disorder, again takes His seat at the helm, and having turned back what had suffered harm and dissolution into the former circuit appointed by Himself, He arranges and restores it, and endows it with immortality and perpetual youth. Here then the story of the end of all things is told.'

CHAPTER XXXV

[PLATO] ‘THESE things, then, said I, are nothing in number nor in greatness in comparison with those other rewards which await each of them after death. And you ought to hear them, in order that each may receive in full what is due to be told to them by our argument.

‘You may speak, said he, as to one who will not find the story too long, but listen all the more gladly.

‘But indeed, said I, it is not the story of Alcinous that I am going to tell you, but that of a brave man Er the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth, who was killed in battle, and when the dead were gathered up after ten days in a state of putrefaction, his body was taken up undecayed and carried home to be buried, and on the twelfth day when laid on the funeral pile, he came back to life, and after his revival told what he had seen in the other world.

‘And he said that when his soul had departed from his body, it travelled with many others, until they came to a certain wonderful place, in which were two chasms in the earth close to each other, and others opposite to them in the heaven above.

‘And between them there sat judges, who, after they had decided each case, commanded the just to proceed by the way on the right hand leading upward through the heaven, having hung around them on their breast the records of the judgements given, and the unjust by the way leading downwards on the left, these also having on their backs the records of all their deeds.

‘And when he himself came forward, they said that he must be the messenger to mankind of what was done there, and they commanded him to hear and see everything in that place.’

So Plato speaks. And Plutarch also in the first Book *Concerning the Soul* tells a story similar to this:

CHAPTER XXXVI

[PLUTARCH] ‘WE were present ourselves with this Antyllus: but let me tell the story to Sositeles and Heracleon. For he was ill not long ago, and the physicians thought that he could not live: but having recovered a little from a slight collapse, though he neither did nor said anything else showing derangement, he declared that he had died and been set free again, and was not going to die at all of that present illness, but that those who had carried him away were severely reproved by their lord; for having been sent for Nicandas, they had brought him back instead of the other. Now Nicandas was a shoemaker, besides being one of those who frequent the palaestrae, and familiar and well known to many. Wherefore the young men used to come and mock him, as having run away from his fate, and as having bribed the officers sent from the other world. It was evident, however, that he was himself at first a little disturbed and disquieted; and at last he was attacked by a fever, and died suddenly on the third day. But this Antyllus came to life again, and is alive and well, and one of our most agreeable friends.’

I wish to quote these statements because of the fact that in the Hebrew Scriptures there are cases mentioned of restoration to life. But since in their promises it is also contained that a certain land shall be given to the friends of God only, according to the oracle which says, ‘But the meek shall inherit the land,’ and that this is a heavenly land is made clear by the saying which declares, ‘But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all’; the prophet also intimates in an allegorical way that this same city consists of costly and precious stones, saying, ‘Behold, I prepare for thee a carbuncle for thy stone, and will make thy battlements jasper, and thy foundations sapphire . . . and thy border choice stones’: now see how Plato also confesses in the dialogue *Concerning the Soul* that he is persuaded of the truth of these very things, or the like. He assigns the statement to Socrates in the following manner:

CHAPTER XXXVII

[PLATO] 'BUT indeed, Simmias, I do not think it requires the skill of Glaucus to describe to you what it is: but to decide whether it be true, appears to me too hard even for Glaucus' skill. And not only should I perhaps find myself unable to do so, but even if I knew how, my life seems hardly long enough, Simmias, for an argument of such length. Nevertheless there is nothing to prevent my describing to you the figure of the earth, such as I am convinced it is, and its various regions. 'Well, said Simmias, even that is enough. 'My own conviction, then, said he, is first of all that, if the earth is spherical and placed in the centre of the heaven, it has no need either of air to prevent its falling, or of any other similar sustaining force, but that the perfect uniformity of the heaven in all its parts, and the very equilibrium of the earth, are sufficient to sustain it: for a thing in equilibrium placed in the centre of a similar body, will have no reason to incline more or less in any direction, but being evenly balanced will remain undeflected. This then, said he, is my first conviction. 'And quite correct, said Simmias.

'Further then, said he, I am persuaded that it is of vast size, and that we who live between the Pillars of Hercules and the Phasis occupy a very small part of it, dwelling round the sea, just as ants or frogs round a pond, and that there are many others elsewhere living in many like regions.

'For in every direction round the earth there are many hollows of various kinds both in shape and size, into which the waters and the mist and the air have flowed together; but the earth itself is pure and situated in a pure part of the heaven, wherein are the stars, and which most of those who are accustomed to speak of such things call the ether, of which these three (water, mist, and air) are a sediment, and are always flowing together into the hollows of the earth.

'We therefore are unconscious that we live in the hollows, and suppose that we are living above on the surface of the earth, just as if any one living in the midst of the bottom of the sea should suppose that he was living on the surface, and seeing the sun and the other luminaries through the water should imagine the sea to be heaven, but through sluggishness and weakness had never come up to the top of the water, nor, by rising and lifting his head up out of it into this region of ours, had ever seen how much purer and fairer it is

than their own, nor had ever heard this from any one who had seen it. .

‘We then are in this very same case: for while living in some hollow of the earth we imagine that we are living on the surface, and call the air heaven, as if this were the heaven through which the stars run their courses. But the fact is the same, that from weakness and sluggishness we are not able to pass out to the surface of the air: for if any one were to reach the top of it, or take wings and fly up to it. he would put out his head, and, just as the fishes here who jump up out of the water and see the objects on earth, so would a man survey the world beyond: and, if his nature were strong enough to endure the sight, he would learn that yonder is the true heaven, and the true light, and the true earth.

‘For this earth and the stones and the whole region here are decayed and corroded, as the things in the sea by the brine: and there is nothing worth mentioning that grows in the sea, nor anything that is, so to say, perfect; but there are caves, and sand, and vast slime and mud-banks wherever there *is* land, all utterly unworthy to be compared with the beautiful things of our world.

‘But on the other hand yonder world would be seen far more to surpass everything of ours. For if I must tell you a pretty fable, it is worth your while, Simmias, to hear what is the nature of the objects on that earth which lie close under the heaven.

‘We certainly, Socrates, said Simmias, should be delighted to hear this fable.

‘Well then, my friend, said he, it is said in the first place that the earth itself, if any one were to see it from above, is just such to look upon as the balls which are covered with twelve pieces of leather, variegated and marked by different colours, of which the colours used by our painters here on earth are, as it were, samples. But there the earth is wholly made up of colours such as these, and far more brilliant and pure.

‘For part of it is purple and of marvellous beauty, and part like gold, and the part that is white is whiter than chalk or snow, and in like manner it is made up of all the other colours, and yet more in number and more beautiful than all that we have ever seen.

‘For even these mere hollows of it, filled as they are with water and air, present a certain species of colour, as they gleam amid the diversity of the

other colours, so that its form appears as one continuous variegated surface.

‘And in this earth such as I have described it, the plants that grow are in like proportion, both trees and flowers, with their fruits; and the mountains again in like manner, and the stones have their smoothness and transparency greater in the same proportion, and their colours more beautiful: and of these the gems here, these that are so prized, are fragments, carnelians, and jaspers, and emeralds, and all such as these: but there everything without exception is of this kind, and still more beautiful than these.

‘And the cause of this is that those stones are pure, and not eaten away or spoiled, like those here, by decay and brine, and by the sediments collected here, which cause ugliness and diseases in stones and earth, and in animals and plants as well. But the real earth is adorned with all these jewels, and with gold and silver besides, and all other things such as these. For they shine out on the surface, being many in number and of great size and in many places of the earth, so that to see it must be a sight for the blessed to behold.’

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE Hebrew Scripture foretells that there shall be a tribunal of God and a judgement of souls after their departure hence, in countless other passages, and where it says: 'The judgement was set, and the books were opened, . . . and the Ancient of days did sit. ... A river of fire flowed before Him; ten thousand times ten thousands ministered unto Him, and thousand thousands stood before Him.' Now hear how Plato mentions the divine judgement, and the river even by name, and how he describes the many mansions of the pious, and the various punishments of the impious, in agreement with the language of the Hebrews.

For he speaks as follows in the dialogue *Concerning the Soul*:

'And midway between these a third river issues forth, and near its source falls into a vast region burning with a great fire, and forms a lake larger than our sea, boiling with water and mud: and thence it proceeds in a circular course turbid and muddy, and as it rolls round the earth, arrives, among other places, at the extremity of the Acherusian lake, but does not mingle with its water; and after making many circuits underground, it pours into a depth below Tartarus.

'Now this is it which they call Pyriphlegethon, fragments of which are thrown up by our volcanoes, wherever they occur in the earth. Opposite again to this the fourth river falls out first, as the tale goes, into a fearful and savage region, which is wholly of a colour like lapis lazuli; this is called the Stygian region, and the lake which the influx of the river forms is called Styx. Then after falling into the lake, and receiving strange properties in its water, the river sinks under the earth, and is whirled round in its course in the opposite direction to Pyriphlegethon, and meets it from the opposite side in the Acherusian lake; and its water also mingles with no other, but after flowing round in a circle this river too falls into Tartarus opposite to Pyriphlegethon: and its name is, as the poets say, Cocytus.

'Such being the nature of these regions, as soon as the dead have arrived at the place to which each is conveyed by his genius, first of all they undergo a trial, both those who have lived good and holy and just lives, and those who have not. And those who are found to have led tolerable lives proceed to Acheron, and embarking on such vessels as there are for them, they arrive on

board these at the lake; and there they dwell, and by undergoing purification and suffering punishment for their evil deeds they are absolved from any wrongs they have committed, or receive rewards for their good deeds, each according to his deserts. But any who are found to be incurable by reason of the greatness of their sins, having either perpetrated many great acts of sacrilege, or many nefarious and lawless murders, or any other crimes of this kind — these are hurled by their appropriate doom into Tartarus, whence they never come forth.

‘But those who are found to have committed sins which are great though not incurable, as for instance if in anger they have done any violence to father or mother, and passed the rest of their life in penitence, or have committed homicide in any other similar way, these must also be thrown into Tartarus, but after they have been thrown in and have continued there a year, they are cast out by the wave, the homicides by way of Cocytus, and the parricides by way of Pyriphlegethon: and when they arrive all on fire at the Acherusian lake, there with loud cries they call upon those whom they either slew or outraged; and having summoned them they intreat and beseech them to let them come out into the lake, and to receive them kindly: and if they persuade them, they come out, and cease from their troubles; but if not, they are carried again into Tartarus, and thence back into the rivers, and never have rest from these sufferings, until they have won over those whom they wronged; for this was the sentence appointed for them by the judges.

‘But any who are found to have been pre-eminent in holiness of life — these are they who are set free and delivered from these regions here on earth, as, from prison-houses, and attain to the pure dwelling place above, and make their abode upon the upper earth. And of this same class those who have fully purified themselves by philosophy live entirely free from troubles for all time to come, and attain to habitations still fairer than these, which it is neither easy to describe, nor does the time suffice at present. But for the sake of these things which I have described we ought, Simmias, to make every effort to gain a share of virtue and of wisdom in our lifetime: for fair is the prize, and great the hope.’

So speaks Plato. And now with that passage, ‘And they attain to fairer habitations, which it is neither easy to describe, nor does the time suffice at present,’ you will compare that which with us runs as follows:

‘For eye hath not seen, nor ear heard,
Neither have entered into the heart of man,
The things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.’

And with the ‘habitations’ mentioned compare the statement that ‘in the Father’s house are many mansions,’ promised to those beloved of Him. And with what is said about Pyriphlegethon compare the eternal fire threatened to the ungodly, according to the Hebrew prophet who says to them, ‘Who shall announce to us that the fire is kindled? Who shall announce to us the place of eternity?’ And again, ‘Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.’

Now observe how Plato also, after saying in agreement with this that the impious will go into Tartarus, adds, ‘whence they never come out.’ And again after saying that the pious shall live in abodes of bliss, he adds the words, ‘entirely and for all time to come.’ Moreover the expression used by him ‘free from troubles’ is like ‘pain and sorrow and sighing flee away.’

And when he says that those who go away to Acheron not simply arrive there, but ‘embarking first in what vessels there are for them,’ what vessels then does he mean to indicate but their bodies, in which the souls of the deceased embark, and share their punishment, according to the established opinions of the Hebrews? But now as this subject has been sufficiently discussed, I will pass on to the twelfth Book of the *Preparation for the Gospel*.

BOOK XII

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CHAPTER I

OUR twelfth Book of the *Preparation for the Gospel* will now from this point supply what was lacking in the preceding Book in proof of Plato's accordance with the Hebrew Oracles, like the harmony of a well-tuned lyre. We shall begin with a defence of our Faith, that is reviled among the multitude.

[PLATO] 'It would be another question therefore whether one is right or wrong in finding fault with the constitutions of Lacedaemon and Crete: perhaps, however, I should be better able than either of you to tell what most people say of them. For if your laws are even moderately well framed, one of the best of them must be a law allowing none of the young to inquire what is right or wrong in them, but bidding all with one Voice and one mouth to agree that everything is well settled by the appointment of the gods; and if any one says otherwise, they must not endure to listen to him at all. But if an old man observes any fault in your laws, he may discuss such subjects with a ruler and one of his own age, no young man being present.'

'What you enjoin, Stranger, is perfectly right.'

With good reason then the Hebrew Scriptures at an earlier time require faith before either the understanding or examination of the sacred writings, where it says, 'If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not understand,' and again, 'I believed, and therefore have I spoken.'

For which cause also among us those who are newly admitted and in an immature condition, as if infants in soul, have the reading of the sacred Scriptures imparted to them in a very simple way, with the injunction that they must believe what is brought forward as words of God. But those who are in a more advanced condition, and as it were grown grey in mind, are permitted to dive into the deeps, and test the meaning of the words: and these the Hebrews were wont to name 'Deuterotists,' as being interpreters and expounders of the meaning of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER II

[PLATO] 'IN the next place therefore we should say: It seems, Tyrtaeus, that you praise most highly those who distinguish themselves in foreign and external war. He would admit this, I suppose, and agree?

'Of course.

'But we say that, though these are brave, those are far braver who show their valour conspicuously in the greatest of all wars. And we too have a poet as witness on our side, Theognis, a citizen of Megara in Sicily, who says:

"Cyrnus, when factions rage, a faithful man
Is worth his weight in silver and in gold."

'Such a man then, we say, is very much braver than the other in a harder warfare, almost as much as justice and temperance and wisdom combined with valour are better than valour by itself alone. For a man would never be found faithful and true in civil wars without possessing all virtue. But there are very many mercenaries who are willing to die in war, standing firm and fighting, as Tyrtaeus says, the greater part of whom, with very few exceptions, are violent and unjust and insolent and the most senseless of mankind.

'To what conclusion then does our present argument lead? And what does it wish to make clear by these statements? Evidently this, that before all things both the heaven-sent lawgiver in this country, and every other of the least usefulness, will always enact his laws with a view chiefly to the greatest virtue: and this is, as Theognis says, faithfulness in dangers, which one might call perfect justice.'

Among us also the Word of salvation, joining wisdom with faith, commends the man who is adorned with both, saying, in His own words: 'Who then is the faithful and wise steward?' and again, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things.' Certainly in these passages He clearly shows that He approves not unreasoning faith, but that which is combined with the greatest virtues, such certainly being wisdom and goodness.

CHAPTER III

[PLATO] ‘FOR indeed it seems to me that in our former arguments we stated opportunely that the souls of the dead have a certain power after death, and take an interest in human affairs. There are tales treating of these matters, which are tedious though true: but on such subjects besides the other reports which we ought to believe, as being so many and so ancient, we must also believe the lawgivers who say that these things are true, unless they are shown to be utter fools.’

In the Book of the Maccabees also it is said that Jeremiah the Prophet after his departure from life was seen praying for the people, as one who took thought for men upon earth. And Plato also says that we ought to believe these stories.

CHAPTER IV

[PLATO] ‘THERE are two kinds of stories, the one true, and the other false?

‘Yes.

‘And we must instruct children in both, and in the false first?

‘I do not understand, said he, what you mean.

‘Do you not understand, said I, that what we first tell children is a fable?

And this, I suppose, is, generally speaking, fiction, though there is also some truth in it. And we use fables with children earlier than gymnastics.

‘That is true.’

So Plato writes. And among the Hebrews also it is the custom to teach the histories of the inspired Scriptures to those of infantine souls in a very simple way just like any fables, but to teach those of a trained mental habit the more profound and doctrinal views of the histories by means of the so-called Deuterosis and explanation of the thoughts that are unknown to the multitude.

CHAPTER V

[PLATO] ‘Do you not know then that the beginning is the chief part of every work, especially for any young and tender mind? For at that age any character that one wishes to impress on each is most easily formed and imparted.

‘Quite so.

‘Shall we then just carelessly permit our children to listen to casual fables (composed by casual persons), and to receive into their souls opinions for the most part opposite to those which, when they are grown up, we shall think they ought to hold?

‘We must by no means permit it.

‘In the first place then, it seems, we must supervise the writers of fables, and approve any good fable they may compose, and reject any that are not good. And we must persuade nurses and mothers to tell their children those which are approved, and to form their souls by the fables much more carefully than their bodies with their hands. But the greater number of the tales which they tell them now must be rejected.’

These precautions also had been taken by the Hebrews before Plato’s time. For those who had a divine spirit fit for discerning of spirits approved what was rightly said or written with help from the Holy Spirit, and the contrary they rejected, just as they rejected the words of the false prophets. Moreover it was the custom of parents and nurses to soothe their infant children by singing the most edifying narratives from the divine Scriptures, just like any fables, for the sake of preparing beforehand for the religion which they were to learn when approaching to manhood.

CHAPTER VI

[PLATO] 'LISTEN then, as they say, to a very pretty story, which you, I suppose, will regard as a myth, but I as a true story, for what I am going to say I shall tell you as being true.'

And after a little more:

'(There was a law) that he who had lived a just and holy life should depart after death to the Islands of the Blessed, and dwell in perfect happiness beyond the reach of all evils. But the man who had lived an unjust and ungodly life must go away to the prison-house of vengeance and punishment, which they call Tartarus.'

And again a little farther on:

'Next they must be stripped of all these wrappings and so tried, for their judgement must be after death. The judge also must be naked, that is to say, dead, examining by his very soul the very soul of each immediately after death, when it is bereft of all its kindred, and has left all that apparel behind on earth, in order that the judgement may be just.'

And afterwards he adds:

'This, Callicles, is what I have heard and believe to be true, and from these stories I gather the following conclusion: death, as it seems to me, is nothing else than the separation from each other of two things, the soul and the body.

'And after they are separated, each of them retains its own condition almost the same as it had when the man was alive, the body having its own nature and the results of its treatment and sufferings all plainly visible. For instance, if a man's body was large either by nature or by training or both while he was alive, his corpse also after death will be large; and if it was fat, it will be fat also after death, and so on.

'And again, if it was his custom to wear long hair, his corpse also will have long hair; or if a man was often whipped, and bore traces of the stripes in scars on his body either from scourges or from wounds of other kinds, when alive, his body after death may be seen to have these marks. Or if a man's limbs were broken or distorted during life, the same will be visible also after death. 'And in a word, whatever was a man's condition of body during life, the same conditions are also plainly visible after death, either all or most of them for a certain time.

This same then seems to me to be the case, Callicles, with reference to the soul also. When it is stript of the body, all things are visible in the soul, both its natural qualities, and the effects due to the habits of every kind which the man had contracted in his soul.

‘When therefore they have come before the judge, those from Asia before Rhadamanthus, he stops them, and examines the soul of each, without knowing whose it is; but often when he has laid hands on the Great King or some other king or potentate, he discerns that his soul has no sound part in it, but is scored with scourges, and full of scars from perjuries and injustice, of which each man’s deeds have left the print upon his soul, and all crooked from falsehood and imposture, with nothing straight, because it has been reared with no sense of truth: and from power, and luxury, and insolence, and intemperance of conduct he sees the soul full of deformity and ugliness; at sight of which he sends it off straight to prison in disgrace, where on its arrival it will have to endure its befitting punishments,

‘Now every man who is under punishment, if punished rightly by another, ought either to become better and profit by it, or to be made an example to the rest, that others, seeing the sufferings which he endures, may be brought by terror to amendment.

‘Those who receive benefit when they are punished by gods and men are they whose sins are remediable; but nevertheless it is by pain and suffering that they receive the benefit both here and in Hades, for in no other way is it possible to be delivered from iniquity.

‘But if any have been guilty of the worst crimes, and have become incurable by reason of such iniquities, of these the examples are made; and inasmuch as they are incurable, they can no longer receive any benefit themselves, but others are benefited, who see them enduring for ever the greatest and most painful and terrible sufferings for their sins, hung up there in the prison-house in Hades as signal examples, a spectacle and a warning to the wicked who from time to time arrive there. And if what Polus says is true, I foretell that Archelaus will be one of these, and every other tyrant who is like him.

‘I suppose that the majority of these examples have been taken from among tyrants and kings and potentates, and those who have managed the affairs of states; for these because of their power commit the greatest and most

impious crimes.

‘Homer too bears witness to this. For he has represented those who are suffering eternal punishment in Hades as kings and potentates, a Tantalus, and Sisyphus, and Tityus. But Thersites, or any other common villain, no poet has represented as involved in extreme punishments as being incurable: for, I suppose, he had not the power, and therefore was happier than those who had it. In fact, however, Callicles, the men who become excessively wicked are of the class who have power. Yet there is nothing to prevent good men from being found even among these; and those who are so found are very worthy of admiration. For it is a difficult thing, Callicles, and very praiseworthy for a man who has great power of doing wrong to live always a just life, and few there be of this kind. Some there have been both here and elsewhere, and I doubt not there will be others, endowed with this virtue of administering justly whatever may be entrusted to them; and one there has been very celebrated over all Greece, Aristides son of Lysimachus: yet for the most part, my good friend, men in power turn out bad.

As I was saying therefore, when Rhadamanthus gets hold of such a man, he knows nothing else about him, neither who he is, nor of what family, but only that he is a villain: and on seeing this, he sends him off to Tartarus, with a badge upon him to show whether he seems to be curable or incurable; and on arrival there he undergoes the treatment proper to his case.

‘But sometimes after looking upon another soul that has lived a holy life in company with truth, a private man’s or any other’s (most likely, I venture to say, Callicles, the soul of a philosopher who minded his own work and did not busy himself in affairs during his life), he is delighted and sends it off to the Islands of the Blessed.

‘Aeacus also does just the same, and each of these two sits in judgement with a rod in his hand. But Minos as superintending sits alone, and holds a golden sceptre, as Ulysses in Homer says that he saw him,

“Holding a sceptre of gold, as he utters the doom of the dead.”

‘For my part therefore, Callicles, I am convinced by these stories, and consider how I shall present my soul before the judge in the healthiest condition possible. So renouncing what most men deem honours, I shall try by really practising truth both to live the best life in my power, and so, when death comes, to die.

‘All other men also I exhort to the best of my ability. And you especially I in my turn invite to enter upon this mode of life and this conflict, which I declare to be worth all other conflicts here on earth.

‘And I make it a reproach to you that you will not be able to help yourself, when the trial and the judgement of which I was just now speaking come upon you. But on coming before that judge, the son of Aegina, when he lays hold of you and leads you forward, you will stand agape and turn dizzy there, just as much as I should here. And perhaps some one will smite you even to your shame upon the cheek, and will insult you in every way.

‘Perhaps, however, this appears to you a fable, like an old wife’s tale, and so you despise it. And there would be nothing strange in despising it, if by any searching we could find something better and truer.

‘But as it is you see that though there are three of you, who are the wisest of the Greeks of the present time, yourself and Polus and Gorgias, you are not able to show that we ought to live any other life than this, which appears to be of advantage in the other world as well. But amid so many arguments, while all the rest were refuted, this alone remains unshaken, that to do wrong is to be more carefully avoided than to suffer wrong, and above all a man must study not to *seem* but to *be* good, both in private and in public life.’

So then Plato supposed that Aeacus and Minos and Rhadamanthus would be judges of the dead: but the word of God protests that ‘all must appear before the judgement-seat of God; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad.’

And again it says, ‘In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men, . . . who will render to every man according to his works: to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, there shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; . . . for there is no difference.’

CHAPTER VII

[PLATO] ‘TAKE care, however, that these things come not to the knowledge of uneducated men: for there are, I think, hardly any tales more ridiculous than these to the multitude, nor on the other hand any more admirable and inspiring to the well disposed. But though often repeated and constantly heard even for many years, they, like gold, hardly become thoroughly purified with much careful treatment.’

Among us also the Word of salvation says:

‘Give not that which is holy to the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine.’ And again, ‘For the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him.’

CHAPTER VIII

[PLATO] 'AND indeed (I call it folly) also in the individual, when good reasons that are present in his soul produce no good effect, but what is quite contrary to them. All these I should class as the worst kinds of ignorance both in a state and in each individual citizen, and not the ignorance of the craftsmen, if you understand, Strangers, what I mean.

'Yes, we understand, friend, and admit what you say.

'Let this then be thus laid down as agreed on and stated, that nothing connected with government must be entrusted to those citizens who are ignorant of these things, and they must be reproached for ignorance, even though they may be very clever in argument and thoroughly trained in all accomplishments, and all that naturally tends to quickness of understanding: while those who are of the opposite character to them must be called wise, even though, according to the proverb, they know neither how to read nor how to swim; and offices of authority must be given to them as sensible men.

'For, my friends, how can there be even the smallest kind of wisdom without harmony? It is not possible. But the finest and greatest of harmonies may most justly be called the greatest wisdom; and of this that man partakes who lives according to reason, whereas he who lacks wisdom is the ruin of his family, and by no means a saviour to the state, but on the contrary he will on every occasion be found ignorant in such affairs.'

Let this suffice for my quotation from the *Laws*, But in the *Statesman* also the same author speaks as follows on the subject of not being at all anxious about names and phrases:

'Very good, Socrates; and if you continue to guard against being anxious on account of names, you will turn out to be richer in wisdom in your old age.'

CHAPTER IX

THE Hebrew Scripture introduces Moses at first as deprecating the leadership of the people by what he said to Him who conversed with him, 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, appoint some other that is able, whom Thou shalt send' : and afterwards it represents Saul as hiding himself to avoid assuming the kingdom, and the prophet Jeremiah as humbly deprecating his mission. Now hear how Plato also confirms the reasonableness of declining office, speaking as follows:

[PLATO] 'This then, O Thrasymachus, is now clear, that no art nor government provides for its own benefit, but as I said before, both provides and enjoins what is profitable to the governed, having regard to his advantage though he is the weaker, and not to that of the stronger.

'It was for these reasons then, my dear Thrasymachus, that I said just now that no one is ready to accept office of his own free will, and take in hand other people's troubles to set right, but all demand a recompense, because he who intends to do justice to his art never practises nor enjoins what is best for himself, if he follows the rules of art, but what is best for the governed. For which reasons, as it seems, there must be a payment for those who are expected to be willing to take office, either money, or honour, or a penalty if he refuse.'

CHAPTER X

WHEREAS the oracles of the Hebrews teach that their prophets and righteous men bravely endured the most extreme insults and outrages and every kind of danger, you may learn the agreement of Plato's opinion on this point also from these words of his, which he has set down in the second Book of the *Republic*:

[PLATO] 'Such then being our representation of the unjust man, let us now in our argument set the just man beside him "in his nobleness and simplicity," a man, as Aeschylus says:

"Whose will is not to seem good, but to be."

'We must take away the seeming. For if he is to seem just, he will have honours and rewards for seeming to be so: and then it will be uncertain whether he is just for the sake of justice, or for the sake of the rewards and honours.

'We must strip him then of everything except justice, and make his condition the reverse of the former. Though never doing wrong, he must have the reputation of the worst wrongdoing, that his justice may be strictly tested by his being proof against infamy, and its consequences: and he must be immovably steadfast even unto death, being in reality just but "with a life-long reputation for injustice."' "

And soon after he adds:

'Let me therefore describe it; and so, Socrates, if my speech be somewhat coarse, imagine the speaker to be not me, but those who praise injustice above justice. And they will tell you as follows, that in these circumstances the just man will be scourged, racked, fettered, will have both eyes torn out, and at last after suffering every kind of torture he will be crucified, and will learn that a man should wish not to be, but to seem, just.'

Such is Plato's description in words, but the righteous men and prophets among the Hebrews are recorded long before to have suffered in deed all that he describes. For though most just, yet as if the most unjust, 'they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were slain with the sword, they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented,... wandering in deserts, and mountains, and caves, and the holes of the earth, of whom the world was not worthy.'

The Apostles also of our Saviour, though following the highest path of

justice and piety, were by the multitude involved in the reputation of injustice, and what they suffered we may learn from themselves when they say, 'We are made a spectacle unto the world, both to angels and to men . . . And even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place: . . . being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being defamed, we intreat: we are made as the filth of the world.'

Nay, even unto this present time the noble witnesses of our Saviour throughout all man's habitable world, while exercising themselves 'not to seem but to be' both just and pious, have endured all the sufferings which Plato enumerated: for they were both scourged, and endured bonds and racks, and even had their eyes torn out, and at last after suffering all terrible tortures they were crucified. None like them will you find by any searching among the Greeks, so that one may naturally say that the philosopher did no less than prophesy in these words concerning those who among us were distinguished in piety and true righteousness.

CHAPTER XI

As Moses in some mystic words says that in the beginning of the constitution of the world there had been a certain Paradise of God, and that therein man had been deceived by the serpent through the woman, hear now what Plato, all but directly translating the words, and on his part also speaking allegorically, has set down in the *Symposium*. Instead of the Paradise of God he called it the garden of Zeus, and instead of the serpent and the deception wrought by it he supposed Penia (*Poverty*) to lay the plot, and instead of the first man, whom the counsel and providence of God had set forth as it were for His new-born son, he spake of a son of Metis (*Counsel*) called Poros (*Plenty*), and instead of saying 'when this world was being constituted,' he said 'when Aphrodite was born,' speaking in this allegorical way of the world, because of the beauty with which it is clothed. He speaks, however, word for word as follows:

[PLATO] 'When Aphrodite was born, the gods were holding a feast, and among the rest was Poros the son of Metis. And after dinner, Penia, as there was a feast, came to beg and stood about the doors. So Poros being drunk with nectar, for there was no wine as yet, went into the garden of Zeus, where he was weighed down with sleep. So then Penia, to relieve her destitution, plotted to get a child by Poros, and lay down beside him, and conceived Eros.'

Such then were the thoughts which in this passage also Plato obscurely hinted in imitation of Moses.

CHAPTER XII

AGAIN Moses had said, ‘But for Adam there was not found an help meet for him. And God caused a trance to fall upon Adam, and cast him into a sleep, and He took one of his ribs, and filled up the flesh instead thereof. And the Lord God builded the rib, which He had taken from Adam, into a woman.’

Plato, though he did not understand in what sense the story is told, was evidently not ignorant of it. But he assigns it to Aristophanes, as a comedian accustomed to scoff even at holy things, introducing him in the *Symposium* as speaking thus:

‘Now you must first become acquainted with human nature and its affections. For our original nature of old was not the same as now, but of a different kind. In the first place the sexes of mankind were three, not two as now, male and female, but there was also a third combining them both, of which the name remains now, but the thing itself has disappeared. For Hermaphrodite was then both a real form and a name combined of both, the male and the female.’

Then after his usual sarcasms, he adds:

‘After this speech his Zeus proceeded to cut the men in two, like those who cut sorb-apples for pickling, or eggs with hairs. And of each whom he cut he bade Apollo turn round the face and half of the neck towards the cutting, that by contemplating the section of himself the man might be more obedient to order: he also bade him heal the other parts.’

CHAPTER XIII

MOSES described the original life of the earth-born as having been spent in the Paradise of God, and God as guiding them in a course of life without money or possessions, and all things as growing up for them without sowing or ploughing, and themselves as bare of the clothing afterwards adopted: and now listen to the philosopher all but translating these very statements into the Greek language. He says then:

[PLATO] ‘God Himself was their shepherd and guardian, just as now man being another animal of more divine nature tends other kinds inferior to himself. And while God was their ruler, there were no states, nor any possessions of wives and children; for they all sprang up out of the earth into a new life with no remembrance of their former state: and there were no things of this present kind, but they had fruits in abundance both from trees and many various plants, not growing from cultivation, but sent up spontaneously by the earth. They dwelt for the most part in the open air, without clothes and without bedding; for their seasons were so tempered as to cause them no trouble, and they had soft couches, where grass sprang up in abundance out of the earth. The life of which I speak, Socrates, was that of the age of Kronos: but the present life, which is said to be in the reign of Zeus, you know by your own experience.’

CHAPTER XIV

AGAIN as Moses has recorded that ‘the serpent was more subtle than all the beasts,’ and how the serpent talked to the woman and the woman to the serpent, and has set forth the persuasions used by the serpent, now listen to what Plato writes:

[PLATO] ‘If therefore the children of Kronos, with so much leisure and ability to hold intercourse by words not only with men but with beasts also, used all these advantages with a view to philosophy, conversing with the beasts as well as with one another, and inquiring from every nature which by the possession of any special faculty discerned anything different from the rest to add to the store of wisdom, it is easy to decide that the men of that age were ten thousand times better than the present in respect of happiness. ‘But if filling themselves to the full with meat and drink they discoursed to one another and to the beasts of fables such as now are told of themselves, this also, just simply to declare my own opinion, is very easy to decide. Nevertheless let us leave these questions, until there appear some informer competent to tell us in which way the men of that age were inclined in regard to knowledge and the use of language.’

CHAPTER XV

WHEN Moses had laid down a plan of legislating for men, he thought that he must have in his preface an account of ancient times: and he makes mention of the Flood, and of the subsequent life of mankind, and then he describes the social life of the men of old among the Hebrews who were friends of God, and also of those who were proved otherwise in offences, because he considered that the narration of these things would be a parallel to his legislation.

And in like manner Plato also, when he proceeds to write down laws, affects the same method with Moses. In the preface, for instance, of the *Laws*, he has made use of his account of ancient times, making mention of a flood, and of the mode of life after the flood. Listen at least to what he says at the beginning of the third Book of the *Laws*:

‘Do you think then that there is any truth in the ancient traditions?’

‘What traditions?’

‘That mankind has often been destroyed by floods and diseases and many other calamities, in which only some small portion of the human race was left.

‘Certainly every one thinks all this very probable.

‘Come then, let us consider one of the many destructions, namely this which was caused by the flood.

‘What point are we to observe in regard to it?’

‘That those who escaped the destruction at that time would be chiefly mountain-shepherds, small sparks of the human race preserved on the hill-tops.

‘Evidently.

‘Moreover such men must necessarily be unacquainted both with other arts and especially with the devices of men in towns against each other with regard to selfish advantage and rivalry, and all other evil deeds which they contrive one against another.

‘Certainly it is probable.

‘Let us suppose then that the cities settled on the plains and by the sea were utterly destroyed at that time.

‘Suppose so.

‘Must we not say then that all implements were lost, and every excellent

invention connected with art, whether of political or any other kind of wisdom, must all have perished at that time?’

And further on he says:

‘Let us say then that, at the time when the destruction had just taken place, the condition of mankind was this, a boundless and fearful desolation, and a very great expanse of fertile land.’

After these and other such statements, he goes on to describe the lives of mankind after the flood, and then, just as Moses appends to the history after the flood the civil state of the godly Hebrews of old, in like manner Plato also, next to the lives of those who followed the flood, tries to describe the ancient times of Greek history, as Moses does of the Hebrews, mentioning the Trojan war, and the first constitution of Lacedaemon, and the Persians, and those who had lived among these events whether well or ill: and then after the narration of these things he begins his arrangement of the laws, following Moses in this also.

CHAPTER XVI

MOSES made all his legislation and the constitution of his state dependent on piety towards the God of the universe, and inaugurated his legislation with the Creator of all, and then taught that from the good that is divine proceeds all good for man, and referred the divine to the ruling mind of the world, that is the very God of all. Now see how our philosopher also, treading in the same steps, finds fault with the lawgivers of the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, and teaches throughout the law approved by Moses, speaking as follows:

[PLATO] ‘May I then explain how I should have liked to hear you define the matter further?’

‘By all means, Stranger.

‘You ought to have spoken thus: It is not without reason that the laws of the Cretans are especially celebrated among all the Greeks: for they are rightly framed in that they render those who use them happy; for they provide all good things for them.

‘Now goods are of two kinds: some human, and some divine; and the former are dependent on the divine; and if a city accept the greater, it gains the less also; but otherwise, it is deprived of both. Now there are first the lesser goods, of which the chief is health, and beauty second, and the third strength of body for running and all other movements, and wealth fourth, not blind but keen-sighted wealth, if it accompany wisdom.

‘For this indeed is the first and chief of divine goods, wisdom I mean, and next a temperate habit of soul joined with intelligence, and from these combined with courage a third good would be justice, and a fourth courage. Now all these are by nature set in higher rank than those bodily goods, and the lawgiver too must give them this rank.

‘And next he must direct that all the other ordinances for his citizens are to be regarded by them as looking towards these goods, and among these the human to look to the divine, and all the divine to the ruling mind.

‘With regard also to mutual contracts of marriage, and then in the procreation and nurture of children, both male and female, he must take care of his citizens in youth and maturer years even till old age, duly awarding honour or disgrace, and after having observed and watched over their pains and pleasures and desires in all these kinds of intercourse, and their pursuit of

love of all kinds, he must rightly distribute praise or blame by means of the laws themselves.'

Also a little afterwards he says:

'After careful observation the legislator will appoint guardians over all these matters, some guiding their course by wisdom, and some by true opinion, so. that intelligence may bind all these ordinances together and render them, subservient to temperance and justice, not to wealth or ambition.

'It is in this way that I, O Strangers, should have wished, and still do wish you to describe how in the so-called laws of Zeus, and those of the Pythian Apollo, which Minos and Lycurgus enacted, all these provisions are contained, and what orderly arrangement in them is discernible to one who by skill and habits has experience about laws, although to the rest of us this is by no means clear.'

Among us also it is said, 'Seek ye first the kingdom (of God) and (His) righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.' But long before this Moses also having commenced with the doctrine concerning God, and having next adapted to it his constitution of the state, and the rules about contracts, and the customs of social life, appoints as rulers and guardians over them all those who are consecrated to God, as the scriptures also teach, just men, haters of arrogance, 'some guiding their course by wisdom and some by true opinion.'

CHAPTER XVII

[PLATO] ‘I TELL you then; and I affirm that the man who is to excel in anything must practise that very thing from his earliest youth, both in sport and in earnest, in every particular pertaining to the subject. Take for instance, the man who is to be a good husbandman or a builder of some kind; the one must play at building children’s houses, and the other at tilling the ground, and he who brings up either of them must provide small copies of the real tools for him; and whatever branches of knowledge must be learnt beforehand they must begin to learn; the carpenter for instance must learn to measure by rule or line, and the soldier to play at riding or some other such exercise; and by their sports the teacher must try to turn the children’s pleasures and desires to the point which they must reach to attain their end in life.

‘The chief point then in education, we say, is the right “training in the nursery,” which will best lead the soul of the child in his play to the love of that, in which, when he has become a man, he will need to be perfect in the excellence of his work.’

This also Moses had previously enacted, saying, ‘And these words, which I command thee this, day, shall be in thy heart and in thy soul, and thou shalt enforce them upon thy sons.’ This the Hebrews are accustomed to do, training up all their young children from a tender age in the precepts of religion: and this is zealously practised to the present time in accordance with an ancestral custom in the Jewish nation.

CHAPTER XVIII

[PLATO] 'LET not therefore that which we call education be indefinite. For at present when we blame, or praise the mode in which each has been brought up we speak of one of us as educated, and another as uneducated, although sometimes they are men extremely well educated for retail trade or a ship-master's life or any other such calling. For in our present discourse, as it seems, we do not regard this as education, but that training to virtue from childhood, which makes a man desire and long to become a perfect citizen, knowing how to rule and to obey with justice.

'This is the training which, as it seems to me, our present mode of speaking designates, and which alone it would allow us to call education; but that which aims at wealth or at strength or even at any kind of cleverness apart from intelligence and justice (it deems) mechanic and illiberal and not worthy to be called education at all.

'Let us then have no difference with them about a name, but let the present mode of speaking continue as agreed on between us, namely that those who have been rightly educated generally become good men. And so we must never disparage education, as it is of all noblest things the first that comes to the best of men: and if ever it transgresses, but may possibly be reformed, that is what every man should do to the utmost of his power throughout life.'

Also in the second Book of the *Laws* he adds: 'By education then I mean the virtue that comes first to children, that is, if pleasure and friendship and pain and hatred are rightly engendered in their souls when as yet they are incapable of reason, and, when they have attained to reason, agree with their reason that they have been rightly trained by suitable habits. This harmonious agreement is virtue as a whole, but the part of it due to right training in regard to pleasures and pains, so as to hate what one ought to hate, from the very beginning unto the end, and to love what one ought to love, if you cut off just this part by your argument and call it education, according to my judgement you would use the name rightly.'

So speaks Plato. But he is anticipated by David in the Psalms, when in teaching us 'to hate what we ought to hate, and love what we ought to love' he speaks as follows: 'Come, ye children, hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and would fain see

good days? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips that they speak no guile. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it.'

Solomon too says in like manner: 'Hear, ye children, the instruction of a father. For I give you a good gift: forget not my laws.' And again: 'Get wisdom, get understanding; forget it not.' And: 'Say that wisdom is thy sister; and gain understanding for thy familiar friend.' Again: 'Enter not upon the paths of the ungodly, and envy not the ways of transgressors.' And numberless other such, passages you will find in the Hebrew Scriptures, fitted for teaching the acquisition of piety and virtue, and suited alike to the young and to those of full age.

CHAPTER XIX

THE answer of God said to Moses: 'See, thou make all things after the pattern which was shown to thee in the mount.' And the sacred word stated more plainly, 'Who served a copy and shadow of the heavenly things;' and taught that the symbols in the writings of Moses plainly contain an image of the more divine realities in the intelligible world. Now then listen how Plato also gives similar interpretations in the sixth Book of the *Republic*, writing as follows;

[PLATO] 'The philosopher then by communing with God and with the order of the world becomes both orderly and divine, as far as is possible to man: slander however is rife in all things.

'In all indeed.

'If therefore, said I, it ever becomes necessary for him to study how to introduce what he sees in yonder world into the habits of mankind both in private and in public life, and so to mould others as well as himself, do you think that he will be found a bad artificer of temperance and justice and civic virtue in general?

'Certainly not, said he.

'But then if the multitude understand that what we say about him is true, will they be angry with the philosophers? And will they disbelieve us when we say that a State can never be prosperous, unless it be planned by artists who follow the divine pattern?

'They will not be angry, said he, if they understand it. But now what kind of plan do you mean?

'They would take, said I, a State and the moral nature of man for a tablet, and first of all would make a clean board, which is not at all an easy matter. You know, however, that the philosophers would differ at once from other men on this point, that they would be unwilling to touch either individual or State, or to frame laws, before they had either received a clean board, or themselves had made it so,

'Yes, and rightly, said he.

'Next then do you not think they would sketch out the plan of the constitution?

'Of course.

‘Then, I suppose, in working it out, they would frequently look to this side and to that, both to what is essentially just and beautiful and temperate and everything of that kind, and then to the other side, to what is found in men, and would put upon their tablet the likeness of a man by making a combination and mixture of the various ways of life, and taking their design from that which, when embodied in man, Homer called the form and likeness of God.

‘Rightly, said he.

‘And one feature, I suppose, they would wipe out, and paint in another, until they made the human characters as pleasing as possible to God.’

CHAPTER XX

[PLATO] 'IT seems to me that for the third or fourth time our argument has been brought round to the same point, namely that education is the drawing and leading of children to that which has been declared by the law to be right reason, and which has been approved by the best and eldest men from experience to be truly right.

'In order therefore that the soul of the child may not be accustomed in its joys and sorrows to go contrary to the law and to the rules laid down by the law, but may comply with it by rejoicing and sorrowing at the same things as the old man, —— for this purpose, let these, which we call songs, be now in reality charms for the soul, seriously designed with a view to harmony such as we speak of; but because the souls of the young are unable to bear seriousness, let them be called and treated as plays and songs, just as those who are in charge try to offer to the sick and enfeebled in body the nutriment that is good for them in some kinds of pleasant food and drink, but that which is unwholesome in unpleasant things, in order that they may like the one, and be rightly trained to dislike the other.

'And in the same way the good lawgiver will persuade, and, failing to persuade, will compel the poet rightly to represent by noble and praiseworthy language both the gestures in his rhythms and the music in his harmonies of the temperate and brave and thoroughly good men.'

With good reason then among us also the children are trained to practise the songs made by divine prophets and hymns addressed to God.

CHAPTER XXI

[PLATO] 'You compel your poets to say that the good man, as being temperate and just, is happy and blessed, whether he be tall and strong, or small and weak, and whether he be rich or poor: but if he should perchance

"Midas and Cinyras in wealth surpass,"

and be unjust, he would be miserable and live a wretched life.

'Also your poet, if he speaks rightly, says,

"Ne'er would I praise, nor count for aught, a man"

who did not combine justice with the practice and attainment of all things accounted honourable; and, being a just man,

"Close should he stand and strive to reach the foe:"

but if unjust he should

"Not dare to look on battle's bloody death,

Nor outstrip Thracian Boreas in the race,"

nor ever have any other of the so-called good things, for the things called good by the many have no right to the name.

'For health is called the best, and beauty the second, and wealth the third; and numberless other things are called good, such as quick sight and hearing, and the sensitive and sound condition of all organs connected with the senses, and again to be a tyrant and do whatever one likes, and then it is said the consummation of all blessedness is to have acquired all these things and then come to be immortal as soon as possible.

'But you and I say this, I suppose, that to just and holy men these are all excellent possessions, but to the unjust great evils all of them, beginning with health. For indeed to have sight and hearing and sensation and to live at all are the greatest of evils for a man who possesses all the so-called goods without justice and virtue in general if he is to be immortal for ever, but a less evil if such a one survive as short a time as possible.

'These then are the things which I suppose you will persuade and compel your poets to say, as I do, and also by making their rhythms and harmonies correspond thereto, so to train your youths. Do you not see? For I say plainly that evil things so-called are to the unjust good, but evil to the just: and good things to the good are really good, but evil to the evil. As I was asking then

before, do you and I agree, or how say you?’

These thoughts are not much unlike David’s Psalms, which he had previously composed by divine inspiration, teaching by songs and hymns who is the truly blessed man, and who the contrary. This, at least, is the thought with which his Book begins, where he says: ‘Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,’ and so on. This is what Plato has altered when he declares that the poets ought to say, ‘that the good man being temperate and just is happy and blessed, and if a man be rich but unjust, he is miserable.’

And the very same thought David again expressed thus in the Psalms, saying: ‘If riches abound, set not your heart upon them.’ And again: ‘Be not thou afraid when a man is made rich, and when the glory of his house is increased.’ And at your leisure you may find each of the philosopher’s sayings stated word for word throughout the whole sacred writing of the Psalms.

CHAPTER XXII

[PLATO] ‘NAY rather, how surpassingly worthy of a lawgiver and a statesman. But other things there you would find to be less worthy: this point, however, about music is both true and worthy of consideration, that it was possible, as it seems, on such subjects for a man of firm courage to get songs established by law which naturally produce right conduct. But this will be work for a god or some godlike man.’

With good reason therefore it had been enacted among the Hebrews also that they should admit no other hymns and songs in religious instructions than those which had been made under the influence of the Divine Spirit by men of God and prophets, and the music corresponding to these sung in the manner customary among them.

CHAPTER XXIII

[PLATO] 'So far I myself agree with the multitude, that music must be judged by pleasure, not however by the pleasure of chance persons, but that the best music generally is that which gives delight to the best persons who are well educated, and especially that which delights the one man pre-eminent both in virtue and education.

'And the reason why I say that the judges of this matter must be virtuous is this, that they ought to be endowed with wisdom in general, and especially with courage.

'For the true judge ought not to judge by what he learns from the theatre, when driven out of his senses by the tumult of the multitude and his own ignorance; nor if, on the other hand, he knows right, ought he through unmanliness and cowardice carelessly to deliver a false judgement out of the same mouth with which he invoked the gods before proceeding to give judgement. For the judge sits there not as the learner but rather, according to right, as the teacher of the spectators, and to oppose those who neither properly nor rightly give pleasure to the spectators.'

Among the Hebrews also in old times it was not the part of the multitude to judge the discourses pronounced from divine inspiration, and the inspired songs, but they were few and rare persons, themselves partakers of a divine spirit, fit to judge of what was said, who alone were permitted to approve and consecrate the books of the prophets, and to reject those of men unlike them in character.

CHAPTER XXIV

[PLATO] ‘Now the original purpose of my argument, to exhibit in becoming language the aid that should be given to the Chorus of Dionysus, has been stated to the best of my power. Let us then consider whether this has been rightly done. I suppose that an assembly of this kind necessarily ends by becoming ever more tumultuous as the drinking goes on, just what we supposed at the outset must necessarily occur in the circumstances now under discussion.

‘Necessarily.

‘Yes, and every man is lifted with lighter heart above himself, and is gladdened, and grows full of loud confidence, and of unwillingness in such a state to listen to his neighbours, and claims to be competent to govern both himself and every one else.

‘Certainly.

‘Did we not say then that in these circumstances the souls of the drinkers, becoming like iron heated in the fire, grow softer and younger, so as to be found tractable by one who has both the knowledge and the power to train and mould them just as when they were young? And that this modeller is the same as in their youth, namely the good legislator, who must make laws for the banquet, able to give an entirely opposite turn to the will of the man who is growing confident and bold and impudent beyond bounds, and refuses to submit to order and to his turn of silence, and speech, and drinking, and singing; laws able also justly to inspire that noblest fear, which stoutly resists the entrance of unbecoming boldness, that divine fear to which we have given the names of reverence and shame?

‘That is true.

‘We said too that the quiet and sober must be guardians of these laws and aid their operation.’

With good reason therefore it has been made a traditional custom for us also in our feasts to sing songs and hymns composed in honour of God, the proper order being under the charge of those who are guardians among us.

CHAPTER XXV

[PLATO] 'IF, as a serious matter, any city means to practise the custom now mentioned in a lawful and orderly fashion, as taking anxious care for the sake of temperance, and in like manner and for the same reason will not hold aloof from other pleasures, but form plans for the sake of controlling them, in this way they may all be used: but if it is to be for sport, and with permission for any one to drink who will, and whenever he will, and with whomsoever he will, with the accompaniment of whatever other customs he will, I should never join in the vote, that this city or this man ought ever to indulge in drinking; but going even farther than the usage of the Cretans and Lacedaemonians I should vote for the law of the Carthaginians, that no one when in camp should ever taste wine, but accustom himself to water-drinking the whole time; and that in any city neither male nor female slave should ever taste wine, nor magistrates during the year in which they may be in office, nor again should pilots or judges while on duty taste wine at all, nor any one who is coming to deliberate in any important council, nor any one at all in the daytime, unless on account of bodily training or sickness; nor again at night, when any one whether man or woman thinks of getting children. One might also mention many other reasons, why those who hold to reason and law should not drink wine, so that on this principle no city whatever would have need of many vineyards, but the other forms of husbandry and the whole mode of life would be duly regulated.'

Moses also anticipates this by enacting that the priests must not taste wine at the time of their religious service, saying: 'And the Lord spake to Aaron, saying, Ye shall drink no wine nor strong drink, thou and thy sons with thee, whenever ye go into the tent of the testimony, or when ye approach to the altar, so shall ye not die: a statute for ever throughout your generations.' The same author also gives a law to those who make a vow, saying: 'Whosoever, whether man or woman, shall make a special vow of self-dedication to purity unto the Lord, he shall separate himself from wine and strong drink, and vinegar of wine and vinegar of strong drink shall he not drink.' Solomon too forbids the use of wine to rulers and judges, saying: 'Do all things with deliberation; drink wine with deliberation: princes are passionate, let them not drink wine, lest they drink and forget wisdom... and troubles.' The apostle

also gives permission to Timothy on account of sicknesses, saying: ‘Use a little wine for thy stomach’s sake and thine often infirmities.’

CHAPTER XXVI

[PLATO] 'IF therefore there has either been in the boundless ages of the past, or is even now in some barbarous region lying far away out of our sight, or shall hereafter be a necessity for men eminent in philosophy to take charge of a State, I am ready to argue to the death in defence of this assertion, that the constitution which I have described has existed, and still exists, and will exist, whenever the Muse herself becomes mistress of the State: for it is not impossible that she should become mistress, nor are my descriptions impossible.'

CHAPTER XXVII

[PLATO] 'But how for a man in relation to himself? Must he be disposed as an enemy towards an enemy, or what do we say in this case?

'O Athenian stranger, Attic I should not like to call you, since you seem to me worthy rather to be called after the name of the goddess, because you have made the argument clearer by rightly bringing it back to its first principle, so that you will more easily recognize that we were quite right just now in saying that all men are enemies to all, both in public and in private, and every one an enemy to himself.

'What do you mean, my good sir?

'In this last case also, my friend, a man's conquest over himself is the first and noblest of all victories, but to be defeated by himself is at once the basest and worst defeat of all. For this is a sign that there is a war against ourselves going on in every one of us.'

And after other passages he adds to this and says:

'Must we not then reckon each of ourselves as one?

'Yes.

'But as possessing in himself two counsellors, antagonistic and foolish, which we call pleasure and pain?

'That is true.

'And in addition to both these certain opinions of things future, which in common are called expectation, but severally the expectation of pain is called fear, and the expectation of the contrary is confidence. And further with all these there is a calculation, which of them is better or worse, and when this calculation has become a common decree of a State it is called law.'

And presently he says:

'But this we know, that these affections in us are like cords and strings which pull us inwardly, and being opposite to each other draw us different ways towards opposite actions; and herein lies the distinction between virtue and vice. For reason affirms that there is one of these drawings to which every man ought always to yield, and never let it go, but pull against the other cords; and that this one is the golden and sacred guidance of reason, called the public law of the State; and that others are hard and of iron, but this one soft, as being of gold (and of one form), while the others are like all kinds of forms.

We ought therefore always to take part with the best guidance, that of the law. For inasmuch as reason is beautiful and gentle and not violent, its guidance needs assistants, in order that in us the golden kind of motive may prevail over the other kinds.

‘And so in this way the fable about virtue, speaking of us as being puppets, would be maintained, and the meaning of the expression about a man being “better or worse than himself” would in a certain way be made clearer; and that in regard to a State or an individual, the latter having found in his own case a true principle with regard to this drawing by cords should live in obedience to it, and a State, having learned the principle either from some god or from this very individual thus informed, should establish it as a law for dealing both with herself and with all other states. Thus vice and virtue would be more clearly distinguished for us.’

Among us also the word of God teaches the like doctrines, saying: ‘I delight in the law of God after the inward man, but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind.’ And again: ‘Their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them.’ And other passages which are similar to these.

CHAPTER XXVIII

[PLATO] ‘We remember, however, that in the former part of our discussion we agreed that, if the soul should be found to be older than the body, the properties also of the soul would be older than those of the body.

‘Yes, certainly.

‘Then tempers, and dispositions, and wishes, and reasonings, and true opinions, and meditations, and remembrances must have been prior to length and breadth and thickness and strength of bodies, if soul is prior to body.

‘Necessarily.

‘Must we not then necessarily grant what follows immediately from this, that the soul is the cause of all that is good and evil, and noble and base, and just and unjust, and of all opposites, if we suppose her to be the cause of all things?’

Let these quotations suffice from the tenth Book of the *Laws*. Now with these Moses frequently agrees in his laws, saying: ‘And if a soul sin and commit a transgression,’ and all other passages expressed by him in like manner to this.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE Hebrew Scripture says of the earnest philosopher: 'It is good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth: he will sit alone, and keep silence, because he hath taken it upon him:' and of the prophets beloved by God, that they passed their lives in deserts, and mountains, and caves, for the sake of attaining the height of philosophy, fixing their thought upon God alone; and now hear Plato, how he too makes this mode of life divine, giving the following description of one who aspires to the height of philosophy:

[PLATO] 'We are to speak then, it seems, since this is your pleasure, of the leaders: for why should one talk about those who spend their time to bad purpose in philosophy? But these leaders, I suppose, in the first place from their youth up have never known the way to the Agora, nor where the court of justice is, or the council-chamber, or any other public assembly of the State: and laws and decrees, whether read or written, they neither see nor hear. The strivings of political clubs to gain offices, and meetings and banquets and revellings with flute-girls, are practices which do not occur to them even in dreams.

'And what has happened well or ill in the city, or what evil has come to any one from his ancestors male or female, is less known to him than, as the proverb says, the number of gallons in the sea. And as to all these things he knows not even that he does not know them, for he does not abstain from them for the sake of gaining reputation; but in fact it is only his body that has its place and home in the city, but his mind esteeming all these things as little or nothing, disdains them and is "flying all abroad," as Pindar says, measuring both the things beneath the earth and on its surface, and studying the stars above the sky, and scrutinizing in all ways the whole nature of existing things each as a universal, but not condescending to anything close at hand.

'How do you mean this, Socrates?

'Just as, when Thales was star-gazing, Theodorus, and looking upward fell into a well, a clever and witty Thracian handmaid is said to have made a jest upon him, that he was eager to know about things in heaven, but took no notice of what was before his face and at his feet.

'And the same jest holds good against all who pass their lives in

philosophy. For in fact a man of this kind knows nothing of his nearest neighbour, not merely as to what he is doing, but hardly even knows whether he is a man or some other kind of animal. But what man is as man, and what is becoming to such a nature to do or to suffer different from all others, this he is investigating, and takes much trouble in searching it out. You understand, I suppose, Theodorus, do you not?

‘Yes, I do, and what you say is true.

‘Therefore, my friend, the man of this character both in his private intercourse with every one, and in public life, as I said at first, whenever he is compelled either in a law-court or anywhere else to talk about the things at his feet and before his eyes, becomes a laughing-stock not only to Thracian girls but also to the rest of the rabble, by falling into wells and every kind of trouble from want of experience: and his awkwardness is shocking and makes him seem no better than a fool.

‘For when scandal is going on he has nothing personal wherewith to reproach anybody, inasmuch as he knows no harm of any one from having paid no attention to it: so he appears ridiculous in his perplexity. And amidst the praises and loud boastings of others it is evident that he is laughing not in pretence but in reality, and so he is thought to be silly.

‘For when either a tyrant or a king is eulogized, he fancies that it is some kind of herdsman, as a swineherd, or a shepherd, or cowherd that he hears congratulated for drawing much milk; but he supposes that they have a more ill-tempered and more treacherous animal than those to tend and to milk.

‘He supposes also that a man in this position must become from want of leisure no less boorish and uneducated than the herdsmen, being shut in by his citywall as by a fold on the mountain. And when he hears how some one or other, possessing ten thousand plethra of land or yet more, possesses a wonderful amount, he thinks that what he hears of is very little, being accustomed to look at the earth as a whole.

‘And when men sing the praises of family, saying that some man of birth can show seven wealthy ancestors, he regards the commendation as that of very dull and short-sighted persons, who from want of education cannot look always to the whole, nor calculate that every man has had countless myriads of ancestors and forefathers, among whom any man whatever has had many times over thousands and thousands of rich and poor, and kings and slaves,

barbarians and Greeks: but when men pride themselves upon a pedigree of five and twenty ancestors, or trace back to Hercules son of Amphitryon, their narrow-mindedness seems to him extraordinary, and he laughs at their being unable to calculate that the twenty-fifth upwards from Amphitryon, and the fiftieth from him, was such as fortune made him, and so to shake off the vanity of an unintelligent soul.

‘In all these matters then such a philosopher is derided by the multitude, on the one hand as seeming to be arrogant, and on the other as ignorant of what is before his feet, and at a loss on every occasion.

‘You state exactly what takes place, Socrates.

‘But when the philosopher himself, O my friend, draws a man upwards, and the other is willing to escape with him from the question, “In what do I wrong you, or, you me,” into the contemplation of abstract justice and injustice, and what is the essence of each of them, and in what they differ from other things or from each other; or from the question, whether a king possessing much wealth is happy, to the contemplation of abstract monarchy and human happiness and misery in general, of what nature “they are, and in what way it is befitting to human nature to acquire the one of them, and avoid the other, —— when in turn that narrow-minded, shrewd and pettifogging creature is required to explain all these subjects, he gives the philosopher his revenge. Turning giddy where he hangs on high, and looking down, unaccustomed as he is, from the upper air, dismayed and perplexed and stammering a barbarous jargon, he makes himself a laughing-stock not to Thracian girls, nor to any other uneducated person, for they do not understand it, but to all who have been brought up otherwise than as slaves.

‘This then, O Theodorus, is the character of each. The one is the character of the man who has been really brought up in freedom and leisure, whom you call a philosopher, with whom we need not be indignant at his seeming to be a simpleton and a nobody, when he is thrown into any servile offices, as for instance if he does not understand how to tie up a bundle of bed-clothes, nor to sweeten a sauce or a flattering speech. But the other is the character of the man who is able to render all such services as these smartly and quickly, but does not understand how to throw his cloak over his right shoulder like a gentleman, nor in just harmony of language to hymn the praises of the true life of gods and of divinely favoured men.

‘If, Socrates, you could persuade all men, as you do me, of the truth of what you say, there would be more peace and fewer evils among men.

‘But it is not possible, O Theodorus, either that evils should disappear (for there must always be something antagonistic to good), or that they should be settled among the gods, but they necessarily haunt our mortal nature and this our place of abode.

‘Wherefore also we should try to escape from this world to the other as speedily as possible. And escape means assimilation to God as far as is possible, and assimilation means to become just and holy and wise withal. But in fact, my good friend, it is not at all an easy thing to persuade men that the reasons for which the multitude say that we ought to shun wickedness and pursue virtue are not the right reasons for practising the one and avoiding the other, I mean the wish not to seem to be bad, but to seem to be good.

‘For this, as it seems to me, is the proverbial old wives’ gossip: but the truth we may state as follows: God is never in any way unrighteous, but most perfectly righteous: and nothing is more like Him than any one of us who may likewise become most righteous. On this depends a man’s true ability, or his nothingness and cowardice.

‘For to know this is wisdom and genuine virtue, but not to know it is manifest ignorance and vice: and all other kinds of seeming cleverness and wisdom, when they display themselves in political power, are vulgar, and in arts mechanical. With the man then who does wrong, and says or does unholy things, it is far best not to admit that villany makes him a clever man.

‘For such men glory in their shame, and suppose that they are spoken of as no fools, nor mere cumberers of the ground, but men of the right sort to prosper in a State. We ought therefore to tell them the truth, that they are all the more what they think they are not, because they think they are not. For they are ignorant of the penalty of injustice, the last thing of which they ought to be ignorant. For it is not the penalty which they fancy, stripes and death, which wrong-doers sometimes escape altogether, but a penalty which it is not possible to escape.

‘What penalty then do you mean?

‘Though there are two examples set forth in the world of reality, the divinity being the example of the greatest happiness, and the godless of the greatest misery, they do not see that this is true, but from silliness and the

extreme of folly they are not conscious of growing like to the one and unlike the other because of their evil deeds: and they pay the penalty for this by living the life fitted for the pattern to which they are growing like.

‘And if we tell them that unless they get rid of their cleverness, the place that is free from all evil will not receive them after death, but that they will always have a life here on earth corresponding to their own character by a continual association with evil, being evil themselves, they will listen to this, as men of the utmost cleverness and cunning listening to fools.

‘Quite so, Socrates.

‘I know it indeed, my friend. There is, however, just one circumstance in their case, whenever they are obliged to give and to receive an explanation in private about the studies which they condemn, and are willing to stand their ground manfully for a long time, and not run away like cowards, then at last, my good sir, they are strangely dissatisfied with themselves and their arguments, and their fine rhetoric somehow fades away, so that they seem to be no better than children.’

CHAPTER XXX

AMONG us also there is this saying concerning all sophistry practised among men: 'For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will set at nought the prudence of the prudent. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?'

Moreover that those who study a divine philosophy ought to have no narrow-minded thoughts, we are taught in the saying: 'While we look not at the things which are seen, but at those which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.'

And of the fact that wickedness gathers close around the earth and this mortal life, the word of God says somewhere: 'Redeeming the time, because the days are evil.' And: 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' The prophet also says: 'Cursing, and stealing, and adultery, and murder, are poured out upon the earth, and they mingle blood with blood.'

And with regard to escaping from this world to God, Moses says: 'Thou shalt walk after the Lord thy God, and to Him shalt thou cleave.' And the same Moses teaches us to imitate God, saying: 'Ye shall be holy, for the Lord your God is holy.'

David also knowing that God is righteous, and urging us to become imitators of Him ourselves, says: 'Righteous is the Lord, and loveth righteousness.' The same David taught us to despise wealth, saying: 'If riches increase, set not your heart upon them'; and, 'Be not thou afraid, when a man is made rich, and when the glory of his house is increased: for when he dieth, he shall carry nothing away, nor shall his glory descend with him.'

Also in the following words he taught us not to admire the ruling powers among mankind: 'Put not your trust in princes, nor in any sons of men, in whom there is no safety. His breath will go forth, and he will return to his earth: in that day shall all his thoughts perish.'

CHAPTER XXXI

[PLATO] ‘But even if the case were not such as our argument has now proved it to be, if a lawgiver, who is to be of ever so little use, could have ventured to tell any falsehood at all to the young for their good, is there any falsehood that he could have told more beneficial than this, and better able to make them all do everything that is just, not by compulsion but willingly?’

‘Truth, O Stranger, is a noble and an enduring thing; it seems, however, not easy to persuade men of it.’

Now you may find in the Hebrew Scriptures also thousands of such passages concerning God as though He were jealous, or sleeping, or angry, or subject to any other human passions, which passages are adopted for the benefit of those who need this mode of instruction.

CHAPTER XXXII

[PLATO] 'ARE we then agreed as to our former statements?

'About what?

'That every one, man and boy, free and slave, male and female, and the whole city, should never cease from reciting to themselves these charms which we have just described, changed from time to time in some way or other, and presenting every kind of variation, so that the singers may have an insatiable desire for the hymns, and pleasure in them.

'How could there be any doubt that this practice ought to be adopted?'

In the fifth Book also of the *Republic* he writes to the like effect, saying as follows:

[PLATO] 'Do you then know any human occupation, in which the male sex is not superior in all these respects to the female? Or need we waste time by mentioning the art of weaving, and the making of pancakes and preserves, in which the female sex is thought forsooth to be great, and in which their utter inferiority is most ridiculous?

'You say with truth, said he, that the one sex is far surpassed by the other, I might almost say, in everything. Many women, no doubt, are better than many men in many points, but the general truth is as you say.

'No occupation then, my friend, of those who manage the affairs of the state belongs to a woman as woman nor to a man as man; but the natural qualities are found here and there in both sexes alike, and while woman has by nature a share in all pursuits, and man in all, yet woman is in all weaker than man.

'Yes, certainly.

'Are we then to assign all employments to men, and none to women?

'How can we?

'In fact, we shall say, I suppose, that among women also one has a natural gift of healing and another has not, and one is musical and another unmusical?

'Certainly.

'Also one fit for gymnastics and for war, and another unwarlike and with no taste for gymnastics?

'So I suppose.

'Again, one woman is a philosopher, another hates philosophy? And one is

high-spirited, another spiritless?

‘This too is true.

‘So there is one woman fit for a guardian, and another unfit.

Or was not such the nature which we selected as that of men who were fit for guardians?

‘Yes, it was such.

‘Both woman and man therefore have the same natural fitness for guardianship of the state, except in so far as one is weaker and another stronger.

‘So it appears.

‘We must then select women also who are of this character to live with men of the same character, and to share in their guardianship, since they are competent, and akin to them in nature.’

With good reason then our Word also admits to its divine instruction and philosophy every class not only of men but also of women, and not only of free men and slaves, but also of Barbarians and Greeks.

CHAPTER XXXIII

[PLATO] ‘LET us look at it then in this way. Now suppose some one were to praise the breeding of goats, and the animal itself as a fine property; and some one else, having seen goats feeding without a goatherd in cultivated ground and doing mischief, should find fault with them, and on seeing any kind of cattle without a keeper or with bad keepers, should in this case blame them, do we think that such a man’s censure would convey any just blame whatever?’

‘How should it?’

Also after a few sentences:

‘And what would you say of one who praises or blames any kind of community, which ought naturally to have a ruler, and which with his aid is useful, whereas the critic had never seen it in its rightful association with a ruler, but always without rule, or with bad rulers? Do we suppose that observers such as these could pronounce any useful censure or praise on communities of this kind?’

‘How could they?’

If then among us also it should appear that some without any president and ruler, or with evil rulers, were doing evil, one ought not to find fault with our whole school, but rather to admire our religious constitution from the conduct of those who follow it rightly.

CHAPTER XXXIV

IN the *Proverbs* of Solomon it is briefly stated: 'The memory of the just is associated with praises, but the name of the ungodly is extinguished'; and again it is said: 'Call no man blessed before his death': so now hear how Plato interprets the thought in the seventh Book of the *Laws*, saying:

[PLATO] 'Whosoever of the citizens should reach the end of their life after having wrought good and laborious works either in body or soul, and been obedient to the laws, it would be fitting that they should receive eulogies.

'By all means.

'It is not safe, however, to honour those who are still alive with eulogies and hymns, before a man has finished his whole course of life, and crowned it with a noble end. And let us have all these honours common to men and to women who have been conspicuously good.'

CHAPTER XXXV

As Solomon had said in *Proverbs*: ‘Give me neither poverty nor riches,’ so Plato says in the fourth Book of the *Republic*:

[PLATO] ‘But we have found, it seems, some other things for the guardians, against which they must watch in every way, that they may not creep in unobserved into the state.

‘What kind of things?

‘Riches, said I, and poverty; as the one engenders luxury, and idleness, and revolution, and the other meanness and mischievousness, as well as revolution.’

By mischievousness is meant every disgraceful action.

CHAPTER XXXVI

AGAIN Moses says in his laws: ‘Let every man fear his father and his mother,’ and ‘Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee’; and Plato, like Moses, bids us both honour and fear them, speaking thus in the *Laws*:

[PLATO] ‘Every man of sense fears and honours the prayers of his parents, knowing that many times and for many persons they have been accomplished.’

And again in another place he says:

[PLATO] ‘We would have every one reverence his elder both in word and deed. And any one who is twenty years older than himself, whether male or female, let him regard as father or mother, and treat with reverence.’

CHAPTER XXXVII

MOSES in his laws forbade Hebrews to have Hebrews as slaves, and said: 'If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve thee: and in the seventh year thou shalt send him away free.' And in like manner Plato says in the *Republic*:

[PLATO] 'They should therefore themselves own no Greek as a slave, and advise the other Greeks to the same effect.

'Certainly, said he.

'Thus then they would be more ready to turn their arms against Barbarians, and abstain from war against each other.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII

[PLATO] 'LET no man move landmarks, either of his own fellow citizen who is a neighbour, or of one whose property marches with his on the borders, if he be neighbour to a foreigner, considering that this is really to move what should be immoveable.'

And presently he says:

[PLATO] 'Whosoever ploughs over his neighbour's lands, encroaching upon the boundaries, let him repay the damage, and as a cure for both his impudence and his meanness let him pay besides double of the damage to the person injured.'

CHAPTER XXXIX

[PLATO] ‘And in a word, let not the disgrace and punishment of a father follow upon any of the children, except when any one’s father and grandfather and great-grandfather in succession have paid the penalty of death.’

CHAPTER XL

A LAW of Moses says: ‘If a man steal a calf, or a sheep, and slay it, or sell it, he shall repay five calves for the calf, and four sheep for the sheep. . . . But if he be caught, and the theft be found in his hand alive, from a calf or an ass to a sheep, he shall repay double.’ Now hear how Plato follows this, saying:

[PLATO] ‘But whether a thief steal much or little, let there be one law and one punishment imposed for all alike. For in the first place he must pay double the amount stolen, if he be convicted in a suit of this kind, and if the rest of his substance suffice to pay it, beyond his lot of land; and if not, he must be kept in prison until he has paid it, or persuaded the man who gained sentence against him to release him.’

CHAPTER XLI

AGAIN when Moses says: 'But if the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten that he die, it is not murder,' Plato agrees in this also, saying:

[PLATO] 'If a man catch a thief coming into his house by night to steal his goods, and slay him, let him be guiltless: also if he kill a footpad in self-defence, let him be guiltless.'

CHAPTER XLII

[PLATO] ‘AND so if a beast of burden or any other animal kill a man, except any animals which, when struggling in any contest of the public games, do such a thing, let the relatives prosecute the slayer for murder, and let the suit be decided by the country guardians, such and so many as the relative shall appoint, and let the beast which is condemned by them be slain and cast outside the borders of the country.’

So says Plato. And Moses in anticipation says: ‘But if a bull gore a man or a woman and they die, the bull shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten, but the owner of the bull shall be quit.’

CHAPTER XLIII

THE prophetic scripture says: ‘Son of man, behold, the house of Israel are all of them become unto Me a mixture of copper, and tin, and iron, and lead, in the midst of the furnace are they made a mixture of silver. Therefore say, Thus saith the Lord; because ye are all become one mixture, therefore, behold, I will gather you into the midst of Jerusalem, even as silver is gathered, and copper, and iron, and lead, and tin, into the midst of the furnace, to blow fire upon them, that they may be melted’ : and now hear what Plato says in like manner:

[PLATO] ‘Listen then to the rest of the fable. For we in the city are of course all brothers, as we shall say to them in telling the fable, but the god, in forming as many of you as are fit to rule, mixed gold in their composition; wherefore they are the most to be honoured; and for all the auxiliaries, silver; but iron and copper for the husbandmen and other operatives.

‘Inasmuch then as you are all of one family, you will generally beget children like yourselves, but sometimes from a golden parent a silver child will be born, and a golden child from a silver parent, and all the rest in this way, one from another.

‘And this is the first and chief command that God lays upon the rulers, that they be above all good guardians of their children and watch over them with strictest care, to see what metal is mingled in their souls; and if one of their own children be found to be partly of copper or iron, they must by no means have pity on him, but assign to him the rank befitting his nature, and thrust him down either among the operatives or the husbandmen; and if, on the other hand, from these classes there be born a child with a mixture of gold or silver, they will value them and promote them, some to the rank of guardian, others to that of auxiliary: for there is an oracle that the state will be destroyed, whenever the man of iron or of copper has become its guardian. Do you know any device then by which they might be brought to believe this fable?’

CHAPTER XLIV

THE Hebrew prophecy says to the princes of the people: ‘O ye shepherds of Israel, do shepherds feed themselves? Do not the shepherds feed the sheep? Behold, ye devour the milk, and the fat ye slay, and clothe you with the wool, and ye feed not My sheep.... And ye sought not the lost, and the broken ye bound not up, and brought not back that which was going astray.’ Moreover the Word of our salvation says: ‘The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep: but he that is an hireling and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, forsaketh them.’ Now listen also to Plato, in the first Book of the *Republic*, how he translates these sayings:

[PLATO] ‘But as it is, Thrasymachus (for we must still look back upon our former statements), you see that though at first you defined the true physician, you did not afterwards think it necessary to keep strict watch over the definition of the true shepherd; but you suppose that, in so far as he is a shepherd, he fattens the sheep not with a view to what is best for the sheep, but with a view to the good cheer, just as a banqueter who is going to have a feast, or on the other hand with a view to selling them, as a money-maker and not a shepherd. But surely the art of the shepherd is concerned with nothing else than how to provide what is best for the flock over which he is set: for surely it has sufficiently provided all that is required for its own perfection, as long as it lacks nothing of the shepherd’s art. Thus then I was supposing just now, that we must necessarily admit that every government, in so far as it is a government, looks solely to what is best for that which is governed and tended by it, in the case both of public and private government. But is it your opinion that the rulers in states, I mean the true rulers, hold office willingly?’

CHAPTER XLV

THE Hebrew prophecy says: 'From fear of thee, O Lord, we have been with child, and we have been in pain, and have brought forth wind [of deliverance]': and Plato in the *Theaetetus* represents Socrates as speaking thus:

[PLATO] 'Those who associate with me are in fact affected in the same way as women in childbirth: for they travail in pain and are full of perplexity night and day far more than the women. And this pain my art is able both to arouse and to allay.'

CHAPTER XLVI

THE prophet Ezekiel said: 'And the hand of the Lord came upon me, and I saw, and, behold, an uplifting wind came from the north.' And presently he said: 'And in the midst was the likeness as of four living creatures. And the appearance of them was as the likeness of a man upon them, and each one had four faces. And the likeness of their faces was as the face of a man: and they four had the face of a lion on the right side; and they four had the face of a calf on the left side; they four had also the face of an eagle.' Hear now what Plato also says in like manner:

[PLATO] 'Now then, said I, let us discuss it with him, since we have come to an agreement as to the effect of a course of injustice and a course of justice respectively.

'How discuss it? said he.

'By forming in words an image of the soul, that the author of those remarks may know how he described it.

'What sort of image? said he.

'One of such a kind, said I, as the creatures which, according to the legend, were naturally produced in old times, the Chimaera and Scylla and Cerberus, and many others in which several forms are said to have grown together into one.

'So they say, said he.

'Mould then, first, a single form of a motley many-headed beast, having a ring of heads of tame and wild beasts, and able to change all these and to produce them out of itself.

'The task, said he, needs a cunning artist: but nevertheless, since language is more easily moulded than wax and substances of that kind, suppose the model made.

'Now then model a second form of a lion, and a third of a man: but let the first be far the greatest, and the second next to it.

'These, said he, are easier, and are already done.

'Well, then, join the three in one, so that they may in a manner be grown together.

'They are so joined, said he.

'Now mould around them on the outside a likeness of 'one of them, that of

the man, so that to one who cannot see the inside, but only the outer cover, there may appear to be one single animal, a man.

‘The cover is moulded, said he.

‘To the man, then, who says that it is profitable for this human creature to do wrong and not for his interest to do right, let us reply, that his assertion can only mean, that it is profitable for him by feeding the multiform beast well to strengthen both the lion and the lion’s members, but to starve and weaken the man, so that he may be dragged whichever way either of the others draws him. and not to familiarize them at all or make them friendly one to another, but leave them to bite and struggle among themselves and devour one another.

‘Certainly, said he, this is what the eulogist of injustice must say.

‘On the other hand, then, would not he who says that justice is profitable assert that the creature ought so to act and speak, that his inner man shall have the chief control over the whole man, and take charge of the many-headed beast like a husbandman, nourishing and taming the gentle parts and hindering the growth of the wild, having taken the lion’s nature for his ally, and by his common care for all make them friendly to each other and to himself, and so train them?

‘Yes, this again is quite what the advocate of justice has to say.’

CHAPTER XLVII

THE whole nation of the Hebrews having been divided into twelve tribes, Plato also in like manner enjoins by law the necessity of maintaining the propriety of this in the case of his own citizens, speaking as follows:

[PLATO] ‘Let our whole country be divided into twelve parts as equal as possible, and for each part let one tribe assigned by lot furnish annually five men as guardians of the public lands and commanders of cavalry.’

And again he says:

‘Let the generals elected propose for themselves twelve commanders of infantry, one for each tribe.’

CHAPTER XLVIII

As the royal metropolis established long before among the Hebrews was far from the sea, and situated among the mountains, and possessed of very fruitful land; so Plato says that the metropolis to be founded by him in his *Laws* ought to be something of this kind. His words are as follows:

[PLATO] ‘But what I am more desirous of asking concerning it is this, whether it will be a city on the sea-coast or inland.

‘The city of which we spake just now, Stranger, is about eighty stadia distant from the sea.

‘How then? Are there harbours on this side of it, or is it altogether without harbours?

‘Nay, on this side, O Stranger, it is as well provided with harbours as possible.

‘Wonderful! You don’t say so! Further, then, does the country about it produce everything, or does it need anything besides?

‘It hardly needs anything more.

‘And will it have any neighbouring city close to it?

‘None at all, and that is why it is to be founded there: for some emigration that occurred in the place in old times has left this region uninhabited for an immense time.

‘Well, again? As to hills, and plains, and forest, what proportion has it of each?

‘It is like the general character of the rest of Crete.

‘Should you call it rocky rather than level?

‘Yes, certainly.

‘It cannot then be hopelessly bad for the attainment of virtue. For if it was to have been on the coast, and with good harbours, and in need of many things more than it could produce, it would have needed some mighty saviour and lawgivers more than mortal, if, under such natural conditions, its moral tendencies were not to be very promiscuous and evil; but as it is there is some consolation in the eighty stadia. It lies indeed nearer to the sea than it should, considering how very well you say it is provided with harbours; nevertheless we may be content even with this. For when the sea is close to a country, its daily neighbourhood is pleasant, but in reality it is very brackish and bitter:

for by filling the city with commerce and retail trade, it engenders shifty and faithless habits in men's souls, and makes the city unfaithful and unfriendly both to herself, and likewise to all other nations. Against this, however, it possesses a consolation in producing all things; yet being rocky it evidently cannot be at the same time productive in abundance and in variety. For if it had both, it would provide large exports, and in return be filled with gold and silver coin; than which, I may say, there could be no greater evil, taken singly, for a city in regard to the attainment of just and noble sentiments.'

But now after so many proofs as we have hitherto given, let us observe how, after approving the mode of education among the Hebrews in the passages which we have mentioned, he deprecates the Greek method, writing as follows in the tenth Book of the *Republic*:

CHAPTER XLIX

[PLATO] 'LET me say to you in confidence (for you will not tell of me to the tragic poets and all the rest of the imitative tribe), all such poetry seems to be hurtful to the understanding of those hearers who do not possess an antidote in the knowledge of its real nature.

'Pray what is the purport of your remarks?' said he.

'I must speak, said I, although a certain fondness and reverence which I have felt from boyhood for Homer restrains my speech. For of all those charming tragic poets he seems to have been the first teacher and leader: nevertheless we must not respect a person in preference to the truth, but, as I said, I must speak out.

'Quite so, said he.'

Then afterwards he adds:

[PLATO] 'As to other matters, then, let us demand no explanation from Homer, or any other of the poets, by asking why, if any of them was skilful in healing, and not a mere imitator of medical language, none of the poets ancient or modern is said to have made cures, as Asclepius did, or to have left any school of medical art behind him, as Asclepius left his descendants: and let us not ask him about other arts, but let them pass.

'With regard, however, to those grandest and noblest subjects of which Homer undertakes to speak, such as war, and strategy, and administration of states, and the education of mankind, it is fair, I suppose, to ask him this question: "My dear Homer, if in the representation of virtue you were not a mere image-maker twice removed from the truth, as we defined an imitator to be, but only once removed, and capable of knowing what pursuits make men better or worse both in private and in public, tell us which of our states owed a better government to you, as Lacedaemon to Lycurgus, and many both small and great states to many other legislators? What state alleges that you have been a good lawgiver to them and have conferred a benefit upon them? For Italy and Sicily so speak of Charondas, and we of Solon: but who says this of you?" Will he be able to mention any?

'I think not, said Glaucon. At least no one says so, not even the Homeridae themselves.

'Well, but what war in the time of Homer is recorded to have been waged

successfully under his command or advice?

‘Not one.

‘But are there said to have been many ingenious inventions applicable to arts or any other pursuits, as in the case of a man who is wise in practical work, such as Thales the Milesian, and Anacharsis the Scythian?

‘Nothing of the kind whatever.

‘Well, then, if not publicly, yet in private, is Homer said during his lifetime to have guided the education of any persons, who loved him for his society, and handed down a certain Homeric way of living to those who came after; just as Pythagoras was wonderfully beloved himself for this kind of association, and his successors, who to this day call their mode of life Pythagorean, seem to be in a manner distinguished among other men?

‘Nothing of this kind either is reported of him. For surely, Socrates, the education of Creophylus, the companion of Homer, would appear even more ridiculous than his name, if the stories told about Homer are true: for it is said that in his lifetime he was much neglected by this very man.

‘Yes, so indeed it is said, I replied.

‘But do you suppose, O Glaucon, that if Homer had been really able to educate men and make them better, as being himself capable not merely of imitating but of knowing such subjects, he would have failed to gain many companions, by whom he would have been honoured and beloved? So then Protagoras of Abdera, and Prodicus of Ceos, and very many others are able in private intercourse to persuade the men of their day, that they will not be able to manage either their own house or their state, unless *they* preside over their education, and are so much beloved for this their wisdom as to be almost carried about on the heads of their companions. Can we then suppose that, if Homer or Hesiod was really capable of improving men in virtue, their contemporaries would have allowed them to wander about as rhapsodists, and would not rather have hugged them closer than gold, and constrained them to stay with them at home, or, if they could not persuade them, would themselves have escorted them wherever they went, until they had received sufficient education?

‘It seems to me, Socrates, said he, that what you say is entirely true.

‘Then must we not assume that all the poets, from Homer downwards, only copy images of virtue and of the other subjects of their poetry, and do not

touch the truth? But, as we were saying just now, the painter, though he knows nothing himself about shoemaking, will make what seems to be a shoemaker to those who likewise know nothing about it, but judge by the colours and forms?

‘Yes, certainly.

‘In the same way, then, I suppose, we may say that the poet also by his names and phrases lays on certain colours proper to the several arts, of which he knows nothing himself except how to imitate them, so that to others like him, judging only from the words, whether he speaks about shoemaking, or generalship, or any other subject whatever, in metre and rhythm and harmony, it seems to be extremely well spoken.

‘So powerful a charm these musical forms have naturally in themselves: but when stripped of their musical colouring, you know, I imagine, how poor the poets’ works appear when read in bare simplicity as prose. Have you observed it, or not?

‘I have, said he.’

Now these things being so, it seems good to me to go through some short passages of Plato, wherein he maintains the doctrine of God and of providence in a more logical manner, adhering in this also to the Hebrew dogmas. And first let us observe how he sets forth the opinions of the atheists.

CHAPTER L

[PLATO] 'THERE are some who say that all things come, and have come, and will come into existence some by nature, some by art, and some by chance.

'Do they not say well then?

'Yes, it is probable, I suppose, that wise men are right in what they say. Nevertheless let us follow them up, and inquire what they on that side mean.

'By all means.

'It seems, they say, that the greatest and fairest things are wrought by nature and chance, and the less important by art, which receiving from nature the great original works of creation moulds and frames all the smaller, which we all call artificial.

'What do you mean?

'I will state it still more plainly thus. Fire and water and earth and air, they say, all exist by nature and chance, and none of them by art. And the bodies which come next to these, the earth, and sun, and moon, and stars, have been created by help of these elements, which are absolutely inanimate. And being severally carried by the chance with which they meet from their several forces, they combine in some intimate way, hot with cold, or dry with moist, and soft with hard, and all other principles which by chance were yet necessarily combined with a mixture of their opposites, and in this way and according to these conditions they have thus created both the whole heaven and all things in the heaven, and all animals too and plants, all seasons being produced, they say, from these elements, not by virtue of intelligence, nor any god, nor art, but, as we say, by nature and chance.

'And afterwards from these mortal elements art sprang up later, mortal like them, and has since produced certain playthings, not partaking much of truth, but certain images akin, one to another, such as are produced by painting and music and all their assistant arts. And the arts which do produce anything good, are those which combine their own power with that of nature, as for example medicine, and husbandry, and gymnastics. Moreover it is said that political science also cooperates in some small measure with nature, but for the most part with art: and thus that all legislation allies itself not with nature but with art, the assumptions of which are not true.

‘How do you mean?’

‘In the first place, my excellent friend, these people say that gods exist not by nature but by art and by certain laws, and that these laws differ in various ways, according as the several states agreed among themselves in establishing their legislation: and moreover that what is honourable by nature is one thing, but by law another; and that principles of justice have no existence at all by nature, but that men go on disputing with one another, and are always changing them; and whatever alterations they make are severally valid at the time when they make them, being made by art and laws, and not by any natural principle.

‘All these, my friends, are doctrines of men whom the young think wise, both poets and prose writers, who say that conquest by force is the best right. And from this cause young men are assailed by impious thoughts, as that there are no gods such as the law commands them to believe in, and therefore dissensions arise, from their drawing men towards what they call the right life of nature, which is in reality to live in mastery over all others, and not as serving others according to law.

‘What a description you have given, O Stranger, and what injury by young men both publicly to states and to private families!’

Also after other passages he says:

‘But now, Cleinias, answer me again, since you too must take part in the discussion. For the man who talks thus probably believes fire, and water, and earth, and air to be the first elements of all things, and these are what he calls nature, and believes the soul to be made out of them afterwards: and this not only seems to be probable, but he really tries to prove it to us by his argument.

‘Yes, certainly.

‘Is it possible then that we have discovered a source, as it were, of the senseless opinion of all men who ever meddled with physical inquiries? Consider and examine every argument: for indeed it is a matter of no small importance, if those who take up impious arguments, and lead others, should be found to be using their arguments not at all rightly, but in a mistaken manner. This seems indeed to me to be the case.

‘You say well; but try now to explain how it is.

‘It is likely then that we shall have to deal with rather unusual arguments.’

Also soon after he adds this:

‘Nearly all of them, my friend, seem to have been ignorant both of the nature and of the power of the soul, and especially of its origin, that it is the first of all things, created before all bodies, and the chief ruling principle of all their change and rearrangement. Now if this is so, must not the things which are akin to the soul have of necessity been created before those which belong to the body, if the soul itself is older than the body?’

‘Necessarily.

‘Then thought, and attention, and mind, and art, and law must be prior to hard and soft, and heavy and light: and moreover the great primal works and actions must be works of art, as being first of all; and natural products and nature, which they are wrong in calling by this name, must come afterwards and take their beginning from art and mind.

‘How wrong?’

‘By “nature” they mean the generation of the first principles. But if the soul shall be found to be first, not fire nor air, then the soul having been the very first generated would most rightly be said to exist pre-eminently by nature. This is true, if one has proved soul to be older than body, but not otherwise. ‘What you say is most true.’

CHAPTER LI

‘COME then, if we ought ever to invoke divine aid, let us do so now: let the gods be invoked with all earnestness to come to the demonstration of their own existence; and let us hold fast to this as a sure cable in embarking upon our present argument.

When I am questioned upon matters of this kind, it seems to be the safest course to answer such questions in the following manner.

‘When any one says to me, Stranger, are all things at rest, and nothing in motion, or the very contrary? Or are some of them in motion, and some at rest? Some I suppose are in motion, I shall say, and some at rest. Is there not then some place in which the fixed are at rest, and the moving move?’

‘Of course.

‘And some, I suppose, would move in one single place, and others in more than one.

‘Do you mean, I shall say, that the things which are in the condition of rest at the centre move in one single place, just as the circumference of circles revolves, though the circles are said to be at rest?’

‘Yes.’

And afterwards he adds:

‘Let us further state it in the following way, and answer ourselves again. If all things were somehow combined in one mass at rest, as most of such philosophers are bold enough to say, which of the above-mentioned kinds of motion must first arise among them?’

‘Of course the self-moving: for unless there were previously some change in themselves, they could never begin to change from any external cause.

‘As the beginning then of all motions, and the first which arises in things at rest and continues in things in motion, the self-moving, we must say, is necessarily the eldest and mightiest of all changes; and that which is changed by another, and itself moves others, is the second.

‘Most true.

‘Since therefore we have reached this stage of the argument, let us make the following answer.

‘What answer?’

‘If we see this self-motion take place anywhere in the element of earth, or

water, or fire, whether separate or combined, what condition shall we say exists in such element?

‘Do you ask me whether we shall say that it is alive, when it moves itself?

‘Yes.

‘It is alive, of course.

‘And again, when we see soul in any thing, must we admit that this has a different or the same life as the former?

‘The same, and no other.

‘Stay then, in heaven’s name. Should you not wish to understand three points about every thing?

‘What do you mean?

‘One, the essence; and one, the definition of the essence; and one, the name: and further, that there are two questions concerning everything that exists.

‘How two?

‘Sometimes one puts forward the name alone and asks for the definition, and at another time one puts forward the definition alone and asks the name. Are we then willing now again to make a statement of the following kind?

‘Of what kind?

‘There is, I suppose, something divisible into two equal parts in other things as well as in number. And the name of this that is divisible in number is “even,” and its definition is “number divisible into two equal parts.”

‘Yes.

‘It is something of this kind that I am trying to explain. ‘Is it not the same thing of which we speak in either way, whether on being asked for the definition we give the name, or being asked for the name we give the definition, since it is the same thing that we speak of by name as “even,” and by definition as “number divisible into two equal parts “?

‘Yes, certainly.

‘What then is the definition of that which has the name “soul”? Have we any other except that which was stated just now, “the motion which has the power of moving itself “?

‘Do you mean to say that the definition “self-moving “ implies the same essence as the name, which we all call “soul “?

‘That is what I say. And if this is so, do we any longer feel the want of a

sufficient proof that soul is the same as the first creative and moving principle of all things that are, and have been, and shall be, and again of all their contraries, since it has been shown to be the cause of all change and motion?

‘We want no more: but it has been most satisfactorily proved that soul is the oldest of all things, as having been the beginning of motion.

‘Is not then the motion which is produced in one thing because of another, but never presents any self-motion, being in reality a change of a soul-less body, of secondary rank or of a rank as far removed as any number by which one may choose to reckon it?

‘Rightly so.

‘Should we then have said rightly and properly and with the most perfect truth that soul has existed before body, or not, and that body is secondary and comes after soul, as according to nature the governed comes after the governing principle?

‘Yes, with the most perfect truth.

‘Do we however remember that we admitted in the former part, that, if soul should be found to be older than body, the things of the soul would also be older than those of the body?

‘Yes, certainly.

‘Then characters, and moral habits, and wishes, and reasonings, and true opinions, and acts of attention and memory must have existed earlier than length, and breadth, and depth, and strength of bodies, if soul was prior to body.

‘Necessarily.

‘Must we then necessarily admit what follows immediately on this, that soul is the cause of good and evil, and honourable and base, and just and unjust, and of all opposites, if at least we are to assume it to be the cause of all things?

‘Of course.

‘Must we not say then that, as soul governs and inhabits all things that move in any way, it governs the heaven also?

‘Certainly.

‘One soul, or more? More than one, I will answer for you both. Not less than two at least we must suppose, the beneficent, and that which has power to work evil. You have spoken very rightly.

‘Well, to proceed. Soul then conducts all things in heaven, and earth, and sea by her own movements, the names of which are will, consideration, attention, deliberation, opinion right or wrong, joy, sorrow, confidence, fear, hatred, affection, and all movements either akin to these or primary, which again taking with them the secondary movements of bodies lead all things to growth and decay, and separation and combination, and their attendant conditions of heat and cold, heaviness and lightness, hard and soft, white and black, bitter and sweet, and all things by use of which the soul, which is divine, taking ever with her the divine mind, conducts all things rightly and happily, but, if she allies herself with folly, works all the contrary effects to these. Are we to assume that these things are so, or have we still a doubt whether they may not be otherwise?

‘By no means.

‘Which kind then of soul, are we to say, rules over heaven and earth and their whole circuit? That which is full of wisdom and virtue, or that which possesses neither? Are you willing that we should answer this as follows?

‘How?

‘If on the one hand, my excellent friend, we are to say, the whole path of heaven and the course of all things therein has a nature similar to the movement and revolution and reasonings of mind, and proceeds in a manner akin thereto, we must evidently say, that the best kind of soul takes care of the whole world, and guides it on that best path.

‘True.

‘But if it proceeds in an insane and disorderly manner, we must say that the evil soul is guiding it.

‘This too is most true.

‘What then is the nature of the movement of mind? Now in answering this question, my friends, it is difficult to speak wisely. And for this reason it is fair that I too should help you now in the answer.

‘You say well.

‘Let us then not frame our answer as if looking straight at the sun and bringing on ourselves darkness at noonday, by supposing that we shall ever see mind with mortal eyes, and know it thoroughly. It is safer to observe the subject of our inquiry by looking upon an image of it.

‘How do you mean?

‘Of those ten kinds of motion let us take as its image that which mind resembles; and when I have helped you to remember this, I will frame our common answer.

‘You could not speak better.

‘Well then of our former discourse we remember thus much at least, that of all things we supposed some to be in motion, and some at rest.

‘Yes.

‘And again of those that were in motion we supposed some to move in one place only, and others in more than one, as they were carried along.

‘That is so.

‘Of these two motions then that whose course is always in one place must necessarily move round some centre, like the wheels on a lathe, and must be in every way as much as possible akin and similar to the revolving motion of the mind.

‘How do you mean?

‘Surely if we say that mind and the motion which goes on in one place both move according to the same conditions, and in the same manner, and in the same course, and round the same centres, and towards the same direction, and according to one law and one order, like the motions of a top, we should never be shown to be bad word-painters of beautiful images.

‘What you say is very right.

‘Well then this other motion which never proceeds in the same manner, nor according to the same conditions, nor in the same course, nor round the same centres, nor towards the same direction, nor in one place, nor in proportion, nor order, nor any law, must be akin to every kind of folly.

‘Most truly it must.

‘Now then there is no longer any difficulty in saying expressly, that since soul is that which carries all things round for us, we must of necessity affirm that the revolution of the heaven is carried on by the care and arrangement either of the best soul or of the worse.

‘But according to what has now been said, O Stranger, it would be impious to say otherwise than that soul or souls endowed with every virtue carry them round.

‘You have paid admirable attention to my arguments, Cleinias. But listen further to the following.

‘What?’

‘If soul carries all things round, sun and moon and the stars too, does she not also carry round each one of them?’

‘Of course.’

‘Then concerning one of them let us argue in a manner which we shall find applicable to all the heavenly bodies.’

‘Which one?’

‘Every man sees the sun’s body, but no one sees his soul, nor yet the soul of any animal’s body, either in life or after death. There is, however, much reason to suppose that this nature of soul invests all our bodily senses though utterly imperceptible thereby to us, but is apprehended by mind alone. By mind therefore and by thought let us grasp the following notion of it.’

‘What kind of notion?’

‘If soul carries the sun round, we shall not be far wrong in saying that it does one of three things.’

‘What three?’

‘That either dwelling within this circular body that we see the soul carries it such as it is safely through in every direction, as our soul carries us about every way; or having from some external source provided herself with a body of fire or a kind of air, as some say, she forcibly drives body by body; or thirdly, being herself without a body, but endowed with certain other exceedingly wonderful powers, she so guides his course.’

‘Yes.’

‘This so far must be true, that soul directs all things by one or other of these operations.’

These then are the statements of our philosopher in the tenth Book of the *Laws*. But hear how he arranges the same thought in the *Philebus* also:

[PLATO] ‘All the wise men say with one voice, in reality magnifying themselves, that mind is our king of heaven and earth. And perhaps they are right. But, if you please, let us conduct our examination of the general nature of mind more at length.’

‘Speak in whatever way you please, Socrates, thinking nothing of length on our account, as you will not be wearisome, to us.’

‘You say well. Let us then begin our further inquiries in the following manner.’

‘How?

‘Whether ought we to assert, Protarchus, that all things and this so-called universe are under the guardianship of the irrational and purposeless force, and mere hap-hazard; or that, on the contrary, as those before us used to say, mind and wisdom of some marvellous kind arrange and govern them?

‘They are utterly different assertions, O noble Socrates. For the opinion which you mention seems to me to be impious. But the assertion that mind arranges them all is worthy of the aspect of the world, and of sun and moon and stars and the whole circuit of heaven, and for my part I would never speak nor even think of them otherwise.

‘Are you willing then that we also should assent to what was agreed on by those before us, that these things are so? And not merely think that we must state the opinions of others without risk to ourselves, but also share the danger and bear part of the blame, when some clever man asserts that these things are not as we say but all in disorder?

‘Of course I should be willing.

‘Come then, scan carefully the argument on this subject which now encounters us.

‘Only state it.

‘Do we discern in the constitution of the world the elements belonging to the nature of the bodies of all living things, fire and water and air and “land,” as the storm-tossed sailors say?

‘Certainly. For we are verily tossed by storms of perplexity in our present discussions.

‘Well then, concerning each of the elements existing in us, take a statement of this kind.

‘What?

‘That each of these as existing in us is small, and weak, and in no respect at all pure, and without a power worthy of its nature: and having admitted this in one, conceive the same of all. As for instance there is fire, I suppose, in us, and fire in the universe.

‘Of course.

‘Is not then the part that is in us small and weak, and mean, but that which is in the universe wonderful both in quantity and beauty, and in every kind of power that belongs to fire?

‘What you say is very true.

‘Again, is the fire of the universe generated and fed and ruled by this fire that is in us, or on the contrary is it from that fire that mine and yours and that of all other animals receives all these services?

‘This question does not even require an answer.

‘Quite right. You will say the same then, I suppose, concerning the earth that is here in the animals and that which is in the universe; and so of all the other elements about which I asked just now you will give this same answer.

‘Yes, for who would ever be thought to be in his right mind, if he answered otherwise?

‘No one probably. But now follow the next point. For when we saw all these elements now mentioned combined in one, did we not call it a body?

‘Of course.

‘Assume the same then in regard also to this which we call the world: for because of the same process it must be a body, being composed out of the same elements.

‘What you say is very right.

‘Is then our body nourished wholly from this body, or does this receive from ours its nourishment and all the further services which we just now mentioned in reference to them?

‘This is another question, Socrates, not worth asking.

‘But what of the following? Is it worth asking? Or what will you say?

‘Say what it is.

‘Shall we not say that this body of ours has a soul?

‘Of course we shall say so.

‘Whence, my dear Protarchus, did it get a soul, unless indeed the body of the universe had a soul, inasmuch as it has all things the same as our body, and in every way more beautiful?

‘Evidently from no other source, Socrates.

‘For surely we do not think, O Protarchus, that those four classes, the finite, the infinite, their compound, and cause which exists as a fourth class in all things, — that this, which in our bodies supplies a soul, and endows it with the art of exercising the body and healing it when it has fallen ill, and makes various arrangements and remedies in various parts, is to be called entire and complete wisdom; but that, though these same elements exist in the

heaven as a whole, and in its great divisions, in more beauty and purity, it has not contrived to create in these the nature of all that is most beautiful and noble.

‘Nay, this would be in every way unreasonable.

‘If then this is denied, would it not be better for us, with that other argument as our guide, to say, that, as we have often said, there is in the world a vast infinity and an efficient limit, and over them a cause of no little power, ordering and arranging years, and seasons, and months, which cause is most justly called wisdom and mind?

‘Most justly indeed.

‘Wisdom however and mind could never exist without soul.

‘No indeed.

‘Will you not say then that through the power of the cause there is implanted in the nature of Zeus a kingly soul and a kingly mind: and in other gods other noble qualities, according to the names by which they like each to be called?’

CHAPTER LII

[PLATO] 'To the man who believes that there are gods, but that they take no heed of human affairs, we must speak words of encouragement. O best of men, let us say, your believing in gods is perhaps due to some divine affinity that draws you towards your kindred, to honour and believe in them. But the fortunes of evil and unjust men both in private and in public life, though not really happy, yet being in the opinions of men vehemently but unduly commended as happy, and wrongfully celebrated both in poetry and in literature of every kind, tend to draw you towards impiety.

'Or perhaps from seeing unrighteous men at last reach old age, and leave behind them children's children in the greatest dignities, you are now disturbed, when, after seeing them in all these conditions or after hearing or having been yourself an actual eye-witness of some of them, when many terrible impieties were committed, you see them in consequence of these very deeds attain from small beginnings to despotic powers and highest dignities: then it is evident that because of all such things, though you would riot like to blame the gods as the causes of them, because they are your kindred, yet being at the same time led astray by false reasoning and unable to be angry with the gods, you have come to this your present condition of thinking that, though they exist, they despise and disregard the affairs of men.

'In order therefore that your present doctrine may not grow into a stronger tendency towards impiety, but that, if it be at all possible, we may be enabled to avert its progress by arguments, let us add the sequel to the argument by which at the outset we reached our conclusion against the man who did not believe in gods at all, and try now to make further use of it. And do you, O Cleinias, and you, Megillus, take turns in answering for the young man, as before. And if any difficult point arise in the arguments, I will take it from you, and carry you across the river, as I did just now.

'You speak well: and if you do this, we to the best of our ability will do as you say.

'But probably it will not be difficult to prove at least this, that the gods are not less careful over small matters than over those of great importance. For he was present, I suppose, and heard what we were saying just now, that being endowed with every virtue they hold the care of all things as their own

peculiar right.

‘Yes, and he listened attentively.

‘Let us then examine the next point together, namely what virtue we ascribe to them, when we agree that they are good. Do we say, pray, that prudence and the possession of mind is proper to virtue, and the contrary to vice?

‘We do say so.

‘Again? That manliness is part of virtue, and cowardice of vice?

‘Yes, certainly.

‘Shall we also say that of these qualities one class is disgraceful, and the other honourable?

‘We must.

‘And of these shall we say that all the bad belong, if so be, to us, but the gods have no part either great or small in such qualities?

‘This also every one must admit.

‘Again? Shall we class carelessness, and idleness, and luxury as a virtue of the soul? How say you?

‘How could we?

‘Well then on the opposite side?

‘Yes.

‘The contraries to these therefore we must set on the other side?

‘Yes, on the other side.

‘What then? Luxurious, and careless, and idle, every one of this character would be in our opinion a man whom the poet declared to be most like to stingless drones?

‘Most truly the poet spake.

‘We must not say then that god is of a character such as this, which he himself hates: nor if any one attempts to utter anything of this kind must it be allowed.

‘Surely not. How could it be allowed?

‘If then it is a man’s especial duty to manage and attend to some work, but he attends to the great and neglects the small parts of this kind of work, on what principle can we praise such a man without going altogether wrong? Let us, however, look at it thus. Does not he who acts in this way, whether god or man, act on one of two principles?

‘What two principles?

‘Either as thinking that it is of no consequence to the whole, if the small matters are neglected, or from slothfulness and luxury, if it is of consequence and he neglects them. Is there any other way *in* which negligence occurs? For of course, when it is impossible to attend to all, there will then be no negligence on the part of one who fails to attend to any matters either small or great, to which a god or any inferior person deficient in power may be unable to attend.

‘Of course not.

‘Now then to answer us three there are two, who both admit that gods exist, though one says that they may be appeased by prayer, and the other that they are careless of small matters. In the first place you both say that gods know and see and hear all things, and that of all the objects of sensation or knowledge nothing can possibly escape their notice. Do you say this is so, or how?

‘It is so.

‘Well, again? Can they do all things which are possible for mortals and immortals?

‘How can they refuse to admit that this also is true?

‘Moreover we have agreed, all five of us, that they are not only good but as good as possible.

‘Yes, certainly.

‘Is it not impossible then to admit that they do anything whatever from indolence and luxury, if they are such as we say? For in us idleness is the offspring of cowardice, and carelessness of idleness and luxury.

‘You speak most truly.

‘No god then is ever negligent from idleness and carelessness, for of course there is no cowardice in him.

‘Most true.

‘If then they neglect the small and trifling concerns of the universe, the alternative is that they must do this, either from knowing that there is no need to attend to any such things at all; or — what is the remaining alternative except that they know the contrary?

‘There is none.

‘Are we then to suppose, O excellent and best of men, that you mean to say

that they are ignorant and, though they ought to attend, are negligent from ignorance, or that they know they ought, just as the worst of men are said to do, when they know that it would be better to do differently from what they really do, and do it not, because of some yielding to pleasures or pain?

‘How is it possible?

‘Do not then human affairs partake of the nature endowed with soul, and is not man himself of all animals the most religious?

‘It seems so indeed.

‘We say, however, that all mortal animals are the “possessions of the gods,” to whom also the whole heaven belongs. ‘Of course.

‘Now therefore any one may say that these things are either small or great to the gods; for in neither case can it become our owners to neglect us, being, as they are, most careful and benevolent. Besides this let us consider the following point also.

‘What point?

‘About sensation and power. Are they not naturally opposed to each other in regard to ease and difficulty?

‘How do you mean?

‘It is surely more difficult to see and to hear the small than the great; but on the other hand it is easier for any one to carry, and hold, and take care of the small and light, than the opposites.

‘Very much more.

‘If then a physician who is willing and able to cure a whole body committed to his charge, attend to the great but neglect the small parts, will the whole do well with him?

‘By no means.

‘No, nor yet with pilots, nor generals, nor stewards, nor statesmen, nor any such officials, would the many or the great things do well apart from the few or small. For as the stonemasons say, the large stones do not lie well without the small.

‘How could they?

‘Let us therefore never think that God is inferior to mortal workmen, who, the better they are themselves, finish their proper works the more exactly and perfectly, both small and great with the same skill; but that God, most wise as He is, and both willing and able to care for all, takes no care at all for those

which it is easier to care for, as being small, but only of the great, just like some idle or cowardly workman giving up work because of the labour.

‘By no means, O Stranger, let us admit such a thought as this concerning gods: for our thought in that case would be by no means either pious or true.

‘It seems to me that we have now at last had quite sufficient discussion with the censorious young man about the negligence of gods.

‘Yes.

‘In forcing him at least by our arguments to confess that he was wrong in what he said. I think, however, that he is still in need of some consoling words.

‘Of what nature, my good friend?

‘Let us persuade the young man by our arguments, that all things have been arranged by the guardian of the universe with a view to the safety and excellence of the whole, and that each part thereof does and suffers its proper share according to its power. And for each of these parts there are rulers appointed over the very smallest portion of action and suffering, by whom perfection is wrought out even to the minutest subdivision.

‘And as one of these thy own portion, O bold man, small indeed though it is, ever looks and tends towards the whole. But of this very fact thou art ignorant, that all creation takes place for the sake of that whole, in order that the life of the universe may have a constant supply of happy being, created not for thy sake, but thou for the sake of that whole. For every physician and every skilful workman makes every thing for the sake of all, aiming at that which is most for the common good: each part he makes for the sake of a whole, and not a whole for the sake of a part.

‘But thou art discontented, because thou knowest not in what way that which is best for thee is expedient both for the whole and for thyself, as far as the law of your common origin admits. But since a soul combined now with one body, and now with another, is always undergoing changes of all kinds, either of itself or through some other soul, nothing is left for the player to do but to shift the pieces, moving the disposition that is growing better into a more favourable place, and that which is growing worse into the worse place, in order that each may obtain the lot appropriate to its destiny.

‘How do you mean?

‘I think I am explaining it in the way in which it would naturally be easy

for the gods to take care of all. For if one were to form and to refashion all things without constantly looking to the whole, as for instance to make living water out of fire, instead of so forming many things out of one, or one out of many, that they partook of a first, or second, or third birth, the contents of the ever-changing arrangement would be infinite in multitude. But now there is wonderful facility for the guardian of the universe.

‘How do you mean again?’

‘In this way. Our King saw that all actions were full of life, and that there was much virtue in them and much vice, and that soul and body had become indestructible, but not eternal, like those who are gods according to law; for if either of these two, soul and body, had perished, there would never have been any generation of living beings; he also discerned that it was the constant nature, of one part, the good in the soul, to be beneficial, and of the evil part to do harm; and when He considered all this, He contrived the place of each part so that it would render virtue victorious in the whole being, and vice overpowered, in the fullest and easiest and best manner.

‘With a view then to all this, He has arranged what quality each must be constantly acquiring, and what seat and what regions it must inhabit in its transmutations: but the causes of the production of a certain quality He left to the will of each of us. For every one of us becomes for the most part such at each time as is the tendency of his desires and the quality of his soul.

‘Naturally so.

‘All things therefore which are endowed with a soul are liable to change, as possessing the cause of change in themselves; and in changing they follow the order and law of destiny. If they make only slight changes of moral character, their changes of place are less and on the level surface of their country; but those which make more and worse changes of character are cast down into the abyss, and the so-called infernal regions, all which under the name of Hades and other similar names men greatly dread and dream about, both in life and after they are separated from their bodies. Whenever therefore a soul undergoes great changes of vice or virtue, through her own will and the strong influence of association, if in the one case from communion with divine virtue she becomes eminently virtuous, she passes into an excellent and all-holy place, being carried away to some other and better region than this; but in the contrary case, she transfers her life to places of the opposite kind.

‘ “Such the just doom the Olympian gods decree,” for you, O boy, or youth, who think the gods care nothing for you; namely, that if you are growing worse you must pass on to the worse souls, and if better to the better, and both in life and in every successive death must do and suffer what it is fitting for like to do to like.

‘Neither shall you nor any other ever boast of having got the better of the gods by escaping this doom, which is the most strictly ordained of all dooms by those who ordained it, and of which you must most carefully beware: for it will never lose sight of you. Neither will you be so little as to sink into the depth of the earth, nor so high as to fly tip into heaven; but you shall pay the fitting penalty, whether while abiding here, or after you have passed into Hades, or been carried away into some yet more savage place than these.

‘You must also take the same account of those others, those, I mean, whom you saw grown from small to great by unholy deeds or any such practices, and supposed that they had passed from misery to happiness, and thought that in their deeds, as in a mirror, you had seen the universal carelessness of the gods, not knowing in what way their share contributes to the whole. But think you, O boldest of men, that it is of no importance to know this, without knowing which a man can never have an idea of life nor be able to join in a discussion thereon, in regard to a happy or unhappy lot.

‘If you can be persuaded of this by Cleinias here, and by all this our company of reverend seniors, that you know not what you say about the gods, God Himself will give you good help: but if you should be in need of any further argument, listen to what we say to the third opponent, if you have any sense at all.’

The meaning of this, if not the actual words, has been previously set down very briefly in the oracles of the Hebrews, the thought being comprised in few words. For the sentence, ‘You will neither be so little as to sink into the depth of the earth, nor so high as to fly up into heaven,’ must be similar to the passage in David, which runs thus: ‘Whither shall I go from Thy spirit, and whither shall I flee from Thy presence? If I go up into heaven, Thou art there. If I go down into Hades, Thou art there.

‘If I should take wings, and abide in the utmost parts of the sea; there also shall Thy hand lead me.’ Also this: ‘The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handy-work.’ And again, this in Isaiah: ‘Lift

up your eyes on high, and behold who shewed all these things.’ Also this: ‘From the greatness and beauty of created things in like proportion is their first maker beheld.’ And this: ‘For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and godhead.’ Also this, ‘I was envious at the wicked, when I saw the prosperity of sinners,’ seems to me to have been paraphrased by Plato in the passage, ‘You must also take the same account of those others, those, I mean, whom you saw grown from small to great by unholy deeds, or any such practices, and supposed that they had passed from misery to happiness.’

Also all the other passages expressed like these in the words of the Hebrews anticipated the interpretation put forth at length by Plato. And so you will find, by carefully examining each of them point by point, that it agrees with the Hebrew writings. And by doctrines of the Hebrews I mean not only the oracles of Moses, but also those of all the other godly men after Moses, whether prophets or apostles of our Saviour, whose consent in doctrines must fairly render them worthy of one and the same title.

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PREFACE

SINCE it has been seen in the preceding Books that the philosophy of Plato in very many points contains a translation, as it were, of Moses and the sacred writings of the Hebrews into the Greek language, I now proceed to add what is still wanting to the argument, and to go through the opinions expressed upon the several topics by those who were before me, and at the same time to free myself from a plausible charge of reproach, in case any one should accuse me. Why then, he might say, if Moses and Plato have agreed so well in their philosophy, are we to follow the doctrines not of Plato but of Moses, when we ought to do the reverse, because, in addition to the equivalence of the doctrines, the Greek author would be more congenial to us as Greeks than the Barbarian?

Being loth to make a retort to this charge from respect to the philosopher, I defer this question to a later period, and will first examine those points which I mentioned first. Take then and read what sort of opinion Plato used to put forward concerning the Greek poets and writers on religion, and how he used to reject all the traditional notions concerning the gods, and thoroughly expose their absurdity.

CHAPTER I

[PLATO] 'To tell of the other divinities, and to learn their origin, is beyond our power; but we must give credence to those who have spoken in former times, who being, as they said, the offspring of gods, had certain knowledge, I suppose, of their own ancestors. It is impossible therefore to disbelieve children of the gods, even though they speak without certain or probable proofs: but as they declare that they are reporting family histories, we must in obedience to the law believe them.

'On their authority then let the origin of these gods be admitted and stated thus. The children of Ge and Uranus (Earth and Heaven) were Oceanus and Tethys, and their children Phorcys and Kronos and Rhea and the rest of them; and of Kronos and Rhea sprang Zeus and Hera, and all whom we know as their reputed brethren, and still others who were their offspring.'

In exhorting us hereby to believe the fables concerning gods, and the authors also of the fables as being forsooth the children of gods, in the first place by saying that 'the poets are the offspring of the gods,' it seems to me that he scoffingly implies that the gods also had been men, and of the same nature as their children.

And next he brings a direct charge against the theologians, whom he had declared to be the offspring of gods, in the assertion which he adds, 'even though they speak without probable or certain proofs,' and by the addition of the words 'as they said.' He seems too to be jesting when he says, they 'had certain knowledge, I suppose, of their own ancestors'; and again, 'It is impossible to disbelieve children of the gods.' Also he expressly shows that he speaks thus against his own judgement on account of the laws, by confessing that it was necessary 'to believe them in obedience to the law.'

And in proof that this was his meaning, hear how in open and undisguised language he reproaches all the would-be theologians, smiting them in the *Epinomis* with the following words:

CHAPTER II

[PLATO] 'WITH regard therefore to the origin of gods and of living beings, as it has been misrepresented by those of former times, it seems necessary for me in the first place to give a better representation in the subsequent discourse, taking up again the argument which I have undertaken against the impious.'

That he has good reason for repudiating the theology of the earliest writers, he shows in the second Book of the *Republic*, where it is worth while to fix the attention upon the number and nature of the statements which he makes concerning the same poets and theologians, from the traditions handed down from old times concerning the Hellenic gods, speaking in the very words that follow:

CHAPTER III

[PLATO] 'IN the greater fables, said I, we shall discern the lesser also: for the general character and the effect of both the greater and the less must be the same. Do you not think so? Yes, I do, said he: but I do not even understand which you call the greater. Those, said I, which Hesiod and Homer and the other poets used to tell us. For they, I suppose, used to compose and tell, and do still tell, false stories to mankind.

'What kind of stories do you mean, said he, and what fault do you find with them?

'The fault, said I, which before and above all we ought to reprove, especially if the falsehood is unseemly.

'What is this fault?

'When a man in his discourse concerning gods and heroes misrepresents their nature, as when an artist paints what is not at all like the things which he may wish to imitate.

'Yes indeed, said he, it is right to condemn such things: but how. and what kind of faults do we mean?

'In the first place then, said I, it was an unseemly lie that was told by the author of that greatest fiction about the greatest gods, how Uranus wrought what Hesiod says he did, and how Kronos took revenge upon him. Again, the doings of Kronos and his treatment by his son, even if they were true, ought not, I should have thought, to have been thus lightly mentioned before young and silly persons, but, best of all, to have been buried in silence; or, if there were any necessity to tell them, then as few as possible should have heard them in secret, after sacrificing no mere pig, but some great and scarce victim, so that very few might have had a chance of hearing them.

'Yes indeed, said he, these stories are mischievous. Aye, said I, and they must not be told in our city, Adeimantus; nor must a young hearer be told, that he would be doing nothing extraordinary in committing the worst crimes, nor on the other hand in inflicting every kind of punishment upon his father if he did wrong, but would be doing what the first and greatest of the gods did.

'Certainly not, nor in my own opinion are such stories fit to be told.

'Nor yet, said I, about gods going to war with gods, and plotting against each other and fighting (untrue as such things are), ought anything to be said,

if the future guardians of our city are to think it most disgraceful to be quarrelling lightly one with another. Far less ought we to tell them in fables and on tapestry about wars of the giants and many other quarrels of all kinds between gods and heroes and their own kinsmen and relations: but if we could in any way persuade them, that no citizen was ever at enmity with a fellow citizen, and that such a thing was unholy, these are the kind of tales that ought rather to be told to children from the first by old men and old women and by those who are growing elderly, and the poets should be compelled to make their tales like these.

‘The chaining too of Hera by her son, and the hurling of Hephaestus out of heaven by his father, when he was going to defend his mother from a beating, and all the battles of the gods that Homer has invented, must not be admitted into the city, whether they are composed with or without allegorical meanings.

‘For the youth is not able to judge what is allegory and what is not: but whatever opinions he accepts at such an age are wont to become indelible and unalterable: and on this account perhaps we ought to regard it of the highest importance, that the tales which they first hear “should be adapted in the most perfect manner to the promotion of virtue.”

‘Yes, that is reasonable, said he: but if any one were to ask us again which these fictions are, and what fables we mean, which should we mention? Then said I: My dear Adeimantus, you and I are not speaking at present as poets, but as founders of a state: and founders of a state ought to know the moulds in which poets should cast their fictions, and from which they must not be permitted to deviate, nor must they invent the fables themselves.

‘Quite right, said he: but that is the very point, what would be the proper models in the case of theology?

‘Some such as the following, said I; God must of course always be represented as He really is, whether a poet describes Him in epic verse, or in lyrics, or in tragedy.

‘Yes, that must be so.

‘Is not God then really good, and to be so described?

‘Of course.

‘But surely nothing good is hurtful? Is it?

‘I think not.

‘Does then that which is not hurtful do hurt?

‘Of course not.

‘And does that which hurts not, do any evil?

‘No, again.

‘Neither can that which does no evil be the cause of any evil?

‘How could it?

‘Well then, is the good beneficial?

‘Yes.

‘It is the cause then of well-being?

‘Yes.

‘The good then is not the cause of all things, but only of what is right, and not the cause of evils.

‘Quite so, said he.

‘Neither then, said I, can God, since He is good, be the cause of all things, as the many say, but of few things that happen to men He is the cause, and of many things He is not the cause: for our good things are far fewer than the evil. And of the good we must assign no other cause than God, but of the evil we must seek the causes in other things, but not in God.

‘I think, said he, you speak most truly.

‘We must not then, said I, allow either Homer or any other poet foolishly to commit such an offence as this against the gods, and to say that

“Two coffers lie beside the door of Zeus,
With gifts for man; one good, the other ill.”

‘And to whom Zeus give a mixture of the two,

‘Him sometimes evil, sometimes good befalls”;

‘And to whom he gives no mixture, but the ill alone,

“Him ravenous hunger o’er God’s earth pursues.”

‘Nor must we admit that Zeus is to us

“The sole dispenser both of weal and woe.”

‘And if any one say that the violation of oaths and treaties wrought by Pandarus was brought about by Athene and Zeus, we shall not approve: nor that the strife and contest of the gods was caused by Themis and Zeus: nor again must we permit our young men to hear how Aeschylus says that

“God plants in mortal breasts the cause of sin,

When He would utterly destroy a house.”

‘But if any one writes a poem, in which these iambics are found, about the sorrows of Niobe, or the calamities of “Pelops’ line,” or the “tale of Troy,” or any other such events, either we must forbid him to call them the work of a god, or, if of a god, then he must invent some such explanation for them as we are now seeking, and must say that God did what was just and good, and the others were the better for being chastised. But we must not permit the poet to say that those who suffered punishment were miserable, and that this was God’s doing.

‘If, however, they would say that the wicked were miserable because they needed punishment, but were benefited by being punished by God, that we must approve.

‘But as to saying that God, who is good, becomes the author of evil to any, we must by all possible means contend that no one shall make such statements in his own city, if it is to be governed by good laws, nor any one either young or old listen to his tales whether in verse or prose, as such statements if tittered would be impious, and neither profitable to us, nor consistent with themselves.

‘I vote with you, said he, for this law, and am pleased with it.

‘This then, said I, will be one of the laws and moulds in which our speakers must speak concerning God, and our poets write, That God is not the cause of all things, but only of the good.

‘That is quite satisfactory, said he.

‘And what then of this second? Do you suppose God to be a sorcerer, and of a nature to show Himself craftily now in one form and now in another, at one time actually becoming what He seems, and changing His own proper form into various shapes, and at another deceiving us, and making us imagine such transformations in Him; or do you think that He is a simple essence, and most unlikely to go out of His own proper form?

‘I am not able, said he, to answer now off-hand.

‘Well, what do you say to this? If anything were to change from its own proper form, must it not be changed either by itself or by some other?

‘It must.

‘Are not then the things which are in the best condition least liable to be altered or moved by another? As for example when a body is affected by

meats and drinks and labours, and every plant by sunshine and winds and other such influences, is it not the healthiest and the most perfect that is altered least?

‘Of course it is.

‘And would not the bravest and wisest soul be least disturbed and altered by any influence from without?

‘Yes.

‘Moreover I suppose that, on the same principle, among all manufactured things, furniture, buildings, and clothes, those that are well made and in good condition suffer the least alteration from time and other influences?

‘It is so.

‘Everything then which is well constituted either by nature or art, or both, admits the least alteration by any other?

‘So it seems.

‘But surely God, and the things of God, are in every way most excellent?

‘Of course.

‘In this way then God is most unlikely to take many shapes.

‘Most unlikely indeed.

‘But would He change and alter Himself?

‘Evidently, said he, if He is changed at all.

‘Does He then change Himself into what is better and more beautiful, or into what is worse and less beautiful than Himself?

‘It must be into what is worse than Himself, if He is changed at all: for surely we shall not say that God is imperfect in beauty or goodness.

‘You are quite right, said I. And this being so, do you think, Adeimantus, that any one, whether god or man, would willingly make himself worse in any way?

‘Impossible, said he.

‘It is also impossible then, said I, that a god should be willing to change himself, but each one of them, as it seems, being as perfect as possible in beauty and goodness, remains ever absolutely in his own form.

‘It seems to me quite certain, said he.

‘Then, my good friend, said I, let none of the poets tell us that

“ Gods, in the guise of strangers from afar,
Wander in various forms from state to state.”

‘Nor let any one slander Proteus and Thetis, nor introduce Hera in tragedies nor in any other poems transformed as a priestess begging alms

“For Inachus the Argive river-god’s
Life-giving daughters.”

‘These and many other such falsehoods let them cease to invent. Neither let our mothers be persuaded by these poets to terrify their children by the tales which they wickedly tell them, that certain gods forsooth wander about by night in the likeness of many animals of different kinds, lest they be both guilty of blasphemy against the gods, and at the same time make their children more cowardly.

‘Let them beware, said he.

‘But then, said I, do the gods, though they are not capable of actual change, make us imagine, by their deception and magic, that they appear in various forms?

‘Perhaps, said he.

‘Well then, said I, would a god be willing to lie either by word or by deed, in putting phantoms before us?

‘I do not know, said he.

‘Do you not know, said I, that the true lie, if one may so speak, is hated by all both gods and men?

‘How do you mean? said he.

‘You know, of course, said I, that no one willingly consents to lie to the highest and chiefest part of himself, and concerning matters of the highest importance, but every one fears above all to harbour a lie there.

‘No, I do not even now understand you, said he.

‘Because, said I, you think I have some grand meaning: but I only mean that to lie to the soul about realities, and to be deceived and ignorant, and to have and to hold the falsehood there, is what all men would most dislike, and what in that part of them they utterly detest.

‘Yes, utterly, said he.

‘But surely, as I was saying just now, this is what might most rightly be called “a true lie,” this ignorance in the soul of the deceived: since the lie in words is a sort of imitation of the affection in the soul, and an image produced afterwards, not at all a pure unmixed lie. Is it not so?

‘Yes, certainly.

‘The real lie then is hated not only by gods, but also by men?

‘I think so.

‘Well then? When and in what case is the lie in words useful, and so not deserving to be hated? Is it not in dealing with enemies, and when any of those who are called our friends from madness or any kind of folly attempt to do some mischief, it then becomes useful as a remedy to turn them from their purpose?

‘Also in those mythical tales of which we were speaking just now, because we know not how the truth stands about ancient events, do we not make the falsehood as much like truth as possible, and so make it useful?

‘It certainly is so, said he.

‘For which of these reasons then is falsehood useful to God? Would He lie from ignorance of ancient events by trying to make them like the truth?

‘Nay, that would be ridiculous.

‘There is nothing of the lying poet then in God?

‘I think not.

‘But would He lie through fear of His enemies?

‘Far from it.

‘Or because His friends are foolish or mad?

‘Nay, said he, no fool or madman is a friend of God.

‘There is no motive then for a god to lie?

‘There is none.

‘The nature then of gods and demi-gods is quite incapable of falsehood?

‘Yes, utterly so.

‘God then is perfectly simple and true both in deed and word, and neither changes in Himself, nor deceives others, either in apparitions, or by words, or by sending signs, either in dream or waking vision.

‘I too think it is just as you say.

‘You agree then, said I, that this is a second mould in which speech or poetry about the gods must be cast, that they neither are wizards who transform themselves nor mislead us by falsehoods either in word or in deed?

‘I do agree.

‘While therefore we commend many other things in Homer, we shall not commend this, the sending of the dream by Zeus to Agamemnon; nor the

passage of Aeschylus, in which Thetis says that Apollo, singing at her marriage,

“Dwelt on my happy motherhood,
The life from sickness free and lengthened years;
Then all-inclusively he blest my lot,
Favoured of heaven, in strains that cheered my soul.
And I too fondly deemed those lips divine
Sacred to truth, fraught with prophetic skill;
But he himself who sang, the marriage-guest
Himself, who spake all this, ’twas even he
That slew my son.”

‘When a poet says such things as these about gods, we shall be angry, and refuse him a chorus; neither shall we allow our teachers to use them for the education of the young, if our guardians are to grow up devout and godlike, as far as it is possible for man to be.

‘I entirely assent, said he, to these principles, and would adopt them as laws.’

Thus speaks Plato: and you would find that the Hebrew Scripture does not contain disgraceful tales about the God of the universe, nor yet about the heavenly angels around Him, nor even about the men who are beloved of God, in any like manner to the Greek theologies; but it contains the model put forth by Plato, that God is good, and all things done by Him are of the same character.

Therefore after each of the works of creation that admirable man Moses adds, And God saw that it was good: and at the end of all he sums up his account of the whole and says, And God saw all things that He had made, and, behold, they were very good. It is also a doctrine of the Hebrews that God is not the author of evils, inasmuch as God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living: for He created all things that they might have being, and the generative powers of the world are healthful; but by the envy of the devil death entered into the world.

Wherefore by the prophet also God is introduced as saying to the man who from his own choice had become evil, Yet I had planted thee a fruitful vine: how wast thou turned back into the strange vine? And if it should anywhere

be said that evils happen to the wicked from God, it must be understood as an accidental coincidence of name, this name being given to the chastisements which God in His goodness is said to send not for the hurt of those who are chastised, but for their benefit and profit: just as a physician to save the sick might be thought to apply bad things in his painful and bitter remedies.

Wherefore in the sacred Scripture also, where it is said that evils are brought upon men by God, we must apply the saying of Plato, 'that God did what was just and good,' even when He was inflicting stern treatment and what men think evils upon those who so deserved, and that 'they were the better for being chastised,' not only according to the philosopher but also according to the Hebrew Scripture which says, For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.

'But we must not permit the poet to say that they who were punished were miserable, and that this was God's doing; if, however, they would say that the wicked were miserable because they needed chastisement, but were benefited by being punished by God, that we must approve. But as to saying that God, who is good, becomes the author of evil to any, we must by all possible means contend against it.'

Moreover on the point that God is not subject to change, the Hebrew prophecy teaches as follows, speaking in the person of God: For I am the Lord your God, and I change not. David also, in his description of God, cries aloud saying: They all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt Thou roll them up, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail.

Wherever the Hebrew writings introduce the Word of God as appearing in form and fashion of man, we must remark that they do not represent Him as appearing to men in the same manner as Proteus and Thetis and Hera, according to the Greek legends, nor as the gods who wander about at night in the likeness of animals of many various kinds; but He came, as Plato himself says is sometimes necessary, for the benefit of friends: 'when through madness or some kind of folly they attempt to do mischief, then as a remedy to turn them from their purpose' the advent of God among men is useful.

Now no species of living creatures on earth is dearer to God than man, a species which is of the kindred and family of the Word of God, by whom also man was made rational in the nature of his soul; with good reason therefore

they say that the heavenly Word, in His care for a living creature whom He loved, came for the healing of the whole race, which had become subject to disease and a strange kind of madness, so that they knew neither God their Father, nor the proper essence of their own spiritual nature, nor yet God's providence which preserves the universe, but had almost come into the degenerate state of an irrational animal.

And on this account, they say, the Saviour and Physician at His advent departed not from His own proper nature, nor yet deceived those who saw Him, but preserved the truth of both natures, the invisible and the visible. For in one way He was seen as true man, and in another way He was the true Word of God, not by witchcraft nor by deluding the spectators; for even Plato thought that the divine nature was rightly free from falsehood.

‘Therefore God the Word, being perfectly simple and true both in deed and in word, neither changed Himself, nor deceived others, either by apparitions or by words, or by sending signs, either in dream or waking vision.’ For all such actions He performed, as became a Physician of reasonable souls, for the salvation of the whole human race, in reality and not in mere seeming, by means of the human nature which He assumed; and thus He bestowed on all of us reconciliation and friendship with His Father through that knowledge of God and true religion which was announced by Him.

Such then are our doctrines: and with those who say otherwise ‘we shall be angry, and refuse them a chorus, neither shall we allow our teachers to use their sayings for the education of the young, if our guardians are to grow up devout and godlike,’ as our philosopher also thought to be best.

CHAPTER IV

[PLATO] ‘FOR though these men themselves consider Zeus the best and most righteous of the gods, yet they acknowledge that even he bound his own father Kronos, because he used wickedly to devour his sons, and that Kronos too had mutilated his own father for similar reasons; but they are angry with me because I proceed against my father for doing wrong, and so they contradict themselves in regard both to the gods and to me.

‘Is this then the reason, Euthyphron, why I am prosecuted, because when any one says such things about the gods, I am vexed at hearing them? And for this, it seems, some one will say that I commit a great sin. Now therefore if you, who know so well about such matters, agree with them, it seems that I too must of necessity agree. For what else can I say, since I myself admit that I know nothing about them? But tell me, for friendship’s sake, do you really believe that these things are so?

‘Yes, Socrates, and more wonderful things than these, of which the multitude know nothing.

‘Do you then also believe that there has really been war among the gods, and dire quarrels and battles, and many other such things, as are told by the poets, and seen in the decorations of our temples by good painters? Especially at the Great Panathenaea the robe that is carried up to the Acropolis is full of such embroideries. Are we to say that these tales are true, Euthyphron?

‘Not these alone, O Socrates; but, as I said just now, I will, if you like, relate to you many other tales concerning the gods, which, I am sure, you will be astonished to hear.’

Thus writes Plato in the *Euthyphron*. And Numenius explains his meaning in his book concerning *The Secrets in Plato*, speaking in the way following:

CHAPTER V

[NUMENIUS] ‘IF Plato, after proposing to write about the theology of the Athenians, had then been displeased with it, and accused it of containing tales of the quarrels of the gods among themselves, and of singing how some had intercourse with their children, and others devoured them, and how for these things children took vengeance upon their fathers, and brothers upon brothers, and other things of this kind, —— if, I say, Plato had taken these stories and openly censured them, I think he would have afforded to the Athenians an occasion for showing their wickedness again by killing him, just as they killed Socrates.

‘But since he would not have preferred life to truthfulness, and saw that he should be able to preserve both life and truth, he gave the part of the Athenians to Euthyphron, a boastful and stupid person, and especially bad in theology, but represented Socrates in his own person, and in his peculiar style, in which he was accustomed to converse with and confute every one.’

CHAPTER VI

[PLATO] 'MY dear Crito, your zeal would be most valuable, if it were consistent at all with right; but if not, the greater the zeal, the more dangerous. We must consider therefore whether we ought to do this or not; for I not only am now but always have been so disposed as to yield to no other persuasion from my friends except the reason which on consideration may appear to me the best.

'The arguments then which I used to urge aforetime, I cannot reject now, because this mischance has come upon me; but they appear to me of no less force, and I prefer and honour the same reasons as I did before: and unless we have any better to urge in my present position, be assured that I shall never agree with you, not even if the power of the multitude should try to scare us like children with more bugbears than at present, threatening bonds, and all kinds of death, and confiscations of goods.

'What then will be the fairest way of examining the question? Should we in the first place take up again this argument which you urge, I mean that concerning men's opinions, whether it was in every case a right statement or not, that we ought to pay attention to some opinions, and not to others? Or whether the statement was right before I was condemned to die, but now has been manifestly proved to have been urged just for the sake of arguing, while it was in reality mere jesting and trifling?

'My own desire then is to consider with your help, Crito, whether the argument will appear to me to be in anyway altered, now that I am in this position, or still the same; and whether we shall renounce it or act according to it. Now I think that by those who thought they were talking seriously, it was generally stated in the same manner as I stated it just now, that of the opinions which men entertain we ought to prize some highly, and not others.

'Pray tell me, Crito, do you not think this a right statement? For you, in all human probability, are in no danger of dying to-morrow, and your judgement will not be perverted by the present mischance. Consider then: do you not think it a satisfactory statement, that we ought not to respect all the opinions that men hold, but to respect some and not others? Nor yet the opinions of all men, but those of some, and not of others? What say you? Is not this a right statement?

‘Quite right.

‘Must we not then respect the good opinions, and not the bad?

‘Yes.

‘And are not the opinions of the wise good, and those of the foolish bad?

‘Of course.

‘Come then, what again was said about such matters as these? Does a man who is learning gymnastics with serious attention give heed to the praise and blame and opinion of every man, or only of that one who may happen to be a physician or a trainer?

‘Only of that one.

‘He ought then to fear the censures and welcome the praises of that one, and not those of the many?

‘That is evident.

‘He must act then, and practise, and eat and drink in such way as may seem good to the one who is his master and understands the matter, rather than to all the others together.

‘It is so.

‘Well; and if he disobey that one, and disregard his opinion and praises, and respect those of the many who understand nothing about it, will he suffer no harm?

‘Of course he will.

‘But what is this harm? And whither does it tend, and to what part of the disobedient person?

‘Evidently to the body, for it does harm to this.

‘You are right. And, Crito, is not the case the same with the rest, not to go through them all? Moreover, in regard to what things are just and unjust, and disgraceful and honourable, and good and evil, which are the subjects of our present consultation, must we follow the opinion of the many and fear it, or that of the one, if there is a man of understanding, whom we ought to reverence and fear more than all the rest together? And if we fail to follow him we shall corrupt and ruin that part of us which, as we said, is improved by justice and degraded by injustice. Or is that part of no importance?

‘I think it is important, Socrates.

‘Well then, if we ruin that part of us, which is improved by what is healthful and damaged by what is unwholesome, by not yielding to the

opinion of those who have understanding, is our life worth living when that is ruined? Now this part, I suppose, is the body, is it not?

‘Yes.

‘Is our life then worth living with a wretched and diseased body?

‘By no means.

‘But is then life tolerable for us with that part of us diseased which is damaged by injustice and improved by justice? Or do we believe that part of us, whatever it is, which is concerned with injustice and justice to be more worthless than the body?

‘By no means.

‘More precious then?

‘By far.

‘Then, my good friend, we must not care thus at all what the many will say of us, but what the man who understands about justice and injustice will say, the one man, and the very truth. So in the first place this proposal of yours is not right, when you advise that we ought to care for the opinion of the many in reference to what is just and honourable and good, and the contrary.’

The word of salvation also says: ‘Ye seek the glory which cometh from men, and the glory which cometh from the Only One ye seek not.’ Wherefore we also in our conflicts for religion do rightly in not considering what the many will say of us, but what is the will of One, even the Word of God, whom having in our judgement chosen once for all, it behoves us still to honour even as we did before, and not to change, no, ‘not even if the power of the multitude should scare us like children with bugbears.’ Now such were the men who bore illustrious testimony of old among the Hebrews.

CHAPTER VII

[PLATO] ‘Do we say that we must not intentionally do wrong in any way, or that we ought to do wrong in one way, and not in another? Or is it neither honourable nor good to do wrong in any way, as we have often agreed in former times, and as I was saying just now? Or have all those our former admissions been scattered to the winds in these last few days, and have we at our age, dear Crito, while holding earnest discourse with one another, been unaware so long that we are no better than children? Or is it most surely true, as we used then to say, that whether the many affirm or deny it, and whether we are to receive still harder treatment or more gentle than now, nevertheless to do wrong is in every way both evil and disgraceful to the wrong-doer? Is this what we assert or not?’

‘It is.

‘We must not then do wrong in any way.

‘Surely not.

‘Not even return wrong for wrong then, as is the opinion of the many, since we must never do wrong in any way?’

‘Evidently not.

‘Well, again? Ought we, Crito, to do evil or not?’

‘Of course we ought not, Socrates.

‘Well then? To render evil for evil, as the many say, is that just or not just?’

‘Not just.

‘For, I suppose, there is no difference between doing evil to men, and doing them wrong.

‘You say well.

‘Then we must neither do wrong in return, nor do evil to any man, whatever we may suffer from him. But take care, dear Crito, lest you may be making this admission against your real opinion. For I know that this is what very few people think or ever will think. Between those then who have adopted this opinion and those who have not there is no common purpose, but they must necessarily despise each other when they look each at the others’ intentions. Therefore do you also consider very carefully whether you share and agree with my opinion, and let us begin our deliberations from this point, that it is never right either to do wrong, or to return wrong, or when evil-

entreated to retaliate by rendering evil. Or do you draw back, and not agree with my first principle? For I have long been of this opinion, and am so still. But if you have formed any other opinion, speak and explain. If, however, you abide by what you held before, listen to the next step.

‘I do abide by it, and agree with you. But say on.

‘I go on then to state the next point, or rather I ask whether a man ought to do whatever he has admitted to any one to be just, or falsely to abandon it?

‘He ought to do it.’

Compare with this the saying: ‘Render to no man evil for evil’; and this: ‘Bless them that curse you: pray for them that despitefully use and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, who maketh His sun to rise upon the evil and upon the good, and sendeth rain upon the just and on the unjust.’ Also this: ‘Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being defamed, we intreat’: a passage which occurs in our sacred Scriptures. The Hebrew prophet also says: ‘If I rendered evil to them that rendered evil to me.’ And again: ‘With them that hate peace I am for peace.’

CHAPTER VIII

[PLATO] 'BUT you used to boast then that you were not grieved if you must die, but preferred death, as you said, to banishment; now, however, you are neither ashamed of those fine sayings, nor pay any respect to us, the laws, but are attempting to destroy us; and you are doing just what the vilest slave would do, in trying to run away contrary to the conditions and agreements on which you consented to be our citizen.

'In the first place, therefore, answer us this very question, whether we state the truth in asserting that you have agreed to be governed according to us in deed, and not only in word; or is it untrue? What are we to say in answer to this, Crito? Must we not admit it?

'Yes, Socrates, we must.

'Are you not then, they would say, transgressing the covenants and agreements which you made with us, and to which you agreed under no compulsion, nor deception? Nor were you forced to decide too hastily, but for a period of seventy years you were at liberty to go away, if you were not satisfied with us, and if our agreements appeared to you unjust?

'You did not, however, prefer either Lacedaemon or Crete, which you are always saying are well governed, nor any other state, Hellenic nor Barbarian, but you travelled away from Athens less than the lame and the blind and the cripples. So much more than other Athenians were you in love with the state, and of course with us the laws; for who would like a state without laws? And will you not now abide by your agreements? You will, if you take our advice, Socrates.'

CHAPTER IX

‘FOR whoever is a corrupter of laws, would be surely thought a corrupter of young and foolish persons. Will you then flee from the well-governed states, and the best-behaved of men? And if you do this, will your life be worth living? Or will you associate with them, and feel no shame in discoursing with them, — and what arguments will you use, dear Socrates? The same as here, that virtue and justice and institutions and laws are the most precious things for mankind? And do you not think that this conduct of Socrates would be unseemly? You certainly ought to think so.

‘But you will depart from these regions, and go to Crito’s friends in Thessaly: for there forsooth is the greatest disorder and licence. And perhaps it will please them to hear from you, in what a ridiculous fashion you made your escape from the prison, having wrapped yourself in some disguise, or taken a goatskin, or something else such as runaways usually dress themselves up in, and so transformed your appearance.

‘But will there be no one to remark that, being an old man, with probably but a short time left to live, you dared to show so greedy a love of life in defiance of the highest laws? Perhaps not, if you do not annoy any one: but otherwise, you will have to listen to many things unworthy, dear Socrates, of you. So you will live by cringing to all men, and serving them; and what will you be doing but feasting in Thessaly, as if you had gone abroad to Thessaly for a dinner? And those fine discourses about justice and the other virtues, where will they be?

‘But forsooth you wish to live for the sake of your children, that you may bring them up and educate them?

‘What then? Will you take them to Thessaly and bring them up and educate them there, making aliens of them, that they may receive this further benefit from you? Or if instead of that they are brought up here, will they be better brought up and educated because you are alive though not with them? For your friends will take care of them? They will take care of them then if you are gone away to Thessaly; but if you are gone to the other world, will they not take care of them, if indeed there is any good in those who say that they are your friends? You must surely suppose they will.

‘Nay, dear Socrates, listen to us who have reared you, and value neither

children, nor life, nor any thing else as of more account than justice, that when you come to the unseen world you may have all these pleas to offer in your defence to the rulers there. For it is evident that to act in this manner is neither in this life better or more just or more holy for you or any of yours, nor will it be better for you when you have arrived in the other world.

‘But now, if you go hence, you will go as one who has suffered injustice not from us, the laws, but from men. But if you go abroad in this disgraceful manner, returning injury for injury and evil for evil, transgressing your own agreements and covenants which you made with us, and wronging those whom you ought least to wrong, yourself and your friends and country and us, we shall be angry with you while you live, and in the other world our brethren, the laws in Hades, will give you no friendly reception, knowing that you have tried your best to destroy us.’

CHAPTER X

‘PERHAPS therefore some one will say, Are you not ashamed then, Socrates, of having pursued such a course of life, that you are now in danger of being put to death for it? But I should return a just answer to him, You are wrong in what you say, Sir, if you suppose that any man who is of the least good ought to take into account the risk of life or death, instead of looking at this point alone in his actions, whether he is doing what is just or unjust, the works of a good or a bad man.

‘For according to your argument the demi-gods who died at Troy would be good for nothing, especially the son of Thetis, who so despised danger in comparison with incurring disgrace, that though his mother, being a goddess, had spoken to him, I suppose, in this way, when he was so eager to kill Hector, O my Son, if you avenge the murder of your friend Patroclus and kill Hector, you will be killed yourself, for, said she,

“On Hector’s fate thine own will follow close.”

And after hearing this he cared little for death and danger, but fearing much more to live as a coward and not avenge his friends, he exclaims:

“Would I might die this hour”

after inflicting vengeance on the injurious foe, that I remain not here a laughing-stock,

“Cumbering the ground, beside the sharp-beaked ships.”

‘Think you that he cared for death and danger? Thus, O men of Athens, the case stands in very truth: wherever a man has chosen his own post because he thought it best, or has been placed by a commander, there, in my judgement, he is bound to await the danger, taking no account either of death or of anything else than disgrace.

‘If therefore, O men of Athens, when the leaders whom you chose to be my commanders set me in my post at Potidaea, and Amphipolis, and at Delium, or anywhere else, I remained just like any other where they placed me and ran the risk of being killed, — how strangely should I have acted, when the god, as I thought and supposed, ordered me to live the life of a philosopher, examining myself and others, if in this case, through fear either of death or anything else whatever, I should desert my post.

‘Strange it would be indeed, and then in truth any one might justly bring

me before the court, on the ground that I do not believe in the existence of gods, since I disobey the oracle, and am afraid of death, and think myself wise when I am not. For to be afraid to die, Sirs, is nothing else than to think oneself to be wise, when one is not: for it is to think that one knows, what one does not know. For no one knows about death even whether it may not be the greatest of all blessings to man; but they fear it as if they certainly knew that it is the greatest of evils. And what is this but that same disgraceful ignorance, for a man to think that he knows what he does not know?

‘But I, Sirs, perhaps on this subject also differ from most men in this; and were I to say that I am wiser than another in any respect, it would be in this, that, as I do not know enough about the state of things in Hades, so I also think that I do not know. But I do know that to do wrong and to disobey one’s superior, whether god or man, is evil and disgraceful. Those evils therefore which I know to be evil I shall always fear and shun, rather than things which, for aught I know, may really be good.

‘Therefore not even if you acquit me now, and refuse to believe Anytus, who said that either I ought not to have come into this court at all, or that, since I had come, it was impossible to avoid putting me to death, and told you that, if I should be acquitted, at once your sons would all be utterly corrupted by practising what Socrates teaches — if in answer to this you should say to me,

Socrates, we are not going to be persuaded by Anytus this time, but we acquit you, on this condition however, that you cease to spend your time in this speculation, and in philosophy; and if you be convicted of doing so any more, you will be put to death; — if then, as I said, you were to acquit me on these conditions, I should say to you, O men of Athens, I honour and I love you, but I shall obey the god rather than you, and as long as I have breath and power, I shall never cease from studying philosophy, and exhorting and instructing any of you whom I may meet from time to time, in my usual style of discourse.’

And a little further on he adds:

‘Let us then consider it also in this way, that there is much reason to hope that death is a good. For the state of the dead is one of two things: either it is like non-existence and absence of all sensation in the dead, or, as is commonly said, it is a sort of transference and migration of the soul from this region to

another. And if there is no sensation, but as it were a sleep in which the sleeper sees nothing even in a dream, death must be a wonderful gain.

‘For I suppose, that if a man were obliged to select the night in which he slept so soundly as to see nothing even in a dream, and to compare all the other nights and days of his life with this night, —— if, I say, he were obliged to consider and tell us how many days and nights in the course of his life he had passed more happily and more pleasantly than this night, I think that not merely any ordinary person but even the great King himself would find these better nights very few in comparison with all the rest of his days and nights. If therefore death is something of this kind, I call it a gain: for thus all time appears nothing more than a single night.

‘But if on the other hand death is like a departure hence to another place, and if what is said is true, that all the dead exist there, what greater good could there be than this, O my judges? For if on arriving in Hades, after having been delivered from the self-styled judges here, a man shall find the true judges, who are said to give judgement there, Minos, and Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus, and Triptolemus, and all the other demi-gods who were just in their own lives, will the change of abode be worth nothing?

‘Or on the contrary, what would any of you pay to associate with Orpheus, and Musaeus, and Hesiod, and Homer? For my part I am willing to die many a death, if indeed these things are true, since I too should find it a delightful occupation there, whenever I met with Palamedes, and Ajax the son of Telamon, and any other of the ancients who has died through an unjust judgement, to compare my own sufferings with theirs, —— no unpleasant thing, methinks it would be. And moreover the chief delight would be to spend my life in examining and scrutinizing the dwellers in that world, as I do those here, to learn which of them is wise, and which, though he thinks so, is not.’

We also have the saying: ‘We ought to obey God rather than men.’ And: ‘Be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul.’ And we know, ‘that if the earthly house of our bodily frame be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens’: ... and that ‘whilst we are absent from the body we are at home with the Lord,’ who also hath promised to all who have hoped in Him, that they shall rest in the bosoms of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and, in company

with all the other Hebrew prophets and righteous men beloved of God, shall pass the long eternity in a blessed life.

CHAPTER XI

‘OF those then who have been killed in war, shall we not say in the first place that any one who died an honourable death was of the golden race?’

‘Most certainly.

‘But when any of such a race as this have died, shall we not believe Hesiod, that:

“These still on earth as holy daemons dwell,
Brave guardians of mankind from every ill”?

‘Yes, we shall believe him.

‘Shall we then inquire of the god how we ought to class daemons and deities, and with what difference, and place them thus in whatever way he may direct?

‘Of course we shall.

‘And for all time to come, believing them to have become daemons, we shall so serve and worship their tombs; and these same customs we shall observe, when from old age or any other cause any one dies of those who have been judged pre-eminently good in life?’

These customs also may fitly be adopted on the death of those beloved of God, whom you would not do wrong in calling soldiers of the true religion. Hence comes also our custom of visiting their tombs, and offering our prayers beside them, and honouring their blessed souls, believing that we do this with good reason.

But in truth though I have made these selections out of the writings of Plato, any other student might find still more points of agreement with our doctrines in the same author, and perhaps in others also. Since, however, others before us have touched upon the same subject, I think it would be right for me to look at the results of their work also. And I will quote first the words of the Hebrew philosopher Aristobulus, which are as follows:

CHAPTER XII

[ARISTOBULUS] 'IT is evident that Plato closely followed our legislation, and has carefully studied the several precepts contained in it. For others before Demetrius Phalereus, and prior to the supremacy of Alexander and the Persians, have translated both the narrative of the exodus of the Hebrews our fellow countrymen from Egypt, and the fame of all that had happened to them, and the conquest of the land, and the exposition of the whole Law; so that it is manifest that many things have been borrowed by the aforesaid philosopher, for he is very learned: as also Pythagoras transferred many of our precepts and inserted them in his own system of doctrines.

'But the entire translation of all the contents of our law was made in the time of the king surnamed Philadelphus, thy ancestor, who brought greater zeal to the work, which was managed by Demetrius Phalereus.'

Then, after interposing some remarks, he further says:

'For we must understand the voice of God not as words spoken, but as construction of works, just as Moses in the Law has spoken of the whole creation of the world as words of God. For he constantly says of each work, "And God said, and it was so."

'Now it seems to me that he has been very carefully followed in all by Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato, who said that they heard the voice of God, when they were contemplating the arrangement of the universe so accurately made and indissolubly combined by God. Moreover, Orpheus, in verses taken from his writings in the *Sacred Legend*, thus sets forth the doctrine that all things are governed by divine power, and that they have had a beginning, and that God is over all. And this is what he says:

"I speak to those who lawfully may hear:
Depart, and close the doors, all ye profane,
Who hate the ordinances of the just,
The law divine announced to all mankind.
But thou, Musaeus, child of the bright Moon,
Lend me thine ear; for I have truths to tell.
Let not the former fancies of thy mind
Amerce thee of the dear and blessed life.
Look to the word divine, keep close to that,

And guide thereby the deep thoughts of thine heart.
Walk wisely in the way, and look to none,
Save to the immortal Framers of the world:
For thus of Him an ancient story speaks:
One, perfect in Himself, all else by Him
Made perfect: ever present in His works,
By mortal eyes unseen, by mind alone
Discerned. It is not He that out of good
Makes evil to spring up for mortal men.
Both love and hatred wait upon His steps,
And war and pestilence, and sorrow and tears:
For there is none but He. All other things
‘Twere easy to behold, could’st thou but first
Behold Himself here present upon earth.
The footsteps and the mighty hand of God
Whene’er I see, I’ll show them thee, my son:
But Him I cannot see, so dense a cloud
In tenfold darkness wraps our feeble sight.
Him in His power no mortal could behold,
Save one, a scion of Chaldaean race:
For he was skilled to mark the sun’s bright path,
And how in even circle round the earth
The starry sphere on its own axis turns,
And winds their chariot guide o’er sea and sky;
And showed where fire’s bright flame its strength displayed.
But God Himself, high above heaven unmoved,
Sits on His golden throne, and plants His feet
On the broad earth; His right hand He extends
O’er Ocean’s farthest bound; the eternal hills
Tremble in their deep heart, nor can endure
His mighty power. And still above the heavens
Alone He sits, and governs all on earth,
Himself first cause, and means, and end of all.
So men of old, so tells the Nile-born sage,
Taught by the twofold tablet of God’s law;

Nor otherwise dare I of Him to speak:
In heart and limbs I tremble at the thought,
How He from heaven all things in order rules.
Draw near in thought, my son; but guard thy tongue
With care, and store this doctrine in thine heart.”

Aratus also speaks of the same subject thus:

“From Zeus begin the song, nor ever leave
His name unsung, whose godhead fills all streets,
All thronging marts of men, the boundless sea
And all its ports: whose aid all mortals need;
For we his offspring are; and kindly he
Reveals to man good omens of success,
Stirs him to labour by the hope of food,
Tells when the land best suits the grazing ox,
Or when the plough; when favouring seasons bid
Plant the young tree, and sow the various seed.”

‘It is clearly shown, I think, that all things are pervaded by the power of God: and this I have properly represented by taking away the name of Zeus which runs through the poems; for it is to God that their thought is sent up, and for that reason I have so expressed it. These quotations, therefore, which I have brought forward are not inappropriate to the questions before us.

‘For all the philosophers agree, that we ought to hold pious opinions concerning God, and to this especially our system gives excellent exhortation; and the whole constitution of our law is arranged with reference to piety, and justice, and temperance, and all things else that are truly good.’

To this, after an interval, he adds what follows:

‘With this it is closely connected, that God the Creator of the whole world, has also given us the seventh day as a rest, because for all men life is full of troubles: which day indeed might naturally be called the first birth of light, whereby all things are beheld.

‘The same thought might also be metaphorically applied in the case of wisdom, for from it all light proceeds. And it has been said by some who were of the Peripatetic School that wisdom is in place of a beacon-light, for by

following it constantly men will be rendered free from trouble through their whole life.

‘But more clearly and more beautifully one of our forefathers, Solomon, said that it has existed before heaven and earth; which indeed agrees with what has been said above. But what is clearly stated by the Law, that God rested on the seventh day, means not, as some suppose, that God henceforth ceases to do anything, but it refers to the fact that, after He has brought the arrangement of His works to completion, He has arranged them thus for all time.

‘For it points out that in six days He made the heaven and the earth and all things that are therein, to distinguish the times, and predict the order in which one thing comes before another: for after arranging their order, He keeps them so, and makes no change. He has also plainly declared that the seventh day is ordained for us by the Law, to be a sign of that which is our seventh faculty, namely reason, whereby we have knowledge of things human and divine.

‘Also the whole world of living creatures, and of all plants that grow, revolves in sevens. And its name “Sabbath” is interpreted as meaning “rest.”

‘Homer also and Hesiod declare, what they have borrowed from our books, that it is a holy day; Hesiod in the following words:

“The first, the fourth, the seventh a holy day.”

‘And again he says:

“And on the seventh again the sun shines bright.”

‘Homer too speaks as follows:

“ And soon the seventh returned, a holy day.”

‘And again:

“ It was the seventh day, and all was done.”

‘Again:

“ And on the seventh dawn the baleful stream
Of Acheron we left.”

‘By which he means, that after the soul’s forgetfulness and vice have been left, the things it chose before are abandoned on the true seventh which is reason, and we receive the knowledge of truth, as we have said before.

‘Linus too speaks thus:

“All things are finished on the seventh dawn.”

‘And again:

“Good is the seventh day, and seventh birth.”

‘And:

“Among the prime, and perfect is the seventh.”

‘And:

“Seven orbs created in the starlit sky

Shine in their courses through revolving years.””

Such then are the statements of Aristobulus. And what Clement has said on the same subject, you may learn from the following:

CHAPTER XIII

[CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA] ‘BUT we must add the further evidence, and show now more clearly the plagiarism of the Greeks from the Barbarian philosophy. For the Stoics say that God, as also the soul of course, is in essence body and spirit. All this you will find directly stated in their writings. For I do not wish you now to consider whether their allegorical interpretations, as the Gnostic verity delivers them, show one thing and mean another, like clever wrestlers. But what they say is that God extends through all being, while we call Him simply the Creator, and Creator by a word.

Now they were misled by what is said in Wisdom: “Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by virtue of her purity”: since they did not understand that this is said of that wisdom which was the first-created of God. Yes, say they; but the philosophers, Stoics as well as Plato and Pythagoras and even Aristotle the Peripatetic, suppose matter to be one of the first principles, and do not assume one only principle.

‘Let them know, then, that the so-called matter, which is said by them to be without quality or shape, has been previously described more boldly by Plato as “Not-being”; and is it perchance from knowing that the real and true first cause is one, that he speaks so mysteriously in the *Timaeus* in these very words?

‘Now therefore let my position be stated as follows: “Of the first principle or principles of all things, or in whatever way it is thought right to describe them, I must not speak at present, for no other reason than this, that it is difficult to explain my opinions according to our present form of discourse.”

‘And, besides, that prophetic expression, “The earth was invisible and without order,” has given them suggestions of a material essence. In fact, the interposition of “chance” occurred to Epicurus from having misunderstood the language of the following passage: “Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.” To Aristotle it occurred to bring Providence down only so far as to the moon, from this Psalm: “Thy mercy, O LORD, is in the heaven, and Thy truth reacheth unto the clouds.” For before the coming of the Lord the meaning of the prophetic mysteries was not as yet revealed.

‘Again the chastisements after death and the punishment by fire were stolen from our Barbarian philosophy both by every Muse of poetry and even

by the Greek philosophy. Plato, for instance, in the last Book of the *Republic* says in express terms: "Hereupon certain fierce men of fiery aspect, who were standing by and understood the sound, seized and led away some of them separately; But Aridaeus and the rest they bound hand and foot and head together, and threw them down, and flayed them, and dragged them along the road outside, carding them like wool on thorns." For his "fiery men" are meant to indicate angels, who seize the unrighteous and punish them. "Who maketh," says the Scripture, "His angels spirits, and His ministers a flaming fire."

'Now it follows upon this that the soul is immortal. For that which is undergoing punishment or correction being in a state of sensation, must be living, though it be said to suffer. Again, does not Plato know also rivers of fire, and the deep of the earth, called by the Barbarians Gehenna, which he calls poetically Tartarus, and introduces Cocytus, and Acheron, and Phlegethon, and names of this kind, as places of punishment for correctional training? And representing, according to the Scripture, the angels of the least of the little ones which behold the face of God, and also His supervision extended to us through the angels set over us, he does not hesitate to write:

"After all the souls have chosen their lives, according to their lot, they went forward in order to Lachesis, and she sent with each the genius of his choice, to be the guardian of his life, and the fulfiller of his chosen destiny."

'Perhaps also something of this kind was intimated to Socrates by his daemon.

'Nay more, the philosophers borrowed, from Moses their doctrine that the world was created, and Plato has said expressly:

' "Was it that the world had no beginning of creation, or has it been created at first from some beginning? For it is visible, and tangible, and has a body."

'And again, when he says: "To find therefore the Maker and Father of this universe is a hard task," he not only shows that the world has been generated, but also indicates that it was generated from Him, as from one alone, and sprang up out of non-existence. The Stoics also suppose that the world has been created.

'The devil too, so often mentioned by the Barbarian philosophy, the prince of the daemons, is described by Plato, in the tenth Book of the *Laws*, as being

a malignant soul, in the following words: “As then a soul directs and inhabits all things that move in every direction, must we not say that it also directs the heaven?”

‘ “Of course.

‘ “One soul or more? More, I will answer for both of you. Less than two surely we must not suppose, one that does good, and the other that has power to work evil.”

‘In like manner also he writes in the *Phaedrus* thus: “There are indeed other evils, but with most of them some daemon has mingled an immediate pleasure.” And further in the tenth Book of the *Laws* he directly expresses that thought of the Apostle: “Our wrestling is not against blood and flesh, . . . but against the spiritual powers of the hosts in heaven,” when he writes thus:

‘ “For since we agreed among ourselves that the heaven is full of many goods, and full also of evils, and of more evils than goods, such a conflict as this, we say, is immortal, and requires wonderful caution.”

‘Again, the Barbarian philosophy knows one intelligible world, and another sensible, the one an archetype, and the other an image of that fair model; and the former it ascribes to unity, as being perceptible to thought only, but the sensible to the number six: for among the Pythagoreans six is called marriage, as being a generative number. And in the unity it sets an invisible heaven, and a holy earth, and intelligible light. For “In the beginning,” says the Scripture, “God created the heaven and the earth: and the earth was invisible.” Then it adds, “And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.” But in the creation of the sensible world He framed a solid heaven (and what is solid is sensible), and a visible earth, and a light that is seen. Do you not think that from this passage Plato was led to leave the “ideas” of living things in the intelligible world, and to create the sensible forms according to the various kinds of that intelligible world?

‘With good reason, therefore, Moses says that the body was formed of earth, what Plato calls “an earthly tabernacle,” but that the reasonable soul was breathed by God from, on high into man’s face: for they say that the ruling faculty is seated in this part, and interpret thus the accessory entrance of the soul through the organs of sense in the first-formed man; for which reason also man, they say, is made “after the image and likeness of God.”

‘For the image of God is the divine and royal Word, the impassible man;

and an image of that image is the human mind. But if you will admit another name for the growing likeness, you will find it called in Moses a following of God: for he says, “Walk after the LORD your God, . . . and keep His commandments.” And all the virtuous are, I suppose, followers and servants of God.

‘Hence the Stoics have said that the end of philosophy is to live according to the guidance of nature, while Plato says it is to become like God, as we showed in the second *Miscellany*; and Zeno the Stoic having received it from Plato, and he from the Barbarian philosophy, says that all good men are friends one of another. For in the *Phaedrus* Socrates says that “Fate has not ordained that the wicked should be a friend to the wicked; nor the good fail to be a friend to the good.”

‘This he also fully showed in the *Lysis*, that friendship can never be preserved amid injustice and wickedness. The Athenian Stranger too says in like manner, “That it is conduct pleasing to God and like Him, and has one ancient saying in its favour, when ‘like loves like’ if it be in measure, but things beyond measure agree neither with things beyond nor with things within measure. And God must be to us the measure of all things.”

‘Then lower down Plato adds again:

‘ “ For indeed every good man is like every other good man, and consequently being also like God, he is beloved both by every good man and by God.” Arrived at this point, I am reminded of the following passage, for at the end of the *Timaeus* he says that “one should assimilate that which perceives to that which is perceived, according to its original nature, and by thus assimilating them attain the end of that life which is proposed by the gods to men as the best both for the present time and for that which is to follow.”

And after a few sentences he adds:

‘That we are brethren as belonging to one God and one teacher, Plato evidently declares in the following terms:

“ For ye in the city are all brothers, as we shall say to them in telling the fable; but God, in forming as many of you as are fit to rule, mixed gold in their composition, wherefore they are the most to be honoured: and for all the auxiliaries silver, but iron and copper for the husbandmen and other operatives.”

‘Whence, he says, it has necessarily come to pass that some embrace and

love those things which are objects of knowledge, and others those which are matters of opinion. For perhaps he is prophesying of that elect nature which desires knowledge; unless in assuming three natures he, as some supposed, is describing three forms of polity, that of the Jews silver, that of the Greeks the third, and that of the Christians in whom there has been infused the royal gold, the Holy Spirit.

‘Also he exhibits the Christian life when writing word for word in the *Theaetetus*:

“Let us speak then of the leaders; for why should one talk about those who spend their time to no good purpose in philosophy? But these leaders, I suppose, neither know the way to the Agora, nor where the court of justice is, or the council-chamber, or any other public assembly of the State; and laws, and decrees whether read or written, they neither see nor hear. The strivings of political clubs, and meetings, to obtain offices, and revellings with flute-girls are practices which do not occur to them even in dreams. And what has happened well or ill in the city, or what evil has come to any one from his ancestors, is less known to them than, as the proverb says, the number of gallons in the sea. As to all these things he knows not even that he does not know them: for in fact it is his body only that has its place and home in the city, but the man himself ‘is flying,’ as Pindar says, ‘underneath the earth’ and above the heaven, studying the stars, and scrutinizing every nature on all sides.”

‘Again, with the Lord’s saying, “Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay,” we must compare this: “But it is by no means right for me to admit a falsehood, and to suppress a truth.” Also with the prohibition of swearing agrees this saying in the tenth Book of the *Laws*: “Let there be no praising nor swearing about anything.” And to speak generally, Pythagoras and Socrates and Plato, when they say that they hear God’s voice, while carefully contemplating the constitution of the universe as made by God and held together without interruption, must have heard Moses say, in describing the word of God as a deed, “He spake, and it was done.”

‘Also taking their stand upon the formation of the man out of dust, the philosophers on every occasion proclaim that the body is of earth, and Homer does not shrink from putting it in the light of a curse:

“ But may all ye to earth and water turn.”

Just as Esaias says: “ And tread them down as clay.”

‘Callimachus too writes expressly:

“ It was that year in which the winged tribe
And they that swim the sea or tread the earth
Spake like the clay Prometheus called to life.”

‘And again the same poet said:

“ If thou wast fashioned by Prometheus’ hand,
And not of other clay.”

‘Hesiod also says of Pandora:

“ Renowned Hephaestus bade he with all speed
Mix earth with water, and therein infuse
The voice and mind of man.”

‘Now as the Stoics define nature as an artistic fire which proceeds systematically to generation; so by the Scripture God and His Word are represented figuratively by fire and light. Again, is not Homer also alluding to the separation of the water from the land, and the clear discovery of the dry land, when he says of Tethys and Oceanus:

“ For now have they long time
From love and from the marriage-bed abstained “?”

‘Again, the most learned among the Greeks ascribe to God power in all things: thus Epicharmus, who was a Pythagorean, says:

“ Nothing e’er from God escapeth; this behoves thee well to know;
He o’erlooks us closely; nothing is to God impossible.”

‘The lyric poet too:

“ From thickest darkness of the night
God can call forth the purest light,
Or with dark clouds at will o’erlay
The brightness of the orient day.”

‘He who alone can turn the present day into night, the poet says, is God.

‘Aratus also, in the book entitled *Phaenomena*, after saying:

“From Zeus begin the song, nor ever leave
His name unsung, whose godhead fills all streets,
All thronging marts of men, the boundless sea,
And all its ports; whose aid all mortals need,”

‘adds:

“For we his offspring are,”
as it were by creation,

. . . “and kindly he
Reveals to man good omens of success.
In heaven he set those guiding lights, and marked
Their several course; and for the year he wove
The circlet of the stars, to show to man
What best the seasons suit, that all things set
In order due may grow. Him ever first,
Him last our prayers invoke. Hail, Father, hail!
Wonder and joy and blessing of mankind.”

‘Also before him Homer, in the account of the shield made by Hephaestus, describes the creation of the world in accordance with Moses, saying:

“Thereon were figured earth, and sky, and sea,
And all the signs that crown the vault of heaven.”

‘For the Zeus who is celebrated in all poems and prose compositions, carries up our thought to God.

‘Then, further, Democritus writes that some few of mankind are in the light, so to say, “who lift up their hands to that place which we Greeks now call the air, and mythically speak of all as Zeus; and he knows all things, and gives and takes away, and he is king of all.” With deeper mystery the Boeotian Pindar, as being a Pythagorean, teaches:

“One race of men and one of gods,
Both from one mother draw our breath,”

that is, from matter: he teaches also that the Creator of this world is one, whom he calls,

“ Father, of all artificers the best,”

who has also provided the means of advancement to divinity according to merit.

‘For I say nothing as to Plato, how he plainly appears in the Epistle to Erastus and Coriscus to set forth Father and Son somehow from the Hebrew Scriptures, when he exhorts them in these words “to invoke both with a graceful earnestness, and with the culture which is akin to such earnestness, the God who is the cause of all, and also to invoke the Father and Lord of Him who is ruler and cause, whom (says he) ye shall know, if ye study philosophy aright.”

‘Also Zeus in his harangue in the *Timaeus* calls the Creator Father, in these words:

“Ye gods and sons of gods, whose Father I am, and Creator of the works.” So that also when he says, “Around the King of all are all things, and for His sake they all are, and that is the cause of all things beautiful; and around a Second are the secondary things, and around a Third the tertiary,” I understand it in no other way than that the Holy Trinity is signified. For I think that the Holy Spirit is the third, and the Son the second, “by whom all things were made” according to the will of the Father.

‘The same author, in the tenth Book of the *Republic*, mentions Er, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth, who is Zoroaster. At least Zoroaster himself writes, “Zoroaster the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth, having been slain in war, writes down here all things which when in Hades I learned from the gods.” Now Plato says that this Zoroaster when laid upon the funeral pile on the twelfth day after death came to life again. Perhaps he alludes not to the resurrection, but to the circumstance that the way for souls to their reception above is through the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and Plato himself says that their way of return to birth is the same. In this way we must understand also that the labours of Hercules were said to be twelve, after which the soul obtains its release from this world entirely. Empedocles also I do not pass over, who mentions the restitution of all things in merely physical language, saying that there will at some time be a change into the essence of fire.

‘And most plainly is Heraclitus of Ephesus of this opinion, who maintained that there is one world eternal, and another that perishes, namely, the world in its orderly arrangement, which he knew to be no other than a certain condition of the former. But that he knew the world, which consisting of all being is eternally of a certain quality, to be eternal, he makes evident in speaking thus:

“ The world which is the same for all was made neither by any god nor man, but always was, and is, and shall be, an everliving fire, kindled in measure, and in measure extinguished.”

‘His doctrine was that the world was created and perishable, as is shown by what he adds: “The transmutations of fire are first sea, and of sea one half becomes earth and the other half lightning.” For virtually he says, that by God the Word, who administers the universe, fire is changed through air into moisture, the seed as it were of the cosmical arrangement; and this moisture he calls sea. And out of this again heaven and earth arise, and all things therein contained.

‘How the world is again taken back into the primitive essence, and destroyed by fire, he clearly shows in these words: “ The sea is spread abroad, and is measured to the same proportion as it was before it became earth.” In like manner concerning the other elements the same is to be understood.

‘Doctrines similar to this are taught also by the most celebrated of the Stoics in their discussions concerning a conflagration and re-arrangement of the world’s order, and concerning both the world and man in their proper quality, and the continuance of our souls. Again, Plato in the seventh Book of the *Republic* has called our day here a “ darkness visible,” because, I suppose, of the world-rulers of this darkness; and the soul’s entrance into the body he has called “sleep” and “death,” in the same manner as Heraclitus. And is this, perhaps, what the Holy Spirit, speaking by David, foretold concerning our Saviour: “ I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the LORD will sustain me.” For he figuratively calls not only the Resurrection of Christ an awaking from sleep, but also the Lord’s coming down into flesh a sleep.

‘For instance, the same Saviour gives the exhortation “Watch,” as much as to say, study to live, and try to keep the soul independent of the body. Also in the tenth Book of the *Republic*, Plato speaks prophetically of the Lord’s day in these words:

“But when those in the meadow had each been there seven days, they were obliged on the eighth to arise thence and proceed on their journey, and arrive on the fourth day.”

‘By the meadow, therefore, we must understand the fixed sphere, as a quiet and pleasant place, and an abode of the saints; and by the seven days, each motion of the seven planets, and the whole effective device which speeds them to their final rest. The journey after passing the planets leads to heaven, that is to the eighth motion and eighth day; and when he says that the souls are four days on the journey, he indicates their passage through the four elements.

‘Moreover, the Greeks as well as the Hebrews recognize the holiness of the seventh day, by which the cycle of the whole world of animals and plants is regulated. Hesiod, for instance, speaks of it thus:

“The first, the fourth, the seventh a holy day.”

‘And again:

“And on the seventh again the sun shines bright.”

‘Homer too:

“ And soon the seventh returned, a holy day.”

‘And again:

“The seventh day was holy.”

‘And again:

“ It was the seventh day, and all was done.”

‘And again:

“And on the seventh day the baleful stream
Of Acheron we left.”

‘Moreover, the poet Callimachus writes:

“All things were finished on the seventh dawn.”

‘And again:

“ Good is the seventh day, and seventh birth.”

‘And:

“ Among the prime, and perfect is the seventh.”

‘Also:

“ Seven orbs created in the starlit sky
Shine in their courses through revolving years.”

‘The *Elegies* of Solon also make the seventh day very divine.

‘And again: Is it not like the Scripture, which says, “Let us take away from us the righteous man, because he is of disservice to us,” when Plato, all but foretelling the dispensation of salvation, speaks thus in the second Book of the *Republic*: “In these circumstances the just man will be scourged, fettered, both eyes torn out; and at last, after suffering every kind of torture, he will be crucified “? Antisthenes too, the Socratic, paraphrases that prophetic Scripture, “To whom did ye liken Me? saith the LORD,” when he says that “God is like to none, wherefore no man can come to know Him from an image.” The like thoughts Xenophon the Athenian expresses in these words: “ That He who moves all things, and is Himself at rest, is a great and mighty Being, is manifest: but what He is in form, is unknown. Neither, indeed, does the sun, which appears to shine on all, seem to allow himself to be seen: but if any one gazes impudently upon him, he is deprived of sight.” The Sibyl had said before:

“What flesh can e’er behold with mortal eyes
The immortal God, who dwells above the skies?
Or who of mortal birth can stand and gaze
With eyes unshrinking on the sun’s fierce rays?”

‘Rightly, therefore, does also Xenophanes of Colophon, when teaching that God is one and incorporeal, add this:

“ One God there is, supreme o’er gods and men,
Not like in form to mortals, nor in mind.”

‘And again:

“ But mortals fondly deem that gods are born,
Have voice, and form, and raiment like their own.”

‘And again:

“If then the ox and lion had but hands
To paint and model works of art, like man,
The ox would give his god an oxlike shape,
The horse a figure like his own would frame,

And each would deify his kindred form.”

‘Again, then, let us listen to Bacchylides, the lyric poet, when he says concerning the divine nature:

“No taint of foul disease can them assail,
No bane annoy, unlike in all to man.”

‘Hear also Cleanthes, the Stoic, who has written as follows in a certain poem concerning the Deity:

“Askest thou what good is? List then to me.
Good is well ordered, holy, just, devout,
Self-mastering, useful, honourable, right,
Grave, self-dependent, ever full of help,
Unmoved by fear, by sorrow, and by pain,
Beneficent, well pleasing, friendly, safe,
Of good report, acknowledged, and esteemed,
Free from vainglory, careful, gentle, strong,
Deliberate, blameless, during to the end.”

‘The same author, tacitly accusing the idolatry of the multitude, adds this:

“Poor slave is he who to opinion looks,
In hope, forsooth, some honour thence to gain.”

‘We must not, therefore, any longer think of the divine nature according to the opinion of the multitude: for, as Amphion says in the *Antiope*:

“Never can I believe that secretly,
Disguised in fashion of some wicked knave,
Zeus visited thy bed in human form.”

‘But Sophocles writes in straightforward language:

“For this man’s mother was by Zeus espoused,
Not in a shower of gold, nor in disguise
Of feathered swan, as when he pregnant made
Fair Leda, but complete in manly form.”

‘Then farther down he added:

“Swiftly then the adulterer
Upon the bridal chamber’s threshold stood.”

‘After which he still more openly describes the incontinence of Zeus as represented in the fable, in the following manner:

“Then he nor feast, nor lustral water touched,
But hastened to the couch, with heart deep stung
By lust, and wantoned there that whole night through.”

‘Let these things, however, he left to the follies of the theatres. Heracleitus expressly says: “Men are found incapable of understanding the reason of what is right on each occasion, both before they have heard it, and on hearing it for the first time.”

‘And Melanippides, the lyric poet, sings thus:

“Hear me, O Father, man’s delight,
Thou ruler of the undying soul.”

‘Parmenides too, “the Great,” as Plato calls him in the *Sophist*, writes in the following manner concerning the Deity:

“Many the proofs that show
The Deity knows neither birth nor death,
Sole of His kind, complete, immovable.”

‘Moreover, Hesiod says that He is

“Sole king and lord of all the immortal gods,
With whom no other may in power contend.”

‘Nay, further, Tragedy also draws us away from the idols, and teaches us to look up to heaven. For as Hecataeus, who composed the *Histories*, says in the passage concerning Abraham and the Egyptians, Sophocles openly cries out upon the stage:

“There is in truth One God, and One alone,

Who made the lofty heavens, and wide-spread earth,
The sea's blue wave, and might of warring winds.
But we poor mortals with deceived heart,
Seeking some solace for our many woes,
Raised images of gods in stone or bronze,
Or figures Wrought of gold or ivory;
And when we crowned their sacrifice, and held
High festival, we thought this piety."

'Euripides, too, says in his tragedy upon the same stage:

"Seest thou this boundless ether spread on high,
With watery arms embracing all the earth?
Call this thy Zeus, deem this thine only god."

'In the drama of *Pirithous* also the same tragic poet speaks as follows:

"Thee we sing, the Self-begotten,
Who all nature dost embrace,
And mid yon bright ether guidest
In her everlasting race.
Day and dusky night returning
Deck for Thee heaven's wide expanse:
Myriad stars for ever burning
Weave round Thee their mystic dance."

'For here he speaks of the Creative mind as "the Self-begotten," and all things that follow are ranked with the cosmos, in which also are the alternations of light and darkness.

Aeschylus also, the son of Euphorion, speaks very solemnly of God:

"Zeus is the bright pure ether, Zeus the earth,
The heaven, the universe, and all above."

'I know that Plato adds his testimony to Heracleitus when he writes: "One, the only wise, wills not to be described, and wills to be named Zeus." And again, "law is obedience to the will of one." Also if you should wish to trace back the meaning of the saying, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," you

would find it explained by the Ephesian thus: “ Those who hear without understanding are like deaf persons: the proverb witnesses of them that though present they are absent.”

‘But you wish perhaps to hear from the Greeks an express statement of one first cause? Timaeus the Locrian, in his treatise on *Nature*, will testify for me word for word: “There is one beginning of all things, which is unoriginate: for if it had an origin, it would be no longer a beginning, but that from which it originated would be the beginning.” For this opinion, which is true, flowed from the passage, “ Hear, O Israel, the LORD thy God is One, and Him only shalt thou serve.”

“Lo! He is clear to all, from error free,”

as says the Sibyl.

‘Also Xenocrates, the Chalcedonian, by naming “ the High and Nether” Zeus, admits an indication of Father and Son. And the strangest thing of all is, that the Deity seems to be known to Homer, who represents the gods as subject to human passions, yet even so does not gain the respect of Epicurus. Homer says at least:

“Achilles, why with active feet pursue,
Thou mortal, me Immortal?
Knowest thou not My Godhead?”

‘For he has made it clear that the deity cannot be apprehended by a mortal, nor perceived by feet, or hands, or eyes, or by the body at all. “To whom have ye likened the Lord? Or to what likeness have ye compared Him?” says the Scripture. “ Is He an image that a workman made, or did a goldsmith melt gold and spread it over Him? “ and the rest.

‘The Comic poet Epicharmus also, in his *Republic*, speaks evidently of the Word (Reason) in this manner:

“ Greatest need hath man of Reason and of number in life’s ways;
For in them is our salvation, and by them we mortals live.”

Then he adds expressly:

“Reason is man’s guide, to govern and preserve him in the way.”

Then:

“ Mortal men have use of Reason; Reason also is divine:
Reason is the gift of nature for man’s life and sustenance.
Reason man’s divine attendant guideth him in all his arts:
Reason is his sole instructor, teaching what is best to do.
Art is not of man’s invention, but a gift that comes from God,
Man’s own reason is the offspring of that Reason all-divine.”

‘Moreover, the Spirit had cried by the mouth of Esaias, “ What is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the LORD: I am full of the burnt-offerings [of rams], and in the fat of lambs and blood of bulls [and of he-goats] I have no delight”; and added soon after, “ Wash you, make you clean, put away your iniquities from your souls.” So Menander, the Comic poet, writes what answers to this in these very words:

“For whosoever brings a sacrifice
Of countless bulls or kids, O Pamphilus,
Or aught like these, who works of art designs,
Vestments of gold or purple, life-like forms
Graven in emerald or ivory,
And hopes thereby God’s favour may be
Won He strangely errs, and hath a dullard’s mind.
Man’s duty is to help his brother man,
Nor simple maid nor wedded wife betray.
Nor steal nor murder for foul lucre’s sake.
Then covet not, dear friend, a needle’s thread,
For God is ever near to watch thy deeds.”

““ I am a God at hand, and not a God far off. Shall man do aught in secret places, and I not see him?” So God speaks by Jeremiah. And again Menander, paraphrasing that Scripture, “Offer the sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the LORD,” writes in this way:

“Then, dearest friend,
Ne’er covet even a pin that is not thine;
For God in works of righteousness delights,
And thine own life permits thee to enrich,
Ploughing the land and toiling night and day.

Then be thou ever just, and worship God
With heart as pure as is thy festal robe.
And if the thunder roll, flee not, my lord,
For conscious of no guilt thou need'st not fear:
Since God is watching o'er thee nigh at hand."

"Whilst thou art yet speaking, I will say, Behold, here I am," saith the Scripture.

'Diphilus again, the Comic poet, discourses of the Judgement somewhat as follows:

"Thinkest thou then, Niceratus, the dead,
Who in this life all luxury enjoyed,
Escaped from God lie hidden from His sight?
There is an eye of Justice that sees all,
And even in Hades we believe there are
Two paths of destiny, one for the just,
The other for the ungodly. If men say
The earth shall hide them both alike for ever,
Go rob, and steal, all right and wrong confound:
Be not deceived; in Hades judgement waits,
Which God will execute, the Lord of all,
Whose Name so terrible I dare not speak.
He to the sinners length of days accords;
But if a mortal thinks, that day by day
He can do evil, and escape the gods,
In this his wicked thought, though Justice lag
With tardy foot, he shall be caught at last.
All ye who think there is no God, beware!
There is, there is: let then the wicked man
Cease to do ill, and so redeem the time:
Else his just doom he shall at last receive."

'With this the tragedy also agrees in these words:

"There comes in after days, there comes a time,
When you bright golden ether shall pour forth

Her store of fire, until the well-fed flame
All things in heaven and earth shall fiercely burn.”

And again soon after it adds:

“And then when all creation is dissolved,
The sea’s last wave shall die upon the shore,
The bald earth stript of trees, the burning air
No winged thing shall bear upon its breast;
When all is lost then all shall be restored.”

The like thoughts we shall find also expressed in the Orphic poems, as follows:

“He hides them all, then from his heart again
With anxious care brings all to gladsome light.”

And if we live a just and holy life throughout, happy are we here, and happier after our departure hence, enjoying blessedness not merely for a time, but enabled to find rest in eternity.

“Sharing with all the gods one hearth, one feast,
And free from human sorrows, toil, and death.”

So says the philosophic poetry of Empedocles. There is none so great, even in the opinion of the Greeks, as to be above the judgement, nor so small as to be hidden from it. ‘The same Orpheus says also this:

“ Look to the word divine, keep close to that,
And guide thereby the deep thoughts of thine heart.
Walk wisely in the way; and look to none
Save to the immortal Framer of the world.”

And again concerning God, calling Him invisible, he says that He was made known only to one certain person, a Chaldaean by birth, whether he so speaks of Abraham, or of his son, in the following words:

“Save one, a scion of Chaldaean race:
For he was skilled to mark the sun’s bright path,

And how in even circle round the earth
The starry sphere on its own axis turns,
And winds their chariot guide o'er sea and sky."

'Then, as it were paraphrasing the Scripture, "Heaven is my throne, and earth the footstool of my feet," he adds:

"But God Himself high above heav'n, unmoved,
Sits on His golden throne; and plants His feet
On the broad earth; His right hand He extends
O'er Ocean's farthest bound; the eternal hills
Tremble in their deep heart, nor can endure
His mighty power. And still above the heavens
Alone He sits, and governs all on earth.
Himself first cause, and means, and end of all.
Not otherwise dare I to speak of Him:
In heart and limbs I tremble at the thought,
How He from heav'n all things in order rules,"

and the lines that follow these. For herein he has plainly set forth all those prophetic sayings: "Whosoever shall rend the heaven, trembling shall seize him: and from Thee the mountains shall melt away, as wax melteth from the presence of fire." Also what is said by the mouth of Esaias: "Who measured the heaven with a span, and all the earth with his fist?"

'Again, when he says:

"Lord of the heavens, of Hades, land, and sea,
Whose thunders shake Olympus' strong-built dome,
Whom daemons shuddering flee, and all the gods
Do fear, and Fates implacable obey.
Eternal Mother and eternal Sire,
Whose anger shakes the universal frame,
Awakes the stormy wind, veils all with clouds,
And rends with sudden flash the expanse of heav'n.
At Thy command the stars their changeless course
In order run. Before Thy fiery throne
Angels unwearied stand; whose only care

Is to perform Thy gracious will for man.
Thine is the Spring new-decked with purple buds,
The winter Thine, with chilling clouds o'ercast,
And autumn with its merry vintage Thine."

'Then, expressly calling God the Almighty, he adds:

"Come, then, thou deathless and Immortal Power,
Whose name none but Immortals can express.
Mightiest of Gods, whose will is strong as Fate,
Dreadful art Thou, resistless in Thy might,
Deathless, and with etherial glory crowned."

So then by the word μητροπάτωρ he not only indicated the creation out of nothing, but gave occasion perhaps to those who introduce the doctrine of emissions to imagine also a consort of God. And he paraphrases the prophetic Scriptures, both that which was spoken by Hosea (Amos): "Lo! I am he that formeth the thunder and createth the wind, whose hands founded the host of heaven": and that which was spoken by Moses: "See, see, that it is I, and there is no other god but me. I will kill, and I will make to live: I will wound, and I will heal: and there is none that shall deliver out of my hand."

"'Tis He that out of good for mortals brings
Evil and cruel war,"

according to Orpheus.

'Such also is the saying of Archilochus of Pares:

"Zeus, Father Zeus, the realm of heav'n is thine,
But knavish and unholy deeds of men
Scape not thine eye."

'Let Thracian Orpheus again sing for us thus:

"His right hand He extends
O'er Ocean's farthest bound; and plants His feet
On the broad earth."

These thoughts are manifestly taken from that passage, “The Lord shall shake inhabited cities, and take the whole world in His hand, as a nest”; “The LORD who made the earth by His power,” as Jeremiah says, “and established the world by His wisdom.”

‘Moreover in addition to this Phocylides, calling the angels daemons, shows in the following words that some of them are good and some bad, as we also have been taught that some are apostate:

“ But daemons different in kind o’er men
At various times preside; some to protect
Mankind from coming evils.”

‘Well therefore does Philemon also, the Comic poet, exterminate idolatry by these words:

“ Fortune is no divinity for us,
No goddess; only that which of itself
Happens by chance to each is fortune called.”

‘Sophocles too, the Tragedian, says:

“Not even the gods have all things at their will,
Save Zeus, the final and first cause of all.”

‘Orpheus also says:

“ One power, one god, one vast and flaming heav’n,
One universal frame, wherein revolve
All things which here we see, fire, water, earth,”

and the lines that follow.

‘Pindar too, the Lyric poet, breaks out as it were in transport, saying expressly:

“ What then is God? The All.”

‘And again:

“ God, who for mortals all things makes,
(Gives also grace to song).”

‘Also when he says:

“Why hope in wisdom to excel
Thy brother man? It is not well
For mortals here on earth
With minds of human birth
The counsels of the gods to scan.”

He has drawn his thought from the passage: “Who hath known the mind of the LORD? Or who hath been His counsellor?”

‘Moreover Hesiod agrees with what has been said above in writing thus:

“Of men on earth no prophet so inspired
Can know the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus.”

With good reason, therefore, does the Athenian Solon himself follow Hesiod, when he writes:

“The Immortals’ mind is all unknown to men.”

‘Again, as Moses had foretold that the woman because of the transgression should bring forth children to pain and sorrow, a certain poet of no little distinction writes:

“Never by day from labour and distress
By night from groaning shall they cease; so hard
The cares and troubles which the gods shall give.”

‘Moreover Homer shows that God is just, when he says:

“The Eternal Father hung His golden scales aloft.”

And Menander, the Comic poet, interprets God’s, goodness, when he says:

“By every man from moment of his birth
A friendly genius stands, life’s mystic guide.
No evil daemon he (forbid the thought!),
With power malign to mar thy happy lot.”

And then he adds:

“*Ἀπαντα δ’ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν Θεόν,*”

meaning either “that every god is good,” or, what is the truer meaning, “

that in all things God is good.”

‘Again, Aeschylus, the Tragic poet, in setting forth the power of God does not hesitate to call Him the Most High in the following passage:

“Set God apart from mortals in thy thought,
Nor deem that, like thyself, He too is flesh.
Thou know’st. Him not: as fire He now appears.
A mighty force, now water, now dark storm.
Again in likeness of the beasts He comes,
Of wind, or lightning, thunder, cloud, or rain.
The seas, and sea-girt rocks, the springing wells,
The gathering floods, obey His sovereign will.
The pillars of the earth, the vast abyss
Of Ocean, and the mountain-tops do shake,
If the dread Master’s eye but look on them:
So glorious is the power of God Most High.”

Does it not seem to you that he is paraphrasing that passage: “ At the presence of the LORD the earth trembles.”

‘Besides this, the chief prophet Apollo is compelled, in testimony to the glory of God, to say of Athena, when the Medes were marching against Greece, that she entreated and supplicated Zeus for Attica. And the oracle is as follows:

“Pallas with many words and counsel wise
May pray, but ne’er appease Olympian Zeus.
For he to the consuming fire will give
The shrines of many gods, who now perchance
Stand bathed in chilling sweat, and shake with fear,”

and so forth.

[CLEMENT] ‘Thearidas, in his book *On Nature*, writes, “The first cause of things that exist, the real and true cause, is one. For that is in the beginning one and alone.”

“There is none other save the mighty King,”

as Orpheus says. And with him the Comic poet Diphilus agrees in a very sententious manner, when he says:

“Him never cease to honour and adore,
Father of all, sole source of every good.”

‘With good reason, therefore, Plato trains “the noblest natures to attain that learning which in the former part of our discussion we declared to be the highest, both to discern the good and to make the great ascent.” “This then, as it seems, would be no mere turning of an oyster-shell, but the conversion of a soul passing from a kind ‘of darkness visible’ to the true upward path of being, which we shall call true philosophy”; and those who have partaken thereof he judges to belong to the golden race, when he says, “Ye are doubtless all brethren”; but those who are of the golden race can judge most accurately, and in every way. . . .

‘Instinctively, therefore, and without teaching, all things derive from all a conception of the Father and Maker of all, things inanimate by suffering with the animal creation, and of living beings those which are already immortal by working in the light of day, and of those still mortal some (perceive Him) in fear while carried by their mother in the womb, but others by independent reasoning. And of mankind both Greeks and Barbarians all have this conception; and nowhere is there any race either of husbandmen or of shepherds, nay not even of the dwellers in cities, who can live without being prepossessed by the belief in that higher power. Wherefore every nation of the east, and every one that touches the western shores, the northern also, and all upon the south, have one and the same presentiment of Him who established the government of the world, inasmuch as the most universal of His operations have pervaded all things alike.

‘Much more did the inquisitive philosophers among the Greeks, by an impulse from the Barbarian philosophy, ascribe the pre-eminence to the One invisible most mighty and most skilful chief cause of all things most beautiful, without understanding the consequences of this, unless they were instructed by us, nay, not even understanding how God Himself is naturally to be conceived, but only, as we have said many times already, in a true but indirect way.’

So far Clement. But since the Philosophy of Plato was shown by us at some length to be in very many things in agreement with the doctrines of the Hebrews (for which we admire the man’s wisdom and his candour also in regard to the truth), it is time to consider what the points are in which, as we

say, we are no longer so favourably disposed towards him, but prefer that which is accounted the Barbarian philosophy to his.

CHAPTER XIV

THE oracles of the Hebrews containing prophecies and responses of a divine power beyond that of man, and claiming God as their author, and confirming their promise by the prediction of things to come, and by the results corresponding to the prophecies, are said to be free from all erroneous thought. For instance, ‘the words of God are declared to be pure words, and silver tried in the fire, tested by earth, purified seven times.’

But not such are the words of Plato, nor yet of any other of the wise among men, who with the eyes of mortal thought and with feeble guesses and comparisons, as in a dream, and not awake, attained to a notion of the nature of all things, but superadded to the truth of nature a large admixture of falsehood, so that one can find in them no learning free from error.

Now, for example, if you would suppress a little of this self-admiration, and contemplate the true light itself by the faculty of reason, you would perceive that even that wonderful philosopher, who alone of all the Greeks touched the threshold of truth, dishonours the name of the gods by applying it to perishable matter and carved images fashioned by mechanic hands into a human shape; and after the lofty height of his magniloquence, wherein he contended that he knew the Father and Maker of this universe, is thrust down from his place on high among the supramundane circles, and sinks with the common people of Athens into the lowest depth of their God-detested idolatry; so that he does not shrink from saying that Socrates had gone down to the Peiraeus to pray to the goddess, and to see his fellow citizens then for the first time celebrating their barbarous festival; acknowledging also that he had enjoined the offering of a cock to Aesculapius, and regarded as a god the ancestral prophet of the Greeks, the daemon who sits enshrined at Delphi.

Wherefore also the blame of the superstitious delusion of the unphilosophical multitude might with good reason be ascribed to him. Take up again for instance his discourse a little farther back, and after his incorporeal and imperishable ‘ideas,’ and after a first god and a second cause, and after intelligent and immortal essences, observe what kind of laws the all-wise philosopher would enact concerning the belief of the common people, speaking thus:

[PLATO] ‘To tell of the other divinities and to learn their origin is beyond

us; but we must give credence to those who have spoken in former times, who being, as they said, the offspring of gods, had, I suppose, a clear knowledge of their own ancestors. It is impossible therefore to disbelieve children of the gods, even though they speak without certain or probable proofs: but as they assert that they are reporting family histories, we must in obedience to the law believe them.

‘On their authority then let the origin of these gods be as follows and so stated. The children of Earth and Heaven were Oceanus and Tethys; and their children Phorcys and Kronos and Rhea, and all the others with them: and of Kronos and Rhea came Zeus and Hera, and all whom we know as their reputed brethren, and still others who were their offspring.’

For these reasons then we must give up the great philosopher, as having misrepresented the fabulous theogonies of the poets, not like a philosopher, nor in a self-consistent manner. For you had the opportunity of hearing himself speak in the *Republic* as follows:

‘In the greater fables, said I, we shall also discern the less: for there must be the same type, and the same tendency in both the greater and the less: do you not think so?

‘Yes, I do, said he: but I do not even understand which you call the greater.

‘Those, said I, which Hesiod and Homer and the other poets told us: for they, I suppose, were the composers of fictitious tales, which they told and still tell to mankind’; meaning the stories which we have quoted a little above.

Again there was that passage of his in which he said,

‘We shall begin then, said I, with the following verse, and strike out it and all that are like it:

“ Fain would I serve some master in the field,”

and the rest; also the passage wherein he adds:

‘Once more then we shall entreat Homer and the other poets not to represent Achilles, the son of a goddess,

“ Now turning on his side, and now again
Upon his back,”

and the rest that follows. To this he adds:

‘Or to say that Zeus, while all the other gods and men were asleep, and he alone awake, lightly forgot all the plans he had devised, through the eagerness

of desire, and was so smitten at sight of Hera that he would not even wait to go into his chamber, but wished to lie with her there on the ground like a lark, and said that he was possessed by a stronger passion than even when they first used to meet “without the knowledge of their dear parents.” Nor shall we admit the tale of Ares and Aphrodite being bound by Hephaestus for acts of the same kind!’

And then after having told these tales in such a manner, what does he mean in the saying which comes after, by calling the poets ‘children of the gods,’ and asserting that ‘to disbelieve them is impossible,’ although he protested that they had invented the fictitious stories about the gods ‘without necessary or probable proofs’?

And what is the meaning of this unreasonable belief, put forward in fear of punishment from the laws? And how can Uranus and Ge be first of the gods, then their offspring Oceanus and Tethys, and after all these Kronos, and Rhea, and Zeus, and Hera, and all their sons and brothers and descendants mentioned in fables by Homer and Hesiod, when he was refuting these very stories by speaking thus:

‘The fault, said I, which we ought to reprove before all and above all, especially if a man lies in unseemly fashion.

‘What fault is that?

‘When a man in his discourse concerning gods and heroes misrepresents their nature, just as when an artist paints what is not at all like the things which he may wish to imitate.’

And again:

‘In the first place, said I, it was no seemly lie that was told by the author of that greatest lie about the greatest gods, how Uranus wrought what Hesiod says he did, and how Kronos took revenge upon him,’ and what follows this.

But how could the same poets who are here called false and untruthful be spoken of on the other hand as offspring of the gods? However, for these reasons we must abandon this philosopher, as having through fear of death played false with the Athenian democracy: but must honour Moses, and the Hebrew oracles, as everywhere shining out from the one true religion that is free from error. Look then at another point.

CHAPTER XV

THE Hebrews say that the intermediate nature of rational beings is generated and not without beginning. And in their account they distinguish this nature into intelligent beings whom they call spirits, and powers, and God's ministering angels and archangels: and from their fall and transgression they derive the race of daemons, and the whole species of the adverse and wicked agency.

For which reason they forbid us to regard as gods those who are not possessed of virtue and goodness as inseparable from their nature, but have received their very existence not from themselves but from the Cause of all, and also acquire their well-being, and their virtue, and their immortality itself not in the same manner as either He who is God over all, or He by whom all things were made.

But Plato although, like the Hebrews, he supposes the rational natures to be incorporeal and intelligible essences, yet falls away from consistency, by first asserting that they, as well as every soul, are unoriginated, and then saying that they were formed out of an effluence of the First Cause. For he does not mean to admit that they have arisen out of nothing.

Wherefore also he supposes that there is a numerous race of gods, assuming in his argument certain effluences and emissions of the First and Second Causes: and that they are in nature good and in no way capable of departing from their proper virtue, whence also he supposes them to be gods.

But the tribe of daemons he believes to be different from these, as being capable of baseness and wickedness, and change for the worse: and some of these are called, and are, good and some evil. But while he thus makes these suppositions contrary to the Hebrew doctrines, he does not explain from what source it may reasonably be said that the daemons arose.

For that they arose from the matter of the corporeal elements no one in his senses would assert: for this matter is irrational, but rational things can never be born of an irrational, and the daemons are rational. If, however, these come from an effluence of the greater gods, how then are they not themselves gods as much as those who have begotten them? And how if the source is good are the things which flow from it not like it? And whence in these latter did a shoot of wickedness grow up, if the root comes originally from good and

passes through good? Of how can bitter come from the sweet?

If then the race of the wicked daemons is worse than any darkness and any bitterness, how can it be said to come from an effluence of the nature of the better powers? If it was from this, it would not have turned aside from its proper lot: and if it has been changed, then it was not at first impassible in its nature: and if it was not such, how then could they be gods who are capable of participating in an evil destiny?

If, however, they were neither from the effluence of the better powers, nor yet from the matter of the corporeal elements, we must now either say that they were unoriginated, and must set over against God in addition to the unoriginated matter of the corporeal elements a third group of unoriginated rational beings, thus no longer representing God as being the Maker of all, and Framer of the Universe, or, if we admit this, we must also admit that He made the non-existent, according to the statements of the Hebrews,

For what do these teach on this subject? They say that the intermediate nature of rational beings arose neither from the matter of the corporeal elements, nor from an effluence of the essence which is unbegotten and ever remains in the same mode and relations; but that having no previous existence it has come into being by the effective power of the Cause of all.

And thus they are no gods, nor have been properly dignified with the title, because they are not equalized in nature with their Maker, nor have goodness inseparably attached to them, like God, but sometimes would even admit the contrary to that which is good through disregard of that study of the higher power, which everyone has wrought out for himself, who is by nature master of his own movement and purpose. So much then for this subject; and now let us pass to another.

CHAPTER, XVI

PLATO, although he agreed with the Hebrews in supposing the soul immortal, and saying that it was like unto God, no longer follows them when he sometimes says that its essence is composite, as if involving a certain part of the indivisible and immutable Cause, and a part of the divisible nature belonging to bodies.

He speaks, for instance, in the *Timaeus* in these very words:

[PLATO] 'But to the soul, as a mistress to rule over a subject, He gave priority and precedence over the body both in origin and excellence, and made

her out of the following constituents and in the following manner. Of the indivisible and ever immutable essence, and of the other divisible essence belonging to bodies, He compounded a third intermediate species of essence out of both the nature of ‘the same’ and the nature of ‘the other,’ and in this way set it midway between the indivisible part and the divisible part which belongs to bodies. And he took the three, as they now were, and mingled them all together into one “idea,” and as the nature of “the other” was hard to combine, he fitted it by force into “the same.”

Hence also he has naturally connected the passible part with the rational part of the essence. But though at one time he has given this decision concerning the essence of soul, at another he involves it in a different and worse absurdity, by declaring that the divine and heavenly essence, which is incorporeal and rational and like unto God, and which by virtue of its great excellence soars above the celestial circles, comes down from above out of the supramundane regions upon asses, and wolves, and ants, and bees, and calls upon us to believe this account without any proof.

He speaks accordingly in the discourse *Concerning the Soul* as follows:

‘So they continue to wander until, by the craving of that corporeal nature which still accompanies them, they are again imprisoned in a body: and probably they are imprisoned in animals of such moral nature as the habits which they may themselves happen to have followed in life.

‘What kind of natures do you mean, Socrates?

‘For example, those who have practised gluttony, and wantonness, and drunkenness, and have taken no good heed, probably sink into the class of asses and other beasts of that kind: do you not think so?

‘Yes, what you say is quite probable.

‘And those who have preferred a course of injustice and tyranny and plunder go into the classes of wolves, and hawks, and kites: or whither else should we say that such souls go?

‘Certainly into such as these, said Cebes.

‘Well then, said he, as to the other cases it is evident what way each soul will go, according to the affinities of their habits.

‘Quite evident, said he, for how could it be otherwise?

‘Well then, said he, are not the happiest among them and those who pass into the best place the men who have practised the civil and political virtue

which is called temperance and justice, produced by habit and attention, without the aid of philosophy and intellect?

‘How now are these the happiest?

‘Because it is probable that these pass again into some social and gentle race, of bees perhaps or wasps or ants, or even back again into the human race itself.’

In the *Phaedrus* also hear how he discourses:

‘For to the same state from which each soul has come she does not attain within ten thousand years; for before this time none grows wings except the soul of the guileless philosopher, or of the philosophic lover. These in the third period of a thousand years, if they have chosen this life thrice successively, so get their wings and fly away in the three-thousandth year. But the others receive judgement when they have finished their first life: and after judgement some go to the houses of correction beneath the earth and suffer punishment, and others, lifted by the judgement to some place in heaven, live in a manner worthy of the life which they lived in human form. But in the thousandth year both good and evil souls come to an allotment and choice of their second life, and choose whichever each may wish. And there both a human soul may pass into the life of a beast, and from a beast he who was once a man may pass back into a man again.’

This is what he says in the *Phaedrus*; but now listen to him writing in the *Republic* in the following style:

‘For he said that he saw the soul which was once that of Orpheus choosing the life of a swan, out of hatred of the female sex, because he had been killed by them, and would not be conceived and born of woman. Then he saw the soul of Thamyras choose the life of a nightingale: he saw also a swan changing and making choice of a man’s life, and other musical animals in like manner, as was natural. And the soul that gained the twentieth lot chose a lion’s life; and it was the soul of Ajax, son of Telamon, which shrank from becoming a man because he remembered the judgement concerning the arms.

‘And the soul of Agamemnon which came next, and also hated the human race because of his sufferings, changed for the life of an eagle. The soul of Atalanta, whose lot was about the middle, having observed the great honours of an athlete, could not pass by without choosing that life. Next after her he saw the soul of Epeius, the son of Panopeus, passing into the nature of a

female artist. Far off among the hindmost he saw the soul of Thersites, the buffoon, entering into an ape.

‘The soul of Odysseus, having by chance obtained the last lot of all, came forward to choose; and having been cured of ambition by remembrance of his former troubles, went about for a long time seeking for the life of a private person free from business, and with difficulty found one lying somewhere neglected by all the rest, and when he saw it he said that he would have done the same even if he had gained the first lot, and so chose it gladly. Of the other animals also some in like manner passed into men and into one another, the unjust changing into the savage, and the just into the gentle, and formed all kinds of mixtures.’

In these discourses concerning the soul it is evident that Plato is following the Egyptian doctrines: for his statement is not that of the Hebrews, since it is not in accordance with truth. There is, however, no occasion to refute this, because he did not himself attempt the problem in the way of demonstration. But thus much one may reasonably remark, that it was not consistent for the same person to say that at the moment of decease the souls of the ungodly departing hence suffer in Hades the just penalties of their deeds, and there undergo eternal punishment, and then to assert that they choose again their modes of life here according to their own will.

For he says that they become imprisoned in a body through desire of what is bodily; and that some of them who have been reared in wantonness and gluttony become asses, and enter into the bodies of other beasts, choosing them at will and not according to just desert; and the unjust and rapacious become wolves, and kites, having entered into this nature of their own accord. Then he says that the soul of Orpheus wished to be a swan; and the soul of Thamyris chose the life of a nightingale, and Thersites that of an ape.

But where then would be that judgement after their departure hence, which he describes in the dialogue *On the Soul*, saying:

‘When the deceased have arrived at the place to which each is brought by his daemon, . . . then those who may be thought to have lived an ordinary life proceed to Acheron, and having embarked in such vessels as there are for them, they arrive in these at the lake; and there they dwell, and are purged and punished for their crimes, and so absolved from any offence which each has committed: and for their good deeds they receive rewards each according to

his desert. But any who may be thought to be incurable because of the greatness of their sins, having perpetrated either many great acts of sacrilege or many wicked and lawless murders, or any other crimes of this kind, these, I say, are cast by their suitable destiny into Tartarus, whence they never come out.

Thus he described the fate of the ungodly; and now hear how he speaks of the pious:

‘And of this class those who have thoroughly purified themselves by philosophy live for the time to come altogether free from troubles, and attain to abodes still more beautiful than the former, to describe which is neither easy, nor is the time at present sufficient.’

In the *Gorgias* also observe what he says:

‘The man who has lived a just and holy life departs after death to the Islands of the Blessed, and there dwells in perfect happiness beyond the reach of ills. But he who has lived an unjust and godless life goes to the prison-house of vengeance and punishment, which they call Tartarus, . . . and whoever may have committed the worst misdeeds, and because of such crimes have become incurable, of these the examples are made. And, being incurable, they receive no more benefit themselves; but others receive benefit, who see them for their great sins enduring the most painful and terrible sufferings for all time, hung up simply as examples there in the prison-house in Hades, a spectacle and warning to the wicked who are continually arriving.’

How can this agree with the statements concerning an exchange of bodies, which the soul, they say, seeks after and chooses? For how can the same soul after its departure hence endure tortures, and prisons, and all this punishment for ever, and on the other hand as one released and free from bonds choose whatever modes of life it will? And if it were likely to choose again the life of pleasure, where then is the prison-house of vengeance and punishment? At leisure one might attack the argument at a thousand other points, on the thought of which there is no time to enlarge.

So the first error in Plato’s opinion on this subject has been thus detected; but the second slip in the exposition of his doctrine, wherein he laid down that one part of the soul is divine and rational and another part of it irrational and passible, has been condemned even by his own friends, as one may learn from statements of the following kind:

CHAPTER XVII

[SEVERUS] 'WITH regard to the soul as described by Plato, which he says was composed by God of an impassible and a passible essence, as some intermediate colour from white and black, this is what we have to say, that when in time a separation of them takes place the soul must necessarily disappear, like the composition of the intermediate colour, when each of its constituents is naturally separated in time into its proper colour. But if this is so we shall show the soul to be perishable and not immortal.

'For if this is admitted, that nothing in nature is without its opposite, and that all things in the world have been arranged by God out of the nature of these opposites, He having impressed upon them a friendship and communion, as of dry with moist, and hot with cold, heavy with light, white with black, sweet with bitter, hard with soft, and on all qualities of this kind one other combination including them all, and then upon the impassible essence a combination with the passible, and if the combined and mingled elements naturally in time undergo a separation from each other, and if it is to be assumed that the soul has been produced out of an impassible and a passible essence, then, in the same way as the intermediate colour, so also this must naturally disappear in time, when the opposite elements in its composition press towards their proper nature.

'For do we not see that what is naturally heavy, even though it be lifted up by us, or by any natural lightness being added to it from without, presses down as before in its own natural direction? How in like manner also that which is by nature light, if borne downward by similar external causes, presses upward itself as before? For things which have been combined into one out of two mutual opposites cannot possibly remain always in the same state, unless there is always in them some third kind of natural substance.

'But soul in fact is not any third thing compounded of two mutual opposites, but simple and in its sameness of nature impassible and incorporeal: whence Plato and his School said that it was immortal.

'Since, however, it is a doctrine common to all that man is made of soul and body, and the motions which take place within us apart from the body, whether voluntary or involuntary, are said to be affections of the soul, most of the philosophers, guessing hereby that its substance is passible, say that it is

mortal and of a corporeal nature, not incorporeal. But Plato was driven to interweave the passible element with its naturally impassible essence. That neither, however, is the case we shall endeavour to demonstrate by arguing from what Plato and the others have severally said, and explaining the powers which operate within us.'

Let this suffice for my quotation from Severus the Platonist *On the Soul*.

But in addition to what has been already said consider also the following point in regard to the origin of heaven and the luminaries therein.

CHAPTER XVIII

PLATO agrees with the Hebrews in the account which he gives of the heaven and its phenomena, according to which it was settled that they have had a beginning, as having been made by the Author of the universe, and that they partake of the corporeal and perishable substance; but he no longer agrees with the Hebrews when he enacts a law that men should worship them and believe them to be gods, speaking thus in the *Epinomis*:

[PS.-PLATO] 'Whom then, O Megillus and Cleinias, do I ever with reverence speak of as god? Heaven, I suppose, which it is most right for us, like all others, daemons as well as gods, to honour, and to pray especially to it: and that it has also been the author of all other blessings to us all men would agree.'

Then lower down in the same work he adds this:

'But of the visible gods, who are the greatest and most honourable, and have the keenest sight in all directions, the first we must declare to be the nature of the stars, and all things that we perceive to have been created with them; and next to these and under them the daemons in order, and, as occupying a third and intermediate abode, an aerial race acting as our interpreters, whom we ought to honour much with prayers for the sake of their favourable intervention.'

Having hereby declared that the aforesaid beings are gods, he gives in the *Timaeus* a physical explanation of their original constitution, in the following description:

[PLATO] '(Having arranged that) as fire is to air, so is air to water, and as air to water, so is water to earth, of these He combined and constituted a visible and tangible heaven. And for these reasons and out of these elements, such as I have described, being four in number, the body of the world was formed in harmony by due proportion, and from them gained a friendliness such that after having coalesced in itself it became indissoluble by any other except the author of its combination.'

Then he adds:

'And in the centre of it He set a soul, which He not only spread throughout, but also wrapped it round the body on the outside, and so formed one single and solitary heaven as a circle revolving in a circle.'

And again lower down he says in addition:

‘In accordance then with reason and this purpose of God for the birth of time, that time might begin, sun, and moon, and five other luminaries, which are surnamed planets, have been created in order to define and preserve the reckonings of time: and, after having made their several bodies, God set them in the orbits traversed by the revolution of “the other.”’

Also he adds:

‘And the bodies bound together by animated bonds became living beings, and learned the law appointed for them.’

In the tenth Book also of the *Laws* he gives a general explanation concerning every kind of soul, speaking as follows:

‘All things, however, that partake of soul are subject to change, as possessing in themselves the cause of change. And when they have changed they move on in the order and law of their destiny: if they have made only small change in their moral characters, they make small changes of place on the surface of the ground; but if they have fallen away more frequently and culpably, they pass into the abyss.’

So then if ‘all things which partake of soul are liable to change, as possessing the cause of change in themselves,’ and if heaven, and sun, and moon are, according to Plato himself, partakers of soul, then these also must change, ‘as possessing the cause of change in themselves,’ according to his statement. How then does he say on the other hand that they are eternal and therefore gods, although existing in a mortal body, and liable to be dissolved? At least he says again in the *Timaeus*:

‘When therefore all gods, both those which are visible in their revolutions and those which appear only as far as they choose, had been created, the author of this universe spake to them as follows:

‘Ye gods and sons of gods, the works whereof I am the creator and father, are indissoluble save by My will. Therefore though all that is bound may be dissolved, yet only an evil being would wish to dissolve that which is well composed and in right condition. Wherefore also since ye have come into existence, though ye are not altogether immortal nor indissoluble, nevertheless ye shall not be dissolved nor incur the fate of death, since in My will ye have found a still stronger and more valid bond than those by which ye were bound together at the time of your creation.’

So speaks Plato. With good reason therefore do Moses and the Hebrew oracles forbid to worship these and to regard them as gods; but leading us upward to the God who is King of all, the very creator of sun and moon and stars and the whole heaven and world, who by a divine word combined and fitted all things together, he bids us by his law to believe in Him alone as God, and to ascribe the honour of worship to Him only, saying, ‘Lest, when thou see the sun and moon and all the stars and all the host of heaven, thou be deceived and worship them.’

This command is interpreted and explained at large by Philo, the man so learned in the affairs of the Hebrews, speaking thus word for word:

[PHILO] ‘Some supposed that sun and moon and the other luminaries are gods of absolute power, to whom they attributed the causes of all things that are made. But Moses thought that the world was both created, and was the greatest of all States, having rulers and subjects, the rulers being all in heaven, such as are planets and fixed stars, and the subjects being the natures beneath the moon, in the air, and near the earth.

‘But the so-called rulers, he thought, were not independent, but deputies of one universal Father, by imitating whose superintendence they succeed in ruling every thing in creation in accordance with justice and law. But they who did not discern Him who sits as charioteer ascribed the causes of all things which are done in the world to those who are yoked under Him, as if they worked independently. But the most sacred Lawgiver changes their ignorance into knowledge, when He speaks thus: “Lest, when thou beholdest the sun and the moon and the stars and all the host of heaven, thou be deceived and worship them.”

‘With well-directed aim and nobly did he call the acceptance of the above-mentioned as gods a deception. For they saw that the seasons of the year, in which the generations of animals and plants and fruits are brought to completion in definite periods, of time are settled by the advance and retreat of the Sun; they saw also that the Moon as handmaid and successor of the Sun had taken up by night the care and superintendence of the same as the Sun by day, and that the other luminaries in accordance with their sympathy towards things terrestrial were working and doing countless services for the permanence of the whole; and so they fell into an endless delusion in supposing that these were the only gods.

‘Whereas if they had been attentive to walk by the unerring path they would have learned at once that in the same way as sense is the servant of mind, so also were all who can be perceived by sense made ministers of Him whom mind alone can perceive.’

Also he further says:

‘So having transcended by reason all visible being, let us go on to the dignity of Him who is without bodily form and invisible, and can be apprehended by thought alone, who is not only the God of the worlds both of thought and sense, but also the Creator of all things. But if any one assign the worship of the Eternal Maker to another younger and begotten being, let him be written down as a madman and guilty of the greatest impiety.’

These are the truly genuine and divine teachings of the Hebrew religion which we have preferred to their vain philosophy. Why need I enlarge further, and bring to light the other errors of Plato, when it is easy from what has been already said to guess also what points I have now passed over in silence? It was not, however, for the sake of accusing him that I was led to speak of these things, since for my part I very greatly admire the man, and esteem him as a friend above all the Greeks, and honour him as one whose sentiments are dear and congenial to myself, although not the same throughout; but I wished to show in what his intelligence falls short in comparison with Moses and the Hebrew prophets.

And yet to one prepared to find fault it were easy to pass censure on countless points, such as his solemn and sapient regulations with regard to women in the *Republic*, or such as his fine phrases about unnatural love in the *Phaedrus*. If, however, you desire to listen to these subjects also, take and read his utterances which follow:

CHAPTER XIX

[PLATO] ‘PERHAPS now, said I, many points connected with our present subject will appear more than usually ridiculous, if they are to be carried out as described.

‘Certainly, said he.

‘What then, said I, is the most ridiculous thing that you see in them? Is it not, of course, that the women are to practise gymnastics naked in the palaestra with the men, and not only the young women but even the elder also; just as the old men in the gymnasia, when though wrinkled and not pleasing in appearance, they nevertheless love to practise gymnastics.’

And next he adds:

‘But the man who laughs at the women taking exercise naked for the best of purposes, as though forsooth he were “reaping fruit of wisdom” in his laughter, seems not even to know at what he is laughing.’

He says also in the seventh Book of the *Laws*:

‘It will therefore evidently be necessary for the boys and girls to learn dancing and gymnastics; and there will be dancing-masters for the boys and mistresses for the girls, that they may go through the exercise with the greater advantage.’

He also writes therein as follows:

‘Again, I suppose, our virgin Queen, who delighted in the practice of the dance, did not think fit to play with empty hands, but to be arrayed in full armour and so perform the dance: an example which most surely it would become both youths and maidens alike to imitate.’

He also enacts a law that women should even go to war, in the following words:

‘And in all these schools teachers of the several subjects, being resident foreigners, should be induced by payments to give full instructions relating to war to those who come as pupils, and all relating to music, not merely to one who may come at his father’s wish, while another, without such wish, neglects his education; but, as the saying is, every man and boy, as far as possible, must receive compulsory education, as belonging more to the State than to their parents. All the same rules my law would enjoin for women as much as for men, that the females also should practise the same exercises. And neither

as to horsemanship nor gymnastics should I have any fear in making this statement, that, though becoming to men, it would not be becoming to women.'

And again a little lower down he says:

'Let us consider as gymnastics all bodily exercises relating to war, in archery, and in throwing all kinds of missiles, and the use of the target, and all fighting in heavy armour, and tactical evolutions, and all kinds of marching, camps and encamping, and all instructions pertaining to horsemanship. For there must be public teachers of all these arts, earning pay from the State, and their pupils, all the boys and men in the city and girls and women, must be skilled in all these matters; having while still girls practised every kind of dancing and fighting in heavy armour, and as women having applied themselves to evolutions, and tactics, and grounding and taking up arms.'

But neither to these rules would the Hebrew doctrine assent, but would assert the very opposite, ascribing success in war not even to the strength of men, much less to that of women, but attributing all to God and to His aid in battle. And so it says: 'Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.'

But observe how the wonderful philosopher also brings the women into the gymnastic contests, speaking thus:

'But as to women, let girls who are still young contend naked in the foot-race, and double course, and horse-race, and long race on the race-course itself: but those of thirteen years are to go on until their union in marriage, but not beyond twenty years nor less than eighteen; and they must come down to contend in these races clothed in befitting dress.

'So let these be our rules of racing for both men and women. But as to trials of strength, instead of wrestling and all such contests which now are severe, let there be fighting in armour, both single combats, and two against two.'

And next, after saying,

'So also we must call to our aid those who excel in fighting in armour, and bid them help us to frame the like laws,'

he adds these words:

'Let also the same laws be in force in regard to the females until the time of marriage.'

Then after having appended immediately to these laws those concerning the training of peltasts and the pancratiun, and archery, and throwing stones from the hand and with a sling, and concerning the horserace, here again he adds these words concerning the females:

‘But it is not right to force females by laws and ordinances to participate in these contests; if, however, just from their former training passing into a habit their natural constitution without inconvenience allows children or maidens to take part, we must permit it and not blame them.’

So far the laws of Plato concerning women. But the following extraordinary law is also his:

‘If any have left female children, let the judge go back through brothers and brothers’ sons, first on the male side, and afterwards on the female, in one and the same family: and let him judge by examination the fitness or unfitness of the time for marriage, inspecting the males naked, and the females naked as far as the navel.’

Moreover at the festivals he says that they must dance naked, speaking in the sixth Book of the *Laws* as follows:

‘For this so serious purpose therefore they ought to perform their sports and dance together youths and maidens, both seeing and being seen within bounds of reason and of a certain age implying suitable causes, both sexes being naked so far as sober modesty in each permits.’

In addition to all this hear also the following passages in the *Republic* on the law that the women should be in common:

‘This law, said I, and the others which went before have, I suppose, the following law as their consequence.

‘What is that?

‘These women must all be common to all these men, and none live with any man as his own: and the children too must be common, and neither any parent know his own offspring, nor any child his father.’

Next he adds:

‘It is probable, said he. You therefore, said I, as their lawgiver will select the women as well as the men, and, as far as possible assign those who are of like nature: and they, as having houses and meals in common, and none possessing anything of this kind privately, will of course be together, and being mixed up together both in the gymnasia and in their general mode of

life will be led, I suppose, by the necessity of nature to intercourse with each other. Or do you think that what I say will not necessarily occur?

‘Not by any mathematical necessity, said he, but by constraints of love, which are likely to be keener than the other kind in persuading and drawing the mass of mankind.’

But some one perhaps will explain the meaning of these passages in a different way, and will say that they do not suggest what is commonly supposed; since he does not say that all the women without distinction are to be in common, so that wantonness may be allowed to every chance-comer, but that the assignment of them among the men is to lie in the power of the magistrates. For they are to be common in the same way as one may say that the public money is common, being distributed to the proper persons by those who are entrusted with it. Suppose then that this is so.

But what would you say on learning that he also bids them not to bring forth into light what they conceive, speaking as follows?

‘For a woman, said I, let the law be that beginning from the twentieth year she should bear children for the State until the fortieth year: and for a man, after he has passed the most vigorous prime of his course, henceforward to beget children for the State until his fifty-fifth year.’

After which he says:

‘But when both the women and the men, I suppose, have passed the age for begetting children, we shall let them go free perhaps to have intercourse with whomsoever they please.’

And he adds:

‘Having strictly charged them, if possible, to bring forth no embryo to light, if such there should be; but should any force its way, to deal with it on the understanding that there is no maintenance for such a child.’

Such are his directions concerning the conduct of women: and concerning unnatural love [*for which he makes a long apology* — ED.], how unlike are his sentiments to those of Moses, who in laws expressly contrary pronounces with loud voice the fit sentence against sodomites.

Why need we still urge the charge that this most wise philosopher after acquitting such sinners, against whom he did not think it fit to prescribe sentence of death, directs in his *Laws* that the slave who failed to give information of a treasure discovered by another should be punished with

death. But that you may not suspect me of bearing false witness, listen also to what follows:

CHAPTER XXI

‘WHATEVER answer the god may give in regard to the property and the man who removed it, that let the city execute in obedience to the oracles of the god. And if the informer be a free man, let him have the reputation of goodness; but if he fail to inform, of baseness. But if he be a slave, the informer may rightly be made free by the city, on payment of his value to his master; but if he fail to give information, let him be punished by death.’

Here again the punishment of death is enacted not against the man who has purloined some forbidden property, but against him who failed to inform against another who had done wrong: and in another case too he declares a master free from guilt if he kill his own slave in anger. He says in fact:

‘If he have killed a slave of his own, let him undergo purification; but if he have killed another man’s slave in anger, let him pay the owner twofold for the loss.’

Listen also to this passage of the laws which he enacted in regard to murderers:

‘If therefore any one with his own hand slay a free man, and the deed have been done in a passion without premeditation, let him suffer all other penalties that were deemed right for one who slew another without anger to suffer, but let him undergo compulsory exile for two years to correct his passion.’

And then he appends to this another law of the following kind:

‘But let the man who has slain another in anger, yet with premeditation, suffer all other the same penalties as the former offender; but just as the other was banished for two years, let him be banished for three, being punished for a longer term because of the violence of his passion.’

Then next he enacts such laws as the following in regard to one who has committed homicide a second time:

‘But if ever after returning from exile either of them be overcome by anger and commit this same offence again, let him be banished and never return.’

And again afterwards he says:

‘But if, as occurs sometimes, though not often, a father or mother from anger kill a son or a daughter by blows or any manner of violence, let them undergo the same purifications as the others, and spend three years in exile. But when the homicides have returned from exile, let the wife be separated

from her husband and the husband from the wife, and not beget children together any more.'

To this also he adds:

'But if any man in anger slay his wedded wife, or a wife do the same in like manner to her own husband, let them undergo the same purifications, but continue three years in banishment. And when the author of such a deed has returned, let him have no communion in sacred rites with his children, nor ever sit at the same table with them.

'And if a brother or sister slay brother or sister in anger, be it enacted that the same purifications and banishments as have been appointed for parents and children be undergone by them; and let them never have the same home with those whom they have deprived of brothers, or of children, nor share in their sacred rites.

'But if brother slay brother in a faction fight, or in other like manner, while defending himself against an assault, let him be guiltless, as if he had slain an enemy in war. And in like manner if a citizen slay a fellow citizen, or a foreigner a foreigner. But if a foreigner slay a citizen, or a citizen a foreigner in self-defence, let him be in the same position as to being guiltless: and in like manner if a slave kill a slave. But if on the other hand a slave kill a free man in self-defence, let him be subject to the same laws as the slayer of a father.

'Whosoever designedly and wrongfully slays with his own hand any one of his kinsmen, in the first place let him be excluded from legal rights, polluting neither agora, nor temples, nor harbours, nor any other public assembly, whether any one interdict the doer of these deeds or not: for the law interdicts him. . . . And let the man who fails to prosecute him, when he ought, or fails to proclaim him be excluded from kinship: . . . and in the second place let him be liable to prosecution by any one who wishes to exact retribution for the deceased. And if a woman has wounded her husband, or a man his wife, with design to kill, let either suffer perpetual banishment.'

Such are the laws of the philosopher: and if we are to bring those of Moses into comparison with them, hear what sort of ordinances he makes concerning cases of homicide. 'If one smite a man and he die, let him surely be put to death. And if he did it not purposely, but God delivered him 'into his hands, I will give thee a place whither the slayer shall flee. But if a man set upon his

neighbour to slay him with guile, and flee for refuge, thou shalt take him from Mine altar to put him to death. He that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death. . . . And if two men revile one another, and one smite his neighbour with a stone or with his fist, and he die not, but be laid upon his bed, if the man rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for his loss of time, and the fees of his physician. And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a staff, and he die under his hands, he shall surely be punished. But if he live a day or two he shall not be punished; for he is his money. . . . And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his handmaiden, and blind him utterly, he shall send them forth free for their eyes' sake.'

Such then are the laws of Moses. Now hear again in what way, and for what kind of offences, Plato orders that the slave shall be punished with scourging without hope of pardon:

“‘When a man wishes to gather the vintage of what are now called fine grapes, or the so-called fine figs, if he be taking them from his own property, let him gather the fruit however and whenever he will: but if from the property of others without having gained permission, let that man always be punished, in accordance with the principle of *not taking up what one laid not down*. But if a slave touch any of such things without having gained permission of the owner of the farms, for every berry of the grapes and every fig of the fig-tree let him be scourged with an equal number of stripes.’

Such are the enactments against these offences, unworthy of the magnanimity of Plato. But how noble and humane those of Moses are you may learn by listening to him while he speaks as follows: ‘When thou art come into thy neighbour’s vineyard, thou shalt eat grapes until thy soul be satisfied, but shalt not put any into thy vessel.’ And again: ‘If thou come into thy neighbour’s standing corn, and pluck the ears with thy hands, then thou shalt not put a sickle to thy neighbour’s standing corn.’ And again: ‘If thou reapest thy harvest in thy field, and hast forgotten a sheaf in thy field, thou shalt not turn back again to take it: it shall be for the poor, for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow, that the LORD thy God may bless thee in every work of thine hands. And if thou gather thine olives, thou shalt not turn back to glean what is left behind thee: it shall be for the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow. And if thou gather the grapes of thy vineyard, thou

shalt not glean over again what is left behind thee: this shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless and for the widow.’

These then are the enactments found in Moses. And Plato’s are well known, in which you may find thousands irreproachable, whereof we most gladly welcome all that is noble and excellent in him, and bid a long leave to what is not of such a character. But since we have travelled so far through these matters, and have shown cause why we have not chosen to follow Plato in philosophy, it is time to bring the rest of our promise to completion, and to review the other sects of Greek philosophy.

BOOK XIV

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CHAPTER I

PREFACE CONCERNING THE SUBJECT OF THE BOOK.

HAVING described in the preceding Book all that there was to say and to hear about the philosophy of Plato and his agreement with the Hebrew oracles, for which we are struck with admiration of him, and on the other hand concerning his dissent from them, for which no man of good sense could approve him, I will now pass on to the remaining sects of those who have been famed for philosophy among the Greeks.

And in their case again I shall set their lapse from the truth before the eyes of my readers, not in my own person nor of my own authority, but as before by the testimony of the very words of Greek authors: not indeed from dislike to any of them personally, since I confess that I have a great admiration for them, when I compare the persons with the rest of mankind as men.

But when I compare them with the sacred writers and prophets of the Hebrews, and with God who through them has both uttered predictions of things to come and exhibited marvellous works, nay more, has laid the foundations of instruction in religious learning and true doctrines, I no longer think that any one ought with reason to blame us, if we prefer God before men, and truth itself before human reasonings and conjectures.

All this I have striven to prove in the argument of this present *Preparation*, as at once an answer and a defence against those who shall inquire, what beauty or majesty we have seen in the writings of the Barbarians, that we have decided to prefer them to our ancestral and noble philosophy, that, I mean, of the Greeks. However, it is time now to let our proof proceed by way of facts.

CHAPTER II

Now, I think, we ought before all things to begin from the first foundation of philosophy among the Greeks, and to learn concerning the so-called physical philosophers before the time of Plato, who they were, and what sort of men their philosophy found as champions of its system; then we must pass on to the successors of Plato, and learn who they also were, and survey their mutual disputations, and review also the dissensions of the other sects, and the oppositions of their opinions, wherein I shall exhibit the noble combatants like boxers eagerly exchanging blows as on a stage before the spectators.

Let us, for instance, at once observe how, on the one hand, Plato used to scoff at the earliest philosophers who preceded him, and how others scoffed at Plato's friends and successors: and again in turn how Plato's disciples used to criticize the wise doctrines of Aristotle's fertile thought: and how those who boasted of Aristotle and the Peripatetic School used to prove that the views of those who preferred the opposite sect were nonsense.

You will also see the clever and precise doctrines of the subtlety of the Stoics ridiculed in turn by others, and all the philosophers on all sides struggling against their: neighbours, and most bravely joining in battle and wrestling, so that even with hands and tongue, or rather with pen and ink, they raise strongholds of war against each other, striking, as it were, and being struck by the spears and various weapons of their wordy war.

And in this strife of athletes our arena will include, in addition to those already mentioned, men stripped of all truth, who have taken up arms in opposition to all the dogmatic philosophers alike; I mean the Pyrrhonists, who declared that in man's world there is nothing comprehensible; and those who said with Aristippus that the feelings were the sole objects of perception, and then again those who with Metrodorus and Protagoras said that we ought to believe only the sensations of the body.

Over against these we shall at the same time strip for the combat the schools of Xenophanes and Parmenides, who arrayed themselves on the opposite side and annihilated the senses.

Neither shall we omit the champions of pleasure, but shall enroll their leader Epicurus also with those already mentioned. But against all alike we shall use their own weapons to set forth their confutation.

Also of all the so-called physicists alike I shall drag out to light both the discrepancies of their doctrines and the futility of their eager studies; not at all as a hater of the Greeks or of reason, far from it, but to remove all cause of slanderous accusation, that we have preferred the Hebrew oracles from having forsooth been very little acquainted with Hellenic culture.

CHAPTER III

THE Hebrews on their part from long time of old and, so to say, from the very first origin of man, having found the true and religious philosophy have carefully preserved this undefiled to succeeding generations, son from sire having received and guarded a treasure of true doctrines, so that no one dared to take away from or add to what had been once for all determined.

So neither has Moses the all-wise, who has been shown by our former discourse to have been older than all the Greeks, but last in time of all the ancient Hebrews, ever thought of disturbing and changing any of the doctrines held by his forefathers concerning dogmatic theology, except so far as to found for the people under his charge a certain conduct of life towards each other, and a code of laws for a kind of moderate republic.

Nor have the prophets after him, who flourished for countless periods of years, ever ventured to utter a word of discord either against each other, or against the opinions held by Moses and the elders beloved of God.

Nay not even has our Christian School, which derives its origin from them, and by a divinely inspired power has filled alike all Greece and Barbarian lands, introduced anything at variance with the earlier doctrines; or perhaps one should rather say that not only in the doctrines of theology but also in the mode of life Christianity prescribes the same course as the godly Hebrews before Moses.

Our doctrines then thus described, and testified to by all authors, first middle and last, with one mind and one voice, confirm with unanimous vote the certainty of that which is both the true religion and philosophy, and are filling the whole world, and growing afresh and flourishing every day, as if they had but just established their first prime: and neither legal ordinances, nor hostile plots, nor the oft-sharpened weapons of enemies have exhibited a power superior to the excellence of the reasons which we followed.

But now let us observe what strength has ever been exhibited by the doctrines of the philosophy of the Greeks, tossed as they were in shallow waters; and first of them all let us send down into the battle those who are called physicists. As then these are said to have flourished before Plato, we may learn, from Plato himself how they were at variance one with another; for he exposes the feud of Protagoras, Heracleitus, and Empedocles against

Parmenides and his school.

For Protagoras, who had been a disciple of Democritus, incurred the reputation of atheism: he is said, at least, to have used an introduction of the following kind in his book *Concerning the gods*: ‘As to gods I neither know that they exist, nor that they do not exist, nor of what nature they are.’ And Democritus said that ‘the first elements of the universe were vacuum and plenum,’ and the plenum he called ‘being’ and ‘solid,’ but the vacuum ‘not-being.’ Wherefore he also says that ‘being’ no more exists than ‘not-being’; and that ‘the things which partake of “being” have from eternity a continuous and swift motion in the vacuum.’

But Heracleitus said that fire was the first principle of all things, out of which they all come, and into which they are resolved. For all things are change, and there is a time determined for the resolution of them all into fire, and for their production out of it.

These philosophers then said that all things are in motion; but Parmenides, who was by birth an Eleatic, held the doctrine that ‘the all is one,’ and that it subsists without beginning and without motion, and is spherical in shape. And Melissus, who was a disciple of Parmenides, held the same opinions with Parmenides. So now listen to what Plato relates with regard to these men in the *Theaetetus*:

CHAPTER IV

[PLATO] ‘AND so from drift and motion and mixture of one with another, all things are “becoming,” though we forsooth speak of them as “being,” not using a right term. For nothing ever “is,” but is always “becoming.” And on this point grant that, except Parmenides, all the wise men in succession were agreed, Protagoras, and Heracleitus, and Empedocles, and the chief poets in either kind of poetry, Epicharmus in Comedy, and Homer in Tragedy, who, when he calls

“Oceanus sire and Tethys mother of gods,”

says that all things are the offspring of flux and motion. Do you not think that this is what he means?

‘I think so.

‘Who then could any longer escape derision, if he disputed against so great an army with Homer for their leader?’

Then afterwards proceeding in his argument he further says:

‘One must come then to closer quarters, as the argument in defence of Protagoras enjoined, and by sounding this floating essence observe whether it gives a true or a false note. At all events there has been no small conflict about it with no few disputants.

Far indeed from being small, it is making great advance in Ionia. For the disciples of Heracleitus take a very vigorous lead in this argument.

‘So much the more then, my dear Theodorus, are we bound to examine it, and that from its first principle, as they themselves suggest.

‘Yes, by all means: for in fact, Socrates, about these Heracleitean doctrines, or, as you call them, Homeric and still older, it is no more possible to argue with the men themselves at Ephesus who pretend to be experts than with men in a frenzy. For in absolute accordance with his writings they are always adrift, and as to dwelling upon an argument and a question, and quietly answering and asking in turn, they have less than no power at all; or rather the expression “not even nothing” is preferable in view of the absence of even the least quietness in the men. But if you ask any of them a question, they pull out as from a quiver dark little phrases which they shoot off at you, and if you try to get an explanation of what this means, you will presently be struck with another new-fangled phrase, and will never come to any conclusion at all with

any of them, no, nor yet they themselves with one another; but they watch most carefully not to allow anything to be settled either in argument, or in their own souls, thinking, I suppose, that it would be something stationary; and with that they are altogether at war, and drive it out everywhere to the utmost of their power.

‘Perhaps, Theodorus, you have seen the men fighting, but have never been in their company when at peace; for they are no friends of yours. But, I suppose, they explain doctrines of this peaceful kind at leisure to their disciples, whomsoever they wish to make like themselves.

‘Disciples, my good Sir! Such people do not become disciples one of another, but they grow up of themselves, inspired each of them from any chance source, and the one thinking that the other knows nothing. From these men therefore, as I was going to say, you can never get a reason, either willingly or unwillingly; but we must take the matter over ourselves and examine it like a mathematical proposition.

‘Yes, you speak with discretion. As to the proposition then, have we not received it from the ancients, who concealed it from the multitude in poetry, that Oceanus and Tethys, the origin of all things, are flowing streams, and that nothing is at rest; and now from their successors, who in their superior wisdom openly declare it, in order that even their cobblers may hear and learn their wisdom, and may cease from foolishly supposing that some things are at rest and others in motion, and when they have learned that all are in motion, may honour them?

‘But I nearly forgot, Theodorus, that others set forth the opposite doctrine to this, namely,

‘That only is unmoved, whose name is All,”

and all other assertions which men like Melissus and Parmenides, in opposition to all these doctrines, stoutly maintain, that all is one and stands self-contained, having no place in which to move.

‘How then, my friend, are we to deal with all these? For going on little by little we have unconsciously fallen between both armies, and unless we can in some way defend ourselves and retreat, we shall pay the penalty, just like those who play across a line in the palaestra, when they are caught hold of by both sides and dragged in opposite directions.’

This is what Plato says in the *Theaetetus*. Passing next to the *Sophist*, he

speaks again concerning the physical philosophers his predecessors as follows:

‘It seems to me that Parmenides, and every one who has ever yet adventured upon a trial of determining the number and nature of things existent, have discoursed to us in an easy strain. How? Each seems to me to be relating a sort of fable to us, as if we were children. One says that existences are three, and some of them are sometimes warring in a manner with one another, and then becoming friends again they exhibit marriages, and births, and rearing of offspring: another says that they are two, moist and dry, or hot and cold, and he makes them dwell together and marries them. But all the Eleatic tribe in our part, beginning with Xenophanes and still earlier, assume that all things so-called are one, and so proceed with their fables. But certain Ionian and Sicilian Muses afterwards conceived that it is safer to combine both principles, and say that “being” is both many and one, and is held together by enmity and friendship. For it is ever separating and being united, as the more strong-minded Muses assert; but the weaker relax the perpetual continuance of these conditions, and say that in turn the universe is now one and friendly under the influence of Aphrodite, and then many and at war with itself through some discordance. But whether in all this any of them has spoken truly or not, it would be hard and offensive to find fault in such important matters with famous men of antiquity.’

Then after a few sentences he adds:

‘Well then, though we have not discussed all those who give precise definitions about “being” and “not-being,” nevertheless let it suffice: and on the other hand let us look at those who speak otherwise, in order that we may see from them all that it is by no means easier to say what “being” is than what “not-being” is.

‘We must proceed then to consider these also.

‘Moreover it seems that among them there is, as it were, a kind of war of the Giants, through their disputing with one another about the nature of “being.”

‘How?

‘One side are for dragging all things down from heaven and from the invisible to earth, actually grasping rocks and oaks in their hands. For they lay hold of everything of this kind, and stoutly maintain, that “being” belongs

only to that which admits some kind of contact and handling, defining body and “being” as the same, and should any one else say that a thing without body has “being,” they utterly despise him, and will not listen to anything else.

‘Truly they are terrible men that you speak of: for I too ere now have met with many of them.

‘For this reason those who dispute against them defend themselves very cautiously from some high place in an unseen world, contending that certain intelligible and incorporeal “forms” are the true “being.” But the corporeal atoms of the other side, and that which they call the truth, these shatter in pieces by their arguments, and call them a floating kind of “becoming,” instead of “being.” And between the two armies, O Theaetetus, there is always a mighty battle joined on these subjects.

‘True.’

So far, then, has Plato censured the physical philosophers who preceded him. And the kind of opinion which he himself was for introducing on the matters in question we have declared in the preceding Books, when we were showing his agreement with the Hebrew doctrines and with the teaching of Moses in regard to ‘Being.’

But come, let us examine in our argument Plato’s own successors also. It is said that Plato, having established his School in the Academy, was the first called an Academic, and was the founder of the so-called Academic philosophy. And after Plato Speusippus, the son of Plato’s sister Potone, succeeded to the School, then Xenocrates, and afterwards Polemon.

And these, it is said, began from his own hearth at once to undo the teaching of Plato, distorting what had been clear to the master by introducing foreign doctrines, so that you might expect the power of those marvellous dialogues to be extinguished at no distant time, and the transmission of the doctrines to come to an end at once on the founder’s death: for a conflict and schism having hereupon begun from them, and never ceasing up to the present time, there are none who delight to emulate the doctrines which the Master loved, except perchance one or two in all our lifetime, or some others very few in number, and themselves not altogether free from false sophistry; since even the earlier successors of Plato have been blamed for such tendencies.

Polemon’s successor, it is said, was Arcesilaus, and report says that he

forsook the doctrines of Plato, and established a sort of alien and, as it is called, second Academy. For he declared that we ought to suspend judgement about all things, for all are incomprehensible, and the arguments on either side equal each other in force, also that the senses and reason in general are untrustworthy. He used, for instance, to praise this saying of Hesiod,

‘The gods have spread a veil o’er human thought.’

He used also to try to make some paradoxical novelties. After Arcesilaus, Carneades and Cleitomachus are said to have abandoned the opinion of their predecessors, and become the authors of a third Academy. ‘And some add also a fourth, that of the followers of Philo and Charmides: while some reckon even a fifth, that of the disciples of Antiochus.’

Such were the successors of Plato himself: and as to their character take and read the statements of Numenius the Pythagorean, which he has set down in the first Book of his work entitled *Of the revolt of the Academics against Plato*, to the following effect.

CHAPTER V

[NUMENIUS] ‘FOR the time then of Speusippus, sister’s son to Plato, and Xenocrates the successor of Speusippus, and Polemon who succeeded Xenocrates in the School, the character of the doctrine always continued nearly the same, so far as concerned this much belauded suspension of judgement which was not yet introduced, and some other things perchance of this kind. For in other respects they did not abide by the original tradition, but partly weakened it in many ways, and partly distorted it: and beginning from his time, sooner or later they diverged purposely or unconsciously, and partly from some other cause perhaps other than rivalry.

‘And though for the sake of Xenocrates I do not wish to say anything disparaging, nevertheless I am more anxious to defend Plato. For in fact it grieves me that they did not do and suffer everything to maintain in “every way an entire agreement with Plato on all points. Yet Plato deserved this at their hands, for though not superior to Pythagoras the Great, yet neither perhaps was he inferior to him; and it was by closely following and reverencing him that the friends of Pythagoras became the chief causes of his great reputation.

‘And the Epicureans, having observed this, though they were wrong, were never seen on any point to have opposed the doctrines of Epicurus in any way; but by acknowledging that they held the same opinions with a learned sage they naturally for this reason gained the title themselves: and with the later Epicureans it was for the most part a fixed rule never to express any opposition either to one another or to Epicurus on any point worth mentioning: but innovation is with them a transgression or rather an impiety, and is condemned. And for this reason no one even dares to differ, but from their constant agreement among themselves their doctrines are quietly held in perfect peace. Thus the School of Epicurus is like some true republic, perfectly free from sedition, with one mind in common and one consent; from which cause they were, and are, and seemingly will be zealous disciples.

‘But the Stoic sect is torn by factions, which began with their founders, and have not ceased even yet. They delight in refuting one another with angry arguments, one party among them having still remained steadfast, and others having changed. So their founders are like extreme oligarchs, who by

quarrelling among themselves have caused those who came after to censure freely both their predecessors and each other, as still being more Stoical one party than the other, and especially those who showed themselves more captious in technicalities; for these were the very men who, surpassing the others in meddlesomeness and petty quibbles, were the more quick to find fault.

‘Long before these, however, there was the same feeling in those who drew their doctrines from Socrates in different directions, Aristippus in his own way, and Antisthenes in his, and elsewhere the Megarians and Eretrians in ways of their own, and others with them.

‘And the cause was, that as Socrates assumed three gods, and philosophized before them in the strains appropriate to each, his hearers did not understand this, but thought that he spoke all at random, and according to the breath of fortune which at any moment prevailed, sometimes one, sometimes another, as it chanced to blow.

‘But Plato had been a Pythagorean, and knew that Socrates for the same reason took such sayings from no other source than that, and had known what he was saying; and so he too wrapped up his subjects in a manner that was neither usual nor plain to understand; and after conducting them each in the way that he thought fit, and disguising them so as to be half seen and half unseen, he wrote in safety, but himself gave occasion to the subsequent dissension, and distraction of his doctrines, not indeed from jealousy nor yet from ill will — but I am unwilling to speak unfavourable words of men of earlier times.

‘But now that we have learned this, we ought rather to apply our judgement to a different point, and as we proposed at the commencement to distinguish Plato from Aristotle and Zeno, so now again separating him from the Academy, if God help us, we will allow him to be in and of himself a Pythagorean. Since now being torn in pieces more furiously than any Pentheus deserved, he suffers limb by limb, but is by no means transformed from his whole self and retransformed.

‘As a man therefore who stood midway between Pythagoras and Socrates he reduced the sternness of the former to benevolence, and the wit and playfulness of the latter he raised from irony to dignity and gravity, and by making just this mixture of Socrates and Pythagoras he showed himself more

affable than the one and more grave than the other.

‘This, however, is not at all what I was going to discuss, my present inquiry having no concern herewith: but I will pass on to what I had intended, lest I should be thrown out of the way that leads thither, or else I seem likely to run away altogether.

‘Arcesilaus and Zeno became disciples of Polemon, for I am going to mention them again at last. Of Zeno I remember to have said that he attended Xenocrates and then Polemon, and afterwards became a Cynic in the School of Crates: but now let him be accounted to have also derived something from Stilpo and those Heracleitean discourses.

‘For since as fellow disciples of Polemon Arcesilaus and Zeno were emulous of each other, the one of them took as his allies in their mutual contest Heracleitus, and Stilpo, and also Crates, among whom he was made by Stilpo a disputant, by Heracleitus austere, and by Crates cynical: but the other, Arcesilaus, has Theophrastus, and Crantor the Piatonist, and Diodorus, and then Pyrrho, and of these Crantor made him persuasive, Diodorus sophistical, and Pyrrho versatile, and reckless, and nothing at all.

‘And this was the meaning of a certain hexameter verse often applied to him in an insulting parody:

“Plato before, and Pyrrho behind, in the midst Diodorus.”

But Timon says that he was also taught and equipped by Menedemus in the art of disputation, if at least it is of him that he says:

“With Menedemus’ lead beneath his breast

He runs apace to Pyrrho’s mass of flesh,

Or Diodorus’ dialectic craft.”

‘So by interweaving the reasonings and scepticism of Pyrrho with the subtleties of Diodorus, who was skilled in dialectics, he arrayed a kind of mouthy chatter in Plato’s forcible language, and would say and unsay, and roll over from this side and from that, and from either side, whichever it might chance, retracting his own words, obscure, and contradictory withal, and venturesome, and knowing nothing, as he said himself, so candid as he was: and then somehow he would turn out like those who did know, after having exhibited himself in all kinds of characters by the sketchiness of his discourses.’

CHAPTER VI

‘THERE was no less uncertainty about Arcesilaus than about Tydides in Homer, when you could not know on which side he was, whether associated with Trojans or with Achaeans. For to keep to one argument and ever say the same thing, was not possible for him, nor indeed did he ever think such a course by any means worthy of a clever man. So he went by the name of a

“Keen sophist, slayer of men unskilled in fence.”

‘For by preparation and study in the delusive show of his arguments he used to stupefy and juggle like the Empusae, and could neither know anything himself nor let others know: he spread terror and confusion, and in carrying off the prize for sophistries and deceitful arguments, he rejoiced over his disgrace, and prided himself wonderfully on not knowing either what is base or noble, or what is good or bad, but after saying whichever came into his thoughts, he would change again and upset his argument in many more ways than he had constructed it.

‘So he would cut himself and be cut in pieces like a hydra, neither side being distinguished from the other, and without regard to decency; nevertheless he pleased his hearers, who while they listened saw also that he was good-looking: he was most pleasing therefore both to hear and to see, after they grew accustomed to accept from him arguments proceeding from a beautiful face and mouth, besides the kindliness which shone in his eyes.

‘Now this description must not be taken loosely, but from the beginning such was his character. For having associated in boyhood with Theophrastus, a man of gentle and amorous disposition, Arcesilaus being beautiful and still in the bloom of youth gained the love of Crantor the Academic, and attached himself to him; and being not without natural ability, he let it run its swift and easy course, and fired by love of disputation he gained help from Diodorus in those elegant and artfully studied plausibilities, and also attended the School of Pyrrho (now Pyrrho had begun somewhere or other from the School of Democritus), — so Arcesilaus, equipped from this source, adhered, except in name, to Pyrrho, as one who overthrew all things.

‘Mnaseas at least, and Philomelus, and Timon, the Sceptics, call him a Sceptic, as they were themselves, because he also overthrew truth and falsehood and probability.

‘Therefore, although on account of his Pyrrhonic doctrines he might have been called a Pyrrhonist, yet from respect for his lover he submitted to be still called an Academic. He was therefore a Pyrrhonist, except in name: but an Academic he was not, except in being so called. For I do not believe what Diocles of Cnidos asserts in his *Diatribae* so-entitled, that through fear of the followers of Theodorus, and of the Sophist Bion, who used to assail the philosophers, and shrank from no means of refuting them, Arcesilaus took precautions, in order to avoid trouble, by never appearing to suggest any dogma, but used to put forward the “suspense of judgement” as a protection, like the black juice which the cuttle-fishes throw out. This then I do not believe.

‘Those, however, who started from this School, Arcesilaus and Zeno, with such auxiliary forces of arguments helping both sides in the war, forgot the origin from, which they had started in the School of Polemon:

“And parting, formed in order of attack.”

“Together rushed
Bucklers and lances, and the furious might
Of mail-clad warriors; bossy shield on shield
Clattered in conflict; loud the clamour rose.”

“Buckler to buckler pressed, and helm to helm,
And man to man.”

“Man struggling hand to hand with man.”

“Then rose too mingled shouts and groans of man,
Slaying and slain “;

the Stoics being the slain; for they could not strike the Academics, because they could not discover in what part they were most liable to be beaten. But beaten they would be, and their foundation shaken, if they were to have neither principle nor starting-point for the battle. Now the principle was to prove that they did not express the thoughts of Plato; and their starting-point was lost, if they altered the definition concerning the conceptual presentation by the removal of a single word.

‘It is not now the proper time for me to show this, but I will mention it

again, when I arrive exactly at this point. When, however, they had come to open variance, it was not that the two struck at each other, but only Arcesilaus at Zeno. For Zeno in his fighting had a certain solemnity and heaviness, not more effective than the oratory of Cephisodorus: for he, Cephisodorus, when he saw his own teacher Isocrates attacked by Aristotle, though he was ignorant and unacquainted with Aristotle, yet from perceiving that the works of Plato were highly esteemed, supposed that Aristotle's philosophy agreed with Plato's, and in trying to make war upon Aristotle struck at Plato, and having drawn his first accusation from the "Ideas," ended by attacking his other doctrines, of which he knew nothing himself, but guessed the received opinions concerning them by the way in which they are usually described.

'However, this Cephisodorus instead of fighting the man with whom he was at war, fought with the one against whom he wished not to make war. But if Zeno himself after getting rid of Arcesilaus, had abstained also from making war upon Plato, he would have shown himself, in my judgement, an excellent philosopher, in so keeping the peace. But if he acted with a knowledge perhaps of the doctrines of Arcesilaus, though in ignorance of Plato, to judge from what he wrote against him, he is convicted of taking an inconsistent course, in not striking the one whom he knew, and insulting most foully and disgracefully the man whom he had no right to assail, and treating him far worse than he should have treated a dog.

'However, he certainly showed a high spirit in his disregard of Arcesilaus: for either through ignorance of his doctrines, or through fear of the Stoics, he turned aside "the mighty jaws of bitter war" against Plato. But of Zeno's vile and utterly shameless revolts against Plato I shall speak again, if I can spare time from philosophy. I hope, however, never to have so much time to spare, at least for this purpose, unless it be in sport.

'So, when Arcesilaus saw that Zeno was a professional rival, and worth conquering, he shrank from nothing in trying to overthrow the arguments set forth by him.

'Now of the other points on which he was at war with him, I perhaps am not able to speak, or even if I were able, there would be no need to mention them now: but as Zeno was the first inventor of the following doctrine, and as he, Arcesilaus, saw that both itself and its name were famous at Athens, I mean, the *conceptual presentation*, he employed every device against it. But

the other being in the weaker position could suffer no injury by keeping quiet, and so disregarded Arcesilaus, against whom he would have had much to say, but was unwilling, or rather perhaps there was some other cause; but Plato being no longer among the living he proceeded to fight with his shadow, and tried to cry him down by uttering all kinds of vulgar buffoonery, thinking that neither could Plato defend himself, nor would any one else care to avenge him: or if Arcesilaus should care to do so, he thought that at all events he should be a gainer by diverting the attack of Arcesilaus from himself. He knew also that Agathocles of Syracuse had practised this artifice upon the Carthaginians.

‘The Stoics listened in amazement. For their Muse was not even then learned nor productive of such graces as those by which Arcesilaus talked them down, knocking off this argument, cutting away that, and tripping up others, and so succeeded in persuading them. When therefore those against whom he argued were worsted, and those in whose midst he was speaking were astounded, the men of that day were somehow convinced that neither speech was anything, nor feeling, nor any single work however small, nor on the contrary would anything ever have seemed useless, except what so seemed in the opinion of Arcesilaus of Pitane. But he, as we said, held no opinion, nor made any more definite statement than that all these were little phrases and bugbears.’

CHAPTER VII

‘Now there is a pleasant story about Lacydes which I wish to tell you. Lacydes was rather stingy, and in a manner the proverbial Economist; for this man, who was in such general good repute, used to open his storeroom himself and shut it himself. And he would take out what things he wanted, and do all other such, work with his own hands, not at all as approving self-dependence, nor as being in any poverty, nor in want of servants, for he certainly had servants such as they were: but the reason you are at liberty to guess.

‘However, I will go on to tell the pretty story which I promised. For while acting as his own steward he thought that he ought not to carry the key about on his own person, but he used after locking up to hide the key in a certain hollow writing-case: and after sealing this with a ring, he used to roll the ring down through the keyhole and leave it inside the house, so that afterwards when he came back, and opened with the key, he would be able to pick up the ring, and lock up again, and then to seal, and then to throw the ring back again inside through the keyhole.

So the servants having discovered this clever trick, whenever Lacydes went out for a walk or anywhere else, they too would open the storeroom, and then, after eating this and drinking up that according to their desire, and carrying other things away, they went through this same round, they shut up, and sealed, and the ring they let down through the keyhole into the house, laughing heartily at their master.

‘So Lacydes, when he had left his vessels full and found them empty, was puzzled by what occurred; and when he heard that the doctrine of incomprehensibility was taught in the philosophy of Arcesilaus, he thought that this was the very thing that was occurring in regard to his storeroom. And from this beginning he took to studying with Arcesilaus the philosophy that we can neither see nor hear anything clear or sound; and having once drawn one of his companions into the house, he began to argue with him on “the suspense of judgement” with extraordinary *Tehemence*, as it seemed, and said, This indeed I can state to you as an indisputable fact, having learned it from my own case, not from questioning any other.

‘And then he began and described the whole misfortune which had

happened to him about the storeroom. What then, said he, could Zeno now say against "incomprehensibility" thus in all points proved manifest to me in such circumstances as these? For as I locked it up with my own hands, sealed it myself, and myself threw the ring inside, and when I came again and opened it, saw the ring inside but not my other property, how can I fail to be justly incredulous of all things? For I shall not dare for my part to say that any one came and stole the things, as there was the ring inside.

'Then his hearer, who was an insolent fellow, having heard out the whole story as well as he could listen, being scarce able hitherto to contain himself, burst out into a very broad laugh, and still laughing and chuckling tried between whiles to refute his silly notion. So beginning from that time Lacydes no longer used to throw the ring inside, and ceased to use in argument the "incomprehensibility" of his storeroom, but began to comprehend his losses, and found that he had been philosophizing over them in vain.

'Nevertheless his servants were impudent knaves, and not to be caught with one band, but just such as the slaves you see in comedy, a Geta or a Dacus, loud-tongued in Dacian chatter; and after they had listened to the Stoics' sophisms, or had learned them in some other way, went straight at the venture, and used to take off his seal, and sometimes they would substitute another instead of it, but sometimes they did not even this, because they thought it would be all incomprehensible to him, whether this way or any other.

'So when he came in, he used to examine, and when he saw the writing-case unsealed, or, though sealed, yet with a different seal, he was very angry: but when they said that it was sealed, for they could themselves see his own seal, he would begin a subtle argument and demonstration. And when they were beaten by his demonstration, and said that, if the seal was not there, perhaps he had himself forgotten and not sealed it up, Yes, certainly, he said, he remembered that he had himself sealed it up, and began to prove it, and argue all round, and thinking that they were making sport of him, he would make violent complaints against them with many oaths.

'But they suspected his attacks, and began to think that he was making sport of them; since Lacydes, who was a philosopher, had decided that he could have no opinion, and therefore no memory, for memory is a kind of opinion; a short time ago at least they had heard him, they said, speak thus to

his friends.

‘But when he overthrew their attempts and used language not at all Academic, they would go themselves to the school of some Stoic, and learn anew what they ought to say, and with that preparation would meet sophistry with sophistry, and show themselves rivals of the Academic school in the art of thievery; Then he would find fault with the Stoics; but his servants would put aside his accusations by alleging “incomprehensibility” with no little jeering.

‘So discussions went on there on all points, and arguments and counter-arguments; and in the meanwhile there was not a single thing left, no vessel, nor anything that was put in the vessel, nor any other things that make up the furnishing of a house.

‘And Lacydes for a while was at a loss, seeing that the support of his own doctrines was of no help to him; and thinking that, if he could not convict them, everything he had would be upset, he fell into perplexity, and began to cry out upon his neighbours and upon the gods, *Oh! Oh!* and *Alas! Alas!* and *By all the gods*, and *By the goddesses*, and all the other artless affirmations of men who in cases of distrust take to strong language — all these were uttered with loud shouting and asseveration.

‘But at last, since he had a battle of contradiction in the house, the master, doubtless, took to playing the Stoic with his servants, and when the servants insisted, on the Academic doctrines, in order that they might have no more trouble, he became a constant stay-at-home, sitting before his storeroom. And when he could do no good, he began to suspect what his philosophy was coming to, and opened his mind. Of these things, my boys, said he, we talk in our discussions one way, but we live in another.’

This is what he tells about Lacydes. But the man found many hearers, one of whom, Aristippus of Cyrene, was distinguished. But of all his disciples his successor in the School was Evander, and those who came after him.

After these Carneades took up the teaching and established a third Academy. In argument he employed the same method as Arcesilaus, for, like him, he too practised the mode of attacking both sides, and used to upset all the arguments used by the others: but in the principle of ‘suspension of judgement’ alone he differed from him, saying that it was impossible for a mortal man to suspend judgement upon all matters, and there was a difference

between 'uncertain' and 'incomprehensible,' and though all things were incomprehensible, not all were uncertain. But this Carneades was also acquainted with the Stoic doctrines, and by his contentious opposition to them grew more famous, by aiming not at the truth but at what seemed plausible to the multitude: whence he also gave the Stoics much displeasure. So Numenius writes about him as follows:

CHAPTER VIII

‘CARNEADES having succeeded to the leadership disregarded the teacher whose doctrines he ought to have defended, both those which were unassailable and those which had been assailed, and referring everything back to Arcesilaus, whether good or bad, renewed the battle after a long interval.’

And afterwards he adds:

‘So this man also would bring forward and take back, and gather to the battle contradictions and subtle twists in various ways, and be full both of denials and affirmations, and contradictions on both sides: and if ever there was need of marvellous statements, he would rise up as violent as a river in flood, overflowing with rapid stream everything on this side and on that, and would fall upon his hearers and drag them along with him in a tumult.

‘While therefore he swept off all others he himself remained infallible, an advantage not enjoyed by Arcesilaus: for while he used with his quackery to come round his frenzied companions, he was unconscious of having first deluded himself in this, that he had not been guided by sensation, but convinced of the truth of his reasoning in the overthrow of all things at once.

‘But Carneades after Arcesilaus must have been evil upon evil, as he made not even the smallest concession, unless his opponents were likely to be disconcerted by it, in accordance with what he called his positive and negative presentations from probability, that this individual thing was an animal or was not an animal.

‘So after such a concession, just as wild beasts who recoil throw themselves all the more violently upon the spear-points, he too after giving in would make a more powerful assault. And when he had stood his ground and was successful, then at once he would voluntarily disregard his previous opinion, and make no mention of it.

‘For while granting that there are both truth and falsehood in all things, as if he were co-operating in the method of inquiry, he would give a hold like a clever wrestler and thereby get the advantage. For after granting each side according to the turn of the scale in probability, he said that neither was comprehended with certainty.

‘He was in fact a more clever freebooter and conjurer than Arcesilaus. For together with something true he would take a falsehood like it, and with a

conceptual presentation a concept similar to it, and after weighing them till the scales were even, he would admit the existence neither of the truth nor of the falsehood, or no more of the one than of the other, or more only from probability.

‘So dreams followed dreams, because the false presentations were like the true, as in passing from an egg of wax to the real egg.

‘The evil results therefore were the more numerous. And nevertheless Carneades fascinated and enslaved men’s souls; as an undetected cozenor, and an open freebooter, he could conquer whether by craft or by force even those who were very thoroughly equipped.

‘In fact every opinion of Carneades was victorious, and never any other, since those with whom he was at war were less powerful as speakers.

‘Antipater, for instance, who was his contemporary, was intending to write something in rivalry; in face, however, of the arguments which Carneades kept pouring forth day by day, he never made it public, neither in the Schools, nor in the public walks, nor even spoke nor uttered a sound, nor, it is said, did any one ever hear from him a single syllable: but he kept threatening written replies, and hiding in a corner wrote books which he bequeathed to posterity, that are powerless now, and were more powerless then against a man like Carneades, who showed himself eminently great, and was so considered by the men of that time.

‘But nevertheless, although from his jealousy of the Stoics he stirred up confusion in public, he would himself in secret with his own friends agree, and speak candidly, and affirm, as much as any other ordinary person.’

Then next he adds:

‘Mentor was a disciple of Carneades at first, yet not his successor: for while still living Carneades found him familiar with his mistress, and not merely from a probable presentation, nor as failing to comprehend, but most fully believing his own eyes, and with a clear comprehension, rejected him from his School. So he departed and became his opponent in sophistry, and his rival in art, refuting the “incomprehensibility” which he taught in his discourses.’

Again he adds:

‘But Carneades, as teaching a self-contradictory philosophy, used to pride himself upon his falsehoods, and hide the truths beneath them. So he used his

falsehoods as curtains, and hiding within spoke the truth in a somewhat knavish way. Thus he suffered from the same fault as beans, of which the empty ones float on the water and rise highest, while the good ones lie below and are unseen,'

This is what is said about Carneades. In the School Cleitomachus is appointed his successor, and after him Philon, of whom Numenius makes mention as follows:

CHAPTER IX

‘So then this Philon on first succeeding to the School was beside himself with joy, and by way of making a grateful return used to worship and extol the doctrines of Cleitomachus, and

“arm himself in gleaming brass”
against the Stoics.

‘But as time went on, and their doctrine of “suspense” was going out of fashion from familiarity, he was not at all consistent in thought with himself, but began to be converted by the clear evidence and acknowledgement of his misfortunes. Having therefore already much clearness of perception, he was very desirous, you may be sure, to find some who would refute him, that he might not appear to be turning his back and running away of his own accord.

‘A disciple of Philon was Antiochus, who founded a different Academy: at least he attended the School of Mnesarchus the Stoic, and adopted the contrary opinions to his teacher Philon, and fastened countless strange doctrines upon the Academy.’

These anecdotes and thousands like these are recorded of the successors of Plato. It is time, however, to take up our subject anew, and examine the opinions, alike false and contradictory, of the physical philosophers, men who wandered over the wide earth, and had set the highest value on the discovery of truth, and been familiar with the opinions of all the ancients, and carefully studied the exact nature of the theology which existed among all, Phoenicians and Egyptians and the Greeks themselves, in much earlier times. It is worth while then to hear from themselves what was the fruit they found from their labours, that so we may learn whether any worthy notion of God had come down to them from the men of an older time.

For the superstition of polytheism was formerly prevalent from ancient times among the nations, and shrines, and temples, and mysteries of the gods were everywhere customarily maintained, both in city and country districts. So then there was no need even of human philosophy, if indeed the knowledge of things divine had preoccupied the ground: nor was there any necessity for the wise to invent novelties, if forsooth the doctrines of their forefathers were right, nor any cause for factions and dissensions among the noble philosophers, if the ancestral opinion about their gods had been tested and

proved to be harmonious and true.

Or what need was there to war and fight with one another, or run about and wander up and down the long course, and filch the learning of the Barbarians, when they ought to have been staying at home, and learning all from the gods, if forsooth there were any gods, or to learn from the writers on religion the true and infallible statements of the matters investigated in philosophy, about which they spent infinite toil and contention, yet fell far short of discovering the truth?

Why too need they have ventured to make novel inquiries about gods or to quarrel and pummel one another, if forsooth a safe and sure discovery of gods and a true knowledge of religion was contained in sacred rites and mysteries and the rest of the theology of the most ancient races, when they might have cultivated that very religion undisturbed and in harmonious agreement?

But then if it should be found that these men had learned no truth about God from their predecessors, but had set themselves to the examination of nature by their own devices, and used conjectures rather than clear conception, why should they any longer refuse to acknowledge that the ancient theology of the nations offered nothing beyond the account which has been rendered in the books preceding this?

Now that the philosophy of the Greeks was a product of human conjectures and much disputation and error, but not of any exact conception, you may learn from Porphyry's *Epistle to Anebo the Egyptian*, when you hear him acknowledge this very fact in these words:

CHAPTER X

[PORPHYRY] 'I WILL begin my friendship with you by an inquiry concerning the gods and good demons and the philosophical doctrines relating to them, subjects upon which very much has been said by Greek philosophers also, the greater part, however, of their statements having only conjecture for the foundation of their credibility.'

And lower down he adds again:

'For among us there is much verbal controversy, as we derive the notion of "the good" by conjecture from human reasonings: and those who have formed plans of communication with the higher nature, have exercised their wisdom in vain, if this branch of the subject has been disregarded in the investigation.'

Moreover in what he wrote *Against Boethus, On the Soul*, the same author makes the following confession in writing, word for word: ——

'The evidence of our thoughts and that of history unquestionably establish the immortality of the soul: but the arguments brought forward by philosophers in demonstration of it seem easy to be overthrown through the ingenious arguments of the Eristics on every subject. For what argument in philosophy could not be disputed by men of a different opinion, when some of them thought fit to suspend judgement even about matters that seemed to be manifest?'

Also in the work which he entitled *Of the Philosophy derived from Oracles* he expressly acknowledges that the Greeks have been in error, and calls his own god as a witness, saying that even Apollo had proclaimed this by oracles, and had testified to the discovery of the truth by the Barbarians rather than by the Greeks, and moreover had even mentioned the Hebrews in the testimony which he bore.

In fact, after quoting the oracle he has immediately made use of these concluding words:

'Have you heard how much pains have been taken that a man may offer the sacrifices of purification for the body, to say nothing of finding the salvation of the soul? For the road to the gods is bound with brass, and steep, and rough, and in it Barbarians found many paths, but Greeks went astray, while those who already held it even ruined it; but the discovery was ascribed by the testimony of the god to Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Chaldeans (for these are

Assyrians), to Lydians, and to Hebrews.'

This is the statement of the philosopher, or rather of his god. Is it right then after this to blame us, because forsooth we forsook the Greeks who had gone astray and chose the doctrines of the Hebrews, who had received such testimony for comprehension of the truth?

And what are we to expect to learn from philosophers? Or what hope is there of assistance from them, if indeed their statements for the most part derive the first principles of their proof from conjectures and probabilities? And what is the benefit of disputation, if forsooth all the arguments of the philosophers are easily overthrown, because of the sophistical use of language on all subjects? For these are the statements heard just now not from us, but from themselves.

Wherefore it seems to me that not unreasonably but rightly and with well-proved judgement, we have despised teaching of such a character, and have welcomed the doctrines of the Hebrews, not because they have received testimony from the demon, but because they are shown to partake of the excellence and power of divine inspiration.

In order, however, that you may learn by actual facts the disputations of the wonderful philosophers, and their dissensions about first principles, and about gods, and the constitution of the universe, I will set out their own words before you a little later.

But first we must notice another point; for they go about boasting everywhere of their mathematical sciences and saying that it is altogether necessary for those who are going to attempt the comprehension of truth to pursue the study of astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, music, — the very things which were proved to have come to them from Barbarians, — for that without these a man cannot be accomplished in learning and philosophy, nay, cannot even touch the truth of things, unless the knowledge of these sciences has been previously impressed upon his soul. And then, priding themselves upon their learning in the subjects which I have mentioned, they think that they are lifted up on high and almost walking upon the very ether, as though forsooth they carried God Himself about with them in their arithmetic; and because we do not pursue the like studies, they think us no better than cattle, and say that we cannot in this way know God, nor anything grand. Come then, let us first set straight what is wrong in this, by holding out

true reason as a light before them.

And that will show thousands of Greeks and thousands of Barbarian races also, of whom the former with the help of the aforesaid sciences recognized neither God, nor virtuous life, nor anything at all that is excellent and profitable, while the latter without all these sciences have been eminent in religion and philosophy. For instance, you may learn what sort of opinions were held on these subjects by one so celebrated among them all as Socrates, if you give credit to what Xenophon narrates in the *Memorabilia* as follows:

CHAPTER XI

[XENOPHON] 'HE also used to teach how far it was necessary for a well-educated man to be acquainted with each subject. For example, he said that he ought to learn geometry so far as to be able, if ever it should be necessary, rightly to measure land either in taking or giving possession, or in allotting it, or marking out work. And this, he said, was so easy to learn that one who gave his mind to the measuring could know at once how much land there was, and go away acquainted with the mode of measuring it.

'But of learning geometry so far as to reach those unintelligible diagrams he disapproved, for he said he did not see of what use these were, although he was not unacquainted with them. But they were enough, he said, to exhaust a man's lifetime, and hindered him from many other useful branches of learning.

'He bade them also become acquainted with astronomy, but this also only so far as to be able to know the time of night, or of the month, or of the year, for the sake of travelling, or voyaging, or keeping watch, and to be able to make use of the indications relating to all other things that are to be done either in the night, or in the month, or year, by knowing the different seasons for the works before mentioned. These also, he said, were easy to learn from nocturnal hunters, and pilots, and many others, whose business it is to know these things.

'But he strongly dissuaded from learning astronomy to such an extent as to know the bodies which are not in the same orbit, and the planets and comets, and to waste time in investigating their distances from the earth, and their periods, and the causes of them. For he said that in these matters he did not see any benefit, and yet even in these he was not uninstructed. But he said of these also that they were enough to wear out a man's lifetime, and to hinder him from many useful pursuits.

'And he wholly dissuaded one from anxiously inquiring in what way the heavenly bodies are each contrived by God; for he neither thought that these things could be discovered by mankind, nor did he believe that the gods would be pleased with the man who sought to know what they had not been willing to make clear. But he said that the man who troubled himself about these things would be in danger even of going as mad as Anaxagoras was,

who prided himself very highly upon explaining the contrivances of the gods.

‘For when he used to say that fire and the sun were the same, he ignored the fact that though men easily discern, the fire, yet they cannot look upon the sun; and by being exposed to the sunshine they have their complexions darkened, but not so by fire. Also he was ignorant that of plants which spring out of the earth none can make good growth without the light of the sun, while all perish when heated by fire. And in saying that the sun was a fiery stone he was ignorant also of this fact, that while a stone set in the fire neither shines nor lasts long, the sun continues all the time to be the brightest of all things.

‘He also used to bid us learn to count; but here also as in everything else he bade us guard against useless trouble: yet as far as it was useful he would himself help his companions in examining and discussing all things.’

So writes Xenophon in the *Memorabilia*. And in the *Epistle to Aeschines* the same author writes as follows concerning Plato, and those who boast of their physiology of the universe:

CHAPTER XII

‘THAT the things of the gods are beyond us is manifest to every one; but it is sufficient to worship them to the best of our power. What their nature is it is neither easy to discover nor lawful to inquire. For it pertains not to slaves to know the nature or conduct of their masters, beyond what their service requires. And what is of most importance, in proportion as we ought to admire one who spends labour upon the interests of mankind, so to those who strive to get fame from many inopportune and vain attempts it brings the more trouble. For when, O Aeschines, has any one ever heard Socrates talking about the heaven, or encouraging any one to learn about geometrical lines for correction of morals? As to music we know that he understood it only by ear; but he was constantly telling them on every occasion what was noble, and what manliness was, and justice, and other virtues: he used in fact to call the interests of mankind absolute good; and all things else, he used to say, were either impossible to be achieved by men, or were akin to fables, playthings of Sophists in their supercilious discussions. And he did not merely say these things without practising them. But to write of his doings to you who know them, although not likely to be unpleasing, takes time, and I have recorded them elsewhere. When refuted therefore let them cease, or betake themselves to what is reasonable, these men who were not pleased with Socrates, to whose wisdom the god bare witness while he was yet alive, and they who put him to death found no expiation in repentance. And so — what a noble thing — they fell in love with Egypt, and the prodigious wisdom of Pythagoras, men whose excess and inconstancy towards Socrates was proved by their love of tyranny, and exchange of frugal living for a table of Sicilian luxury to serve their boundless appetite.’

So speaks Xenophon, with a hint at Plato. But Plato in the *Republic* relates that concerning gymnastics and music Socrates spake as follows:

CHAPTER XIII

[PLATO] 'WHAT then, O Glaucon, would be a learning likely to draw the soul from the transient to the real? But while I am speaking there comes into my mind this point: did we not say surely that these guardians while yet young must be athletes in war? Yes, we said so. The learning then which we are seeking must have this quality in addition to the former. What quality? It must be of some use to men of war. It certainly must, if possible. They were to be educated, we said before, in gymnastic and music. It was so, said he. And gymnastic, I suppose, since it presides over growth and decay of the body, is concerned with generation and corruption. That is evident. This then cannot be the study for which we are seeking. It cannot. Can then music, so far as we previously discussed it? Nay, said he, that, if you remember, was the counterpart of gymnastic, as training our guardians by the influences of habit, by harmony imparting not science but a kind of harmoniousness, and by rhythm a rhythmical movement, and as having in its words certain other moral tendencies akin to these, whether the subjects of its discourse were fabulous or partly true; but it contained no instruction tending to such an end as you are now seeking.

'You remind me very correctly, said I; for music certainly contained nothing of the kind. But what can there be of this character, my excellent Glaucon? For, I think, we regarded all the arts as mechanical. Of course.'

Then further on he adds:

'We must never let those whom we are to educate attempt any imperfect form of science that has not reached the point that all ought to attain, as we were saying just now about astronomy. Or do you not know that they treat harmony also in this way? For while they measure and compare with each other the notes and concords that are merely heard, they labour, like the astronomers, on a useless task.

'Yes, by heaven! said he, and it is ludicrous to see how they name certain condensed intervals, and lay their ears on one side, as if trying to catch a note from their neighbours; and some of them say that they can still hear an intermediate sound, and that this is the very smallest interval which should be used in measuring, while others doubt this and say that they now sound alike, and both set their ears before their mind.

‘You mean, said I, those good men who are always teasing and torturing the strings, and screwing them up on the pegs. But that the metaphor may not be extended too far about the beats given by the plectrum, and the assent, and dissent, and petulance of the strings, I drop the metaphor, and say that I do not mean these men, but those others whom we said just now that we would consult about harmony. For they do the same as the astronomers; they investigate the numerical relations in the harmonies which fall upon the ears, but they do not rise to problems, to examine what numbers are harmonious, and what not, and the reason in either case.’

But now let this suffice in the way of preface to our defence that we have not without right judgement neglected the useless learning of such subjects as these. Let us then make at once a new beginning and examine the mutual contradictions in doctrine of the aforesaid physical philosophers. Now Plutarch has collected together the opinions of all the Platonists and Pythagoreans alike, and of the still earlier physical philosophers as they were called, and again of the more recent Peripatetics, and Stoics, and Epicureans, and written them in a work which he entitled *Of the Physical Doctrines approved by Philosophers*, from which I shall make the following quotations:

CHAPTER XIV

[PLUTARCH] 'THALES of Miletus, one of the seven sages, declared water to be the first principle of all things. This man is thought to have been the founder of philosophy, and from him the Ionic sect derived its name; for it had many successions. After studying philosophy in Egypt he came as an elderly man to Miletus. He says that all things come from water, and are all resolved into water. And he forms his conjecture first from the fact that seed, which is watery, is the first principle of all animal life; thus it is probable that all things have their origin from moisture. His second argument is that all plants derive nourishment and fruitfulness from moisture, and when deprived of it wither away. And the third, that the very fire of the sun, and of the stars, and the world itself are nourished by the evaporations of the waters. For this reason Homer also suggests this notion concerning water,

“Ocean, which is the origin of all.”

This is what Thales says.

‘But Anaximander of Miletus says that the first principle of all things is the infinite, for from this all are produced, and into this all pass away; for which reason also infinite worlds are generated, and pass away again into that from which they spring. So he says the reason why the infinite exists is that the subsisting creation may not be deficient in any point. But he also is at fault in not saying what the infinite is, whether it is air, or water, or earth, or any other corporeal elements; he is wrong therefore in declaring the matter while excluding the efficient cause. For the infinite is nothing else than matter, and matter cannot have an actual existence, unless the efficient cause underlie it.

‘Anaximenes of Miletus declared that the air is the first principle of all things, for from this all are produced, and into it they are resolved again. For example, our soul, he says, is air, for it holds us together; and the whole world too is encompassed by air and breath, and air and breath are used as synonyms. But he too is wrong in thinking that living beings consist of simple homogeneous air and breath; for it is impossible that the matter can exist as sole principle of things, but we must assume the efficient cause also. As for instance silver suffices not for the production of the drinking-cup, unless there be the efficient cause, that is the silversmith; the case is similar with copper and various kinds of wood, and all other matter.

‘Heracleitus and Hippasus of Metapontum say that fire is the principle of all things: for from fire, they say, all things are produced and all end in fire: and all things in the world are created as it gradually cools down. For first the coarsest part of it is pressed together and becomes earth; then the earth being resolved by the natural force of the fire is turned into water, and being vaporised becomes air. And again the world and all the bodies in it are consumed in a conflagration by fire. Fire therefore is the first principle, because all things come from it, and the end, inasmuch as they are all resolved into it.

‘Democritus, who was followed long after by Epicurus, said that the first principles of all things are bodies indivisible, but conceivable by reason, with no admixture of vacuum, uncreated, imperishable, not capable of being broken, nor of receiving shape from their parts, nor of being altered in quality, but perceptible by reason only; that they move, however, in the vacuum, and through the vacuum, and that both the vacuum itself is infinite and the bodies infinite. And the bodies possess these three properties, shape, magnitude, and weight. Democritus, however, said two, magnitude and shape; but Epicurus added to them a third, namely weight. For he said the bodies must be moved by the impulse of the weight, since otherwise they will not be moved at all. The shapes of the atoms are limitable, not infinite: for there are none either hook-shaped, nor trident-shaped, nor ring-shaped. For these shapes are easily broken, whereas the atoms are impassive and cannot be broken; but they have their proper shapes, which are conceivable by reason. And the “atom” is so called, not because it is extremely small, but because it cannot be divided, being impassive, and free from admixture of vacuum: so that if a man says “atom” he means unbreakable, impassive, unmixed with vacuum. And that the atom exists is manifest: for there are also elements (στοιχεῖα), and living beings that are empty, and there is the Monad.

‘Empedocles, son of Meton, of Agrigentum, says that there are four elements, fire, air, water, earth, and, two original forces, love and hate, of which the one tends to unite, and the other to separate. And this is how he speaks:

“Learn first four roots of all things that exist:
Bright Zeus, life-giving Hera, and the god
Of realms unseen, and Nestis, who with tears

Bedews the fountain-head of mortal life.”

For by “Zeus” he means the seething heat and the ether; and by “life-giving Hera,” the air; the earth by Aidoneus, and by Nestis and “the fountain-head of mortal life,” the seed, as it were, and the water.’

So great is the dissonance of the first physical philosophers: such too is their opinion concerning first principles, assuming, as they did, no god, no maker, no artificer, nor any cause of the universe, nor yet gods, nor incorporeal powers, no intelligent natures, no rational essences, nor anything at all beyond the reach of the senses, in their first principles.

In fact Anaxagoras alone is mentioned as the first of the Greeks who declared in his discourses about first principles that mind is the cause of all things. They say at least that this philosopher had a great admiration for natural science beyond all who were before him: for the sake of it certainly he left his own district a mere sheepwalk, and was the first of the Greeks who stated clearly the doctrine of first principles. For he not only pronounced, like those before him, on the essence of all things, but also on the cause which set it in motion.

“For in the beginning,” he said, “all things were mingled together in confusion: but mind came in, and brought them out of confusion into order.”

One cannot but wonder how this man, having been the first among Greeks who taught concerning God in this fashion, was thought by the Athenians to be an atheist, because he regarded not the sun but the Maker of the sun as God, and barely escaped being stoned to death.

But it is said that even he did not keep the doctrine safe and sound: for though he made mind preside over all things, he did not go on to render his physical system concerning the existing world accordant with mind and reason. Hear in fact how in Plato’s dialogue *Of the Soul* Socrates blames him in the following passage:

CHAPTER XV

[PLATO] 'BUT once when I heard a man reading out of a book, as he said, of Anaxagoras, and saying that it is mind that sets all in order, and is the cause of all, I was delighted with this cause, and it seemed to me in a certain manner right that mind should be the cause of all things, and I thought, if this is so, mind in its ordering all things must arrange each in such a way that all may be best.

'If therefore any one should wish to find the cause of each thing, how it comes into being or perishes or exists, what he must find out about it is this, how it is best for it either to be, or to do or suffer anything else. According to this theory then a man ought to consider nothing else, whether in regard to himself or others, except what is best and most perfect: then the same man must necessarily know also the worse; for the knowledge concerning them is the same.

'Reasoning thus then I rejoiced to think that I had found in Anaxagoras a teacher of the cause of existing things after my own mind, and that he would tell me in the first place whether the earth is flat or round, and, after he had told me, would further explain the cause and the necessity, stating which is the better, and that it is better for it to be of such shape: and if he should say that it is in the centre, I thought that he would go on to explain that it is better for it to be in the centre: and if he should prove all this to me, I was prepared to desire no other kind of cause beyond that.

'Moreover I was prepared to make the like inquiries concerning sun and moon and the other heavenly bodies as to their relative swiftness, and turning-points and other conditions, how it is better for each of them thus to act and be acted upon as they are. For I could never have thought that when he asserted that they were ordered by mind he would ascribe any other cause to them, except that it was best for them to be just as they are.

'I thought therefore that in assigning its cause to each of them severally, and to all in common, he would further explain what was best for each and what was the common good of all. And I would not have sold my expectations for a great deal, but I seized the books very eagerly, and began to read as fast as I could, in order that I might know as soon as possible what was best and what worse. How glorious then the hope, my friend, from which

I was driven away, when, as I went on reading, I saw a man making no use of mind, nor alleging any (real) causes for the ordering of things, but treating as causes a parcel of airs and ethers and waters, and many other absurdities.

‘And he seemed to me to be very much in the same case as if one were to say that whatever Socrates does he does by mind, and then, on attempting to state the causes of each of my actions, should say first of all that the reasons of my sitting here now are these, that my body is composed of bones and muscles, and the bones are hard and have joints separate one from another, while the muscles are capable of contraction and relaxation, surrounding the bones as do also the flesh and skin which hold them together. When therefore the bones are lifted in their sockets, the muscles by their relaxation and contraction make me able, I suppose, now to bend my limbs, and this is the cause why I am sitting here with my knees bent.

Again, with regard to my conversing with you, it is as if he were to state other causes, such as these, a set of sounds, and airs, and hearings, and ten thousand other things of this kind, but should neglect to mention the true causes, namely, that since the Athenians thought it better to condemn me, for that reason I too in my turn have thought it better to sit here, and more just to remain and undergo my sentence, whatever they may have ordered.

‘For, by the Dog! I think these muscles and these bones would long ago have been near Megara or Boeotia, carried thither by their opinion of what is best, did I not think it more just and more noble to undergo any sentence which the state may appoint, instead of taking to flight like a runaway.

‘But to call such things as these causes is extremely absurd: if however any one were to say that without having such things, bones and muscles and all else that I have, I should not be able to do what I thought right, he would speak truly; but to say that these are the causes of my doing what I do, and that I do so by mind, but not by choice of what is best, would be a great and extreme carelessness of speech.’

Then he adds:

‘And for this reason one man by surrounding the earth with a vortex makes it to be kept steady forsooth by the heaven, while another sets the air as a support to the earth as if it were a broad kneading-trough. But the power by which things are now set in the best possible way for them to have been placed, this they neither investigate, nor think that there is any superhuman

force in it, but imagine that they might at some time discover an Atlas stronger and more immortal than this, and more capable of holding all things together, and suppose that “the good and *binding*” does in reality bind and hold together nothing at all.’

So much says Socrates of the opinion of Anaxagoras. Now Anaxagoras was succeeded by Archelaus both in the school and in opinion, and Socrates is said to have been a disciple of Archelaus. Other physical philosophers, however, as Xenophanes and Pythagoras, who nourished at the same time with Anaxagoras, discussed the imperishable nature of God and the immortality of the soul. And from these afterwards arose the sects of Greek philosophy, some of whom followed these, and some followed others, and certain of them also invented opinions of their own. Again then Plutarch writes of their suppositions concerning gods in this same manner:

CHAPTER XVI

[PLUTARCH] ‘SOME of the philosophers, as Diagoras of Melos, and Theodoras of Cyrene, and Euemerus of Tegea, altogether deny that there are any gods’. There is an allusion also to Euemerus in the Iambic poems of Callimachus of Cyrene. Euripides also, the tragic poet, though he was loth to withdraw the veil through fear of the Areopagus, yet gave a glimpse of this. For he brought Sisyphus forward as the patron of this opinion, and advocated his judgement.’

After these he brings in Anaxagoras again, stating that he was the first who formed right thoughts about God. And this is how he speaks:

‘But Anaxagoras says that in the beginning the bodies were motionless, but the mind of God distributed them in order, and produced the generations of the universe. Plato, however, supposed that the primordial bodies were not motionless, but were moving in a disorderly way: wherefore, says he, God having ordained that order is better than disorder, made an orderly distribution of them.’

To which he adds:

‘They therefore are both in error, because they represented God as having regard to human affairs, and arranging the world for this purpose: for the living Being which is blessed and immortal, supplied with all good things, and incapable of any misfortune, being wholly occupied with the maintenance of its own happiness and immortality, has no regard for human affairs. But he would be a miserable being if he carried burdens like a labourer or artisan, and was full of cares about the constitution of the world.

‘And again the god of whom they speak either was not existing throughout that former age when the primary bodies were motionless, or when they were moving in disorderly fashion, or else he was either asleep, or awake, or neither of these. We can neither admit the first, for every god is eternal; nor the second, for if God was sleeping from eternity He was dead; for an eternal sleep is death. But surely God is incapable of sleep; for the immortality of God and that which is akin to death are far apart.

‘If then God was awake, either He was in want of something to complete His happiness, or He was complete in blessedness. And neither according to the first case is God blessed, for that which is wanting in happiness is not

blessed: nor according to the second case; for being deficient in nothing, any actions He might attempt must be void of purpose. And if God exists, and if human affairs are administered by His care, how comes it that the counterfeit is prosperous, and the worthy suffers adversity?

‘For Agamemnon, who was both

“A valiant warrior and a virtuous king,”

was overpowered and treacherously murdered by an adulterer and adulteress. Also his kinsman Hercules, after purging away many of the plagues by which human life is infested, was treacherously murdered with a poisoned robe by Deianira.

‘Thales held that god is the mind of the world; Anaximander that the stars are celestial gods; Democritus that god is like a sphere amid fire, which is the soul of the world.

‘Pythagoras held that of first principles the monad is god: and the good, which is the nature of the One, is the mind itself. But the unlimited duad is a daemon and the evil, and it is surrounded by the multitude of matter and the visible world.’

Now after these, hear what were the opinions held by those of more recent time:

‘Socrates and Plato held that (God is) the One, the single self-existent nature, the monadic, the real Being, the good: and all this variety of names points immediately to mind. God therefore is mind, a separate species, that is to say what is purely immaterial and unconnected with anything passible.

‘Aristotle held that the Most High God is a separate species, and rides upon the sphere of the universe, which is an ethereal body, the fifth essence so-called by him. And when this had been divided into spheres, which though connected in their nature are separated by reason, he thinks that each of the spheres is a living being compounded of body and soul, of which the body is ethereal, and moves in a circular orbit, while the soul, being itself motionless reason, is actually the cause of the motion.

‘The Stoics set forth an intelligent god, an artistic fire, proceeding methodically to generate a world, which comprises all the seminal laws, in accordance with which things are severally produced according to fate: also a spirit, which pervades the whole world, but receives different names according to the changes of the matter through which it has passed.

‘They regard as a god the world, and the stars, and the earth, but mind which is highest of all they place in the ether.

‘Epicurus held that the gods are of human shape, but all to be discerned by reason because of the fineness of the particles in the nature of their forms. The same philosopher added four other natures generically imperishable, namely the atoms, the vacuum, the infinite, the similarities, which are called *homoeomeriae* and elements.’

Such are the dissensions and blasphemies concerning God of the physical philosophers, among whom, as is proved by this narrative, Pythagoras, and Anaxa-goras, and Plato, and Socrates were the first who made mind and God preside over the world. These then are shown to have been in their times very children, as compared with the times at which the remotest events in Hebrew antiquity are fixed by history.

Accordingly among all the Greeks, and those who long ago introduced the polytheistic superstition among both the Phoenicians and Egyptians, the knowledge of the God of the universe was not very ancient, but the first of the Greeks to publish it were Anaxagoras and his school. Moreover the doctrines of the polytheistic superstition prevailed over all nations; but they contained, as it seems, not the true theology, but that which the Egyptians and Phoenicians, as was testified, were the very first to establish.

And this was a theology which by no means treated of gods, nor of any divine powers, but of men who had already been long lying among the dead, as was shown long since by our word of truth. Come then, let us take up our argument again. Since among the physical philosophers some were for bringing all things down to the senses, while others drew all in the contrary direction, as Xenophanes of Colophon, and Parmenides the Eleatic, who made nought of the senses, asserting that there could be no comprehension of things sensible, and that we must therefore trust to reason alone, let us examine the objections which have been urged against them.

CHAPTER XVII

[ARISTOCLES] ‘BUT there came others uttering language opposed to these. For they think we ought to put down the senses and their presentations, and trust only to reason. For such were formerly the statements of Xenophanes and Parmenides and Zenon and Melissus, and afterwards of Stilpo and the Megarics. Whence these maintain that “being” is one, and that the “other” does not exist, and that nothing is generated, and nothing perishes, nor is moved at all.

‘The fuller argument then against these we shall learn in our course of philosophy; at present, however, we must say as much as this. We should argue, that though reason is the most divine of our faculties, yet nevertheless we have need also of sense, just as we have of the body. And it is evidently the nature of sense also to be true: for it is not possible that the sentient subject should not be in some way affected, and being affected he must know the affection: therefore sensation also is a kind of knowledge.

‘Moreover if sensation is a kind of affection, and everything that is affected is affected by something, that which acts must certainly be other than that which is acted on. So that first there would be the so-called “other,” as for instance, the colour and the sound; and then the existing thing will not be one: nor moreover will it be motionless, for sensation is a motion.

‘And in this way every one wishes to have his senses in a natural state, inasmuch as he trusts, I suppose, to sound senses rather than to diseased. With good reason therefore a strong love of our senses is infused in us. No one certainly, unless mad, would choose ever to lose a single sense, that so he might gain all other good things.

‘Those then who found fault with the senses, if at least they were persuaded that it was useless to have them, ought to have said just what Pandarus says in Homer about his own bow,

“Then may a stranger’s sword cut off my head,
If with these hands I shatter not and burn
The bow that thus hath failed me at my need,”

and immediately after to have destroyed all their senses: for thus one would have believed them as teaching by deed that they had no need of them.

‘But now this is the very greatest absurdity; for though in their words they declare their senses to be useless, in their deeds they continue to make the fullest use of them.

‘Melissus in fact wishing to show why none of these things which are apparent and visible really exists, demonstrates it by the phenomena themselves. He says in fact: “For if earth exists, and water, and air, and fire, and iron, and gold, and the living and the dead, and black and white, and all the other things which men say are real, and if we see and hear rightly, then ‘being’ also ought to be such as it at first seemed to us to be, and not to change, nor become other, but each, thing ought always to be just such as it is. But now we say that we see, and hear, and understand aright: yet it seems to us that the hot becomes cold, and the cold hot, and the hard soft, and the soft hard.”

‘But when he used to say these and many other such things one might very reasonably have asked him, Well then, was it not by sensation you learned that what is hot now becomes cold afterwards? And in like manner concerning the other instances. For just as I said, it would be found that he abolishes and convicts the senses because he most fully believes them.

‘But in fact the arguments of this kind have already been subjected to nearly sufficient correction: they have certainly become obsolete, as if they had never been uttered at all. Now indeed we may say boldly that those philosophers take the right course who adopt both the senses and the reason for acquiring the knowledge of things.’

Such then were the followers of Xenophanes, who is said to have flourished at the same time with Pythagoras and Anaxagoras. Now a hearer of Xenophanes was Parmenides, and of Parmenides Melissus, of him Zeno, of him Leucippus, of him Democritus, of him Protagoras and Nessas, and of Nessas Metrodorus, of him Diogenes, of him Anaxarchus, and a disciple of Anaxarchus was Pyrrho, from whom arose the school of those who were surnamed Sceptics. And as these also laid it down that no conception of anything was possible either by sense or by reason, but suspended their judgement in all cases, we may learn how they were refuted by those who held an opposite opinion, from the book before mentioned, speaking word for word as follows:

CHAPTER XVIII

“BEFORE all things it is necessary to make a thorough examination of our own knowledge; for if it is our nature to know nothing there is no further need to inquire about other things.

‘Some then there were even of the ancients who spoke this language, and who have been opposed by Aristotle. Pyrrho indeed, of Elis, spoke strongly in this sense, but has not himself left anything in writing. But his disciple Timon says that the man who means to be happy must look to these three things: first, what are the natural qualities of things; secondly, in what way we should be disposed towards them; and lastly, what advantage there will be to those who are so disposed.

‘The things themselves then, he professes to show, are equally indifferent, and unstable, and indeterminate, and therefore neither our senses nor our opinions are either true or false. For this reason then we must not trust them, but be without opinions, and without bias, and without wavering, saying of every single thing that it no more is than is not, or both is and is not, or neither is nor is not.

‘To those indeed who are thus disposed the result, Timon says, will be first speechlessness, and then imperturbability, but Aene-sidemus says pleasure.

‘These then are the chief points of their arguments: and now let us consider whether they are right in what they say. Since therefore they say that all things are equally indifferent, and bid us for this reason attach ourselves to none, nor hold any opinion, I think one may reasonably ask them, whether those who think things differ are in error or not. For if they are in error, surely they cannot be right in their supposition. So they will be compelled to say that there are some who have false opinions about things, and they themselves therefore must be those who speak the truth: and so there must be truth and falsehood. But if we the many are not in error in thinking that things differ, what do they mean by rebuking us? For they must be in error themselves in maintaining that they do not differ.

‘Moreover if we should even grant to them that all things are equally indifferent, it is evident that even they themselves would not differ from the multitude. What then would their wisdom, be? And why does Timon abuse all other persons, and sing the praises of Pyrrho only?

‘Yet, further, if all things are equally indifferent and we ought therefore to have no opinion, there would be no difference even in these cases, I mean in the differing or not differing, and the having or not having an opinion. For why should things of this kind be rather than not be? Or, as Timon says, why “yes,” and why “no,” and why the very “Why?” itself? It is manifest therefore that inquiry is done away: so let them cease from troubling. For at present there is no method in their madness, while, in the very act of admonishing us to have no opinion, they at the same time bid us to form an opinion, and in saying that men ought to make no statement they make a statement themselves: and though they require you to agree with no one, they command you to believe themselves: and then though they say they know nothing, they reprove us all, as if they knew very well.

‘And those who assert that all things are uncertain must do one of two things, either be silent, or speak and state something. If then they should hold their peace, it is evident that against such there would be no argument. But if they should make a statement, anyhow and by all means they must say that something either is or is not, just as they certainly now say that all things are to all men matters not of knowledge but of customary opinion, and that nothing can be known.

‘The man therefore who maintains this either makes the matter clear, and it is possible to understand it as spoken, or it is impossible. But if he does not make it clear, there can be absolutely no arguing in this case either with such a man. But if he should make his meaning clear, he must certainly either state what is indefinite or what is definite: and if indefinite, neither in this case would there be any arguing with him, for of the indefinite there can be no knowledge. But if the statements, or any one of them whatever, be definite, the man who states this defines something and decides. How then can all things be unknowable and indeterminate? But should he say that the same thing both is and is not, in the first place the same thing will be both true and false, and next he will both say a thing and not say it, and by use of speech will destroy speech, and moreover, while acknowledging that he speaks falsely, says that we ought to believe him.

‘Now it is worth inquiring whence they learned what they say, that all things are uncertain. For they ought to know beforehand what certainty is: thus at all events they would be able to say that things have not this quality of

certainly. First they ought to know affirmation, and then negation. But if they are ignorant of the nature of certainty, neither can they know what uncertainty is.

‘When indeed Aenesidemus in his *Outline* goes through the nine moods (in all of which he has attempted to prove the uncertainty of things), which are we to say, that he speaks with knowledge of them or without knowledge? For he says that there is a difference in animals, and in ourselves, and in states, and in the modes of life, and customs, and laws: he says also that our senses are feeble, and that the external hindrances to knowledge are many, such as distances, magnitudes, and motions: and further, the difference of condition in men young and old, and waking and sleeping, and healthy and sick: and nothing that we perceive is simple and unmixed; for all things are confused, and spoken in a relative sense.

‘But when he was making these and other such fine speeches, one would have liked, I say, to ask him whether he was stating with full knowledge that this is the condition of things, or without knowledge. For if he did not know, how could we believe him? But if he knew, he was vastly silly for declaring at the same time that all things are uncertain, and yet saying that he knew so much.

‘Moreover whenever they go through such details, they are only making a sort of induction, showing what is the nature of the phenomena and of the particulars: and a process of this kind both is, and is called, a proof. If therefore they assent to it, it is evident that they form an opinion: and if they disbelieve it, neither should we choose to give heed to them.

‘Timon moreover in the *Python* relates a story at great length, how he met Pyrrho walking towards Delphi past the temple of Amphiaraus, and what they talked about to each other. Might not then any one who stood beside him while writing this reasonably say, Why trouble yourself, poor fellow, in writing this, and relating what you do not know? For why rather did you meet him than not meet him, and talk with him rather than not talk?

‘And this same wonderful Pyrrho, did he know the reason why he was walking to see the Pythian games? Or was he wandering, like a madman, along the road? And when he began to find fault with mankind and their ignorance, are we to say that he spoke truth or not, and that Timon was affected in a certain way and agreed with his sayings, or did not heed them?

For if he was not persuaded, how did he pass from a choral dancer to a philosopher, and continue to be an admirer of Pyrrho? But if he agreed with what was said, he must be an absurd person for taking to philosophy himself but forbidding us to do so.

‘And one must simply wonder what is the meaning to them of Timon’s lampoons and railings against all men, and the tedious *Rudiments* of Aenesidemus and all the like multitude of words. For if they have written these with an idea that they would render us better, and therefore think it right to confute us all, that so we may cease to talk nonsense, it is evidently their wish that we should know the truth, and assume that things are such as Pyrrho maintains. So if we were to be persuaded by them we should change from worse to better, by forming the more advantageous judgements, and approving those who gave the better advice.

‘How then could things possibly be equally indifferent and indeterminate? And how could we avoid giving assent and forming opinions? And if there is no use in arguments, why do they trouble us? Or why does Timon say,

“No other mortal could with Pyrrho vie”?

For one would not admire Pyrrho any more than the notorious Coroebus or Meletides, who are thought to excel in stupidity.

‘We ought, however, to take also the following matters into consideration. For what sort of citizen, or judge, or counsellor, or friend, or, in a word, what sort of man would such an one be? Or what evil deeds would not he dare, who held that nothing is really evil, or disgraceful, or just or unjust? For one could not say even this, that such men are afraid of the laws and their penalties; for how should they, seeing that, as they themselves say, they are incapable of feeling or of trouble?

‘Timon indeed even says this of Pyrrho:

“O what a man I knew, void of conceit,
Daunted by none, who whether known to fame
Or nameless o’er the fickle nations rule,
This way and that weighed down by passion’s force,
Opinion false, and legislation vain.”

‘When, however, they utter this wise saw, that one ought to live in accordance with nature and with customs, and yet not to assent to anything,

they are too silly. For they require one to assent to this at least, if to nothing else, and to assume that it is so. But why ought one, rather than ought not, to follow nature and customs, if forsooth we know nothing, and have no means whereby to judge?

‘It is altogether a silly thing, when they say, that just as cathartic drugs purge out themselves together with the excrements, in like manner the argument which maintains that all things are uncertain together with everything else destroys itself also. For supposing it to refute itself, they who use it must talk nonsense. It were better therefore for them to hold their peace, and not open their mouth at all,

‘But in truth there is no similarity between the cathartic drug and their argument. For the drug is secreted and does not remain in the body: the argument, however, must be there in men’s souls, as being always the same and gaining their belief, for it can be only this that makes them incapable of assent.

‘But that it is not possible for a man to have no opinions, one may learn in the following manner. For it is impossible that he who perceives by sense does not perceive: now perception by sense is a kind of knowledge. And that he also believes his sensation is evident to all: for when he wishes to see more exactly, he wipes his eyes, and comes nearer, and shades them.

‘Moreover we know that we feel pleasure and pain: for it is not possible for one who is being burned or cut to be ignorant of it. And who would not say that acts of memory surely and of recollection are accompanied by an assumption? But what need one say about common concepts, that such a thing is a man, and again concerning sciences and arts? For there would be none of these, were it not our nature to make assumptions. But for my part I pass over all other arguments. Whether, however, we believe, or whether we disbelieve the arguments used by them, in every way it is an absolute necessity to form an opinion.

‘It is manifest then that it is impossible to study philosophy in this fashion; and that it is also unnatural and contrary to the laws, we may perceive as follows. For if on the other hand things were in reality of this kind, what would remain but that we must live as if asleep, in a random and senseless fashion? So that our lawgivers, and generals, and educators must all be talking nonsense. To me, however, it seems that all the rest of mankind are living in a

natural way, but only those who talk this nonsense are puffed up with conceit, or rather are gone stark mad.

‘Not least, however, one may learn this from the following case. Antigonus, for instance, of Carystus, who lived about the same times and wrote their biography, says that Pyrrho being pursued by a dog escaped up a tree, and, when laughed at by those who stood by, said that it was difficult to put off the man. And when his sister Philiste was to offer a sacrifice, and then one of her friends promised what was necessary for the sacrifice and did not provide it, but Pyrrho bought it, and was angry, upon his friend saying that his acts were not in accord with his words nor worthy of his impassivity, he replied, In the case of a woman certainly we ought not to make proof of it. Nevertheless his friend might fairly have answered, If there is any good in these arguments of yours, your impassivity is useless in the case even of a woman, or a dog, and in all cases.

‘But it is right to ascertain both who they were that admired him, and whom he himself admired. Pyrrho then was a disciple of one Anaxarchus, and was at first a painter, and not very successful at that; next, after reading the books of Democritus, he neither found anything useful there nor wrote anything good himself, but spake evil of all, both gods and men. But afterwards wrapping himself up in this conceit, and calling himself free from conceit, he left nothing in writing.

‘A disciple of his was Timon of Phlius, who at first was a dancer in the chorus at the theatres, but having afterwards fallen in with Pyrrho he composed offensive and vulgar parodies, in which he has reviled all who ever studied philosophy. For this was the man who wrote the *Silli*, and said:

“Mankind how poor and base, born but to eat,
Your life made up of shame, and strife, and woe.”

And again:

“Men are but bags with vain opinions filled.”

‘When nobody took notice of them any more than if they had never been born, a certain Aenesidemus began just yesterday to stir up this nonsense again at Alexandria in Egypt. And these are just the men who were thought to be the mightiest of those who had trodden this path.

‘It is evident then that no one in his right mind would approve such a sect,

or course of argument, or whatever and however any one likes to call it. For I think for my part that we ought not to call it philosophy at all, since it destroys the very first principles of philosophy.’

These then are the arguments against those who are supposed to follow Pyrrho in philosophy. And near akin to them would be the answers to be urged against those who follow Aristippus of Cyrene, in saying that only the feelings are conceptional. Now Aristippus was a companion of Socrates, and was the founder of the so-called Cyrenaic sect, from which Epicurus has taken occasion for his exposition of man’s proper end. Aristippus was extremely luxurious in his mode of life, and fond of pleasure; he did not, however, openly discourse on the end, but virtually used to say that the substance of happiness lay in pleasures. For by always making pleasure the subject of his discourses he led those who attended him to suspect him of meaning that to live pleasantly was the end of man.

Among his other hearers was his own daughter Arete, who having borne a son named him Aristippus, and he from having been introduced by her to philosophical studies was called his mother’s pupil (mhtrodi/daktoj). He quite plainly defined the end to be the life of pleasure, ranking as pleasure that which lies in motion. For he said that there are three states affecting our temperament: one, in which we feel pain, like a storm at sea; another, in which we feel pleasure, that may be likened to a gentle undulation, for pleasure is a gentle movement, comparable to a favourable breeze; and the third is an intermediate state, in which we feel neither pain nor pleasure, which is similar to a calm. So of these feelings only, he said, we have the sensation. Now against this sect the following objections have been urged (by Aristocles).

CHAPTER XIX

‘NEXT in order will be those who say that the feelings alone are conceptional, and this was asserted by some of the Cyrenaics. For they, as if oppressed by a kind of torpor, maintained that they knew nothing at all unless some one standing by struck and pricked them; for when burned or cut, they said, they knew that they felt something, but whether what burned them was fire, or what cut them iron, they could not tell.

‘Men then who talk thus one might immediately ask, whether they at all events know this that they suffer and feel something. For if they do not know, neither could they say that they know only the feeling: if on the other hand they know, the feelings cannot be the only things conceptional. For “I am being burned” was a statement, and not a feeling.

‘Moreover these three things must necessarily subsist together, the suffering itself, and that which causes it, and that which suffers. The man therefore who perceives the suffering must certainly by sensation feel the sufferer. For surely he will not know that some one is being warmed, it may be, without knowing whether it is himself or his neighbour; and whether now or last year, and whether at Athens or in Egypt, whether alive or dead, and moreover whether a man or a stone.

‘Therefore he will also know by what he suffers: for men know one another, and roads, and cities, and their food. Artisans again know their own tools, and physicians and sailors prognosticate what is going to happen, and dogs discover the tracks of wild beasts.

‘Moreover the man who suffers anything certainly perceives it either as something affecting himself or as another’s suffering. Whence therefore will he be able to say that this is pleasure, and that pain? Or that he felt something by taste, or sight, or hearing? And by tasting with his tongue, and seeing with his eyes, and hearing with his ears? Or how do they know that it is right to choose this, and avoid that? But supposing them to know none of these things, they will have no impulse nor desire; and so would not be living beings. For they are ridiculous, whenever they say that these things have happened to them, but that they do not know how or in what manner. For such as these could not even say whether they are human beings, nor whether they are alive, nor, therefore, whether they say and declare anything.

‘What discussion then can there be with such men as these? One may wonder, however, if they know not whether they are upon earth or in heaven; and wonder still more, if they do not know, though they profess to study this kind of philosophy, whether four are more than three, and how many one and two make. For being what they are they cannot even say how many fingers they have on their hands, nor whether each of them is one or more.

‘So they would not even know their own name, nor their country, nor Aristippus: neither therefore whom they love or hate, nor what things they desire. Nor, if they were to laugh or cry, would they be able to say, that is laughable, and that painful. It is evident therefore that we do not even know what we are now saying. Such men therefore as these would be no better than gnats or flies, though even those animals know what is natural and unnatural.’

Although there are endless arguments that one might use against men in this state of mind, yet these are sufficient. The next thing is to join them in examining those who have taken the opposite road, and decided that we ought to believe the bodily senses in everything, among whom are Metrodorus of Chios, and Protagoras of Abdera.

Metrodorus then was said to have been a hearer of Democritus, and to have declared ‘plenum’ and ‘vacuum’ to be first principles, of which the former was ‘being,’ and the latter ‘not-being.’ So in writing about nature he employed an introduction of this kind, ‘None of us knows anything, not even this, whether we know or do not know’: an introduction which gave a mischievous impulse to Pyrrho who came afterwards. Then he went on to say that ‘all things are just what any one may think them.’

And as to Protagoras it is reported that he was called an atheist. In fact he, too, in writing about the gods used this sort of introduction:

‘So as to gods I know not either that they exist, nor what their nature is: for there are many things that hinder me from knowing each of these points.’

This man the Athenians punished by banishment, and burned his books publicly in the middle of the marketplace. Since then these men asserted that we must believe our senses only, let us look at the arguments urged against them (by Aristocles).

CHAPTER XX

‘Now there have been men who maintained that we must believe only sense and its presentations. Some indeed say that even Homer intimates this kind of doctrine by declaring that Ocean is the first principle, as though all things were in flux. But of those known to us, Metrodorus of Chios seems to make the same statement; Protagoras of Abdera not only seems, but expressly states this.

‘For he said that “the Man is the measure of all things, of existing things, that they exist, of non-existent things, that they do not exist: for as things appear to each person, such they also are; and of the rest we can affirm nothing positively.”

‘Now in answer to them one may say what Plato says in the *Theaetetus*: in the first place, why in the world, if such forsooth is the nature of things, did he assert that “the Man” is the measure of truth and not a pig or a dog-headed ape? But next, how did they mean that themselves were wise, if forsooth every one is the measure of truth to himself? Or how do they refute other men, if that which appears to each is true? And how is it that we are ignorant of some things, though we often perceive them by sensation, just as when we hear barbarians speaking?

‘Moreover the man who has seen anything, and then remembers it, knows it, though he is no longer sensible of it. And if he should shut one eye and see with the other, he will evidently be both knowing and not knowing the same thing.

‘And in addition to this, if that which appears to each is also true, but what they say does not appear true to us, it must also be true that the Man is not the measure of all things.

‘Moreover artists are superior to the unskilled, and experts to the inexperienced, and for this reason a pilot, or a physician, or a general foresees better what is about to happen.

‘These men too absolutely destroy the degrees of the more or less, and the necessary and contingent, and the natural and unnatural. And thus the same thing would both be and not be; for nothing hinders the same thing from appearing to some to be, and to others not to be. And the same thing would be both a man and a block: for sometimes the same thing appears to one a man

and to another a block.

‘Every speech too would be true, but also for this reason false: and counsellors and judges would not have anything to do. And what is most terrible, the same persons will be both good and bad, and vice and virtue the same thing. Many other instances also of this kind one might mention; but in fact there is no need of more arguments against those who think that they have no mind nor reason.’

Then next he adds:

‘But since there are even now some who say that every sensation and every presentation is true, let us say a few words about them also. For these seem to be afraid lest, if they should say that some sensations are false, they should not have their criterion and their canon sure and trustworthy: but they fail to see that, if this be so, they should lose no time in declaring that all opinions also are true; for it is natural to us to judge by them also of many things: and nevertheless they maintain that some opinions are true and some false.

‘And then if one were to examine he would see that none even of the other criteria are always and thoroughly free from error; as for instance I mean a balance, or a turning-lathe, or anything of this kind: but each of them in one condition is sound and in another bad; and when men use it in this way, it tells true, but in that way tells false. Moreover if every sensation were true, they ought not to differ so much. For they are different when near and far off, and in the sick and the strong, and in the skilled and unskilled, and prudent and senseless. And of course it would be altogether absurd to say that the sensations of the mad are true, and of those who see amiss, and hear amiss. For the statement that he who sees amiss either sees or does not see would be silly: for one would answer, that he sees indeed, but not aright.

‘When, however, they say that sensation being devoid of reason neither adds anything nor takes away, it is evident that they fail to see the obstacles: for in the case of the oar in the water, and in pictures, and numberless other things, it is the sense that deceives. Wherefore in such cases we all lay the blame not on our mind, but on the presentation: for the argument refutes itself when it maintains that every presentation is true. For at all events it declares the falsity of ours, which causes us to think that not every presentation is true. The result then for them is to say that every presentation is both true and false.

‘And they are altogether wrong in maintaining that things really are just

such as they may seem to us: for on the contrary they appear such as they are by nature, and we do not make them to be so, but are ourselves affected in a certain way by them. Since if we were to imagine puppies or young kids, as painters and sculptors do, it would be ridiculous to assert straightway that they existed, and therefore to represent them to ourselves as standing ready at hand.'

From what has been said then it is evident that they do not speak rightly who assert that every sensation and every presentation is true. But in fact, though this is so, Epicurus again, starting from the School of Aristippus, made all things depend on pleasure and sense, defining the feelings alone to be conceptional, and pleasure the end of all good.

Now some say that Epicurus had no teacher, but read the writings of the ancients; others say that he was a hearer of Xenocrates, and afterwards of Nausiphanes also, who had been a disciple of Pyrrho. Let us see then what are the arguments which have been urged against him also.

CHAPTER XXI

[ARISTOCLES] 'SINCE knowledge is of two kinds, the one of things external, and the other of what we can choose or avoid, some say that as the principle and criterion of choosing and avoiding we have pleasure and pain: at least the Epicureans now still say something of this kind: it is necessary therefore to consider these points also.

'For my part then I am so far from saying that feeling is the principle and canon of things good and evil, that I think a criterion is needed for feeling itself. For though it proves its own existence, something else is wanted to judge of its nature. For though the sensation tells whether the feeling is our own or another's, it is reason that tells whether it is to be chosen or avoided.

'They say indeed that they do not themselves welcome every pleasure, and shun every pain. And this is a very natural result. For the criteria prove both themselves and the things which they judge: feeling, however, proves itself only. And that this is so, they bear witness themselves. For although they maintain that every pleasure is a good and every pain an evil, nevertheless they do not say that we ought always to choose the former and avoid the latter, for they are measured by quantity and not by quality.

'It is evident therefore that nothing else than reason, judges the quantity: for it is reason that gives the judgement, "It is better to endure this or that pain that so we may enjoy greater pleasures," and this, "It is expedient to abstain from this or that pleasure, in order that we may not suffer more grievous pains," and all cases of this kind.

'On the whole, sensations and presentations seem to be, as it were, mirrors and images of things: but feelings and pleasures and pains to be changes and alterations in ourselves. And thus in sensation and in forming presentations we look to the external objects, but in experiencing pleasure and pain we turn our attention to ourselves only. For our sensations are caused by the external objects, and as their character may be, such also are the presentations which they produce: but our feelings take this or that character because of ourselves, and according to our state.

'Wherefore these appear sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant, and sometimes more and sometimes less. And this being so, we shall find, if we should choose to examine, that the best assumptions of the principles of

knowledge are made by those who take into consideration both the senses and the mind.

‘While the senses are like the toils and nets and other hunting implements of this kind, the mind and the reason are like the hounds that track and pursue the prey. Better philosophers, however, than even these we must consider those to be who neither make use of their senses at random, nor associate their feelings in the discernment of truth. Else it would be a monstrous thing for beings endowed with man’s nature to forsake the most divine judgement of the mind and entrust themselves to irrational pleasures and pains.’

CHAPTER XXII

So much, from the writings of Aristocles.

[PLATO] 'Let us then judge each of the three separately in relation to Pleasure and to Mind: for we must see to which of these two we are to assign each of them as more akin.

'You are speaking of Beauty, and Truth, and Moderation?

'Yes: but take Truth first, Protarchus, and then look at three things, Mind, and Truth, and Pleasure, and after taking long time for deliberation make answer to yourself whether Pleasure or Mind is more akin to Truth.

'But what need of time? For I think they differ widely. Pleasure is of all things most full of false pretensions; and in the pleasures of love, the greatest as they are thought, even perjury, as they say, is forgiven by the gods, its votaries being regarded, like children, as possessing not even the smallest share of Reason; while Reason is either the same thing as Truth, or of all things most like it and most true.

'Will you not then next consider Moderation in the same way, whether Pleasure possesses more of it than Wisdom, or Wisdom more than Pleasure?

'An easy question this again that you propose. For I think one would find nothing in the world of a more immoderate nature than Pleasure and delight, nor any single thing more full of moderation than Reason and Science.

'You say well; yet go on to speak of the third point. Has Reason a larger share of Beauty than Pleasure has, so that Reason is more beautiful than Pleasure, or the contrary?

'Is it not the fact, Socrates, that no one ever yet whether waking or dreaming either saw or imagined Wisdom and Reason to be unseemly in any way or in any case, either past, present, or to come?

'Right.

'But surely when we see any one indulging in Pleasures, and those too the greatest, the sight either of the ridicule or of the extreme disgrace that follows upon them makes us ashamed ourselves, and we put them out of sight and conceal them as much as possible, consigning all such things to night, as unfit for the light to look upon.

'In every way then, Protarchus, you will assert, both by messengers to the absent and by word of mouth to those present, that Pleasure is not the first of

possessions nor yet the second, but the first is concerned with Measure, and Moderation, and opportuneness, and whatever qualities of this kind must be regarded as having acquired the eternal nature.

‘So it appears from what you now say.

‘The second is concerned with Symmetry and Beauty and Perfection and Sufficiency, and all qualities which are of this family.

‘It seems so, certainly.

‘If then, as I foretell, you assume as the third class mind and wisdom, you will not go far astray from the truth.

‘Perhaps so.

‘Shall we not say then that the fourth class, in addition to these three, are what we assumed to belong to the soul itself, sciences, and arts, and right opinions as they were called, inasmuch as they are more akin to the good than to Pleasure?

‘Very likely.

‘In the fifth place then pleasures which we assumed in our definition to be unmixed with pain, and called them pure cognitions of the soul itself, but consequent on the sensations.

‘Perhaps.

‘And, as Orpheus says,

“In the sixth age still the sweet voice of song.”

But our discourse also seems to have been brought to an end at the sixth trial. And nothing is left for us after this except to put the crown as it were upon what we have said.

‘Yes, that is proper.

‘Come then, as the third libation to Zeus Soter, let us with solemn asseveration go over the same argument.

‘What argument?

‘Philebus proposed to us that the good is pleasure universally and absolutely.

‘By the third libation, Socrates, it seems that you meant just now that we must take up again the argument from the beginning.

‘Yes. But let us listen to what follows. On my part when I perceived what I have now been stating, and was indignant at the argument employed by Philebus, and not by him only but often by thousands of others, I said that

Mind was far nobler than Pleasure, and better for human life.

‘It was so.

‘Yes, but, suspecting that there were many other good things, I said that if any of these should be found better than both the former, I would fight it out for the second prize on the side of Mind against Pleasure, and Pleasure would be deprived even of the second prize.

‘You did indeed say so.

‘And presently it was most satisfactorily shown that neither of these was sufficient.

‘Most true.

‘So in this argument both Reason and Pleasure had been entirely set aside, as being neither of them the absolute good, since they lacked sufficiency, and the power of adequacy and perfection.

‘Quite right.

‘But something else having been found better than either of them, Mind has now again been shown to be ten thousand times closer and more akin than Pleasure to the nature of the conqueror.

‘Of course.

‘So then the power of Pleasure will be fifth in the award, as our argument has now declared.

‘It seems so.

‘But not first, no, not even if all oxen and horses and other beasts together should assert it by their pursuit of enjoyment, though the multitude believing them, as soothsayers believe birds, judge pleasures to be most powerful to give us a happy life, and think that the lusts of animals are more valid witnesses than the words of those who from time to time have prophesied by inspiration of the philosophic Muse.

‘Now at last, Socrates, we all say that you have spoken most truly.’

So writes Plato. But I am also going to set before you a few passages of Dionysius, a bishop who professed the Christian philosophy, from his work *On Nature*, in answer to Epicurus. And do thou take and read his own words, which are as follows:

CHAPTER XXIII

[DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA] ‘Is the universe one connected whole, as it seems to us and to the wisest of the Greeks, such as Plato and Pythagoras and the Stoics and Heracleitus? Or two, as some one may have supposed, or even many and infinite in number, as it seemed to some others, who by many aberrations of thought and various applications of terms have attempted minutely to divide the substance of the universe, and suppose it to be infinite, and uncreated, and undesigned.

‘For some who gave the name “atoms” to certain imperishable and most minute bodies infinite in number, and assumed a void space of boundless extent, say that these atoms being borne on at random in the void, and accidentally colliding with each other through an irregular drift, become entangled, because they are of many shapes and catch hold of each other, and thus produce the world and all things in it, or rather worlds infinite in number.

‘Epicurus and Democritus were of this opinion: but they disagreed in so far as the former supposed all atoms to be extremely small and therefore imperceptible, while Democritus supposed that there were also some very large atoms. Both, however, affirm that there are atoms, and that they are so called because of their impenetrable hardness.

‘But others change the name of the atoms, and say that they are bodies which have no parts, but are themselves parts of the universe, out of which in their indivisible state all things are composed, and into which they are resolved. And they say that it was Diodorus who invented the name (τὰ ἀμερῆ) of these bodies without parts. But Heracleides, it is said, gave them a different name, and called them “weights,” and from him Asclepiades the physician inherited the name.’

After these statements he proceeds to overthrow the doctrine by many arguments, but especially by those which follow:

CHAPTER XXIV

‘How are we to bear with them when they assert that the wise and therefore beautiful works of creation are accidental coincidences? Works, of which each as it came into being by itself, and likewise all of them taken together, were seen to be good by Him who commanded them to be made. For the Scripture says, “And God saw all things that He had made, and behold, they were very good.”

‘Nay, they will not even be taught by the small and familiar examples lying at their feet, from which they might learn that no useful and beneficial work is made without a special purpose, or by mere accident, but is perfected by handiwork for its proper service: but when it begins to fall off and become useless and unserviceable, then it is dissolved and dispersed in an indefinite and casual way, inasmuch as the wisdom by whose care it was constructed no longer manages nor directs it.

‘For a cloak is not woven by the warp being arranged without a weaver, or the woof intertwined of its own accord; but if it be worn out, the tattered rags are cast away. A house too or a city is built up not by receiving some stones self-deposited at the foundations, and others jumping up to the higher courses, but the builder brings the well-fitted stones and lays them in their place: but when the building is overthrown, however it may occur, each stone falls down and is lost.

‘Also while a ship is being built, the keel does not lay itself, and the mast set itself up amidships, and each of the other timbers of itself take any chance position; nor do the so-called hundred pieces of the wagon fit themselves together each in any vacant place it finds: but the carpenter in either case brings them together fitly.

‘But should the ship go to pieces at sea, or the wagon in its course on land, the timbers are scattered wherever it may chance, in the one case by the waves, and in the other by the violent driving. Thus it would befit them to say that their atoms, as remaining idle, and not made by hands, and of no use, are driven at random. Be it for them to see the invisible atoms, and understand the unintelligible, unlike him who confesses that this had been manifested to him by God saying to God Himself, “Mine eyes did see Thy unperfected work.”

‘But when they say that even what they assert to be finely-woven textures

made out of atoms are wrought by them spontaneously without wisdom and without perception, who can endure to hear of the atoms as workmen, though they are inferior in wisdom even to the spider which spins its web out of itself?’

CHAPTER XXV

‘OR who can endure to hear that this great house, which consists of heaven and earth, and, because of the great and manifold wisdom displayed upon it, is called the Cosmos, has been set in order by atoms drifting with no order at all, and that disorder has thus become order?

‘Or how believe that movements and courses well regulated are produced from an irregular drift? Or that the all-harmonious quiring of the heavenly bodies derives its concord from tuneless and inharmonious instruments?

‘Also if there be but one and the same substance of all atoms, and the same imperishable nature, excepting, as they say, their magnitudes and shapes, how is it that some bodies are divine, and incorruptible, and eternal, or at least, as they would say, secular according to him who so named them, both visible and invisible, visible as the sun, and moon, and stars, and earth and water, and invisible as gods, and daemons, and souls? For that these exist, they cannot, even if they would, deny.

‘And the most long-lived are animals and plants; animals, in the class of birds, as they say, eagles, and ravens, and the phoenix; and among land animals, stags, and elephants, and serpents; but among aquatic animals, whales: and among trees, palms, and oaks, and perseae; and of trees some are evergreen, of which some one who had counted them said there were fourteen, and some flower for a season, and shed their leaves: but the greatest part both of plants and animals die early and are short-lived, and man among them, as a certain holy Scripture said of him, “Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live.”

‘But they will say that variations in the bonds which connect the atoms are the causes of the difference in duration. For some things are said to be packed close and fastened tightly together by them, so that they have become close textures extremely difficult to unloose, while in others the combination of the atoms has been weak and loose in a greater or less degree, so that either quickly or after a long time they separate from their orderly arrangement: and some things are made up of atoms of a certain nature shaped in a certain way, and others of different kinds of atoms differently arranged.

‘Who is it then that distinguishes the classes, and collects them, and spreads them abroad, and arranges some in this way for a sun, and others in

that way to produce the moon, and brings together the several kinds according to their fitness for the light of each separate star? For neither would the solar atoms, of such a number and kind as they are, and in such wise united, ever have condescended to the formation of a moon, nor would the combinations of the lunar atoms ever have become a sun. Nay, nor would Arcturus, bright though he is, ever boast of possessing the atoms of the morning star, nor the Pleiades those of Orion. For it was a fine distinction drawn by Paul when he said, "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory."

'And if their combination, as of things without life, took place unconsciously, they required a skilful artificer: and if their conjunction was involuntary and of necessity, as in things without reason, then some wise leader of the flock presided over their gathering. But if they have been willingly confined to the performance of a voluntary work, some marvellous architect took the lead in apportioning their work; or acted as a general who, loving order, does not leave his army in confusion and all mixed up together, but arranges the cavalry in one place, and the heavy-armed infantry separately, and the javelin-men by themselves, and the archers apart, and the slingers in the proper place, that those of like arms might fight side by side.

'But if they think this example a jest because I make a comparison between large bodies and very small, we will turn to the very smallest.'

Then he adds next to this:

'But if there were neither word, nor choice, nor order of a ruler laid upon them, but they by themselves directing themselves through the great throng of the stream, and passing out through the great tumult of their collisions, were brought together like to like not by the guidance of God, as the poet says, but ran together and gathered in groups recognizing their own kin, then wonderful surely would be this democracy of the atoms, friends welcoming and embracing one another, and hastening to settle in one common home; while some of them rounded themselves off of their own accord into that mighty luminary the sun, in order to make day, and others flamed up into many pyramids perhaps of stars, in order to crown the whole heaven; while others are ranged around, perchance to make it firm, and throw an arch over the ether for the luminaries to ascend, and that the confederacies of the common atoms may choose their own abodes, and portion out the heaven into habitations and

stations for themselves.’

Then after some other passages he says:

‘But these improvident men, so far from discerning what is invisible, do not see even what is plainly visible. For they seem not even to observe the regular risings and settings either of the other bodies, or the most conspicuous, those of the sun, nor to make use of the aids bestowed through them upon mankind, the day lighted up for work, and the night overshadowing for rest. For “man,” says the Scripture, “will go forth to his work and to his labour until the evening.”

‘Nay, they do not even observe that other revolution of the sun, in which he completes determinate times and convenient seasons and solstices recurring in undeviating order, being guided by the atoms of which he consists. But though these miserable men, the righteous, however, as they believe, be unwilling to admit it, yet “Great is the Lord that made him, and at His word he hasteneth his course.”

‘For do atoms, O ye blind, bring you winter and rains, that the earth may send up food for you and all the living creatures thereon? And do they lead on the summer, that ye may also receive the fruits of the trees for enjoyment? And why then do ye not worship the atoms, and offer sacrifice to the guardians of your fruits? Ungrateful surely, for not consecrating to them even small first-fruits of the abundant gifts which ye receive from them.’

And after a short interval he says:

‘But the stars, that mixed democracy of many tribes, constituted by the wandering atoms ever scattering themselves abroad, marked off regions for themselves by agreement, just as if they had instituted a colony or a community, without any founder or master presiding over them; and the border-laws towards neighbouring nations they faithfully and peacefully observe, not encroaching beyond the boundaries which they have occupied from the beginning, just as if they had laws established by these royal atoms.

‘Yet these do not rule over them: for how could they, that are non-existent? But listen to the oracles of God: “In the judgement of the Lord are His works from the beginning; and from the making of them He disposed the parts thereof. He garnished His works for ever, and the beginnings of them unto their generations.”’

And after a few sentences he says:

‘Or what phalanx ever marched across the level ground in such good order, none running on ahead, none falling out of rank, none blocking the way, nor lagging behind his company, as in even ranks and shield to shield the stars move ever onward, that continuous, undivided, unconfused, unhindered host?

‘Nevertheless, by inclinations and sidelong deviations, certain obscure changes of their course occur. And yet those who have given attention to these matters always watch for the right times and foresee the places from which they each rise. Let then the anatomists of the atoms, and dividers of the indivisible, and compounders of the uncompounded, and definers of the infinite, tell us whence comes the simultaneous circular revolution and periodical return of the heavenly bodies, wherein it is not merely one single conglomeration of atoms that has been thus casually hurled out as from a sling, but all this great circular choir moving evenly in rhythm, and whirling round together. And whence comes it, that this vast multitude of fellow travellers without arrangement, without purpose, and without knowledge of each other, have returned together? Rightly did the prophet class it among things impossible and unexampled that even two strangers should run together: “Shall two,” he says, “walk together at all, except they have known each other?”’

After speaking thus, and adding numberless other remarks to these, he next discusses the question at length by arguments drawn from the particular elements of the universe, and from the living beings of all kinds included in them, and moreover from the nature of man. And by adding yet a few of these arguments to those which have been mentioned, I shall bring the present subject to an end.

CHAPTER XXVI

‘ALSO, they neither understand themselves nor their own circumstances. For if any of the founders of this impious doctrine reconsidered who and whence he is, he would come to his senses as feeling conscious of himself, and would say, not to the atoms, but to his Father and Maker, “Thy hands fashioned me, and made me,” and like that writer he would have described still further the wonderful manner of his formation: “Hast Thou not poured me out as milk, and curdled me like cheese? Clothed me with skin and flesh, and knit me together with bones and sinews? Thou hast granted me life and favour, and Thy guardianship hath preserved my spirit.”

‘For how many and of what sort were the atoms which the father of Epicurus poured forth from himself, when he was begetting Epicurus? And when deposited in his mother’s womb, how did they coalesce, and take shape, and form, and motion, and growth? And how did that small drop, after calling together the atoms of Epicurus in abundance, make some of them into skin and flesh for a covering, and how was it raised erect by others turned into bone, and by others bound together with a contexture of sinews?

‘And how did it adapt the many other limbs, and organs, and entrails, and instruments of sense, some within and some without, by which the body was quickened into life? For among these no idle nor useless part was added, no, not even the meanest, neither hair, nor nails, but all contribute, some to the benefit of the constitution, and others to the beauty of the appearance.

‘For Providence is careful not only of usefulness, but also of beauty. For while the hair of the head is a protection and a covering for all, the beard is a comely ornament for the philosopher. The nature also of the whole human body Providence composed of parts, all of which were necessary, and invested all the members with their mutual connexion, and measured out from the whole their due supply.

‘As to the most important of these members, it is evident even to the simple from their experience what force they have: there is the supreme power of the head, and around the brain, as enthroned in the citadel, is the attendant guard of the senses: the eyes going on in advance, the ears bringing back reports, the taste, as it were, collecting provisions, the smell tracing out and examining, and the touch arranging everything that is subject to it. (For at

present we shall only run over in a summary manner a few of the works of the all-wise Providence, intending soon, if God permit, to complete the task more carefully, when we are directing our efforts against him who is thought more learned.)

‘Then there is the ministry of the hands, by which all kinds of workmanship and inventive arts are perfected, separately endowed with their particular facilities for co-operation in one and the same work, the strength of the shoulders in . bearing burdens, the grasp of the fingers, the joints of the elbows both turning inward towards the body and bending outwards, that they may be able both to draw things in and thrust them off. The service of the feet, by which the whole terrestrial creation comes under our power, the land to tread on, the sea to sail, the rivers to cross, and communication of all things with all. The belly, a store-room of food, meting out from itself in due measure the provisions for all the members associated with it, and ejecting what is superfluous: and all the other parts whereby the administration of the human constitution has been manifestly contrived, and of which the wise and foolish alike possess the use but not the knowledge.

‘For the wise refer the administration to whatever deity they suppose to be most perfect in all knowledge and most beneficent towards themselves, being convinced that it is the work of superior wisdom and power truly divine; while the others inconsiderately refer the most marvellous work of beauty to a chance meeting and coincidence of the atoms.

‘Now though the still more effectual consideration of these subjects, and the arrangement of the internal parts of the body, have been accurately investigated by physicians, who in their astonishment made a god of nature, yet let us hereafter make a re-examination as well as we may be able, even though it be superficial.

‘Now in a general and summary way I ask who made this whole tabernacle such as it is, lofty, erect, of fine proportion, keenly sensitive, graceful in motion, strong in action, fit for every kind of work? The irrational multitude of atoms, say they. Why, they could not come together and mould an image of clay, nor polish a statue of marble, nor produce by casting an idol of silver or gold; but men have been the inventors of arts and manufactures of these materials for representing the body.

‘And if representations and pictures could not be made without

intelligence, how can the real originals of the same have been spontaneous accidents?

‘Whence too have soul, and mind, and reason been implanted in the philosopher? Did he beg them from the atoms which have no soul, nor mind, nor reason, and did each of them inspire him with some thought and doctrine?

‘And was the wisdom of man brought to perfection by the atoms, in the same way as Hesiod’s fable says that Pandora was by the gods? Will the Greeks also cease to say that all poetry, and all music, and astronomy, and geometry, and the other sciences are inventions and instructions of the gods, and have the Atomic Muses alone been skilful and wise in all things? For the race of gods constructed by Epicurus out of atoms is banished from their infinite worlds of order, and driven out into the infinite chaos.’

CHAPTER XXVII

‘BUT to work, and to administer, to do good and to show forethought, and all such actions are burdensome perhaps to the idle and foolish, and to the feeble and wicked, among whom Epicurus enrolled himself by entertaining such thoughts of the gods; but to the earnest, and able, and wise, and prudent, such as philosophers ought to be (how much more the gods?), not only are these things not unpleasant and arduous, but even most delightful, and above all else most welcome; for to them carelessness and delay in performing any good action is judged to be a disgrace, as a poet admonishes them with his advice:

“Nor aught until the morrow to delay,”

and with the threat in addition:

“He who puts off his work

Must ever wrestle with malignant fates.”

‘We too are more solemnly instructed by a prophet, who says that virtuous actions are truly worthy of God, and that he who cares little for them is accursed: for he says, “Cursed be he that doeth the works of the Lord carelessly.”

‘Then too those who have not learned an art, and can only pursue it imperfectly because the effort is unusual and the work unpractised, find a weariness in their attempts: but those who are making progress, and still more those who are perfect, delight in the easy accomplishment of their pursuits, and would rather choose to complete what they usually practise, and to finish their work, than to possess all the things which men reckon good.

‘For instance, Democritus himself, as the story goes, used to say that he would rather discover one single law of causation than receive the kingdom of Persia, and this, although he was vainly seeking causes where no cause was, as one who started from a false principle and an erroneous hypothesis, and did not discern the root and the necessity common to the nature of all things, but regarded the contemplation of senseless and random contingencies as the highest wisdom, and set up chance as the mistress and queen of things universal and things divine, and declared that all things took place in accordance therewith, but banished it from the life of man, and convicted

those who worshipped it as senseless. For example, in the beginning of his *Suggestions* he says: "Men formed an image of chance as an excuse for their own folly: for chance is by nature antagonistic to judgement: and this worst enemy of wisdom they said ruled over it; or rather they utterly overthrow and annihilate this latter, and set up the other in its place: for they praise not wisdom as fortunate, but fortune as most wise."

'Whereas therefore the masters of those works which are beneficial to life take pride in the help which they render to their fellow men, and desire praise and fame for the works in which they labour for their good, some in providing food, others as pilots, some as physicians, and some as statesmen, philosophers proudly boast of their efforts to instruct mankind.

'Or will Epicurus or Democritus dare to say that they distress themselves by their pursuit of philosophy? Nay, there is no other gladness of heart that they would prefer to this. For even though they think that good consists in pleasure, yet they will be ashamed to say that philosophy is not more pleasant to them.

'But as to the gods of whom their poets sing as "Givers of good things," these philosophers with mocking reverence say, The gods are neither givers nor partakers of any good things. In what way then do they show evidence of the existence of gods, if they neither see them present and doing something, as those who in admiration of the sun and moon and stars said that they were called gods (θεοῦς) because of their running (θεεῖν), nor assign to them any work of creation or arrangement, that they might call them gods from *setting* (θεῖναι), that *is making* (for in this respect in truth the Creator and Artificer of the universe alone is God), nor exhibit any administration, or judgement, or favour of theirs towards mankind, that we should owe them fear or honour, and therefore worship them?

'Or did Epicurus peep out from the world, and pass beyond the compass of the heavens, or go out through some secret gates known only to himself, and behold the gods dwelling in the void, and deem them and their abundant luxury blessed? And did he thence become a devotee of pleasure, and an admirer of their life in the void, and so exhort all who are to be made like unto those gods to participate in this blessing, commending as a happy banqueting hall for them, not heaven or Olympus, as the poets did, but the void, and setting before them their ambrosia made out of the atoms, and pledging them

in nectar from the same?

‘And moreover he inserts in his own books countless oaths and adjurations addressed to those who are nothing to us, swearing continually “No, by Zeus,” and “Yes, by Zeus,” and adjuring his readers and opponents in argument “in the name of the gods,” having, I suppose, no fear himself of perjury nor trying to frighten them, but uttering this as an empty, and false, and idle, and unmeaning appendage to his speeches, just as he might hawk and spit, and turn his face, and wave his hand. Such an unintelligible and empty piece of acting on his part was his mentioning the name of the gods.

‘This however was evident, that after the death of Socrates he was afraid of the Athenians, and that he might not seem to be what he really was, an atheist, he played the charlatan and painted for them some empty shadows of unsubstantial gods. For he neither looked up to heaven with eyes of intelligence, that he might hear the clear voice from above, which the attentive observer did hear, and testified that “The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth the work of His hands,” nor did he with his understanding look upon the ground, for he would have learned that “The earth is full of the mercy of the Lord,” and that “The earth is the Lord’s, and the fullness thereof.” For the Scripture says, “After this also the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with His blessings. With the soul of every living thing He covered the face thereof.”’

‘And if they are not utterly blind, let them survey the vast and varied multitude of living beings, land and water animals, and birds, and let them take note how true has been the testimony of the Lord in the judgement which He passed on all His works, “And all appeared good according to His command.”’

These arguments I have culled from a large number framed against Epicurus by Dionysius, the bishop, our contemporary. But now it is time to pass on to Aristotle, and to the sect of the Stoic philosophers, and to review the remaining opinions of the wonderful sect of physicists, that so we may present to the censorious our defence for having withdrawn from them also.

BOOK XV

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PREFACE CONCERNING THE WHOLE SUBJECT

I THOUGHT it important in the beginning of the *Preparation for the Gospel* to refute the polytheistic error of all the nations, in order to commend and excuse our separation from them, which we have made with good reason and judgement.

Therefore before all else in the first three Books, I thoroughly examined not only the fables concerning their gods which have been turned into ridicule by their own theologians and poets, but also the solemn and secret physical theories of these latter, which have been transported by their grand philosophy high up to heaven and to the various parts of the world; although their theologians themselves declared that there was no need at all to talk gravely on these matters.

We must therefore carefully observe that the oldest of their theologians were proved on the highest testimony to have no special knowledge of the history, but to rely solely on the fables. Hence naturally in all cities and villages, according to the narratives of these ancient authors, initiatory rites and mysteries of the gods corresponding to the earlier mythical tales have been handed down by tradition; so that even to the present time the marriages of their gods and their procreation of children, their lamentations and their drunkenness, the wanderings of some, the amours of others, their anger, and their different disasters and adventures of all kinds, are traditionally received in accordance with the notices recorded by the most ancient authors, in their initiatory rites, and in their hymns, and in the songs composed in honour of their gods.

But nevertheless, as a work of supererogation, I also brought out to light the refinements of these later authors themselves which they had pompously exhibited in physical explanations, and the subtleties of the sophists and philosophers. Moreover, as to the account of the renowned oracles, and the false opinion concerning fate so celebrated among the multitude, these I laid bare by evidence as clear as day in other three books following next after the first three; and for the proof against them I made use not only of my own dialectic efforts, but also especially of the sayings of the Greek philosophers themselves.

Passing on thence to the oracles of the Hebrews, I showed, in the same number of books again, by what reasonings we accepted the dogmatic

theology contained in them, and the universal history taught by them and confirmed by the testimony of the Greeks themselves.

Next in order I refuted the method of the Greeks, and clearly showed how they had been helped in all things by Barbarians, and that they bring forward no serious learning of their own, making also a comparative table of the times in which the celebrated Greeks and the Hebrew prophets lived. Again in the next three books I showed the agreement of the best-esteemed philosophers of the Greeks with the opinions of the Hebrews, and again made their own utterances my witnesses.

Moreover in the book preceding this I clearly detected those Greek philosophers who differ from our opinions as being at variance not with us only but also with their own countrymen, and as having been overthrown by their own disciples. Throughout all these discussions I show to my readers that the judgement of my own mind is impartial, and by the very facts and deeds, so to say, I have brought forward my proofs, that with no want of consideration, but with well-judged and sound reasoning, we have chosen the philosophy and religion of the Hebrews, which is both ancient and true, in preference to that of the Greeks, which result was also confirmed by the comparison of the statements of the Greeks.

As we have been deferring up to the present time our final discourse hereon, which is the fifteenth Book of the treatise in hand, we will now make up what is lacking to the discussions which we have travelled through, by still further dragging into light the solemn doctrines of the fine philosophy of the Greeks, and laying bare before the eyes of all the useless learning therein. And before all things we shall show that not from ignorance of the things which they admire, but from contempt of the unprofitable study therein we have cared very little for them, and devoted our own souls to the practice of things far better.

When therefore by God's help this book shall have received the seal of truth, my work on the *Preparation* shall here be brought to a close; and passing on to the more complete argument of the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, I shall connect the commencement of my second treatise with the consideration of the remaining charge brought against us.

Now the fault alleged against us was this, that though we honoured the oracles of the Hebrews above those of our own country, we did not emulate

and choose a life like that of the Jews. Against that charge I shall, with the help of God, endeavour to make answer after the completion of my present discourse. For in this way I think that the second part being connected in one bond, as it were, with the first, will unite and complete the general purpose of the whole discussion.

As to our present task, however, in the preceding Books we have seen the philosophy of Plato sometimes agreeing with the doctrines of the Hebrews, and sometimes at variance with them, wherein it has been proved to disagree even with its own favourite dogmas: while as to the doctrines of the other philosophers, the physicists, as they are called, and those of the Platonic succession, and of Xenophanes and Parmenides, moreover of Pyrrho, and those who introduce the ‘suspension of judgement,’ and all the rest, whose opinions have been refuted in the preceding discourse, we have seen that they stand in opposition alike to the doctrines of the Hebrews and of Plato and to the truth itself, and moreover have received their refutation by means of their own weapons.

It is time then to look down, as it were, from a raised stage upon the other vain conceit of the Aristotelian and Stoic philosophers, and also to survey all the remaining physical systems of the supercilious tribe, that we may learn the grand doctrines taught among them, and on the other hand the objections urged against them by those of their own side.

For in this way our decision to withdraw from these also will be freed from all reasonable blame, for that we have preferred the truth and piety found among those who have been regarded as Barbarians to all the wisdom of the Greeks, not in ignorance of their fine doctrines, but by a well examined and thoroughly tested judgement. . To begin with Aristotle. Other authors, and among them philosophers not otherwise undistinguished, have defamed his personal life. But for my part I cannot willingly endure even to hear the man evil spoken of by his own friends. Wherefore I shall the rather set forth the defence urged on his behalf in the works of Aristocles the Peripatetic, who in his seventh book *On Philosophy* writes of him as follows:

CHAPTER II

[ARISTOCLES] 'FOR how is it possible that, as Epicurus says in his *Epistle concerning moral habits*, when a young man he squandered his patrimony, and afterwards, was forced into military service, and being unsuccessful in this had recourse to selling drugs, then, after Plato's walk had been thrown open to all, joined himself to him?

'Or how could any one accept what Timaeus of Tauromenium says in his *Histories*, that when advanced in years he kept the doors of an obscure surgery, or any others?

'Or who would believe what Aristoxenus the musician says in his *Life of Plato*? For he states that during his wandering and long absence from home certain strangers rose up against him and built a Peripatos in opposition to him. Some therefore think that he says this in reference to Aristotle, whereas Aristoxenus always speaks of Aristotle with reverence.

'One may also say with reason that the memoirs by Alexinus the Eristic are ridiculous. For he makes Alexander when a boy converse with his father Philip, and pour contempt upon Aristotle's doctrines, while approving Nicagoras, who was surnamed Hermes.

'Eubulides, also, in his book against Aristotle manifestly lies, first in bringing forward some frigid poems as written by others concerning his marriage and his intimacy with Hermias, and secondly in asserting that he offended Philip, and did not come to visit Plato when dying, and that he had corrupted his writings.

'As to the accusation of Demochares against the philosophers, why need we mention it? For he has reviled not Aristotle only, but all the rest as well. Moreover, any one glancing at the calumnies themselves would say that the man talks nonsense. For he says that there have been discovered letters of Aristotle against the Athenian state, and that he betrayed Stageira, his native city, to the Macedonians; and further, that, when Olynthus was destroyed, at the place where the booty was sold he pointed out to Philip the most wealthy of the Olynthians.

'Foolish also are the calumnies which have been brought against him by Cephisodorus, the disciple of Isocrates, saying that he was luxurious and a gourmand, and other things of this kind.

‘But all are surpassed in folly .by the statements of Lycon, who says that he is himself a Pythagorean. For he affirms that Aristotle offered to his wife after death a sacrifice such as the Athenians offer to Demeter, and that he used to bathe in warm oil, and then sell it: and that when he was starting for Chalcis, the custom-house officers found in the vessel seventy-five brass plates.

‘These are nearly all the chief detractors of Aristotle: of whom some lived at the same time with him, and others a little later, but all were Sophists, and Eristics, and Rhetoricians, whose very names and books are more dead than their bodies. As to those who came after them, and then repeated their statements, we may put them aside altogether, and especially those who have not even read their books, but invent for themselves, of which kind are those who say that he had three hundred dishes: for nobody could be found among his contemporaries, except Lycon, who has said any such thing about him. He, however, has said, as I mentioned before, that there were seventy-five plates found.

‘But not only from the dates and from the persons who have reviled him might one infer that all the things that have been stated are false, but also from the fact that they do not all bring the same charges, but each says some things of his own: in which if there was any one word of truth, he deserved surely to have been put to death by his contemporaries not once only but ten thousand times.

‘It is manifest therefore that it has happened to Aristotle, as to many others, to be envied by the Sophists of his time, both for his friendships with kings, and for his superiority in argument. But those who are right-minded must look not only to the detractors, but also to those who praise and emulate him: for these will be found much more in number and in worth.

‘Now all the other stories are manifestly invented: but credit seems to be given to these two things for which some blame him; one, that he married Pythias, who was by birth the sister, and by adoption the daughter, of Hermias, to flatter him. For instance Theocritus of Chios wrote an epigram of this kind:

“To Hermias, eunuch and Eubulus’ slave,
This empty tomb by empty sage was rais’d,
Who left the groves of Academe, and dwelt
By Borborus’ streams, his ravenous maw to fill.”

‘The other charge was that Aristotle was ungrateful to Plato.

‘Now among many authors who have written of Hermias and Aristotle’s friendship with him, the chief is Apellicon, and any one after reading his books will soon cease to speak evil of them.

‘But with regard to his marriage to Pythias he has himself made sufficient defence in his *Epistles to Antipater*. For after the death of Hermias he married her because of his affection for him, she being also a modest and good woman, but in misfortune by reason of the calamities which had overtaken her brother.’

Then afterwards he says:

‘But after the death of Pythias, the daughter of Hermias, Aristotle married Herpyllis of Stageira, by whom a son Nicomachus was born to him. And he, it is said, was brought up as an orphan by Theophrastus, and when a very young man was killed in war.’

But enough of these extracts from the aforesaid book of Aristocles: for it is time now to consider the dogmatic philosophy of Aristotle.

CHAPTER III

WHEREAS Moses and the Hebrew prophets laid it down that the perfection of a happy life is the knowledge of the God of all the world and friendship with Him accomplished by piety, and taught that true piety is the pleasing God by every virtue (because this is the source of blessings, for all things depend on God only, and all are procured from Him for the friends of God), and whereas Plato gives definitions agreeing with these, and declares virtue to be the perfection of happiness, Aristotle took the other path, and says that no one can be happy otherwise than through bodily pleasure and abundance of outward means, without which even virtue cannot profit. How the friends of Plato opposed him and refuted the falseness of his opinion, we may learn from what follows:

CHAPTER IV

[ATTICUS] ‘FOR whereas by the common judgement of philosophers Philosophy as a whole makes promise of human happiness, and is divided into three parts according to the distribution which makes up the universe, the Peripatetic will be seen to be so far from teaching herein any of the doctrines of Plato, that, though there are many who differ from Plato, he will himself be shown to be his strongest opponent.

‘And in the first place he departed from Plato on the point of universal and chief importance by failing to keep the measure of happiness, and not admitting that for this virtue is sufficient; but having missed the power that is in virtue, he thought that it needed the goods of fortune, in order to gain happiness with their help; but if it were to be left by itself, he complained that it was a powerless thing incapable of attaining to happiness.

‘Now this is not the time for showing how ignoble and mistaken was his opinion both on this and on the other points: but I think it is manifest, that whereas the object aimed at and the happiness are not equal nor identical according to Plato and according to Aristotle, but the one is ever crying aloud and proclaiming that the most righteous is the most happy man, while the other does not admit that happiness is a consequence of virtue, unless it be fortunate also in birth and beauty and other things, and so

“To war he came, decked, like a girl, with gold,”

according to the difference of the end the philosophy leading thereto must also be different.

‘For a man who walks only on one way which naturally leads to something that is petty and low, cannot reach to greater things that are set on high.

“See’st thou where yonder hill stands up aloft
Rugged with overhanging cliffs? There sits
The bird that lightly mocks thy feeble threat.”

‘Up to this lofty hill that shrewd and crafty beast is not able to ascend: but in order that the fox may come close to the eagle’s brood, either they must meet with some ill luck and fall to the ground through the destruction of their own nest, or the fox herself must grow what it is not her nature to grow,

“and circle on light wings,”

and so soaring from the earth fly up to the lofty hill. But as long as each remains on his own level, there can be no communion between things of earth and the offspring of heaven.’

After other statements he adds:

‘Since then this is the case, and since Plato’s endeavour is to draw the souls of the youths upward to the divine, and in this manner he makes them the friends of virtue and of honour, and persuades them to despise all else, tell us, O Peripatetic, how wilt thou teach these things? How wilt thou guide the lovers of Plato to them? Where in thy sect is so lofty a height of argument as to acquire the spirit of the Aloadae and seek the path to heaven, which they thought might be made by piling up mountains, a thing which, as Plato says, is to be done by removing “the objects of human ambition.”

‘What help then canst thou give the young men towards this end? And whence find any argument as an active ally of virtue? From what letters of Aristotle? From whom of his followers? Out of what writings? I give thee leave even to forge, if thou wilt, only let it be something spirited. But in fact thou hast neither anything to say, nor would any of the leaders of thy sect permit thee.

‘At all events the treatises of Aristotle on these subjects, entitled *Eudemian* and *Nicomachian* and the *Great Ethics*, have a petty, and low, and vulgar idea of virtue, and no better than an ordinary and uneducated man might have, or a lad, or a woman. For the diadem, so to speak, and the kingly sceptre, which virtue received from Zeus, and holds inalienable,

“For ne’er his promise shall deceive, or fail,
Or be recalled, if with a nod confirmed,”

this they dare to take away from her.

‘For they do not allow her to make men happy, but set her on a level with wealth, and glory, and birth, and health, and beauty, and all the other possessions which are common to vice. For as the presence of any whatsoever of these without virtue suffices not to render the possessor happy, so without these virtue, according to the same system, is not able to give happiness to its possessor.

‘Is not then the dignity of virtue dethroned and cast down? Certainly: yet they say virtue is far superior to all the other good things. Of what avail is

this? For they say also that health is better than wealth: but it is a fault common to all, that apart each from other they suffice not for happiness.

‘If ever therefore any one, starting from these doctrines and this sect, should teach that he who seeks all that is good for man in the soul alone is happy, they say that he never mounts the wheel, nor could he who is oppressed by “misfortunes such as Priam’s” possibly be happy and blessed.

‘But it is not unlikely that the possessor of virtue may fall into some such misfortunes. Hereupon it follows, that happiness neither results from every condition to the possessors of virtue, nor remains always with them if it does come.

“Of leaves one generation by the wind
Is scattered on the earth; but others soon
The teeming forest clothe. ...
So with our race, these nourish, those decay.”

Thy similitude, O poet, is still narrow and timid:

“The Spring-tide comes again.”

It is a long time that intervenes, and in which nothing grows. If thou would’st give an exact similitude of the mortality and decay of the human race, compare it with Aristotle’s happiness. This springs up and passes away more lightly than the leaves, not continuing through the circling year, nor within the year, nor within a month, but in the very day, the very hour, it both springs up and perishes.

‘And many are the causes which destroy it, and all of them results of chance: for there are the body’s “various dooms,” and these are myriads, and there is poverty, and disgrace, and all things of this kind; and against none of these are dear virtue’s resources sufficient of themselves to give help; for she is without strength to ward off misery or to preserve happiness.

‘In what way then can any one who has been reared in these doctrines and delighted with them either himself assent to the teaching of Plato, or ever confirm others in it? For it is not possible that any one starting from these principles should accept those other Herculean and divine dogmas, that virtue is a strong and noble thing, and never fails to give happiness, nor is ever deprived of it: but though poverty and disease and infamy and tortures and pitch and the cross, yea, though all the disasters of tragedy come in together

like a flood, still the righteous man is happy and blessed.

‘In fact, as with the tongue of the most loud-voiced herald, he proclaims the most righteous man, just as some victorious athlete, saying that he is the happiest of all men, who reaps the fruit of happiness from righteousness itself. Distinguish then, if you will, and variously distribute good things in threefold, fourfold, or manifold order; for this is nothing to the point before us; you will never by them bring us near to Plato.

‘For what, if among good things, some, as you say, are worthy of honour, as the gods; and some worthy to be praised, as the virtues; and some are powers, as riches and strength; and others are beneficial, as the healing arts? Or what, if you distribute them with less division, and say that of good things some are ends, and some are not ends, and call those ends, for the sake of which the others are taken, and not ends those which are taken for the sake of others?

‘Or what, if one were taught, that some are absolutely good, and others not good for all? Or that some are goods of the soul, and others of the body, and others external? Or again, that of goods, some are powers, and others dispositions and habits, and others actions; and some ends, and some matter, and some instruments? And if one learn from thee to divide the good according to the ten categories, what are these lessons to the judgement of Plato?

‘For as long as you on the one hand, either equivocally or as you please, speak of the good things of virtue, and combine with it certain other things as essential to happiness, thus robbing virtue of its sufficiency, while Plato on the other hand gets from virtue itself what is complete for happiness and seeks for the other things only as a superfluity, there can be on this point nothing common between you. You want one set of arguments, Plato’s friends want others. ‘For as

“Lions and men no safe alliance form,
Nor wolves and lambs in friendly mind agree,”

so between Plato and Aristotle there is no friendship in regard to the very chief and paramount doctrine of happiness. For if they have no evil thoughts one towards the other, yet it is evident that their statements concerning what is important on this point are diametrically opposite.’

CHAPTER V

AGAIN, whereas Moses and the Hebrew prophets, and Plato moreover in agreement with them on this point, have very clearly treated the doctrine of the universal providence, Aristotle stays the divine power at the moon, and marks off the remaining portions of the world from God's government: and on this ground also he is refuted by the aforesaid author, who discusses the matter as follows:

‘Whereas, further, the most important and essential of the things that contribute to happiness is the belief in providence, which more than aught else guides human life aright, unless at least we are to remain ignorant

“Whether by justice or by crooked wiles

Mankind from earth may scale the lofty height,”

Plato makes all things connected with God, and dependent on God, for he says that “He, holding the beginning and the middle and the end of all things, passes onward in a straight course to the accomplishment of His purpose.” And again he says, that “He is good, and goodness can never have any jealousy of anything. And being free from jealousy, He makes all things as good as possible, bringing them out of disorder into order.” And while He cares for all things, and orders all as well as possible, He has taken thought for mankind also.’

And after a few words:

‘Thus speaks Plato. But he who puts aside this divine nature, and cuts off the soul's hope of hereafter, and destroys reverence before superior Beings in the present life, what communion has he with Plato? Or how could he exhort men to what Plato desires, and confirm his sayings? For on the contrary he surely would appear as the helper and ally of those who wish to do injustice. For every one who is human and constrained by human desires, if he despise the gods and think they are nothing to him, inasmuch as in life he dwells far away from them, and after death exists no more, will come prepared to gratify his lusts.

‘For it is not impossible to feel assurance of being undetected in wrongdoing, if indeed it be necessary to avoid detection by men: it is not necessary, however, on every occasion even to seek to avoid detection, where a man has

power to overmaster those who have discovered him. So the disbelief in providence is a ready way to wrong-doing.

‘For a very worthy person indeed is he, who after holding out pleasure to us as a good, and granting us security from the gods, still thinks to provide a plan to prevent wrong-doing. He acts like a physician who, having neglected to give help while the sick man was yet alive, attempts after death to devise certain contrivances for curing the dead man.

‘In a similar manner to him the Peripatetic acts. For it is not so much the eagerness for the pleasure, as the disbelief that the deity cares, that encourages wrong-doing. What then, some one may say, do you put Aristotle in the same class with Epicurus?

‘Why certainly, at least in relation to the point before us. For what difference does it make to us, whether you banish deity from the world and leave us no communion therewith, or shut up the gods in the world and remove them from all share in the affairs of earth? For in both cases the indifference of the gods towards men is equal, and equal also the security of wrong-doers from fear of the gods. And as to our deriving any benefit from them while they remain in heaven, in the first place this is common also to things without reason or life, and further, in this way, even according to Epicurus, men get help from the gods, ‘They say, for instance, that the better emanations from them become the causes of great blessings to those who partake of them. But neither Epicurus nor Aristotle can rightly be reckoned on the side of providence. For if according to Epicurus providence disappears, although the gods according to him employ the utmost solicitude for the preservation of their own goods, so must providence disappear according to Aristotle also, even if the heavenly motions are arranged in a certain order and array.

‘For we seek a providence that has an interest for us, and in such that man has no share who has admitted that neither daemons, nor heroes, nor any souls at all can live on hereafter.

‘But therein Epicurus, in my judgement, seems to have acted more modestly: for as if he despaired of the gods being able to abstain from the care of mankind if they came in contact with them, he transferred them, as it were, to a foreign country, and settled them somewhere outside the world, excusing them from the charge of inhumanity by the removal, and by their separation

from all things.

‘But this our super-excellent discoverer of nature, and accurate judge of things divine, after putting human affairs under the very eyes of the gods yet left them uncared for and unregarded, being administered by some force of nature, and not by divine reason. Wherefore he himself cannot fairly escape that other charge which some imagine against Epicurus, that it was not according to his judgement, but through fear of men, that he allotted room in the universe to the gods, just like a spectator’s place in a theatre.

‘And they regard it as a proof of the man’s opinion, that he deprived the gods of their activity towards us, from which alone a just confidence in their existence was likely to be derived. For this same thing is done by Aristotle also; for by his both putting them far off and giving over the proof to sight only, an operation too feeble to judge of things at so great a distance, it may readily be thought that from shame he admits the existence of gods there.

‘For as he neither left anything outside the world, nor gave his gods access to things on earth, he was compelled either to confess himself altogether an atheist, or to preserve the appearance of allowing gods to remain, by banishing his gods to some such place as that. But Epicurus, by excusing the higher powers from diligent care because of the want of communication, seems to throw a decent veil over his disbelief in the gods.’

Such are the remarks of Atticus against Aristotle’s repudiation of the doctrine of providence. The same author further adds to what has been quoted the following remarks, aiming at the same philosopher’s unwillingness to admit that the world was created.

CHAPTER VI

WHEREAS again Moses decided that the world was created, and set up God as Maker and Creator over the universe, and whereas Plato's philosophy taught the same doctrines as Moses, Aristotle, having travelled the contrary course on this point also, is refuted by the aforesaid author writing as follows word for word:

‘In the first place then Plato speculating upon the origin of the world, and considering that every one must necessarily seek after this great and very beneficial doctrine of Providence, and having reasoned out the conclusion that the uncreated has no need either of a maker or of a guardian for its well-being, in order that he might not deprive the world of providence, denied that it was uncreated.

‘And we pray that we may not at this point be opposed by those of our own household, who choose to think that according to Plato also the world is uncreated. For they are bound in justice to pardon us, if in reference to Plato's opinions we believe what he himself, being a Greek, has discoursed to us Greeks in clear and distinct language.

“For God,” says he, “having found the whole visible world not at rest, but moving in an irregular and disorderly manner, brought it out of disorder into order, because He thought that this was altogether better than the other.” And still more plainly he shows that he did not adopt creation in an enigmatic way, nor yet for need of clearness, in the discourse which he has made the Father of all hold upon this point after the creation of the universe.

“For,” says he, “since ye have come into being, (and he is speaking to the gods) though ye are not altogether immortal nor indissoluble, nevertheless ye shall certainly not be dissolved, since ye have gained my will.”

‘But, as I was saying, with those who talk to us at home, as being our friends, we will discuss the matter in a friendly way and quietly with gentle arguments. For Aristotle seems to have brought them also over, as having been unable to resist his attack upon the doctrine, and unwilling to impute to Plato what seemed to have been detected as a fallacy.

‘But according to our hearing, whereas Plato claims for the world that it is the noblest work made by the noblest of Creators, and invests the Maker of all with a power by which He made the world which did not previously exist, and

haying made it, will if He please preserve it ever in safety, and whereas according to him the world is in this way supposed to be created and imperishable, who among the Peripatetics gives us any confirmation of these doctrines?

‘We must gently admonish their ally, that it is not absolutely necessary that whatever has been created must also perish, nor conversely that what will never perish must necessarily be uncreated. For we must neither admit that the sole cause of the imperishable is derived from its being uncreated, nor must we leave the passing of the created to destruction as admitting no remedy.

‘Whence then are we to get any help on these points from the doctrines of Aristotle, a man who pursues the argument on these subjects, not indirectly, nor merely as stating his own opinion, but sets himself in direct opposition to Plato, and both brings the created under a necessity of perishing, and says that what is imperishable maintains its imperishable condition only from the fact of not having been created, nor even leaves any power in God, which He can use to do any good. For what has never existed before now, this, he says, never can come into existence.

‘And so far is he from supporting Plato’s doctrine by these statements, that he has ere now frightened some even of Plato’s zealous disciples by what he said, and led them to reject his doctrine, because they were not able to perceive, that although, according to the nature of things alone without the will and power of God, neither the created is imperishable nor the imperishable created.

‘Yet when one has established as the chief cause that which proceeds from God, one must take this as guide in all things, and show it to be a cause on no point inferior to any others. For it is ridiculous that, because a thing has come into existence, it must therefore perish, and yet not perish, if God so wills; ridiculous also that, because a thing is uncreated, it has strength to escape from perishing, and yet that the will of God is insufficient to keep any created thing from perishing.

‘The builder is able to set up a house not yet existent, and a man can make a statue not previously existent, and another frames a ship out of unwrought timber and gives it over to those who want it, and all the other artificers, who pursue the constructive arts, have this power to bring some non-existent thing into existence; and shall the universal King and Chief Artificer not so much as

share the power of a human artificer, but be left by us without any share in creation? Not so, if at least we be able in any small degree to form an estimate of a divine cause.

‘But though competent to create and to will what is excellent, (for He is good, and the good feels no envy about anything), is He yet unable to preserve and guard what He has made? Yet surely even the other artificers are competent to do both. The builder, for instance, and the shipwright not only build new ships and houses, but are able also to repair those which are wearing away from time, substituting in them other parts in place of those which have been damaged.

‘So that surely so much as this must be conceded to God also. For how can He who is able to make a whole thing be unable to make it in part? So then why need it be made new, if one who is a maker in general is also to preserve his beautiful work against every accident? For to be willing to undo what was well made is the part of an evil one.

‘But there is no stronger bond for the preservation of things created than the will of God. Or, while many things which shared in the zeal and will of man, as nations and cities and works, after existing an enormous time still remain when he who willed them is no more, shall the things which have had a share in God’s purpose, and have been made for Him and by Him, — shall these then pass away and no longer remain while their Maker is still present?

‘What cause can have done violence to the purpose of God? Can it be the necessity proceeding from the things created themselves? But this by accepting the orderly arrangement confessed itself overcome by God. But can it be some cause from without acting in antagonism to God? Yet neither does any such cause exist, nor is it right to make God inferior to any in matters in which He has before prevailed and made order, unless indeed we altogether forget that we are discoursing about the greatest and most divine power.

‘But enough, for perhaps we are carried away by zeal into this argument concerning the truth. One thing is plain which we set forth, that they can be no teachers concerning the creation of the world who do not allow it any creation at all.’

Further, concerning the fifth essence in bodies introduced by Aristotle we must quote the following statements:

CHAPTER VII

‘For instance, with regard to the so-called elements, which are the primary constituents of bodies, Plato, like those before him, following the clear evidence concerning them, said that they were these four which are generally acknowledged, namely, fire, earth, air, and water, and that all other things are produced from their combinations and changes. But Aristotle, as it seems, hoped to appear extraordinarily wise, if he could add another body, and counted in with the four visible bodies the fifth essence: and he thus made a very brilliant and bountiful use of nature, but failed to observe that in physical inquiry one must not lay down laws, but search out nature’s own facts.

‘To the proof then that the primary natures of bodies are four, which is what the Platonists want, the Peripatetic would not only give no help, but would even be almost its only opponent. For instance, when we say that every body is either hot or cold, or moist or dry, or soft or hard, or light or heavy, or rare or dense, and when we find that there can be nothing else to partake of any of these conditions besides the four elements, —— for if anything is hot, it is either fire or air; and if cold, either water or earth; and if dry, fire or earth; and if moist, water or air; and if soft, air or fire; and if hard, water or earth; and light and rare, as for instance, fire and air; and heavy and dense, as water and earth; —— and when from all the other simple forces we perceive that there cannot be any other body besides these, this man alone opposes us, asserting that there can be a body which partakes not of these, a body, that is, neither heavy nor light, neither soft nor hard, neither moist nor dry, almost calling it a body that is not a body. For though he has left it the name, he has taken away all the forces by means of which it naturally becomes a body.

‘Either, therefore, he will withdraw us from Plato’s opinion by persuading us of his own statements, or by confirming those of Plato he will himself withdraw from his own opinions. So that in no way is he of any use in regard to Plato’s doctrines.

‘Further, Plato will have it that all bodies, inasmuch as they are regarded as formed upon one similar kind of matter, turn and change one into another. But Aristotle claims absolutely an essence in all other things which is impassible, and imperishable, and unchangeable, lest forsooth he should seem to be the inventor of something contemptible: yet he says nothing at all extraordinary

and original, but transfers Plato's fine intuitions in other matters to such as are unsuitable, just like some of the more modern sculptors.

'For they too, when they have copied the head of one statue, and the breast of another, and the waist of another, sometimes put together things which do not suit each other, and persuade themselves that they have made something original: and indeed the whole, which any one would blame as being unsymmetrical, is their own; but the contributions which are brought together in it, and have some beauty, are not theirs.

'In like manner also Aristotle hearing from Plato that there is a certain essence intelligible in itself abstractedly, and incorporeal colourless and intangible, neither coming into being, nor perishing, nor turning, nor changing, but always existing in the same conditions and manner, and hearing again at another time of the things in heaven that being divine and imperishable and impassible they are yet bodies, he combined out of both and stuck together things not at all congruous: for from the one he took the property of body, and from the others the property of impassibility, and so framed an impassible body.

'In the case then of the statues, even if the combination of the different parts was not beautiful, it was at least not impossible to be made. For instance, even Homer shows us such combinations, for he says,

"In eyes and head
Like Zeus the Lord of thunder, with the girth
Of Ares, and Poseidon's brawny chest."

But the body could never be impassible: for being combined with a passible and changeable nature, it must necessarily suffer with its yokefellow. And if there were anything impassible, it must be separated and free from that which suffers; so that it would be without the matter, and when separated from that it must necessarily be acknowledged to be incorporeal.'

Further, let us give our attention to these other points in which he proves that Aristotle is at variance with Plato.

CHAPTER VIII

‘THEN these are followed by many points in which they are at variance. For the one says that the things in heaven have most of their character from fire, while the other says that the heavenly bodies have nothing to do with fire. And Plato says that God kindled light in the second circle from the earth in order that it might as much as possible illumine the whole heaven, such being his declaration concerning the sun. But the other, not willing that the sun should be fire, and knowing that light is pure fire, or something of fire, does not allow that light is kindled round the sun.

‘Further, the one, attributing formal immortality to all the heavenly bodies, says that there take place certain secretions from them and equivalent accessions; and he is compelled to say this, in regard to the secretions, by the rays of the sun and the heat produced in the efflux from him; and, in regard to the accessions, by the equality in his apparent magnitude: for the bodies would not appear equal if they received nothing in place of what they emit: ‘but Aristotle maintains that they continue altogether the same in substance, without either any secretion from them or any accretion.

‘Further, the one, in addition to the common motion of the heavenly bodies, in which all move in the spheres to which they are confined, both the fixed stars and the planets, gives them another motion also, which indeed happens to be otherwise most admirable, and congenial to the nature of their body; for as they are spherical, naturally each would have a spherical motion of rotation: but the other deprives them of this motion also, which they perform as living beings, and leaves them only the motion which results from other bodies surrounding them, as if they were without life.

‘Moreover he says that the appearance presented to us by the stars as if they were in motion is an affection of the feebleness and quivering, as it were, of our sight, and is not a reality: as if Plato derived his belief in their motion from this appearance, and not from the reason which teaches that as each of these is a living being, and has both soul and body, it must necessarily have its own proper motion (for every body whose motion is from without is lifeless, but that which is moved from within and of itself is animated); and when moved, as being divine, it must move with the most beautiful motion, and since motion in a circle is the most beautiful, it must move in this way.

‘And the truth of the sensation would be in part confirmed by the testimony of reason; it was not, however, this sensation that caused the belief in the motion. With regard to the motion of the whole, he could not contradict Plato’s assertion that it takes place in a circle, for he was overpowered by the clear evidence: yet here also this fine invention of the new body gave him room for dissent.

‘For whereas Plato attributed the circular motion to the soul, inasmuch as there were four bodies and all naturally moved in a simple and straight course, fire towards the outside, and earth towards the centre, and the others towards the intervening space, Aristotle, as assigning a different motion to each different body, so also assigned the circular as a sort of bodily motion to his fifth body, easily deceiving himself in all.

‘For to bodies which move in a straight line their heaviness or lightness supplied a source of motion; but the fifth body, partaking neither of heaviness nor lightness, was rather a cause of immobility, and not of motion in a circle.

‘For if to bodies that move in a straight line the cause of their motion is not their shape, but the inclination of their weight, a body, not only when placed in the centre of any like body, will have no inclination in any direction, but, also, when set in a circle round any kind of body whatever, will have no cause of inclination towards anything,

“Move they to right towards the rising sun,
Or move to left,”

whether forward or backward.

‘Further, when other bodies have been thrust out of their proper places, the rebound towards these gives them a motion again of themselves; but as that fifth body never departs from its own localities, it ought to remain at rest.

‘And with regard to the other bodies, when this fifth is put out of the question, it is evident that Aristotle out of contentiousness does not agree with Plato. For Plato had inquired whether body, is heavy by nature or light by nature, and, since it was evident that these terms are used according to the relation towards up and down, he had considered whether there is by nature any up and down or not, and had exactly shown that according to the affinities of the bodies to their places, the direction towards which they severally tended would be called “down,” and the other direction from which each would draw

back be called “up.” And “heavy” and “light” he disposed according to the same relation, and further proved that neither their centre nor their circumference is rightly called “up” or “down.” But Aristotle makes objection, thinking that he must overthrow the other’s doctrines on every side, and urges us to call that which tends to the centre “heavy,” and that which tends to the circumference “light,” and the place in the centre he calls “down,” and the circumference “up.”“

Thus widely do they differ from each other in regard to the world, and its constituents, and the heavenly bodies. Such are the opinions of these two. But Moses and the oracles of the Hebrews trouble themselves about none of these things; and with good reason, because it was thought that those who busied themselves about these matters gained no benefit in regard to the right conduct of life.

CHAPTER IX

‘Now concerning the soul what need we say? For this is evident not only to philosophers but also to nearly all ordinary persons, that Plato allows the soul to be immortal, and has written many discourses concerning this, showing in many various ways that the soul is immortal.

‘Great also has been the emulation of the zealous followers of Plato’s teaching in defence both of Plato and of his doctrine; for this is almost the one thing that holds his whole school together.

‘For the hypothesis of his ethical doctrines was a consequence of the immortality of the soul, since it was through the divine nature of the soul that virtue was enabled to maintain its grandeur and lustre and high spirit; in nature also it was in consequence of the soul’s direction that all things gained the possibility of being well ordered.

“‘For soul,” he says, “as a whole has the care of all soulless being, and traverses all heaven, appearing at different times in different forms.”

Moreover, science also and wisdom have been made by Plato dependent on the immortality of the soul. For all kinds of learning are recollections, and he thinks that in no other way can inquiry and learning, out of which science springs, be maintained.

‘Now if the soul is not immortal, neither is recollection, and if not this, then neither learning. Whereas therefore all the doctrines of Plato are absolutely attached to and dependent on the divine nature of the soul and its immortality, he who does not admit this overthrows Plato’s whole philosophy.

‘Who then first attempted to oppose the proofs, and rob the soul of immortality and all its other power? Who else, I say, before Aristotle? For of the rest some allowed that it has a continued existence, and others, if not granting so much as this, yet assigned to the soul a certain power and movement and works and actions in the body.

‘But the more Plato tried to magnify the importance of the soul, declaring it to be the beginning of creation, and the pupil of God, and the power presiding over all things, so much the more contentiously did Aristotle seek to destroy and to dishonour it, and prove the soul to be almost nothing.

‘For he said that it was neither spirit, nor fire, nor body at all, nay, nor yet an incorporeal thing such as to be self-governed and to have motion, nor even

so much as to be in the body without motion, and, so to say, soulless. For see how he ventured, or even was forced, so far as to rob the soul of its primary motions, deliberation, thought, expectation, remembrance, reasoning!

‘For this secretary, as they say, of nature says that these are not movements of the soul. Surely this man may be quite trusted to have understood anything about the things outside him, who has made so great a mistake about his own soul, as not even to understand that it thinks! For it is not the soul, he says, but the man that performs each of these acts, while the soul is motionless.

‘Dicaearchus therefore following him, and being able to discern the consequence, took away the whole substance of the soul. It is manifest indeed that the soul is a thing invisible and concealed, so that, through the clear evidence at least of our senses, we could not grant its existence: but though concealed, its motions seem to compel us to acknowledge that the soul is an existent thing.

‘For almost every one seems to understand that the following are acts of the soul: to deliberate, to consider, and to think in any way whatever. For when we behold the body and its powers, and reflect that actions of this kind are not proper to the body, we grant the existence within us of something else which deliberates, and that this is the soul. Since from what other source came our belief concerning soul?

‘If therefore any one take away these acts which are the chief evidences of the soul, and assign them to something else, he has neither left us any evidence of its existence, nor any purpose for which it would seem to be of use. What help therefore can he who would have the soul to be immortal derive from him that deals death to the soul? And what is the explanation of the manner of its motion, according to which we call it self-moved, to be obtained from those who attribute to it no motion at all?

‘True; but in regard to the immortality of the mind some one may say that Aristotle agrees with Plato. For though he will not admit the whole soul to be immortal, yet he acknowledges the mind at least to be divine and imperishable. What therefore the mind is in its essence and its nature, whence it comes, and from what source it separates itself and enters into man’s nature, and whither it departs again, himself alone may know; if at least he understands anything that he says about the mind, and is not avoiding the proof by wrapping up the difficulty of the matter in the obscurity of his

language, and, just like the cuttle-fish, making it difficult to catch him by means of the darkness he creates. 'But even in these matters he is altogether at variance with Plato. For the one says that mind cannot subsist without a soul, while the other separates the mind from the soul. And immortality the one gives to it in partnership with the soul, as being otherwise impossible; but the other says that this survives in the mind alone when separated from the soul. And that the soul goes forth from the body he would not allow, because this thought pleased Plato: but he insisted that the mind is severed from the soul, because Plato judged such a thing as this impossible.'

These are the statements of Atticus: and I will add to them the views of Plotinus also, expressed in the following manner:

CHAPTER X

[PLOTINUS] ‘THE manner in which “entelecheia” is used in speaking of the soul may be considered in the following way. The soul, they say, holds in the combination the place of *form*, in relation to the body when alive as *matter*: but it is the *form* not of every body, nor of body as such, but as physical, organic, and potentially alive.

‘If therefore it is like that with which it has been compared, it is as the *form* of a statue to the bronze: and if the body is divided, the soul must be divided into parts with it, and if any part is cut off from the body, a portion of the soul is with the part cut off; and the supposed withdrawal of the soul in sleep does not take place, since the entelechy must be inseparable from that to which it belongs; but in reality there is no such thing as sleep.

‘Moreover if there is an entelechy, there can be no opposition between reason and desires, but the whole must be affected throughout in one and the same way, without any self-discord. But sensations may possibly exist only contingently, while perceptions cannot: wherefore they themselves also introduce the mind as another soul, and suppose it immortal.

‘The reasoning soul therefore must be an entelechy, if we must use this term, in some other way than this. Nor will the sensitive soul, since this also retains the impressions of the sensible objects when absent, retain them without the body’s aid: otherwise, they will be in it just like forms and images: but if they were therein in this manner, it would be impossible to receive them otherwise (than with the body’s aid). Therefore, it is not an entelechy as being inseparable.

‘Moreover that which desires not meats or drinks, but other than bodily things, is not itself an inseparable entelechy.

‘Then there would remain the vegetative principle, which would seem to admit a doubt, whether it be in this way an inseparable entelechy. Yet even this seems not to be so. For if the beginning of every plant is at the root, and the rest of the body grows round the root and the lower parts in many plants, it is evident that the soul forsakes the other parts and is collected in some one: it is not then in the whole as an inseparable entelechy. For again, before the plant grows the soul is in a little germ: if therefore it both comes from a larger plant into a small germ, and from a small germ into a whole plant, what is to

hinder its being also wholly separated? And how, being also indivisible can it become a divisible entelechy of a divisible body?

‘Also the same soul from one animal becomes another: how then could the soul of the former become the soul of the next, if it were the entelechy of one? And this is evident from the animals which change into other animals. The soul then has not its existence from being the “form” of anything, but is an essence, not receiving its existence in consequence of its abode in a body, but existing before it belonged to this, so that in an animal the body will not generate the soul.

‘What then is its essence? And if it is neither body, nor an affection of body, but action and production and many such things are both in it and from it, being an essence in addition to its bodies, what is its nature? Must it not manifestly be what we call real essence? For all that is bodily may be said to be generation but not substance, becoming and perishing, and never really being, but preserved by participation with being, so far as it may partake thereof.’

Now since we have related the opinions of Plotinus, it will not be out of place to observe what Porphyry also has said in his books against Boëthus *On the Soul*.

CHAPTER XI

[PORPHYRY] ‘IN answer to him who called the soul an entelechy, and supposed it, though utterly motionless, to be a cause of motion, we must ask what is the source of the strong excitements of the animal who understands nothing of what he sees and utters, though his soul discerns what is future and not yet present, and moves according to the same? Whence also in the constitution of the animal come the acts of the soul as of a living thing, acts of deliberation, inquiry, and will, which are movements of the soul and not of the body?’

Then presently he adds:

‘To liken the soul to weight or bodily properties uniform and immovable, by which either the motion or the quality of the subject-matter is determined, was the part of a man who either willingly or unwillingly had utterly lost sight of the dignity of the soul, and had in no way discerned that by the presence of the soul the animal’s body is made alive, as by the presence of fire the water placed close to it, though cold in itself, is made hot; and by the rising of the sun the air, which is dark without his shining, is made full of light.

‘Yet neither was the heat of the water previously the fire nor the fire’s heat; nor was the light of the atmosphere that light which is inherent in the sun: and in the same way the animation of the body, which seems like the weight or the quality in the body, is not that soul which was located in the body and through which also the body partook of a certain breath of life.’

Then afterwards he adds:

‘So then all the other statements which others have made concerning the soul bring disgrace upon us. For must it not be a disgraceful doctrine which makes the soul the entelechy of the physical organic body? And is not that a shameful doctrine, which represents it as having somehow a breath or intelligent fire, kindled or quenched by the cooling, and, as it were, dipping in the air around it, and which makes it a collection of atoms, or represents it as wholly engendered of the body?’

This is what in *The Laws* the author represented as the impious doctrine of impious men. All such statements then are full of shame: but, says he, no one would be ashamed for him who calls it a self-moved substance.

CHAPTER XII

[ATTICUS] 'FURTHER, when Plato says that the soul pervading all parts arranges all in order, and is that whereby the other philosophers would admit that all things are so arranged, and that nature is nothing else than soul, and evidently not an irrational soul, and when from this Plato gathers that all things take place according to providence, since they take place according to nature, in none of these opinions does Aristotle agree with us.

'For he does not admit that nature is soul, and earthly things ordered by one nature: for he says that for each several thing there are also different causes. For of the things in heaven which 'always remain in the same relations and conditions he supposes fate to be the cause: and of sublunary things, nature; and of human affairs, prudence, and forethought, and soul, showing indeed nicety in such distinctions, but not discerning the necessary truth.

'For if there were not some one animate power pervading the whole, and binding and holding all things together, the whole could not be either reasonably or beautifully arranged. It was a proof then of the same blindness, to hope that a city could ever continue in well-being without unity, and to believe that one could in argument preserve this universe in perfect beauty, such it appears, without having bound and compacted it together by participation in some one common principle.

'And something of this kind, he says, it is that arranges the several parts, such as to be a principle of motion, but he will not admit that this is soul; though Plato nevertheless shows that in all things that are moved the source and fountain of their motion is the soul. And that which would be the work of a rational and wise soul, to make nothing without a purpose, this he attributes to nature, but gives nature no share in the name of soul; as if things were derived not from powers but from names.'

CHAPTER XIII

‘BUT the chief point and power of Plato’s system, his theory of ideas, has been discredited, and abused, and insulted in every way, as far as it was in Aristotle’s power. For as he was unable to conceive that things of a grand, divine, and transcendent nature require a certain kindred power for their recognition, and trusted to his own meagre and petty shrewdness, which was able to make its way through things terrestrial, and discern the truth in them, but was not capable of beholding the plain of absolute truth, he made himself the rule and judge of things above him, and denied the existence of any peculiar natures such as Plato affirmed, but dared to call the highest of all realities triflings and chatterings and nonsense.

‘Rather is the supreme and final speculation of Plato’s philosophy that which treats of this intelligible and eternal being of the ideas, wherein verily the utmost toil and stress is set before the soul. For a most happy man is he, who has shared in the effort and attained the end, while he who has failed from want of power to obtain an insight is left without any share at all of happiness.

‘And for this reason Plato too strives earnestly in every way to show the strength of these ideal natures. For he says that it is not possible either rightly to assign a cause of anything whatsoever, except by participation in the ideas, or to have knowledge of any truth except by reference to these: nay not even a particle of reason would any have, unless they should acknowledge the existence of these ideas.

‘They again who have decided to maintain the doctrines of Plato lay the chief stress of their arguments on this point, and quite necessarily. For nothing is left of the Platonic system, if one will not grant them on Plato’s behalf these primary and i principal natures. For it is in these that he is especially superior to all other men.

‘For as he conceived God in relation to these ideas as Father of all, and Creator, and Lord, and Guardian; and as from men’s works he recognized that the artist formed a previous conception of that which he was about to make, and then afterwards adapted the likeness to the conception thus formed in the case of the things made; in the same way therefore Plato comprehended at a glance that God’s conceptions, the patterns of the things made, are earlier than

the things themselves, being incorporeal and intelligible, ever existing in the same conditions and modes, themselves the highest and first beings, and in part the causes to all the rest of their being just such as they severally are, according to their likeness to them; and seeing that they are not easy to be discerned, nor yet able to be clearly expressed in speech, Plato himself treated of these subjects as far as it was possible to represent them in speech or thought, and to prepare those who were to follow after him; and having arranged his whole philosophy to this end, he asserts that with these ideas and the perception of them are concerned the wisdom and the science, whereby the proper end of man and the life of blessedness are attained.'

So far speaks Atticus. I might have quoted yet more than this from his book which I have mentioned: let us be satisfied, however, with what has been set forth, and pass on next to the sect of the Stoics. Among the hearers then of Socrates was one Antisthenes, a man like Heracleitus in spirit, who said that madness was better than pleasure, and therefore used to advise his friends never to stretch out a finger for the sake of pleasure.

And a disciple of his was Diogenes the 'dog,' who seemed to entertain most brutelike ideas, and attracted many followers. He was succeeded by Crates, and a disciple of Crates was Zeno of Cittium, who was established as founder of the sect of the Stoic philosophers.

Zeno was succeeded by Cleanthes, and Cleanthes by Chrysippus, and he by the second Zeno, and the rest in order. All these are said to have been especially devoted both to hard living and to dialectic. The doctrines then of their philosophy are somewhat as follows.

CHAPTER XIV

[ARISTOCLES] ‘THEY say, like Heracleitus, that the element of the existing world is fire, and that the original principles of fire are matter and god, as Plato says. But the former says that both principles, the active and the passive, are corporeal, while the latter says that the first active cause is incorporeal.

‘Then, moreover, they say that at certain predestined and definite times the whole world is consumed by fire, and afterwards reorganized again. The primordial fire, however, is as it were just a seed, containing the reasons and the causes of all things past, present, and future: and that the combination and sequence of these constitute fate, and knowledge, and truth, and law of all being, from which there is no escape or avoidance. And in this way all things in the world are admirably arranged, just as in any well-ordered state.’

CHAPTER XV

[ARIUS DIDYMUS] ‘THE whole ordered world (κόσμος) with all its parts they call god, and say that he is one alone, and finite, and living, and eternal, and god: for all bodies are contained in him, and in him there is no vacuum. For the name order (κόσμος) is applied to the quality of all substance as well as to that which has an arrangement of like kind consequent on the ordering (διακόσμησιν).

‘Wherefore according to the former rendering they say that the world is eternal, but as to its orderly arrangement created and subject to change at infinite periods past and future.

‘And the quality of all being is an eternal world and god; the name world (κόσμος) also means the system compounded of heaven, and the air, and earth, and sea, and the natures contained in them; and again the name world means the dwelling-place of gods and men, and of all things made for their sake.

‘For in the same way as the name city has two meanings, the dwelling-place, and the system resulting from the combination of residents and citizens, so also the world is, as it were, a city composed of gods and men, in which the gods hold the rule, and the men are subject.

‘There is, however, a community between them, because they partake of reason, which is nature’s law: and for their sakes all other things have been made. From which things it follows that we must suppose that the god who administers the whole takes thought for mankind, being beneficent, and kind, and friendly to; man, and just, and possessed of all virtues.

‘For this reason indeed the world is also called Zeus, since he is the cause of our life (ζῆν): and inasmuch as from eternity he administers all things unchangeably by connected (εἰρομένῳ) reason, he is also called Fate (εἰμαρμένην): andAdrasteia, because nothing can escape him (ἀποδιδράσκειν) and Providence, because, he arranges things severally for good.

‘Cleanthes would have the sun to be the ruling power of the world, because it is the greatest of the heavenly bodies, and contributes most to the administration of the whole by making the day and the year and the other seasons.

‘Some, however, of the sect thought that the earth was the ruling power of the world. But Chrysippus thought it was the ether, the clearest and purest as being most mobile of all things, and carrying round the whole course of the world.’

Let this extract then suffice from the *Epitome* of Arius Didymus. But with reference to the opinion of the Stoics concerning God it is sufficient to quote the words of Porphyry in the answer which he wrote to Boëthus *On the Soul*, in the form following:

CHAPTER XVI

[PORPHYRY] ‘THEY do not hesitate to call God an intelligent fire and allow Him to be eternal, and to say that He destroys and devours all things, being such a fire as that which is known to us, and to contradict Aristotle who deprecates saying that the ether consists of fire of this kind.

‘But if they are asked how such a fire lasts so long, though they do not say that it is fire of another kind, yet after describing it as of such a nature, and claiming credence for their own assertion, they add on to this unreasonable belief that it is also an eternal fire, though they assume that even this ethereal fire is partially quenched and rekindled. But why should one spend time in pursuing any further their blindness in regard to their own doctrines, and their indolence and contempt for the doctrines of the ancients?’

CHAPTER XVII

[NUMENIUS] ‘BUT what then is “being”? Is it these four elements, earth and fire and the other two intermediate natures? Are then these the real beings, either collectively, or any one of them singly? But how can they be, since they are both created and destroyed again, for we may see them proceeding one out of another, and interchanging, and subsisting neither as elements nor as compounds? These cannot thus be a body with true being.

‘But though not these, yet it is possible that matter may have true being? But for matter also this is utterly impossible, through want of power to continue. For matter is a running and swiftly changing stream, in depth, and breadth, and length undefined and endless.’

And presently he adds:

‘So it is well stated in the argument that, if matter is infinite, it is undefined; and, if undefined, irrational; and, if irrational, it cannot be known. But as it cannot be known it must necessarily be without order, as things arranged in order must certainly be easy to be known: and what is without order, is not stable: and whatever is not stable cannot have true being.

‘Now this was the very point on which we agreed among ourselves before, that it is not permissible for all these things to be associated with true being. I should wish this to be the opinion of all men, be it at all events mine. I deny, therefore, that either matter in itself, or material bodies are true being.

‘What then? Have we any thing else besides these elements in the nature of the universe? Yes, certainly. And this is not at all a subtle thing to express, if we would together try to discuss the following point first in the case of ourselves.

‘For since bodies are in their own nature inanimate and dead, carried hither and thither, and not abiding in one stay, have they not need of something to hold them together? Most certainly. And if they should fail to find this, would they continue? Certainly not. What is there then to hold them? If on the one hand this also were a body, I think that being liable to be dissolved and dispersed it would need a Zeus Soter to sustain it. If, however, it must be freed from what bodies suffer, in order that after they have been generated it may be able to avert their destruction, and hold them together, to me it seems that there is nothing else left, except only the incorporeal. For of all natures this

alone is stable, and compact, and not at all corporeal. At all events it is neither created, nor increased, nor subject to any other kind of motion, and for these reasons the incorporeal was rightly judged worthy to take precedence.’

CHAPTER XVIII

[ARIUS DIDYMUS] ‘But the oldest of this sect are of opinion that all things are changed into ether, when at certain very long periods all are resolved into an ethereal fire.’

And afterwards he adds:

‘But from this it is manifest that Chrysippus has not accepted this confusion in reference to substance (for that was impossible), but only that which was meant as equivalent to change. For the term destruction is not properly understood of the great destruction of the world which takes place in long periods by those who hold the doctrine of the dissolution of the universe into fire, which they call conflagration, but they use the term destruction (fçora&n) as equivalent to change in the course of nature.

‘For it is held by the Stoic philosophers that the universal substance changes into fire, as into a seed, and coming back again, from this completes its organization, such as it was before. And this is the doctrine which was accepted by the first and oldest leaders of the sect, Zeno, and Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. For the Zeno who was the disciple and successor of Chrysippus in the School is said to have doubted about the conflagration of the universe.’

CHAPTER XIX

‘THE common reason having advanced so far, and a common nature having become greater and fuller, and having at last dried up all things and absorbed them into itself, finds itself in the universal substance, having gone back to the condition first mentioned, and to that resurrection which makes the Great Year, in which takes place the restitution from itself alone to itself again.

‘And when it has returned, because of an arrangement such as that from which it began to make a similar organization, it according to reason follows the same course again, so that such periods go on from eternity and never cease. For it is not possible for all things to have a cause of their beginning, nor of that which administers them. For under things created there must lie a substance of a nature to receive all the changes, and the power that out of it created them. For as there is in our case a certain kind of creative nature, there must of necessity be something of the same kind in the world also, something uncreated, for there cannot be a beginning of creation in the case of this nature: and in the same way as it is uncreated, it is also impossible for it to be destroyed, either by itself, or by anything external that would destroy it.

CHAPTER XX

‘THE seed, says Zeno, which man emits is breath combined with moisture, a portion and fragment of soul, and a blending of the parents’ seed, and a concrete mixture of the various parts of the soul. For this, having the same laws as the universe, when emitted into the womb is caught up by another breath, and made a portion of the female’s soul and grows into one with it, and being there stirred and kindled by it grows in secret, continually receiving additions to the moisture and increasing of itself.’

And a little further on he adds:

‘With regard to the soul, Cleanthes, in setting forth the doctrines of Zeno for comparison with the other physicists, says that Zeno calls the soul an exhalation endowed with sensation, just as Heracleitus does. For wishing to make it clear that there is a perpetual production of intelligent souls by exhalation, he compared them to rivers, speaking as follows: “Though men step into the same rivers, the waters that from time to time flow over them are different”: and souls likewise are exhaled from moisture.

‘So then Zeno, like Heracleitus, represents the soul as an exhalation. And he says that it is sensitive for the reason that the ruling part is capable of being impressed through the senses from real and substantial objects, and receiving their impressions. For these are special properties of soul.’

After other remarks he adds:

‘And they say that there is a soul in the universe, which they call ether, and air surrounding the land and sea, and exhalations from them; and that to this soul are attached all the other souls, both those in animals, and those in the surrounding air; for the souls of the dead still continue.

‘Some say that the soul of the universe is eternal, but that the others at death are absorbed into union with it: and that every soul has in it a certain ruling faculty, which is life, and sensation, and appetite.’

And a little further on he proceeds:

‘They say that the soul is created and perishable, but does not perish immediately when freed from the body, but abides for some time by itself; the soul of the good until the resolution of all things into fire, but the soul of the foolish for certain periods of time.

‘But the continued existence of souls they thus describe, that we ourselves

on becoming souls continue to exist, having been separated from the body and changed into the smaller substance of the soul. But the souls of the foolish and of irrational animals perish together with their bodies.’

Such are the doctrines of the Stoic philosophy collected out of the *Epitomae* of Arius Didymus. But in answer to their absurd opinion about the soul, it is sufficient to quote the refutations briefly stated in the following words in Longinus, one of our own age:

CHAPTER XXI

[LONGINUS] 'To speak briefly, it seems to me that all who represented the soul as a body have strayed, one after another, far away from right reasoning. For how is it at all admissible to assume that what is proper to the soul is similar to any of the elements? Or how refer it to the compounds and mixtures, which occurring in many ways are of a nature to generate forms of countless other bodies, in which, if not continuously, at all events at intervals one may see the cause of the elements, and the advance of the primary elements towards the secondary and tertiary compounds? But of properties pertaining to the soul not a trace nor a sign is found in bodies, not even if one should strive, like Epicurus and Chrysippus, to turn every stone, and examine every power of body for an origin of the functions of the soul.

'For what help would the subtilty of the breath give us for sensible presentations and reasonings? Or why has the shape of the atoms so great power above all else and such facility of change, as to beget wisdom, whenever it is mixed up in the moulding of another body? I think indeed that not even if one chanced to be one of Hephaestus' tripods and handmaidens, of whom the former, Homer says, went self-moved to the assembly, and the latter helped their master in his work, and lacked none of the advantages which living beings possess, much less those of the fortuitous motes, . . . and on the other hand it is like the stones upon the sea-shore, in regard to being able to do anything remarkable towards producing sensation. For one might justly be indignant with Zeno and Cleanthes for arguing so very contemptuously about the soul, and saying both alike that the soul is an exhalation of the solid body. For what, in heaven's name, is there at all in common between an exhalation and a soul? And how is it possible for them, if they think that both our nature and that of other animals is like this, to be able to preserve either sensible presentations and remembrances permanently, or, on the other hand, instincts and desires of things conducive to understanding? Shall we then indeed degrade the gods also, and Him who pervades all things alike in earth and heaven, into an exhalation, and smoke, and such nonsense as this? And shall we not feel ashamed even towards the poets, who although they have not an exact understanding of the gods, nevertheless partly from the common conception of mankind, and partly from inspiration of the Muses,

which is of a nature to stir them hereto, have spoken more honourably concerning them, and not called them exhalations, or airs, or breaths, and such nonsense?’

This is what Longinus tells you. But listen to Plotinus also, aiming against the same sect such remarks as follow:

CHAPTER XXII

[PLOTINUS] ‘Now whether each of us is immortal, or wholly perishes, or whether parts of him will pass into dissolution and destruction, while parts remain for ever, which are the man himself, this one may learn as follows, by examining it in the natural way.

‘In the first place, man cannot be a simple thing, but he has in him a soul, and has also a body whether as our instrument, or as attached to us in any other way; at all events let them be thus distinguished, and let us examine closely the nature and essence of each.

‘The body then, being itself compound, cannot, from the reason of the thing, be permanent; and our senses perceive it dissolving, and wasting, and suffering all kinds of decay, while each of the parts in it follows its own course, and one wastes another away, and changes into another, and destroys it; and this especially when the soul, which harmonizes them, is not present with the atoms.

‘And even if each be isolated in coming into existence, it is not one, since it admits of separation into form and matter, of which even simple bodies must be constituted; moreover having also magnitude, inasmuch as they are bodies, and can be divided and broken into small fragments, in this way also they would be liable to destruction.

‘So if this is part of ourselves, we are not altogether immortal: but if it is an instrument, it must be of the nature described, as having been given only for a certain time. But the dominant part, even the man himself, would be either like the form in relation to the body as matter, or like the agent in relation to an instrument. And in either way the soul is the self.

‘Of what nature then is this? Either it is body, and must certainly be soluble, for every body is compound. Or if it were not body, but of some other nature, this also we must examine either in the same way or some other. And first we must consider into what this body, which they say is soul, must be resolved.

‘For since life is an inseparable property of soul, this body which is the soul, if it consisted of two or more bodies, must either in each of the two or in every one have life innate, or one must have it and the other not, or neither have it. If then the life were attached to one of them only, this itself would be

soul.

‘What then would a body be, which derived life from itself? For fire, and air, and water, and earth, are without life from themselves: and to whichever of these soul is attached, the life which this one enjoys is adventitious. But besides these there are no other bodies. And by those who think that there are elements different from these, they were not said to be souls but bodies, and not to have life. But if, though none of them has life, the assemblage of them is said to have produced life, this is absurd.

‘If, however, each has life, even one is sufficient: but rather it is impossible that a collection of bodies should produce life, and things unintelligent beget intelligence. Moreover they will not assert that these are produced by any and every mode of combination. There must then be the power that is to arrange, and the cause of the combination: so that this would hold the place of a soul.

‘For there would not be even a simple body, to say nothing of a composite body, in the world of being, if there were not a soul in the universe; since it is the accession of reason to matter that makes body, and reason can come from no other source than soul.; ‘If any one should deny this, and say that a soul is made by a concurrence of atoms or indivisibles, he would be refuted by its oneness and community of feeling, and by analogy, since there can be no unity that does not extend throughout the whole, nor can a common feeling come from bodies which are without feeling and incapable of union; but the soul is conscious of feeling; also from things which have no parts there can come neither body nor magnitude.

‘Moreover supposing the body to be simple, if they say that all that is material has no life of itself (for matter has no qualities), but that what is classed as the form (εἶδος) adds the life — then, if they say that this form is the essence, only the one of these and not the union of both will be the soul; and on the other hand, there is no body, for even this is not produced from mere matter, or else we must resolve it again in the same manner.

‘But if they say that the form is an affection of the matter, but not the essence, they will have to state the source from which this affection and the life have come into the matter. For certainly the matter does not give itself form, nor infuse into itself a soul. There must, then, be something which provides life, whether it be provided for the matter or for any of the bodies, and this must be outside and beyond any bodily nature. Since otherwise there

would not even be any body, as there would be no animal force.

‘For its own nature is in flux and motion, and if all were bodies they would perish very speedily, even though the name soul should be given to one of them: for it would be affected in the same way as the other bodies, they all having the same matter. Or rather nothing would ever come into being, but all things would remain as matter, if there were nothing to give it form.

‘But perhaps even matter would not exist at all, but this universe would be dissolved, if any one should entrust it to a combination of body, giving it in mere name the rank of soul, though it is only air and breath that is most easily dispersed, and has no unity of itself. For since all bodies are capable of division, how can any one who makes this universe depend on any of them, fail to make it unintelligent and moved at random?

‘For what order, or reason, or mind can there be in breath which needs a soul to give it order? But granted the existence of a soul, all these are subservient to it for the constitution of a world and of every living thing, a different power from each contributing to the whole: whereas if there be no soul present in the universals, they will not merely be without order, but will be nothing at all.

‘These men are also themselves led by the truth to testify that there must be something prior to bodies and superior to them, a species of soul, since they suppose that breath is endowed with mind and that fire is intelligent, as without fire and breath the better part cannot exist in the actual world, but seeks a place where it may be settled; whereas they ought to be seeking where to settle the bodies, as it seems these must be settled in powers of the soul.

‘But if they assume that life and soul are nothing besides breath, what becomes of their much boasted phrase “in a certain state,” in which they take refuge when compelled to assume some active nature besides bodies? If then they say that not every breath is soul, because countless breaths are inanimate, but the breath that is “in a certain state,” they must say that this “certain state,” and this condition, is either something real or nothing.

‘But if they say it is nothing, there will be breath only, and the “certain state” a mere name: and so it will result in their saying that nothing else exists but matter, and that soul, and god, and all things are a mere name, and that matter alone exists. But if the “state” is something real and additional to the substratum and the matter, existing in matter but itself immaterial because it is

not compounded again out of matter, it must be not body, but a kind of reason, and a different nature.

‘Moreover from the following considerations it is not less evidently impossible that the soul should be a body of any kind whatever. For then it must be either hot or cold, either hard or soft, and liquid or solid, and black or white, with all other bodily qualities differing in different bodies. And if it is hot, it will only give heat, if cold it will only chill, and the additional presence of lightness will make things light, and of heaviness heavy, and blackness will make black, and whiteness white.

‘For it is no property of fire to chill, nor of cold to make hot. But the soul both produces different effects in different animals, and also contrary effects in the same animal; making some parts solid and others liquid, and some thick and others thin, black and white, light and heavy. Yet it ought to have produced only one effect according to the quality of the body in colour and other respects: but in fact it produces many.

‘And how then will they explain the fact that the motions are diverse instead of one, since every body has one motion only? If they allege choice as cause of some motions, natural laws of others, so far they are right: but choice is not a property of body, nor laws, at least if they are different, while the body is one and simple, and has no participation in any such law, except what has been given to it by that which caused it to be hot or cold.

‘Also the power of causing growth in periods of time and up to this or that measurer — whence can the body itself get this? For it is natural to it to be increased, but to have no power in itself of causing increase, except in as far as it may be taken into service as a mass of matter by the power which by means of it effects the increase. Even if the soul were a body and caused increase, it must also be itself increased by an addition evidently of similar body, if it is to advance equally with that which receives increase from it. And the addition will either be soul, or soulless body.

‘And if soul, how and whence does it come in, and how is it added? But if the addition is soulless, how is it to become animated, and to agree with what was there before, and be one with it, and share the same opinions with the first soul? Will not rather this soul, as a stranger, be in ignorance of what the other knows; and just as with the other mass of our body, one part will pass away from it, and another be added, and nothing will be the same?

‘How then are our remembrances formed? And how our knowledge of our own selves, if we have never the same soul? Moreover if it is body, and the nature of body is that, when divided into several parts, each of the parts is not the same as the whole, and if a soul is of a certain size, then whatever is less than that will not be soul, just as everything of a certain size by any subtraction changes from being what it was.

‘But if anything possessing magnitude should remain the same in quality when diminished in bulk, it is altered as body and as quantity, but may retain its sameness in quality as being different from quantity.

‘What then will they say, who assert that the soul is body?

‘First as to each part of the soul that is in the same body, is each a soul such as the whole is?

‘And so again the part of each part? Magnitude then contributed nothing to its essence; yet it ought to have done so, as there was, a certain fixed quantity; and it was whole in many different places, which cannot be the case with body, that the same should be whole in many places, and the part be the same as the whole.

‘But if they say that each of the parts is not a soul, they will have a soul consisting of soulless parts. And further still, if the magnitude of each soul be limited in each direction, then if it become either less or greater it will not be a soul.

‘Whenever therefore from one connexion and the same seed twin children are begotten, or even many, as in the case of the other animals, the seed being parted into several places, where each is a whole, does not this teach those who are willing to learn, that where the part is the same as the whole, this whole in its own essence transcends the quantitative existence, and must itself be without quantity? For thus it will remain the same when quantity is withdrawn, inasmuch as it is independent of quantity and bulk, as its essence is something different therefrom. The soul therefore and its laws are independent of quantity.

‘But that, if the soul were body, there would be neither sensation nor thought, nor knowledge, nor virtues, nor anything noble, is evident from the following reasons. Whatever is to perceive anything by sensation must itself be one, and must apprehend everything by the same sentient power; even if there should be many impressions that enter through many organs of

sensation, or many qualities of one thing, and even if through one sense there should enter a complex object, such as a face.

‘For there are not different powers that perceive the nostril and the eye, but the same perceives all at once. And if one impression comes through the eyes, and another through hearing, there must be some one power which both reach: or how could one say that these are different, if the sensations did not reach the same sentient power at the same time? This, therefore, must be as it were a centre, and lines converging from the circumference of the circle must convey the sensations from all sides to it, and the percipient power of this kind must be really and truly one.

‘For if this were to be extended, and the sensations were to strike upon both extremities, as it were, of a line, either they must run together again to one and the same point, as the centre, or to some other: and each different point will have a sensation of one of the two objects, just as if I were to perceive one object and you another.

‘And if the sensible object be one, as a face, it will be contracted into one, as is evidently the case; for contraction takes place in the very pupils of the eyes (otherwise how could very large objects be seen through them?): so that there is a still further contraction in passing on to the ruling faculty, in such a way that indivisible notions are produced. And this faculty will be indivisible, or, if it were a magnitude, the perceptions would share its divisibility, so that one part (of the soul) would perceive one part (of the object), and another another, and nothing in us would perceive the sensible object as a whole.

‘But in fact the whole sentient is one: for how could it be divided? For there can be no correspondence of equal to equal, because the ruling faculty cannot be equal to each and every sensible object. Into how many parts then shall the division be made? Or shall it be divided into as many parts as the number of varieties in the object of sense that enters? And so then each of those parts of the soul will also perceive by its subdivisions, or the parts of the subdivisions will have no perception; but that is impossible. And if any part perceive all the object, since magnitude by its nature is infinitely divisible, the result will be that each man will also have infinite sensations for each sensible object, infinite images, as it were, of the same thing in our ruling faculty.

‘Moreover if the sentient be body, the sensation cannot take place otherwise than as seals impressed on wax from signet-rings, whether the

sensations be impressed upon the blood or upon the breath. If then the impressions are made as in liquid bodies, which is probable, they will become confused, just as if made on water, and there will be no remembrance of them.

‘But if the impressions remain, either it is impossible for others to be imprinted while the former occupy the place, so that there will be no other sensations: or if others are made, the former will be obliterated, so that the remembrance will come to nothing. But if it is possible to remember, and to receive sensations one upon another, without hindrance from the earlier, it is impossible for the soul to be body.

‘And the same may also be seen from the sensation of pain. When a man is said to have a pain in his finger, the pain of course is about the finger, but the sensation of the pain, they must evidently admit, arises in the ruling faculty. While the suffering part therefore is different, the ruling faculty perceives the (animal) spirit, and the whole soul shares the same feeling.

‘How then does this result? By transmission, they will say, the animal spirit about the finger having first suffered, and imparted the suffering to the next, and this to another, until it arrived at the ruling faculty.

‘Necessarily, therefore, if the first had a sensation of pain, there must be another sensation for the second, if the sensation came by way of transmission, and another also for the third, and the sensation of one single pain must become many and infinite, and afterwards the ruling faculty must perceive all these sensations and its own in addition to them.

‘But the truth is, that each of them is not a sensation of the pain in the finger, but that which is next to the finger is a feeling that the wrist is in pain, and the third is a feeling that another part farther up is in pain, and so there are many pains: and the ruling faculty does not perceive the pain in the finger, but the pain close to itself, and knows only this, and dismisses the others, not understanding that it is the finger which is in pain.

‘If, therefore, it is not possible for the sensation of such a pain to be produced by transmission, nor possible that in the body as being a mass, when one part suffers, another part should be noticed (for in every magnitude one part and another part are different), we must suppose the sentient power to be of such a nature as to be everywhere identical with itself. But to effect this is the property of a different kind of being from body.

‘That it would not be possible even to think, if the soul were any kind of

body, is to be shown from the following reasons. For if the meaning of sensation is, that the soul apprehends the objects of sense by making use of body, it cannot be that thought also means perception by means of body, or else it will be the same as sensation.

‘If, therefore, thought is apprehension without the aid of body, much rather must the thinking faculty not be body, since sensation is of sensibles, but thought of intelligibles. But if they will not admit this, at all events there must be both thoughts of some intelligibles, and apprehensions of things without magnitude.

‘How, then, if it be magnitude will it conceive in thought that which is not magnitude, or by that which is divisible conceive that which is not divisible? Will it be by some indivisible part of itself? But if so, the thinking faculty will not be body. For there is certainly no need of the whole in order to touch; for any one part is sufficient.

‘If, therefore, they should admit, as is true, that the first notions are those of the things which are most entirely free from body, that is of absolutes, the intelligent faculty can form notions only as being or becoming free from body. But if they should say that the notions are of forms embodied in matter, yet they are only formed by abstraction from the bodies, the mind making the abstraction.

‘For certainly the abstraction of circle, and triangle, and line, and point has nothing to do with flesh, or matter at all. In such an operation, therefore, we must separate the soul itself also from body: it must not therefore itself be body. I suppose too that beauty and justice are things without magnitude, and therefore the conception of them also. So that as they occur the soul will receive them with its indivisible faculty, and they will abide in it as indivisibles.

‘Also if the soul be corporeal how can prudence, justice, fortitude, and other virtues belong to it? For then temperance, or justice, or fortitude must be some kind of breath, or of blood; unless perhaps fortitude were the uneasiness of the breath, and temperance its right temperature, and beauty a certain elegance in forms, because of which, when we see them, we call men goodly and beautiful in body.

‘To be strong and beautiful in form might indeed be suitable to breath; but what does breath want of prudence? Nay; but, on the contrary, it wants to find

enjoyment in embraces and caresses, wherein it will either be warmed, or will desire a moderate coolness, or attach itself to things soft, and tender, and smooth. But for assigning to each thing its due worth, what would it care?

‘And is it because they are eternal that the soul fastens upon the conceptions of virtue, and the other objects of the intellect, or does virtue begin to exist in one, and must it perish again? But then who creates it, and whence? For thus there would again remain that former question. It must be, then, because they are eternal and abiding, such as are the conceptions of geometry: and, if eternal and abiding, not corporeal. Therefore also the soul in which they are to exist must be of this same nature; it must not then be corporeal; for everything of the nature of body is non-abiding and transient.

‘If, from seeing the operations of bodies, in imparting heat and cold, and thrusting, and weighing down, they put the soul in this class, as if seating it in a place of activity, — then in the first place they are ignorant that even these bodies work these effects by means of the incorporeal powers contained in them, and then that these are not the powers which we claim as belonging to the soul; but the powers of thought, sensation, reasoning, desiring, managing wisely and well, all require another kind of essence.

‘So by transferring the powers of the incorporeal to the corporeal, they leave none for the former. And that bodies can only produce their effects by means of incorporeal powers is evident from the following reasons. For it will be admitted that quality is one thing and quantity another, and that every body has quantity, and yet not every body has quality, as for example mere matter. But if they admit this, they must admit that quality, being different from quantity, is different from body.

‘For if it have not quantity, how can it be body, since every body has quantity? Moreover, as was said somewhere above, if every body on being divided, and every mass, ceases to be what it was, but when the body is cut small the same quality remains entire in every part, — if for example, the sweetness of honey is none the less sweetness in every drop, — sweetness cannot be a body. The same is true of all the other qualities.

‘Then further, if the powers were bodies, the strong powers must necessarily be great masses, and those which can effect but little, small masses. But if when the masses are great the powers are small, and a few very small masses have the greatest powers, their efficacy must be attributed to

something else than magnitude, therefore to something without magnitude. 'The fact too that matter, being as they say body, is itself the same, but produces different effects when it has qualities added to it, — does not this make it evident that the things added are actually rational powers and incorporeal? And let them not reply that, when breath or blood has departed, the animals die. For it is impossible to exist without many other things besides these, and yet the soul can be none of them. Moreover neither breath nor blood extends through all parts, but soul does.

'Further, if the soul being body had pervaded every part, it would also have been mixed, in the same way as the mixture takes place in all other bodies. But if the mixture of the bodies leaves none of the components in actual existence, neither will the soul retain an actual existence in the bodies, but only potential, having lost its existence as soul. Just as if sweet and bitter be mingled, the sweet no longer exists. And so we have no soul.

'And the fact that, being body, it is mingled with body, the whole throughout the whole, so that wherever either may be there the other is also, both having a mass equal to the whole, and that no increase has taken place by the addition of the other, — this will leave nothing that it does not divide. For the mixture is not made in large portions alternately (for so they say it would be a *juxta-position*), but having passed through the whole, the addition being superimposed upon the less (a thing impossible, that the less should be found equal to the greater) — but nevertheless having so passed through, it divides the whole in every part.

'Therefore if this occurs at any point whatever, and there be no body between, which has not been cut, the body must have been divided into points, which is impossible; and if the division be carried on to infinity (for whatever particle of body you take, it may be divided), the infinities will have not only a potential but an actual existence. Therefore it is not possible that body should wholly pervade the whole: but the soul does pervade the whole: therefore it is incorporeal.

'As to their saying that the same breath is an earlier nature, and when it has come into a cool place (*ψυχρόν*) and been sharpened, it becomes soul (*ψυχή*), being made finer in the cool, — this certainly is absurd; for many animals are born in warm places, and have a soul that has not been cooled. But at all events they say that there is an earlier nature of the soul produced by external

contingencies. The result, therefore, is that they make the inferior first, and before this another still less, which they call habit (ἔξις). And the mind comes last, as produced of course from the soul; or if mind is before all things, they ought to make soul next, then vegetative nature; and the later always the worse, if it is a merely natural product.

‘If, therefore, even God in respect of His mind is regarded by them as later, and as generated, His intelligence also being adscititious, it would be possible that neither soul, nor mind, nor God should exist. For if the potential could exist without the previous existence of the actual, and of mind, it would never attain to actuality. For what would there be to bring it on, if there exist not besides itself something prior? But if it is to bring itself into actuality (which is absurd), yet at least in so bringing itself forward it must have something to look to, which must exist not potentially but actually.

‘And yet if the potential is to have the power of always remaining the same, it will of itself have attained to actuality, and this latter will be better than that which has only potentiality, as being a state desired by it. The better therefore will be the prior, both as having a different nature from body, and as always actually existent: mind, therefore, and soul are prior to mere nature; soul, therefore, does not exist as breath, nor yet as body. However, though other arguments might be stated, and have been stated by others, showing that it is not body, yet even what I have now said is sufficient.

‘But since it is of a different nature, we must inquire what this nature is. Is it then, though different from body, yet something belonging to body, as it were a harmony? For although the Pythagoreans used this word “harmony” in a different way, they supposed that it was something of the same kind as the harmony on the strings of the lyre.

‘For as when the strings of the lyre have been stretched tight there comes a certain kind of effect upon them, which is called harmony, in the same way also in our body, when a mixture is made of unlike elements, they thought that a mixture of a certain quality produces both life and soul, which is the effect upon the mixture. But many arguments have ere now been urged against this opinion to show that it is impossible.

‘For it has been argued that the soul is the prior element, but the harmony subsequent: and that the former rules and presides over the body, and in many ways contends with it, but could not do so if it were a harmony: and that the

one is an essence, but the harmony is not an essence: and that the mixture of the bodily elements, of which we consist, if it be in due proportion, would mean health: also that in each part differently compounded there would be a different soul, so that there would be many souls: and, as the chief argument, that prior to this present soul there must be another soul to produce this harmony, as in the case of musical instruments there is the musician, who puts the harmony into the strings, having in himself the reasoning faculty in accordance with which he will modulate it.

‘For neither in that case will the strings of themselves, nor in this case the bodily particles be able to bring themselves into harmony. And speaking generally, these philosophers also make animated things out of inanimate, and things casually brought out of disorder into order, and instead of order from the soul they make the soul itself to have received its subsistence from the self-made order. But this cannot possibly take place either in the single parts or in the wholes. The soul, therefore, is not a harmony.’

These extracts are taken from the work of Plotinus against the opinion of the Stoics concerning the soul, who say that it is corporeal. But since I have set forth sufficiently for a summary statement the arguments against Aristotle and the Peripatetics, and those against the sect of the Stoics, it is time to go back again and survey the wonderful physical theories of all their noble philosophers together, seeing especially that all the Greeks in common believed in and worshipped as visible gods the Sun, and Moon, and the rest of the luminaries, and the other elements of the world, and have transferred the fabulous and nonsensical tales about their polytheistic error by more seemly physical explanations to the primary elements and the divisions of the whole world.

Wherefore I think it necessary for me also to collect their opinions on these subjects, and to review their disputes and their vain conceit.

These matters also I will quote from the work of Plutarch, in which he collected the opinions thereon of all the philosophers both ancient and modern, writing in the following manner:

CHAPTER XXIII. OF THE SUN.

[PLUTARCH] 'ANAXIMANDER: that there is a circle twenty-eight times as large as the Earth, having its circumference like a chariot-wheel, hollow, and full of fire, and partly showing the fire through an opening, as through a bellows-pipe: and this is the Sun.

'Xenophanes: it is formed from the sparks which are seen to be collected from watery vapour, and which compose the Sun out of burning clouds.

'The Stoics: a flame out of the sea, endowed with intelligence.

'Plato: out of an immense fire.

'Anaxagoras, Democritus, Metrodorus: a fiery mass of metal or stone.

'Aristotle: a globe of the fifth corporeal element.

'Philolaus the Pythagorean: a disk as of glass, which receives the reflected radiance of the fire in the cosmos, and transmits the light to us; so that the Sun's fiery appearance in the heaven is like the light which comes to us dispersed by reflexion from the mirror: for this light also we call the Sun, being as it were an image of an image.

'Empedocles: there are two Suns; the one archetypal, a fire in the other hemisphere of the cosmos, which, has filled that hemisphere, being always opposite to its own reflected light; and the other which we see is the reflected light in this other hemisphere which is filled with air mixed with heat, formed by reflexion from the spherical surface of the Earth and failing upon the crystalline Sun, and carried round with the motion of the fiery Sun: but to express it more shortly, the Sun is the reflexion of the fire that surrounds the Earth.

'Epicurus: a compact mass of earth, resembling pumice or sponge in its pores, and kindled by the fire.'

CHAPTER XXIV. OF THE SUN'S MAGNITUDE.

‘ANAXIMANDER: the Sun itself is equal to the Earth, but the orbit from which it breathes out its fire, and by which it is carried round, is twenty-seven times as large as the Earth.

‘Anaxagoras: many times as large as Peloponnesus.

‘Heracleitus: the breadth of a man's foot.

‘Epicurus again says that the aforesaid descriptions are all possible: or else that it is of the same size as it appears, or a little greater or less.’

CHAPTER XXV. OF THE SHAPE OF THE SUN.

‘ANAXIMENES: the Sun is flat like a plate.

‘Heracleitus: like a boat, concave.

‘The Stoics: spherical, like the universe and the stars.

‘Epicurus: the aforesaid descriptions are all possible.’

Such is their Sun, the mighty god of all things visible in heaven. But Moses and the Hebrew oracles waste no labour on any of these matters.

CHAPTER XXVI. OF THE MOON.

‘ANAXIMANDER: it is a circle nineteen times as large as the Earth, full of fire, as in the case of the Sun, and is eclipsed in consequence of the rotation of its disk. And it is like a chariot wheel, having its circumference hollow, and full of fire, with only one vent.

‘Xenophanes: a cloud condensed.

‘The Stoics: a mixture of fire and air. ‘Plato: of earth for the more part.

‘Anaxagoras, Democritus: a fiery solid, having in itself plains, and mountains, and ravines.

‘Heracleitus: earth surrounded with mist. ‘Pythagoras: a mirror-like body.’

CHAPTER XXVII. OF THE MOON'S MAGNITUDE.

‘THE Stoics represent it as larger than the Earth, as they also say of the Sun.

‘Parmenides: equal to the Sun, for it is illumined from it.’

CHAPTER XXVIII. OF THE MOON'S SHAPE.

‘THE Stoics: it is spherical, as the Sun.

‘Heracleitus: like a boat.

‘Empedocles: like a disk (or quoit).

‘Others like a cylinder.’

CHAPTER XXIX. OF THE MOON'S ILLUMINATION.

‘ANAXIMANDER: it has light of its own, but somewhat scanty.

‘Antiphon: the Moon shines by its own light; but the portion of it which is partially hidden is obscured by the Sun’s light falling upon it, as it is the nature of the stronger fire to obscure the weaker: which happens also with the other heavenly bodies.

‘Thales and his followers: the Moon is illumined from the Sun.

‘Heracleitus: the Sun and Moon are affected in the same way: for the heavenly bodies being boat-like in shape, and receiving the products of the watery evaporation, become luminous in appearance; the Sun more brilliantly, because it moves in a purer atmosphere, but the Moon moving in a turbid atmosphere therefore also appears more dim.’

CHAPTER XXX. WHAT IS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PLANETS AND FIXED STARS?

‘THALES: the heavenly bodies are of earth, but on fire.

‘Empedocles: of fire, from the fiery element, which the air contained in itself and thrust out at the first separation of the elements.

‘Anaxagoras: the surrounding atmosphere is in its substance fire, but by the energy of its revolution catches up stones from the earth, and having set them on fire has made stars of them.;

‘Diogenes: the heavenly bodies are porous like pumice, and are the breathing-holes of the universe. But again the same author thinks that they are stones, which, though at first invisible, often fall upon the Earth and are extinguished, just as the stony meteor which fell in a fiery form at Aegospotamoi.

‘Empedocles: the fixed stars are fastened to the crystalline sphere, but the planets are free.

‘Plato: for the most part they are of fire, but partake also of the other elements as a cement.

‘Xenophanes: they consist of clouds on fire, but are extinguished every day, and re-kindled in the night, just like live coals: for their risings and settings are their kindlings and quenchings.

‘Heracleides and the Pythagoreans think that each of the stars is a world, including an Earth, and an atmosphere and an ether in the infinite space. These doctrines are introduced in the Orphic Hymns, for they make each star a world.

‘Epicurus rejects none of these opinions, but adheres to his “possible.”’

CHAPTER XXXI. OF THE SHAPE OF THE STARS.

‘THE Stoics: the stars are spherical, like the universe, Sun; and Moon.

‘Cleanthes: conical.

‘Anaximenes: like studs fastened in the crystalline sphere.

‘But some say that they are plates of fire, as it were pictures.’

Such are the discoveries of the wonderful philosophers concerning what they call visible gods. But learn also from the same Plutarch’s voice, what decisions they have pronounced concerning the universe:

CHAPTER XXXII. HOW THE WORLD WAS CONSTRUCTED.

‘THE world, therefore, has been fashioned in a rounded form, in the following manner. As the corporeal atoms have an undesigned and fortuitous motion, and move continuously and very swiftly, many of them were collected together, and from this cause had great variety of shapes and sizes.

‘And when these were all gathered in the same place, all the larger and heaviest settled down: but as many as were small, and round, and smooth, and easily moved, were thrust out in the collision of the bodies, and carried up on high.

‘When, therefore, the propelling force ceased to carry them upward, and the propulsion no longer tended towards the height, while on the other hand they were prevented from sinking downward, they were compressed into the places which were able to admit them; and these were the places around them.

‘So the multitude of the bodies were turned round towards these places, and becoming intermingled one with another in the turning they generated the heaven. But the atoms retaining the same natural tendency, and being of various kinds, as I have said, were thrust out towards the upper region, and produced the nature of the stars.

‘But the multitude of the bodies which were exhaled kept striking upon the air and thrusting it away; and the air in its motion being turned into wind and encompassing the stars carried them round with it, and maintained the revolution which they now have on high. Afterwards out of the particles which settled down the Earth was produced, and out of those which were carried upward the heaven, and fire, and air.

‘And as there was still much matter included in the Earth, which became condensed in consequence of the blows from the winds and the currents from the stars, all of its shape that was formed by minute particles was further compressed, and generated the watery element.

‘And this having a fluid tendency was carried down into the hollow places which were able to receive and hold it; or the water settled down of itself and gradually hollowed out the places below it.’

Such is their wonderful cosmogony! And with, this is connected much other disputation, as they started questions about problems of all kinds;

whether we ought to regard the universe as one or many; and the cosmos as one or more; and whether it has a soul, and is administered by a divine providence, or the contrary: also whether it is imperishable or perishable; and from what source it is sustained; and from what kind of material God began to make the world: also concerning the order of the world; and what is the cause of its inclination; also concerning what is outside the circumference of the world; and which is the right and which the left side of the world; also concerning the heaven, and, besides all this, concerning daemons and heroes; and about matter, and about ideas: about the arrangement of the universe: yet more, about the course and motion of the stars: and besides this, from what source the stars derive their light: also about the so-called Dioscuri, and the eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and her aspect, and why she has an earthlike appearance; also concerning her distances; and moreover concerning the years.

Now all these questions have been treated in numberless ways by the philosophers of whom we speak, but since Plutarch collected them in a few concise words, by bringing together the opinions of them all and their contradictions, I think it will not be unprofitable to us if they are presented with a view to their rejection on reasonable grounds. For since they stood in diametrical opposition one to another, and stirred up battles and wars against each other, and nothing better, each with jealous strife of words confuting their neighbours' opinions, must not every one admit that our hesitation on these subjects has been reasonable and safe?

Next in order to the aforesaid subjects I will add all their disquisitions upon matters nearer to the Earth; concerning the figure of the Earth, and its position and inclination: also concerning the sea; that so you may know that the noble sages differed not only about things high and lofty, but that they have disagreed also in matters terrestrial. And to increase yet more your admiration of this wisdom of the wise, I will add also all the controversies they waged about the soul and the ruling faculty therein, unable as they were to discover what their own nature was. But now let us go back to the first of the aforesaid subjects.

CHAPTER XXXIII. WHETHER THE ALL IS ONE.

‘THE Stoics then represented the world as one, which they also affirmed to be the All, including the corporeal elements.

‘But Empedocles said that, though the world was one, yet it was not the All, but only a small part of the All, and the rest useless matter.

‘Plato derives his opinion that the world is one, and the All one, by inference from three arguments: from the notion that it will not be perfect, unless it comprehends all things; that it will not be like its pattern, unless it be unique; that it will not be indestructible, if there be anything outside it. But in answer to Plato it must be said, that the world is not perfect, for it does not include all things; for man also is perfect, but does not include all things: and there are many examples, as in the case of statues, and houses, and pictures: and how can it be perfect, if it is possible for anything to revolve outside it? And indestructible it is not, and cannot be, since it is created.

‘But Metrodorus says it is as absurd that there should be but one world generated in infinite space, as that there should be but one head of corn in a great plain: and that the world is one of an infinite multitude is manifest from the infinity of causes. For if the world is finite, while the causes from which the world has come are all infinite, the number of worlds must be infinite. For where they all have been causes, there must also be effects: and causes they are, whether the atoms or the elements.’

CHAPTER XXXIV. WHETHER THE WORLD HAS A SOUL, AND IS ADMINISTERED BY PROVIDENCE.

‘THE others all say that it has a soul, and is administered by providence.

‘But Democritus and Epicurus, and all who are for bringing in the atoms and vacuum, say that it neither has a soul, nor is administered by providence, but by some irrational kind of nature.

‘Aristotle says that, as a whole and throughout, it has neither a soul, nor reason, nor intelligence, nor is it administered by providence. For while the heavenly regions partake of all these properties, because they include spheres which are endowed with a soul and life, the terrestrial regions have none of them, but share in the orderly arrangement by accident and not directly.’

CHAPTER XXXV. WHETHER THE WORLD IS IMPERISHABLE.

‘PYTHAGORAS, and Plato, and the Stoics say that the world was created by God; and that, so far as it depends on its nature, it is perishable, because it is perceptible by sense through being corporeal; nevertheless it will not be destroyed, through the providence and support of God.

‘Epicurus says that it is perishable, because created, like an animal or a plant.

‘Xenophanes: the world is uncreated, and eternal, and imperishable.

‘Aristotle: the part of the world beneath the Moon may be affected by change, and the things terrestrial therein are doomed to perish.’

CHAPTER XXXVI. FROM WHAT SOURCE THE WORLD IS SUSTAINED.

‘ARISTOTLE: if the world receives sustenance, it will also perish; but in fact it needs no sustenance, and therefore is also eternal.

‘Plato: the world supplies its own sustenance out of its waste, by a change.

‘Philolaus: the decay is twofold, sometimes by fire fallen from heaven, and sometimes from the water of the Moon being thrown off by the revolution of its atmosphere: and the exhalations from these are the sustenance of the world.’

CHAPTER XXXVII. FROM WHAT MATERIAL FIRST GOD BEGAN TO FORM THE WORLD.

‘THE physicists say that the creation of the world began from Earth, as from a centre; and the centre is the beginning of a sphere.

‘Pythagoras: from fire, and the fifth element.

‘Empedocles: the ether was first separated, and next the fire, and after it the Earth, out of which, when very closely compressed by the rush of the sphere, the water gushed up, and the air was formed from it by evaporation. Then the heaven was produced from the ether, and the Sun from the fire: and the terrestrial parts were formed by condensation out of the other elements.

‘Plato: the world was made visible according to the pattern of the intelligible world: and of the visible world first the soul, and after this the corporeal element, first the part produced from fire and earth, and secondly that from water and air.

‘Pythagoras says that, whereas there are five solid figures which are also called mathematical, out of the cube the earth was produced; out of the pyramid the fire; out of the octahedron the air; out of the eicosahedron the water; and out of the dodecahedron the sphere of the universe.

‘And herein again Plato follows Pythagoras.’

CHAPTER XXXVIII. OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE WORLD.

‘PARMENIDES: there are wreaths twisted round one upon the other, one of the rare matter, and the other of the dense; and between them others of light and darkness mixed; and that which surrounds them all like a wall is solid.

‘Leucippus and Democritus extend a tunic and a membrane in a circle round the world.

‘Epicurus: the boundary of some worlds is thin, and of others dense: and of these part are in motion, and part immovable.

‘Plato: fire first, then ether, after that air, next water, and earth last: but sometimes he combines the ether with the fire.

‘Aristotle: first impassible ether, that is a fifth body; after that passibles, fire, air, water, and earth last. Of these the celestial portions have the circular motion assigned to them: and of the portions ranged beneath them the light have the upward, and the heavy the downward motion.

‘Empedocles: the places of the elements are not entirely fixed and limited, but they all in a certain way partake one of another.’

CHAPTER XXXIX. WHAT IS THE CAUSE OF THE INCLINATION OF THE WORLD.

‘DIOGENES, Anaxagoras: after the world was established, and had brought forth the living beings out of the earth, the world was somehow spontaneously inclined towards its southern side, perhaps from design, in order that some parts of the world might be uninhabitable and some habitable, in consequence of cold, and torrid heat, and a temperate climate.

‘Empedocles: when the air yielded to the impulse of the Sun, the polar Bears became inclined, and the northern regions were elevated, and the southern depressed, and the whole world accordingly.’

CHAPTER XL. OF THE OUTSIDE OF THE WORLD, WHETHER IT IS A VACUUM.

‘THE Pythagoreans: outside the world there is a vacuum, into and out of which the world breathes.

‘The Stoics: infinite (vacuum), into which the world is also dissolved by the conflagration.

‘Poseidonius: not infinite, but sufficiently large for the dissolution.

‘Plato, Aristotle: no vacuum either outside the world or inside.’

CHAPTER XLI. WHICH ARE THE RIGHT AND WHICH THE LEFT SIDES OF THE WORLD.

‘PYTHAGORAS, Plato, Aristotle: the right parts of the world are the eastern, from which the motion begins, and the left are the western.

‘Empedocles: the right is the region of the summer solstice, and the left the region of the winter solstice.’

CHAPTER XLII. OF THE HEAVEN; WHAT IS ITS SUBSTANCE.

‘ANAXIMENES: it is the circumference of the outer zone.

‘Empedocles: the heaven is solid, formed from air compressed by fire into a crystallized form, and encompassing the whole elements of fire and air in each of the hemispheres.

CHAPTER XLIII. OF DAEMONS AND HEROES.

‘IN connexion with the discourse concerning gods we must inquire into that which concerns daemons and heroes.

‘Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, the Stoics: daemons are beings of the nature of souls: heroes also are souls which have been separated from their bodies; and the good souls are good daemons, and the bad souls evil daemons.

‘But Epicurus admits none of these opinions.’

CHAPTER XLIV. OF MATTER.

‘Matter is the substratum to generation and decay and the other changes.

‘The Schools of Thales and Pythagoras, and the Stoics: matter is wholly and thoroughly subject to change and alteration and flux.

‘The School of Democritus: the primary elements are impassible, namely, the atom, the vacuum, and the incorporeal.

‘Aristotle and Plato say that matter is corporeal, without form, specific character, shape, or quality, so far as it depends on its own nature, but receptive of the specific forms, as it were a nurse, and a mould, and a matrix. But those who say that matter is water, or fire, or air, or earth, no longer speak of it as without form, but as body: while those who say that it is the indivisible bodies and atoms, do regard it as without form.’

CHAPTER XLV. OF THE IDEA.

‘AN “idea” is an incorporeal entity (οὐσία), subsisting itself, and by itself, but giving its image to portions of formless matter, and becoming the cause of their manifestation.

‘Socrates and Plato suppose the ideas to be separable from the matter, subsisting in the thoughts and in the presentations of god, that is, of the mind.

‘Aristotle allowed the specific forms and ideas to remain, not however as separate from the matter, having freed himself from the notion of its being done by god.

‘The Stoic followers of Zeno said that the ideas are thoughts of our own.’

CHAPTER XLVI. OF THE ORDER OF THE STARS.

‘XENOCRATES thinks that the stars move on one superficies.

‘The other Stoics that some are before others in height and depth.

‘Democritus puts the fixed stars first, and next to these the planets, after which the Sun, the Day-star, the Moon.

‘Plato next to the position of the fixed stars sets first the planet called Phaenon, that is Saturn: second Phaethon, that is Jupiter; third the Fiery, Mars; fourth the Day-star, Venus; fifth Stilbon, Mercury; sixth the Sun; seventh the Moon.

‘Of the Mathematicians some agree with Plato, but some put the Sun in the centre of all.

‘Anaximander, and Metrodorus of Chios, and Crates think that the Sun is placed highest of all, next to him the Moon, and beneath them the fixed stars and planets.’

CHAPTER XLVII. OF THE COURSE AND MOTION OF THE STARS.

‘ANAXAGORAS, Democritus, Cleanthes: all the fixed stars pass from east to west.

‘Alcmaeon and the Mathematicians: the planets move in an opposite direction to the fixed stars; for theirs is the contrary course from west to east.

‘Anaximander: they are borne along by the circles and spheres on which they are each set.

‘Anaximenes: the stars do not revolve beneath the Earth, but around it.

‘Plato and the Mathematicians: the Sun, the Day-star, and Stilbon (Venus and Mercury) have equal orbits.’

CHAPTER XLVIII. WHENCE THE STARS RECEIVE THEIR LIGHT.

‘METEODORUS: the fixed stars are all illumined by the Sun.

‘Heracleitus and the Stoics: the stars are fed from the exhalation of the Earth.

‘Aristotle: the heavenly bodies have no need of nourishment; for they are not perishable but eternal.

‘Plato: there is a common nourishment of the whole world and of the stars from themselves.’

CHAPTER XLIX. OF THE SO-CALLED DIOSCURI.

‘XENOPHANES: what appear like stars upon the ships are little clouds which shine in consequence of a certain kind of motion.

‘Metrodorus: they are flashes from the eyes which look at them with fear and amazement.’

CHAPTER L. OF AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN.

‘THALES was the first who said that the Sun is eclipsed from the Moon (which is of an earthy nature) coming perpendicularly under it; and that by reflexion in a mirror she is seen situated beneath the Sun’s disk.

‘Anaximander: from the closing of the orifice of the breathing-hole of the Sun’s fire.

‘Heracleitus: in consequence of the turning of the boat-like figure, so that the concavity is above, and the convexity below facing our eyes.

‘Xenophanes: by extinction, and then again there rises another Sun in the east. But he has incidentally mentioned an eclipse of the Sun lasting over the whole month, and again a total eclipse, so that the day seemed like night.

‘Some say that it is a condensation of the invisible clouds coming over the Sun’s disk.

‘Aristarchus sets the Sun among the fixed stars, and makes the Moon move round the Sun’s orbit, and the Sun’s disk to be overshadowed in consequence of these inclinations.

‘Xenophanes: there are many suns and moons, corresponding to the climes, and sections, and zones of the Earth: and at a certain season the Sun’s disk falls into some section of the Earth which is not inhabited by us, and thus, as if stepping into a hole, suffers eclipse. But the same author says that the Sun goes forward into infinity, but seems to revolve because of its distance.’

CHAPTER LI. OF AN ECLIPSE OF THE MOON.

‘ANAXIMANDER: from the closing of the orifice of its circumference.

‘Berossus: because of the turning of the dark side towards us.

‘Heracleitus: because of the turning of the boat-like figure.

‘Of the Pythagoreans some say that it is an outshining and obstruction by our Earth or the counter-earth: but the more recent say that it is in consequence of the spreading of a flame which is gradually kindled in an orderly manner, until it produces the complete full moon, and decreases again in like manner until the conjunction, at which it is entirely extinguished.

‘Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and the Mathematicians agree that it effects its monthly obscurations by travelling round with the Sun and sharing its illumination; but the eclipses by falling into the shadow of the Earth when that comes between the two luminaries, or rather when it obstructs the light from the Moon.’

CHAPTER LII. OF THE MOON'S ASPECT, AND WHY IT HAS AN EARTHLIKE APPEARANCE.

‘THE Pythagoreans say that the Moon has an earthlike appearance, because it is inhabited like our Earth, but by larger animals and more beautiful plants. For the animals upon it are fifteen times as large, and emit no bodily secretion; and that the day is longer in the same proportion.

‘Anaxagoras: on account of an unevenness in the mixture, because of its being both cold and earthy: for the misty part is mingled with the fiery, whence the Moon is also said to shine with false light.

‘The Stoics: because of the admixture of air in its substance its composition is not pure.’

CHAPTER LIII. OF THE MOON'S DISTANCES.

‘EMPEDOCLES: the Moon is distant from the Sun twice as far as from the Earth.

‘The Mathematical School: eighteen times as far.

‘Eratosthenes: the Sun's distance from the Earth is four millions and eighty thousand stades: but the Moon's distance from the Earth seven hundred and eighty thousand stades.’

CHAPTER LIV. OF YEARS.

‘A YEAR of Saturn is a period of thirty years: of Jupiter twelve; of Mars two; of the Sun twelve months; and the same for Mercury and Venus, for they run an equal course. But the Moon’s is thirty days: for this is the complete month from first appearance to conjunction.

‘*The Great Year* some suppose to consist in a period of eight years, but others in nineteen years, and others in fifty-nine. Heracleitus makes it consist of eighteen thousand solar years: Diogenes of three hundred and sixty-five years, as many as the year has days according to Heracleitus: but others of seven thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-seven years.’

So widely do the aforesaid persons differ from each other in regard to things in the heavens above. But now look also at their opinions about the Earth.

CHAPTER LV. OF THE EARTH.

‘THALES and his followers say that the Earth is one.

‘Hicetas the Pythagorean says that there are two, this and the antipodal earth.

‘The Stoics: the Earth is one, and finite.

‘Xenophanes: from the lower part its roots reach into infinity, and it is composed of air and fire.

‘Metrodorus: the Earth is the deposit and sediment of the water, and the Sun of the air.’

CHAPTER LVI. OF THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH.

‘THALES and the Stoics: the Earth is spherical.

‘Anaximander: it is like a stone pillar supporting the surfaces.

‘Anaximenes: like a table.

‘Leucippus: like a kettle-drum.

‘Democritus: like a disk in its extension, but hollow in the middle.’

CHAPTER LVII. OF THE POSITION OF THE EARTH.

‘THE followers of Thales say the Earth is the centre.

‘Xenophanes: the Earth first, for its roots reach into infinity.

‘Philolaus the Pythagorean: first, fire in the centre; for this is the hearth of the universe: second, the antipodal Earth, and third, the Earth which we inhabit, opposite to the antipodal both in situation and revolution; in consequence of which the inhabitants of the antipodal Earth are not seen by those in this Earth.

‘Parmenides was the first to mark off the inhabited parts of the Earth under the two tropical zones.’

CHAPTER LVIII. OF THE EARTH'S MOTION.

‘ALL the others say that the Earth is at rest.

‘But Philolaus the Pythagorean says that it revolves round the fire in an oblique circle, in like manner as the Sun and Moon.

‘Heracleides of Pontus, and Ecphantus the Pythagorean make the Earth move, not however by change of place, but by rotation, turning like a wheel on an axle, from west to east, about its own centre.

‘Democritus: at first the Earth used to change its place, owing to its smallness and lightness; but as in the course of time it grew dense and heavy, it became stationary.’

After the utterance of these different opinions by the noble philosophers concerning the Earth, hear now what they say of the Sea.

CHAPTER LIX. OF THE SEA, HOW IT WAS COMPOSED, AND WHY IT IS SALT.

‘ANAXIMANDER says that the Sea is the remnant of the original moisture, the greater part of which was dried up by the fire, and the remainder changed through its burning heat.

‘Anaxagoras: when the water, which in the beginning was a stagnant lake, was burnt up by the Sun’s revolution, and the greasy part evaporated, the remainder subsided into saltness and bitterness.

‘Empedocles: the Sea is the sweat of the Earth when scorched by the Sun, because of the increased condensation.

‘Antiphon: the sweat of the hot part, from which the included moisture was separated, turned salt by being boiled down, which happens always in the case of sweat.

‘Metrodorus: from being drained through the earth it has partaken of its density, just as liquids which are strained through ashes.

‘Plato and his followers: of the elementary water the part formed out of air, being condensed by cooling, became sweet; but the part formed from earth, being evaporated by heat and burning, became salt.’

So much, then, concerning the Sea. But as to those who professed to give physiological explanations about the whole world, and things celestial and ethereal, and the conception of the universe, how little they knew even of their own nature, you may learn from their discordant utterances on these points also, as follows.

CHAPTER LX. OF THE PARTS OF THE SOUL.

‘PYTHAGORAS, Plato: in the first analysis the Soul has two parts; for it has one part rational and another irrational. But in close and exact consideration, its parts are three: for they distinguish the irrational into the irascible and the appetitive.

‘The Stoics: it is composed of eight parts; five senses, sight, smell, hearing, taste, touch; and a sixth, speech; a seventh, generation; and an eighth, the actual ruling principle, from which proceeds the extension of all these through their proper organs, in a similar manner to the tentacles of the polypus.

‘Democritus, Epicurus: the Soul consists of two parts, its rational faculty being settled in the breast, and the irrational diffused over the whole complexity of the body.

‘But Democritus thought that all things, even dead bodies, naturally partake of a certain kind of soul, because in an obscure way they have some warmth and sensation, though the greater part is dissipated.’

CHAPTER LXI. OF THE EXILING FACULTY.

‘PLATO, Democritus: it is in the head as a whole.

‘Straton: between the eyebrows.

‘Erasistratus: about the membrane of the brain, which he calls the epicranis.

‘Herophilus: in the cavity of the brain, which is also its base.

‘Parmenides: in the breast as a whole.

‘Epicurus, and all the Stoics: in the heart as a whole.

‘Diogenes: in the arterial cavity of the heart, which is full of breath.

‘Empedocles in the composition of the blood.

‘Others in the membrane of the pericardium: and others in the diaphragm.

Some of the more recent philosophers say that it reaches through from the head to the diaphragm.

‘Pythagoras: the vital power is around the heart; but the rational , and intelligent faculty in the region of the head.’

So far, then, as to their opinions on these matters. Do you not think therefore that with judgement and reason we have justly kept aloof from the unprofitable and erroneous and vain labour of them all, and do not busy ourselves at all about the said subjects (for we do not see the utility of them, nor any tendency to benefit and gain good for mankind), but cling solely to piety towards God the creator of all things, and by a life of temperance, and all godly behaviour according to virtue, strive to live in a manner pleasing to Him who is God over all?

But if even you from malice and envy hesitate to admit our true testimony, you shall be again anticipated by Socrates, the wisest of all Greeks, who has truthfully declared his votes in our favour. Those meteorological babblers, for instance, he used to expose in their folly, and say that they were no better than madmen, expressly convicting them not merely of striving after things unattainable, but also of wasting time about things useless and unprofitable to man’s life. And this shall be testified to you by our former witness Xenophon, one of the best-known of the companions of Socrates, who writes as follows in his *Memorabilia*:

CHAPTER LXII

[XENOPHON] ‘No one ever yet saw Socrates do or heard him say anything impious or unholy. For he did not discourse about the nature of the universe or the other subjects, like most of them, speculating upon the condition of the cosmos, as the Sophists call it, and by what forces of necessity the celestial phenomena severally are produced: rather he used to expose the foolishness of those who troubled themselves about such things.

‘And the first point he used to consider in regard to them was, whether they go on to study such matters, because they think that they have already an adequate knowledge of human affairs, or deem that they are doing their proper work in neglecting human interests and speculating on the divine.

‘And he used to wonder that they did not clearly see that it is impossible for men to discover these things, since even those who pride themselves most highly on the discussion of these matters do not agree in opinion with each other, but are just like madmen in their mutual feelings.

‘For as among madmen some have no fear even of things fearful, while others are afraid where no fear is; so some of these think it no shame to say or do anything and everything even in a crowd, while others think it not right even to go out among men: and some honour neither temple, nor altar, nor anything else belonging to the gods, while others worship any casual stocks and stones and wild beasts. Also of those who study anxiously the nature of the universe some think that “being” is only one, others that it is infinite in multitude: some too think that all things are in perpetual motion, and others that nothing can ever be moved: and some that all things are being generated and perishing, but others that nothing could ever be generated or perish.

‘He also used to ask the following questions about them: whereas those who study human affairs think that whatever they have learned they will be able to practise both for themselves and for whomsoever they may wish, do those who search after things divine think in like manner that when they know by what forces of necessity phenomena are severally produced, they will be able whenever they please to make winds and rains and seasons, and whatever else of this kind they may need? Or, without even hoping for anything of this sort, are they satisfied merely to know how such phenomena are severally produced?

‘Such, then, was the nature of his remarks about those who busied themselves with these matters: but he himself was always discoursing of human interests, inquiring what was, pious, what impious; what noble, what base; what just, what unjust; what sanity, what madness.’

These, then, were the opinions of Socrates. And next after him Aristippus of Cyrene, and then later Ariston of Chios, undertook to maintain that morals were the only proper subject of philosophy; for these inquiries were practicable and useful, but the discussions about nature were quite the contrary, neither being comprehensible, nor having any use, even if they were clearly understood.

For it would be no advantage to us, not even if soaring higher in the air than Perseus,

‘O’er ocean’s wave, and o’er the Pleiades,’

we could with our very eyes survey the whole world, and the nature of all ‘beings,’ of whatever kind that is.

For we certainly shall not be on that account wiser, or more just or brave or temperate, nay, not even strong, or beautiful, or rich, without which advantages happiness is impossible.

Wherefore Socrates was right in saying that of existing things some are above us, and others nothing to us: for the secrets of nature are above us, and the conditions after death nothing to us, but the affairs of human life alone concern us.

And thus, he said, he also dismissed the physical theories of Anaxagoras and Archelaus, and studied only

‘Whate’er of good or ill our homes have known.’

And he thought besides that their physical discussions were not merely difficult and even impossible, but also impious and opposed to the laws. For some maintained that gods do not exist at all, and others, that the Infinite, or Being, or the One, are gods, and anything rather than those who are generally acknowledged.

Their dissension again, he said, was very great: for some represented the All as infinite, and others as finite; and some maintained that all things are in motion, and others that nothing at all moves.

Moreover the following words of Timon of Phlius in his *Silli* seem to me the best of all on these very subjects:

‘Say then, who urged them to the fatal strife?
Echo’s attendant rout: who filled with wrath
Against the silent, sent upon mankind
A fell disease of talk, and many died.’

Do you see how at last these noble sages scoff at each other? For instance, the same author, besides what I have quoted, describes their mutual jealousy and their battles and quarrels in the following style:

‘There baneful Discord stalks with senseless shriek,
Of murderous Strife the sister and ally,
Who, blindly stumbling round, anon her head,
With ponderous weight set firm, uplifts to hope.’

Since, however, we have now exhibited the dissension and fighting of these sages among themselves, and since the wholly superfluous, and unintelligible, and to us utterly unnecessary study and learning of all the other subjects in which the tribes of philosophers still take pride, have been refuted not by our demonstrations but by their own; nay more, since we have also plainly set forth the reason why we have rejected their doctrines and preferred the Hebrew oracles, let us at this point conclude our treatise on *The Preparation for the Gospel*; but the more complete treatise on *The Demonstration of the Gospel* it now remains for us to consider from a different basis of argument, which the question still needs for those who are to deal with its teaching.

It remains, therefore, to make answer to those of the circumcision who find fault with us, as to why we, being foreigners and aliens, make use of their books, which, as they would say, do not belong to us at all; or why, if we gladly accept their oracles, we do not also render our life conformable to their law.

Theophania



Translated by Samuel Lee, 1843

Also known as *On Divine Manifestation*, this treatise is of unknown date and concerns the incarnation of the Divine Logos. Only fragments are preserved in Greek, but a complete Syriac translation of the *Theophania* survives in an early fifth century manuscript. Samuel Lee, the editor (1842) and translator (1843) of the Syriac *Theophania* thought that the work must have been written “after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the ‘Praeparatio,’ or the ‘Demonstratio Evangelica,’ was written . . . it appears probable . . . therefore, that this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased.”

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TO HIS GRACE

HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

&c. &c. &c.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, THIS ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE TO THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH A LONG LOST WORK, AND TO VINDICATE THE OPINIONS, OF ONE OF ITS MOST LEARNED AND LABORIOUS PRELATES, IS, IN TESTIMONY OF A DEEP SENSE OF OBLIGATION FOR THE MANY MUNIFICENT FAVOURS CONFERRED ON THE UNIVERSITY, IN WHICH HE HAS THE HONOUR OF BEARING OFFICE, BY HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED, BY THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.

PREFACE.

HAVING now to discharge the very agreeable duty of presenting to the Christian Church (in a translation), a long lost work of one of its most learned and laborious Pastors, my first duty will be, to give the best account I can of this Work ; my second, to describe the Manuscript from which it has been taken ; my third, to lay down the principles by which I have been guided, both in editing the Syriac text of this Manuscript, and in making and illustrating my English Translation of it. When I shall have done these things, I shall, — because some of the opinions of my author have been branded as heretical, and some others will in all probability be considered as groundless and untenable, I mean those which contain his views on Prophecy, — give as brief and candid a review of these opinions as I can : leaving it to the reader to make the conclusions for himself, which he shall deem right and just.

I am well aware of the responsibility attaching itself to an undertaking so perilous, as that of offering to the learned of Europe, for the first time, a work coming from a man so learned, so celebrated, and so often eulogized and condemned, as was the Bishop of Caesarea and Father of Church History. But, for the purpose of satisfying this responsibility to the best of my power, I now proceed, in the first place, to give all the account I can of the Work which I have the honour and pleasure of presenting to the public.

The first, and probably the only, mention of this Work which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers' by Jerome. And in this, all that this Father says, — after speaking of some of Eusebius' other works, — is, "*qeofanei/aj libri quinque*," i. e. Of the Divine Manifestation, five books. After him, Suidas says "*qeofanei/aj lo&goi e/*," which is a mere echo of the words of Jerome. Harles, in his edition of the Bibliotheca Graeca of Fabricius, speaks of it in this manner. (Vol. vii.). "Eu0aggelikh qeofa&neia, bis citatur in catena in Lucam in cod. *Vindobon. caesareo* xlii., teste Lambecio comment, tom. iii. . not. 4. conf. supra nr. 8. Harl".—" Fragmentum ex Eusebii opere deperd. Theophania Evang. e cod. Coislin. Gött. 1740. 4". And again, , nr. 8, speaking of the work of our author against Marcellus, he says: " Hos quinque Libros adversus Marcellum Labbeus putat innui ab Hieronymo in Catalogo ca. et Suida, quando inter Eusebii Scripta memorat libros quinque peri\ qeofanei/aj. Videtur enim hoc idem illi esse quod qeofanei/aj. Sed id tamquam incertum omitto, quum

Hebed Jesu quoque in catalogo Librorum Chaldaicorum memorat Eusebii librum *de ortu divino*”

The Catalogue of Hebed Jesu, here referred to, will be found in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman, tom. iii. pt. 1, and the place inof this: where, after speaking of the Ecclesiastical History of our author, Hebed Jesu says, [Syriac], i. e. *and the Book on the Divine Manifestation*. Asseman refers us, in a note, to Cave’s *Historia Literaria*, , where mention is made of this work of Eusebius, entitled *peri\ qeofanei/aj, libri quinque*; but Cave tells us nothing more about it, than that it is a work not now extant.

But the thing most worthy of remark here, is Asseman’s referring us to Cave at all; when, if the work had existed in the Library of the Vatican, he would, in all probability, as he has done in many other places, have given us a detailed description of it. It may be added that, although Asseman has given us very extensive lists, in this work, of Syriac books deposited in the Vatican, he has never once spoken of this as being there. And the same might be said, with respect to the present very learned librarian of the Vatican, who has, in his erudite and laborious work entitled, “*Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio*,” said much, and edited some works, of Eusebius, and even given several fragments from our *Theophania*; yet he has nowhere informed us, that either the Greek text, or the Syriac version, of this Work is to be found there. I may perhaps conclude therefore, that it is not *known* to exist in that library.

The Citations as noted above in Fabricius, will be found in the following Work, pages 216, 321-2. The Fragment printed at Göttingen in 1740, also mentioned by him, will be either reprinted or noticed hereafter in this Work, if it can be obtained before the last sheet goes to press.

It must be evident, I think, from what has now been said, that the work of our author entitled *the Ecclesiastical Theology*, noticed above, could not be the same with that entitled the *Theophania*, or *Evangelical Theophania*, — for by this latter title is our Work designated in the Catena of Vienna: — while it must be equally certain, that a work by Eusebius bearing the title assigned to it by Jerome, did exist in the Syrian Church : and, as no reason can perhaps be assigned why the Syrians should forge such a work, it is probable, that this is the very work so described by Jerome.

Again, from the fragments of this Work hitherto brought to our notice, (see the places referred to above,) it seems sufficiently certain, that this is the work

of Eusebius so described by Jerome. I would add, let the reader also examine in the following pages, the very many places marked as corresponding word for word, with several in the undoubted productions of our author. In our Second Book, for example, a very considerable number of the Sections or Paragraphs, are found to be identically the same with many occurring in the “Oratio de laudibus Constantini:” while in our Fifth Book, the far greater part is also found word for word in the “Demonstratio Evangelica;” not to insist on several others, found either in the “Praeparatio Evangelica,” the Ecclesiastical History, or some other work of our author, as shewn in the Notes.

There are also certain peculiarities in the writings of Eusebius which may be mentioned here; they are these: It is customary with him, though not constantly, to commence a subsequent book with the matter, and occasionally with the words, which closed the preceding one. The close and commencement of the First and Second, and of the Second and Third books, respectively, of the “Praeparatio Evangelica” will supply examples of this; as will the corresponding ones of our following Work, and more particularly those of the Fourth and Fifth.

To this may be added the Style of Eusebius, which is universally allowed to be any thing but simple and obvious. His periods are often long, and his style both inverted and involved. He seems moreover, to have been studious to avoid the language in common use, and often to have been taken himself to that peculiar to the poets. This latter consideration could not have affected our original text, which is only a translation; while the former has, to a very considerable extent. For our Translator, anxious to shew himself faithful in the discharge of this his duty, has so closely followed his original by endeavouring to render it word for word, that his translation may occasionally be considered as obscurity personified; the Syriac very ill admitting of either inversion, or involution, of style. Several instances of this sort, — to which many more might have been added, — will be found in the Notes attached to the English Translation. Another consideration is, his Platonic manner of speaking of the Deity as a *self-existing Being*, and with reference to which, no other can be said (properly) to exist, of which we shall speak more particularly a little farther on. His manner of speaking of the Son has too its peculiarities; His being *God of God, begotten of God, proceeding from the Father*; hence

complete, and in all respects like Him; His having ever been, and still being, with, and in, the Father ; extending Himself nevertheless throughout all things, and meekly lowering Himself to converse with men, and the like ; which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. His occasional allusions moreover to the things passing under his own eyes, as the sufferings of the Martyrs () ; the state of the Church of Caesarea over which he presided, may all be considered, I think, as genuine evidences that Eusebius was the author of this Work ; and to these may be added his reasoning generally after the manner of Plato, and in many instances, his adopting the terms used by that philosopher.

From these considerations, I think it must be sufficiently evident, that our Work is a copy of the genuine Greek work of Eusebius, so long lost. — But if not, let it be supposed for a moment that it is a forgery, and that some Syrian was the author of it, who, the better to secure its reception, attached the name of Eusebius to it. I would now ask, Where are we to look for the man, among the writers of the Syrian Church, equal to this task ? Philoxenus of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa, had, no doubt, ability sufficient to compose a work on the same subject; but neither of them, nor yet any other Syrian writer, of which I have any knowledge, had any thing like the vigour and learning evinced in this. Much less likely is it, that in such an attempt the Syriac language would have been subjected to the unnatural contortions and involutions so visible in this Work, or that it would be found to have copied Eusebius word for word, to the extent noticed above.

Nor is it in any degree probable, that such an imposition could ever have been practised upon the learned of the Syrian Church. Besides, the original of the *Theophania* must have been in existence when this Syriac work first made its appearance, and indeed for a long time after; which would have effectually given the lie to any attempt of this sort had it been made. And to this, its unquestioned reception in the Syrian Church, affords full and sufficient testimony.

Having then disposed of this question, let us now approach our second, which is to give some account of the Manuscript from which our Work has been taken.

Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the

purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends a subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300. by government. Individuals contributed to a small extent: and Mr. Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having procured some good Coptic manuscripts, of which a list has been printed and circulated; and also about 50 volumes of Syriac manuscripts, some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable.

These manuscripts Mr. Tattam sent to me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents ; and, at the same time, say what I thought their value might be: which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following Work is a translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this Work; in other words, that no other copy of it *was known to exist*, I requested Mr. Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the *Work* might not be lost, whatever might happen to this MS. Mr. Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me moreover to retain the MS. as long as I might want it: and, although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

My first business now was, to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, as far as our work was concerned ; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this, I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental Texts, requesting they would print it, and thus multiply the copies, so as to ensure the safety and permanency of the work. To this request the Committee of that society very graciously acceded. The work was accordingly put to press, and printed by Mr. Richard Watts, a tradesman long and well known for his ability in printing Oriental works generally. In his hands it had moreover the advantage of being printed in a Syriac type, which was made some years ago under my own inspection, for the purpose of printing a Syriac Bible for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar. I will add here, that

latter Teshrin.” (February). And, just as that which was written there, I have also written here without addition. And the things which are here, I wrote in the year 1398, in the (aera) of the Greeks (i. e. the Seleucidae).

If then we are to take the first of these dates, as given in the aera of the Seleucidae, and this Note as containing a true statement respecting the age of our MS., A. D. 411 will be its date, and its age 1432 years ! The date of this Note is, we are told, that of the Greeks (or Seleucidae), that is, A. D. 1398, corresponding to A.D. 1086, just 757 years ago, when, as its author tells us, this manuscript was such as to merit the appellation of *ancient!*

I was once inclined to think that our MS. could not be so old as this first date made it, and that the year 723, must be that of our common aera; which would give 1120 years for its age; and that this, both from the appearance of the MS., and from some other considerations, was nearer the truth. Yet I must confess, as I have never seen, or heard of, a Syriac MS. bearing a date in our common aera; and, as all Syriac MSS. said to be written at Edessa, do, — as far as I know, — always bear dates according to the aera of the Seleucidae; I do not see how this date can be given in our common aera.

As to the appearance of the MS., although it certainly is in very perfect and clean condition, yet as the climate of Egypt, in which it has been kept probably for many centuries, is extremely dry, it is by no means impossible that the fresh appearance of the MS. is anything more than the nature of the case requires. There certainly are MSS. in the same collection bearing a date, making them but little short of 1300 years old, and yet appearing in quite as sound a state of preservation as this does, but which, as written onskins of a description greatly inferor to this, do not present so clean and bright an appearance. Asseman too, gives us an account of a Syriac MS. of a gospel, preserved in the library of the Vatican, which was written in the year of our Lord 78: and this he affirms was, in his day, — about 100 years ago, — as plain and perfect as ever it was.

From this it should seem, that it is impossible to say how long a MS. written on good skin and well preserved may endure; and consequently, how unsafe it is to pronounce positively on the age of any MS., merely from its appearance. The colour of the ink must in all such MSS. as Montfaucon and others have well remarked, necessarily have faded ; but to what precise extent, it must, as before, remain undefined for many reasons. The ink in our MS. is

so faded though not, I think, to so great an extent as is observable in the Beza MS. at Cambridge. But this might have been occasioned by the place, or manner, in which that MS. was preserved, which was apparently less favourable than that of ours. This question therefore, I am disposed to leave in the state of uncertainty, in which I found it.

I said, in my Preface to the Syriac edition of our Work, that the MS. from which it was taken was, probably not less than *a thousand years old*. I was not then aware that a date was to be found in it. I am not sorry however to find, that I had greatly underrated its age, as this must be a good evidence to my readers, that I had no disposition to exaggerate.

It may be suggested however, that this very early date might be that of the MS. from which it, or some other prior to it, was copied: it being no uncommon thing with copyists to transcribe, with MSS. which they copy, their dates also; so that a MS. of very modern date, may, in its epi-graphic, carry with it one of the highest antiquity. To this I would answer: If we are to ascribe any credit to the Note given above, this MS. must have been considered an *ancient one* 757 years ago: and to such a MS. we cannot, perhaps, ascribe an age less than 600 or 700 years: if we take the least of these, the age of our Codes will be 1357 years: if the greatest, 1457 : while the date, actually ascribed to it by the Note, makes it 1432 years old, just *twenty-five* years less than this last computation would make.

There are however some considerations, which would at first sight seem to prove the contrary, and which indeed operated forcibly on my mind in this way, when the very early date given to our MS. first occurred to me: they are these: First, Eusebius died about A.D. 340. If then our MS. was written A. D. 411, this must have happened 71 years only after the death of the author of the original Greek work. We shall now have therefore 71, or a few more years, for the period within which our Syriac translation was made, and, as it appears to me, must have been copied out several times before our MS. could have been written; which might seem too little. I see no reason however, why this Work of Eusebius, — which must have been a popular one, — could not have been translated into Syriac very soon after it was published : and if so, the Syriac version might have been copied out times innumerable, before the date of our MS.

When the school of Edessa was first founded, I have not been able to

discover. It is certain however that it was, and had been, a considerable time in vigorous operation before A. D. 411, the date assigned to our MS. Our Work might therefore have been translated into the Syriac at Edessa, even during the lifetime of its author, or at least early enough to have allowed of our MS. being copied there in A.D. 411, after innumerable copies had been taken from the autograph of the translator, and from one another.

But there are, I think, better reasons for supposing that our translation was not made at Edessa at this early period, but rather in Palestine. We are told by Asseman (*l. c. p. CMXXV.*), that there were, both at Caesarea and at Scythopolis, (the Bethshan of the Old Testament) in Palestine, schools of sacred literature; and that at Scythopolis the business of interpreting from the Greek into the Syriac language, was vigorously carried on; and, that to this fact our author himself has given his testimony: as also have both Socrates and Sozomen the historians.

If this may be relied on, it is not improbable that our translation was made during the lifetime of Eusebius, and it might be under his inspection, and that of Patrophilus who was then Bishop of Scythopolis. And I think there are certain peculiarities of language in it, tending to shew that it was not made at Edessa, which are these: We never find the form of the feminine plural in verbs, as we constantly do in the works of Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and other writers of that school. The pronoun of the firstperson plural is rather of the Hebrew, than the Syriac, form. The pronominal forms, [Syriac], never occur in the language of Edessa; nor does the adverbial [Syriac], nor the impersonal [Syriac], nor the combination [Syriac] in the sense of *immediately*, nor the occasional redundancy, and even defect, of the relative pronoun [Syriac], as far as my knowledge goes: all of which will be found marked in the Notes. I am therefore inclined to believe, that our translation was not made at Edessa, but in Palestine.

The language of this translation, — allowing for the instances just mentioned, — appears to me to be the purest Syriac, and such as might be well expected in a work of so ancient a date. I have already remarked, that its order is very greatly inverted, and its collocation involved, from its having been made servilely to follow the Greek original. Of this any one will satisfy himself, by comparing any of its sections with the places pointed out, as found in Greek, in some of the still existing works of Eusebius : which, — although

it has had the effect of giving me a great deal of trouble, as it will any reader of the Syriac text, — is nevertheless a circumstance of infinite value in other respects; and particularly, as it has preserved to our times a most *exact copy* of an original Greek work of our author, which has, no doubt, been long ago lost.

There is another advantage arising from the circumstance of so much of this work's being still found in the Greek of its author, which is this; we are hence enabled to judge of the extent of Greek learning possessed by the translator. And this, I am induced to believe, was very considerable. I have pointed out in my notes, some instances in which I think he has erred; I am nevertheless bound to say, that I believe his translation to be, upon the whole, quite as accurate as are the best translations hitherto published of the Greek works of Eusebius.

It has been stated above, that our MS. is written neatly and correctly for the most part, and in the ancient character termed Estranghelo. I have now to say that it is entirely without vowel marks, and that the interpunctuation is frequently such, as to supply nothing whatever towards a just conception of the construction of the text. That the Syrians had a system of interpunctuation answering, in some respects, to that afforded by the accents of the Hebrew Bible, I have no doubt; yet I must say, that hitherto this has not been satisfactorily developed. Mr. Ewald has indeed endeavoured to do this, in a work published at Gottingen in 1832, entitled “Abhandlungen zur Orientalischen und Biblischen Literatur;” in which, atand following, he has treated on the “accentuationssystem” of the Syrians according to some MSS. found in the Royal Library at Paris; and this, I have no doubt, he has done with all good fidelity. Yet I must say, the system made out by him, receives but very little countenance from any ancient MS. hitherto seen by me. The older writers seem to have adopted a system much more simple, and less encumbered with marks ; the more modern ones, particularly the Maronites, — to whom we owe the interpunctuation of the greater Polyglotts, — appear to me to be the real authors of his system. However this may be, all I have done in printing our Syriac text has been, to follow the MS. as closely as *I possibly could*; I say this, because cases occur in which it is *scarcely possible* to say, whether the Copyist intended the point to stand on the line of the text, above it, or below it. Some remarks will be found, in my notes, on the use of Ribbui, ([Syriac]) the mark commonly attending the plural number in nouns,

and occasionally in verbs, in which our MS. seems to be singular. In this case too, I have rigidly adhered to the MS.

The rules, under which I have proceeded in making my translation from the Syriac, are the following. As I professed to undertake the office of a translator, and not of a commentator, I thought it right to confine myself as closely to my original, as the nature of the case and my best endeavours would enable me. If therefore, I have followed my original as closely as I could, I trust I have not done this to such a degree, as to have made my English either harsh, or difficult of apprehension. Where I found the Syriac greatly obscure, I generally added a note, and referred to the Greek, if accessible. And, for the better understanding of the mind of my author, I have occasionally pointed out parallel passages occurring in the Fathers, who were either prior to him, and therefore probably imitated by him, as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; or, who succeeded him, particularly Theodoret, who was evidently a great imitator of him. I have also cited such passages from the classical, and other writers, as my author either referred to, or commented upon, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diogenes Laertius, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus and others; which cost me much time and trouble. I did not however deem it necessary to make a collation of all, or of any, of the Greek or Latin Fathers for this purpose: all I have done, or intended to do, was, to mark down such coincidences as occurred generally in my reading, during the time in which I was engaged in this work. Many other similar passages might doubtless be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly in Justin Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, which I leave to the greater industry and time of others, who may choose to follow out the enquiry. Such illustrations and notes as are given on the Syriac text, were intended for the use of students who may be induced to read that work. I trust I have, in this way, provided a very useful Chrestomathy for the advancement of Syriac literature.

The divisions, *i. e.* the paragraphs, or sections, which I have made in my text, both of the Syriac Edition, and of my English Translation, are in all respects exactly what I found them in the MS. I have however added numerals for the purpose of facilitating reference, either from the Syriac Text to my Translation, or from either of these to the original Syriac Manuscript. I might

indeed have made a more equal distribution of these paragraphs or sections, but I thought it would be best, for the reasons just now given, to abide by the old one. I thought too, that, if the original Greek should be discovered hereafter, it might be as well not to alter this division of the text, — particularly as it is one of a very ancient date, — for the purpose of affording the fullest opportunity for seeing what its ancient state was, and thence the more easily to verify the identity of such work, should it indeed ever be found.

I will now add a few remarks on the Work itself, and as to the period at which it was probably written. I think I may say, that the Work itself is worthy of the piety and learning of the deservedly celebrated Father of Church History. As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its *Divine authority*, and *amazing influence*, it has perhaps never been surpassed. The work of Theodoret, entitled “*Graecarum affectionum curatio*” lately reprinted by Dr. Gaisford, is certainly more full on the particular points which it was intended to illustrate: but then it owes much to the industry and learning of our author, and is less comprehensive in its context. The *Stromateis* of Clemens of Alexandria, and the “*Civitas Dei*” of Augustine, are perhaps more abundant on particular questions; while the work of Clemens is less orderly, and both of these take a less extensive range of inquiry, and are not so well adapted for general reading. When we consider the very extensive range of enquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times, as it was to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted. If it once or twice appeals to the power of Christianity in inducing many to devote their lives to a state of virginity, and to some other things quite unessential to vital religion ; we should bear in mind, that this was the foible of his day, and that, of the thousands who may be found both able and willing to deprecate and blame this, not so much as one perhaps will to follow his virtues, or give any thing like such evidences of real learning, and of Christian piety and zeal.

As to the period at which it was written, I think it must have been, after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the “*Praeparatio*,” or the “*Demonstratio Evangelica*,” was written. My reason for

the first of these suppositions is: Our author speaks repeatedly of the peace restored to the Church; of Churches and Schools restored, or then built for the first time : of the nourishing state of the Church of Caesarea; of the extended, and then successfully extending, state of Christianity : all of which could not have been said during the times of the last, and most severe persecution. My reasons for the second of these suppositions are, the considerations that whatever portions of this Work are found, either in the “*Praeparatio*,” the “*Demonstratio Evangelica*,” or the “*Oratio de laudibus Constantini*,” they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this Work: especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech. Besides, many of these places are amplified in these works, particularly in the two former as remarked in my notes; which seems to suggest, that such additions were made either to accommodate these to the new soil, into which they had been so transplanted, or, to supply some new matter, which had suggested itself to our author. And again, as both the “*Praeparatio*” and “*Demonstratio Evangelica*,” are works which must have required very considerable time to complete them, and which would even then be unfit for general circulation ; it appears probable to me, that this more popular, and more useful work, was first composed and published, and that the other two, — illustrating as they generally do, some particular points only, — argued in order in our Work, — were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind, as for the general reading of the learned. It appears probable to me therefore, that this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased.

Of the authors cited in the following pages, I have not always had it in my power to quote either the latest or the best Editions. In many cases I could consult those only which happened to be in my own possession, not only because it is not always in my power to be within the precincts of the University, and to avail myself of its Libraries; but also, even when there, its Libraries are neither large nor rich in this respect.

I have in some instances written the proper names as I found them in my Syriac original, which I could hardly avoid, both as it appeared to be my duty to represent this rather than any other exemplar, and also because the nature of

the passage occasionally required this.

If I have in any instance failed to seize the sense of my author, I can only say, by way of defence, that I have done the best in my power to ensure accuracy in this respect. I have spared no pains, and have thought no inquiry too great, to do justice to him. Still, as Syriac Literature is but in a state of infancy among us, whether as it respects the character of the Grammars, Dictionaries, Authors, or other helps of this sort; if I have any where failed, I may perhaps hope for the indulgence which the nature of the case requires: and nothing beyond this do I wish. In all such cases, I shall be most happy in receiving suggestions which may improve my Work, and shall be as ready both to adopt these, and to be thankful for them. Of the Work itself I may say, If it has cost me much labour and research, and crowded upon me an increase of labour, depriving me in many instances even of necessary relaxation and exercise; it has nevertheless brought with it pleasures, which I shall ever remember with the greatest thankfulness. To have had the privilege of restoring to the Christian Church, a Work of one of its brightest ornaments as a Scholar and Theologian in the best of its days, is indeed an honour of which few can boast: while the satisfaction of hoping, that it may be instrumental for ages to come, in bringing many to the knowledge of the truth, is more than sufficient to repay any labour which its restoration might have cost.

I have now to express my thanks to the Syndics of the University Press, for their liberality in taking upon themselves the principal part of the expense incurred in printing this Work ; and to add, that I hope this will not have been thrown away on the present occasion.

THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA ON THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION.

1. THOSE who say on the constitution of the whole of this great and beautiful world, and on the diversified subsistence and manifold structure of the heavens and the earth, that it has neither beginning nor governour; and that there is no Lord, and no Providential care (existing); but that it has arisen of itself, casually, undesignedly, and by blind (lit. foolish) accident, however this may have, happened, are altogether impious and godless: on which account they are excluded from the divine assemblies, and with propriety shut out from our holy temples. Because, neither can they themselves possess a house without contrivance and care; nor can a ship be well constructed with its appurtenances, without a shipwright; nor a garment be woven, without the art of weaving; nor a city be built, when the science of the architect is wanting. And, as they themselves confess these things, I know not by what estrangement of the intellect it is, that they do not consider the courses of the sun (as being) according to their manner; the changes of the moon, according to their appointments; the (several) orders of the stars, as in their due course; and the revolutions of the curvatures of the heavens, and the recurrence and changes of times and seasons. And again with these, that (they do not consider) the weight of the mountains (as regulated) by the balance; the equalization of days and nights; the unimpeded production of the animals; the traditionary and unchanging succession of life of long duration; the herbs of every sort of flower which spring out of the earth; the provisions for all the animals, as suitable for each; their several senses; the members of the body; their properties of excellence, and as located in their (several) situations, so that (men) see with their eyes, and feel with their hands: which they also say, is obvious to the blind. So that with atheistical affirmations, and injurious wickedness of mind, (they assert) that there is no work either of wisdom, of the WORD OF GOD, or of Providence (evinced in all this); but they imagine on the contrary, that (all) is of blind fortune, and happens just as it may be, without object or end. These same therefore are, as being atheistical, driven far away from the Divine hearing (of the Word), and entirely from the society of those who fear God.

2. The company too of the Polytheists, on the other hand, set in order

against the preceding, seems to me to be in extreme error; — that they err, as children in intellect, who change the worship of the Maker of the world, the Governour of all, the God who is over all, for (that) of the things which are of Him; and (hence) honour the sun, the moon, and the rest of the parts of the universe, the primary elements, the earth, water, air, and fire, with the name due to Him, who is their Maker and Creator; and call those Gods which never existed; nor had existed, nor had been (so) named, had not the Maker of the universe, THE WORD OF GOD, willed that they should exist. Nor do they appear to me better than those who leave the chief Architect, to admire the excellency of workmanship (visible) in the houses of kings; the wrought cielings and the walls; their many coloured and flowered pictures; their roofs variegated with gold and sculpture of precious stones; and attribute to these the praise and wisdom due to their Artificer; which they ought to ascribe, not to the things seen, but to Him alone who is their chief Architect; to confess Him to be the cause of their wonder, and of these many works of wisdom. For He alone is wise who supplied the cause, that these many things should thus be. These differ, therefore, in no respect from mere infants. Nor do those whose admiration is expended on the lyre with its seven strings, — the (mere) instrument of music, — but not on him who is the inventor of its structure, nor on him who knows its use, nor yet on his wisdom. Nor (again) do those who leave him who is eminent in war, to adorn his spear and shield with the crowns of victory. Nor do those who honour the streets, squares, buildings, temples, gymnasia — things inanimate — with the admiration due to the great king, who caused the erection of such chief city of his kingdom: when it was right they should admire, neither the pillars nor the stones, but the great maker and lawgiver of these instances of wisdom.

3. In conformity with these (considerations) also, we make this same (Being) the (efficient) cause of all which we see with the eyes of the body; not the sun, the moon, nor any other of the things in the heavens. It is becoming too, that we should confess them all to be the works of wisdom: but not, that we should honour or worship them by means of any similitude of Him, who is their Maker and Creator. From the contemplation of these too, we both praise and worship, with the whole affection of the soul, Him who again is known, not by means of the bodily eyes, but only by the mind which is pure and enlightened; Him (I say) who is the King of all, THE WORD OF GOD. For no

one ever graced the (mere) body of any wise and intelligent man, (or) his eyes, head, hands, feet, or the rest of his flesh, much less his external clothing, with the title of wisdom; nor yet has termed the vessels in the houses, nor the service-vessels, of the philosophers, wise; while every thinking person has expressed his wonder at that concealed, and unseen, mind which is in man.

4. Thus, and more particularly, — before these visible ornaments which are (but) the bodies of this whole universe, and which have been fabricated from one (species of) matter, — let us express our wonder at that unseen and invisible WORD, that Maker and Adorner of the exemplars of all things, who is the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD: whom, the Maker of all, He who is beyond all, and above all being, generated of Himself as a ray of light from His own Godhead, and constituted Him both the Leader and Governour of this whole (world).

5. For it was impossible that this perishable being of bodies, and this Nature of reasonable creatures (such) as it now is, could be brought near to God the Governour of all, on account of its exceedingly great imperfection. For He is an Essence beyond and above all, which can neither be described, comprehended, nor approached; and (which) dwells in the glorious light, to which nothing can be compared, — as the Divine words declare. For this had no existence, and out of nothing did He send it forth. And (hence) it was greatly different, and very far removed, from the nature of (His) Essence. Well therefore did He, the fulness of all good, the God of all, first appoint a Mediator, the Divine Power, His ONLY (begotten), who should be sufficient for all; who could accurately, abundantly, and as present, hold converse with His Father, receive of His inward and secret (nature), and be meekly lowered to the form and manner of those who were (so) far removed from His princely state. In noother way could it be either glorious or right, that He, who is beyond and above all, should be mixed up with matter that is perishable, and with a body. On this account, the DIVINE WORD entered by a (sort) of commixture into this whole, and bound together the bands (as it were) of all things, by means of the Divine power which is incorporeal: leading on and carrying forward, and governing (the whole) by every species of wisdom, as it seemed good to Him.

6. The proof then, of this conclusion is obvious. For, if those which we usually term the primary elements of all, — the earth, water, air, and fire,

were themselves the constituent portions of the universe, and are constituted of a mixed nature, which we even see with our eyes is the case, — and, if the essence of all were one, and that comprehending the whole, and were (as) the Mother and Nurse (of all these things), as those who are subtle in these matters love to term it; and were without figure and visibility, and wholly destitute of soul and of reason; — Whence, one may ask, was it, that this world was made to consist of that of which it now does? Whence also the distinction of the (several) elements? And whence the concordant course of those things which were adverse to agreement? And, Who commanded this heavy element of earth, to ride over that of humid matter?

7. And, Who is He that has caused water, the nature of which is to run downwards, to take an opposite course, and to ascend to the clouds?

8. And, Who is He that has so constrained the power of fire, that it shall insinuate itself into wood? and has made it to mix itself up with things which are in their natures opposed to it?

9. And, Who has attempered this cold air with the power of heat; has released these from their (natural) contentions with one another, and has reconciled them (as it were) to love?

10. Who is He that has distinguished the race subject to mortality with the character of extension, and drawn it out to the length of the life which is immortal?

11. Who is He that has so formed the Male, fashioned the Female, and associated them both as one compound, and (thus) discovered one source of generation for all animal life?

12. Who is He that changes this fluent generating seed from its fluid, perishing, and senseless state, and makes it (that) of the generation of animal life?

13. Who is He that performs even to this time all these things, and innumerable others beyond them, and which exceed all wonder and astonishment?

14. Who is He that daily and hourly, secretly and by a power that is invisible, effects the generation and changes of these things?

15. But, the efficient Cause of all things is justly said to be that worker of miracles, THE WORD OF GOD. For THE WORD OF GOD who is Almighty, has in truth extended himself into every thing: above into the

heights, and beneath into the depths, has He drawn out His incorporeal soul. He also holds, as it were in His hands, the breadth and length of all in (its) extent. This whole has He brought, and bound up together; and has (thus) set up for himself this (immense) vessel filled with every sort of compound. He too, by every species of wisdom, and by means of the power which is rational, has made well to combine and to harmonize, according to their several measures, this essence of bodies destitute of reason, form, and visibility; governing by words unutterable, and directing for the advantage of all, the Sun, the Moon, and those (other) luminaries that are in the heavens.

16. This selfsame WORD OF GOD too brought himself down also upon the earth, and (there) set up all the various kinds of animals, and every beautiful form of plant.

17. This selfsame WORD OF GOD also immersed even into the depths of the sea, and determined those swimming natures: and here again he made the myriads of forms which are innumerable, with every various kind of living creature.

18. The selfsame also completes, by the effectuating art of nature, those (beings) which are inwardly conceived in the womb, and forms (them) into animals. The same too makes to ascend to the heights as light, this humid, heavy, and naturally descending, matter (of sea-water), and thus, completing the course of his government, changes it to sweetness, and brings it (again) in due measure, and at determined seasons, upon the earth: and, like the excellent husbandman who waters his land well, and attempers the wet with the dry, he changes (things) into every sort of form: at one time, into beautiful flowers; at another, into the forms peculiar to each species; at another, into delightful scents; at another, into different and diversified sorts of fruits; at another, into every kind of taste which gives pleasure.

19. But why need I take upon myself to discuss the powers of THE WORD OF GOD? or, venture upon a thing, the doing of which is impossible, and, it is clear, greatly surpasses all mortal mind?

20. Others indeed name this same (Being) Universal nature; others, the Universal soul; others, Fate; and others say, that He is the God who is beyond all. But, I know not how they confound together the things, which are so greatly and widely different; and (thus) cast down to the earth, and mix up, that Governour of all, that Power of (eternal) existence which is above all,

with bodies, (and)with perishable matter; affirm, that He is the medium both of irrational and rational animals, and is comprehended both in those that are mortal, and immortal. But these things they (do).

21. The Divine doctrine, however, declares that He who is above all that is good, the same is the (efficient) Cause of all, and is beyond all comprehension; and that on this account He cannot be described, enounced, or named: and, not only that He is elevated above all verbal description, but also above all mental apprehension; that He is neither contained in place, nor existing in body, neither in the heavens, nor in the aether, nor in any one portion of this whole. But that He is at once within, and independent of all, reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. The Divine declarations teach us to recognize Him alone as the God of truth, who is far removed from all essence of body, and a stranger to all service of government. It has, therefore, been delivered to us, that all is *of* Him, but not that it is *by* (or through) Him.

22. But He, as a king within the concealment and privacy in which He is incomprehensible, sits in the elevation of His own splendour, governing and ordering (all) solely by the power of His own will. For, by His will exists whatsoever does exist; and, had He not (so) willed, neither had it (so) existed. He wills, however, every good thing, because He is also good in His own essential being.

23. He therefore, *by whom* are all things, THE WORD OF GOD, proceeded forth from above, from His good Father, as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain, in words unutterable, to those who were perishing, completely furnished for the common salvation of all. And, as in the case with ourselves, that secret and invisible mind which is within us, no man ever knew, either how, or why, it exists in its own essential character, but (which) sits as a king within the secrecy of its chambers, and considers of the things to be done; so the only word then proceeding from it, begotten as it were of a Father in the privacy of retirement, and being the primary angel (messenger) to all, of the mind of its Father, openly publishes those things which its father considered in secret; and, passing on into the hearing of all, brings to full effect the will (so made known). These (hearers) then receive the benefit of the word, while the secret and invisible mind, this father of (such) word, no one had ever seen with the eyes. So also, — that

is, (in a manner) surpassing all examples and comparisons, that completing WORD OF GOD, the King of all, — was, as being the only (begotten) Son of His Father, established, not by any mere emanating virtue; nor constituted in his nature by the enunciation of names and words; nor designated by any sound produced by the percussion of the air: but THE WORD is living, and is the minister of God who is over all, and in His essence, He is *“the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God.”* He proceeds moreover from the Godhead and rule of His Father; and is the good offspring of the good Father, and the common Saviour of all. He also waters all, pouring out from his own fulness upon all, life, and reason, and wisdom, and light, and every good thing. He waters too, not only the things that are before Him and near Him, but those also that are removed far away on the earth, and in the sea; and if there be any other creature, in any thing that exists. He too keeps in order, by His justice and the power of His rule, every border, place, law, and possession: to each and every thing does He distribute and give that which is suitable: apportioning (this) to some who are in the sphere above the world; to others, who reside in the heavens; to others, whose habitation is the aether; to others, that are in the air; and to others, on the earth. Then passing on from these, He again well distinguishes, in other quarters, the lives of all; carrying forward with due discrimination, their customs and various observances. He also provides the food for the animals, not only for those that are rational, but also for those that are not so: (and this) for the advantage of those that are.

24. To some he gives the comforts of a mortal and temporary life; to others, that they may partake of immortality: and of every thing, as THE WORD OF GOD, is He the Doer. And, being near to every thing, and pervading all with a power which is rational, and, looking up to His Father, He governs the things that are below according to His intimations, and after Him accordingly as the Saviour of all. And thus, mediating and bringing near to the (eternal) Being this essence of things, He constitutes the bond which cannot be severed. THE WORD OF GOD (I say), which is in the midst, which binds together those which are diverse, and suffers them not to fall off (and) away, He is the Providential care which is watchful over all, He is the Director of all: He is *“the Power of God, and the wisdom of God”*: He is the only (begotten) Son of God; the God which is begotten of God, THE WORD. For, *“In the beginning was THE WORD, and THE WORD was with*

God, and THE WORD was God. Every thing was by Him, and without Him was not any thing:” — the glorious words of the divine men (so) teaching.

25. This is the common Saviour of all, on whose account this universal essence is productive, and rejoices that it ever drinks from his dewdrops; is always youthful in its stature, and ever presents the appearance of beauty. He therefore holds its reins, and, at the intimations of His Father, rightly guides the mighty ship of this universe,(and) with His own helm He governs it. This (Being) excellent of art, did He who is God above all, as a good Father beget as good Fruit, the ONLY (begotten) SON, and give (him) to this world (as) a most excellent gift; did cast as a Soul into a body destitute of soul, and into the nature of irrational bodies, His own rational WOHD: and (so), by virtue of the DIVINE WORD, did He both enlighten and enliven this (otherwise) shapeless, unsightly and colourless, being — by Him, (I say) whom we ought, both to know and to worship, as being ever near to the matter and elements, of (all) bodies. Thus, that which was immaterial, bodiless, and unconscious (lit. unwise), became, as from others, endued with consciousness (lit. became wise). But He is THE LIFE, and He is THE LIGHT; the intelligent offspring of THE LIGHT which cannot be described. He too, is ONE in His Essence, even as He is from ONE Father. He possesses however many powers (virtues) within His own person. For, we should not suppose that, because the (constituent) parts of the world are many, they therefore constitute many powers (Demons): nor, because the operations are many, we ought therefore, to set up for ourselves many Gods.

26. Those therefore who follow many Gods, commit, as children in soul, a grievous mistake when they make into Gods the (constituent) parts of the Universe, and (virtually) divide the one world into many. As if one should take from the person of a man the eyes only, and then affirm that these were the man; and again, that the ears were another; and so again, the head (another); or, should gradually sever the neck, the breast, the shoulders, the feet, the hands, or the rest of the members; or, that he should (so) divide the faculty of sense by process of reasoning, and then affirm on this one man, that these (portions) really were many men: he would deserve nothing better of the wise, than the ridicule due to folly. Such as this man would be, would he likewise be who fabricated for himself many Gods out of the (constituent) parts of the one Universe, and would sever into many sections those Bodies of

all, whose nature is fleeting and dispersive, and which are fabricated out of one primary material; and then again, would by an effort of reason make these his Gods?

27. Much worse than this would he be, who would also imagine that this entirely made world, — constituted as it is wholly and altogether of many parts, — is God: not considering that the Divine nature could never subsist of parts or be complex, or could stand in need of some other to compound it: nor again, that if it consisted of parts, could it be Divine. For, How can it consist of things different and dissimilar, faulty and excellent? Because that which is compounded, must also be dissoluble; and that which consists of many parts, is of necessity dissimilar: while that which is equal in all and unchanging in all, is simple and incomplex. That too which is complex, is compounded of things dissimilar. And that which is dissimilar has in itself something faulty, opposed to that which is excellent. For if the whole were excellent, it would (then) be equal and similar. And, if it were so in the whole, it would in the whole be consistent with itself: and thus would it be in essence simple, and without parts. But this nature (of things) does not shew itself to be such, since this world is viewed as wholly subject to sense: for it is constituted of many parts, and is (therefore) compounded; it is too, in many of its parts, changing. And where it is thus, there is also the capability of a nature of an opposite description. And hence this world associates beings, at once both mortal and immortal, rational and irrational; in matter too, both cold and hot; wet and dry. From all which, God is (necessarily) free. For, if the nature of God be simple, it is also without parts, and is uncompounded; (placed) beyond, and far removed from, every ordinance of this visible world. On this account the Preacher of Truth thus openly says: *“The Word of God proclaimed, He who is before all, is alone the Saviour of all rational beings.”* But God who is beyond all, is the head (source) of the generation of THE WORD. He alone is the Cause of all; and, of His ONLY (begotten) WORD, He is truly styled THE FATHER. Above Him therefore, no other Cause can be assigned. He therefore is God alone; and from Him proceeded forth, by (virtue of) His own secret will which is unutterable, the ONLY (begotten), the Saviour of all, the one WORD of God, who (is) through all.

28. This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions: — of acute and grave, lax and

intense; and of others between these, all well combined together by the art of the Musician. Such then is also this (universe), collected (as it is) into one compound, consisting of many parts, and many compositions; of cold at once, and warm its opposite; and of matter, wet and dry. It is moreover a mighty vessel, and is the work of the God of all.

29. But the DIVINE WORD has not been constituted of parts, nor has it been compounded of any opposing (nature), nor does it consist of (either) part or compound; but both wisely and well does He in every thing resemble His Father; and to the King of all does He give back the praise, which to Him is both suitable and due. (And) as in one body there are many parts, members, viscera, and bowels, collected together, and one invisible soul (only) is diffused through all; and one is the mind which (consists) of neither body nor parts; so also (we say) of this one world, which is constituted of many parts. So also the WORD OF GOD, manifold in power and Almighty, is one extended into all things, and is invisibly diffused throughout them: and of all, in which He (thus) subsists, He is the (efficient) Cause.

30. Do you not see with your eyes, that one heaven surrounds the whole world? and that many orders of stars revolve in this? And again, (that) there is one sun, not many? and that this eclipses the splendour of them all by its superior light? So likewise is there one Father, the WORD of whom also is one, who must be the good offspring of the good Father. If therefore any one complain, that there are not many Sons; so should he also complain, that many suns, moons, and worlds, are not established, and at many other things, after the manner of madmen, who endeavour to subvert those of nature which are right and good. But, as in things visible, one sun gives light to the whole sensible world; so also in things intellectual, the one WORD OF GOD, filled with all power, secretly and (in a manner) imperceptible to us, gives light to all. For Why should many suns be required, when one is sufficient to effect every thing? And again, What need can there be of many Sons of God, when the ONE, the only (begotten), is sufficient to effect the will of His Father? For, if there were many, then would they be either similar, or dissimilar. And if they were similar, then would their multiplicity be in vain; because one Effectuator, and this Almighty, would be sufficient for the performance and due ordering of all. But the WORD OF GOD, and the WISDOM OF GOD, which is ONE in its essence, brings along with it the light, and the life, and

(indeed) all the fulness of goodness. The multitude (then) of those who were (thus) vainly, and not well joined together in a power that were similar, could have no advantage. But, if it were necessary they should be dissimilar, How then could that which were dissimilar, or incomplete and defective in its nature, be on the other hand an Effectuator, and that sufficient for all? But nothing which is born of God is incomplete. The only (begotten) of God is therefore complete (the Efficient). Nor are there many WORDS OF GOD. On the contrary, THE GOD who is OF GOD is sufficient for all, and is Almighty; is the one Image of the light of His Essence, as the divine words declare; who, for the convenience of governing and healing all existing beings, was necessarily appointed; who is also in His essence one, but in His powers manifold. And Him alone do we declare to be sufficient for the adorning of all things.

31. Because too, there is in man (but) one Soul and one reasoning faculty, and this at the same time capable of comprehending many things; whether (for example), it cultivate the earth, or fit up a ship, or guide it, or build (a house), still it is one and the same: or, whether it learn and do many things, still there is but one mind and cogitative faculty in man. It is moreover capable at once of many sorts of knowledge: the same man will be the geometrician, or will be skilled in the courses of the stars, or be perfect in the precepts of the grammarians and rhetoricians; or, he will become a leader in the science of healing, or in its manual operations. Nor has any one ever yet imagined, that there are many souls in (any) one body: neither has it been made matter of wonder, that there exists many essences in man, because of his capability of many sorts of knowledge. For, should a man find a shapeless piece of clay, and afterwards so model it with his hands, as to impress upon it the forms of certain animals; on one figure, the head; on another, the hands, the feet, or the eyes (of a man); and again, that he otherwise imitate by the art of the modeller, the cheeks, ears, mouth, nostrils, breast, and shoulders, Would it be right also to suppose that, because many forms and members had been (so) wrought in this one body, many were therefore their makers? We ought rather to bestow the full meed of praise on the one artificer of the whole, who had by one train of thought, and the exertion of one executive power, (so) disposed the whole: —

32. So also, of this universal world which is one, consisting nevertheless of

many parts, it cannot be right to erect the many powers (visible within it) into makers; nor again to call these many Gods: but rather, to bless the ONE who abounds in every species of wisdom, and every sort of compounding (power): Him (I say) who is in truth “THE POWER or GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD;” who, by means of one (almighty) power and virtue, pervades, and remains in, the universal whole; who also gives establishment and life to all: and who, for the whole and singular of these bodies and elements, in their several situations, produced at once from himself, the several and various means of subsistence.

33. So also the light of the Sun is one; yet, by its one incidence, it at once illuminates the air, affords light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, ripens the (produce of) the earth, gives growth to the plant, and fixes the several periods of time. It also precedes the stars (in its course), makes the circuit of the heavens, rises upon the world, and clearly establishes the power of God with respect to all things. All these things it completes in a momentary period of nature. Thus too, the nature of fire (is such) as to purify gold, to melt lead, to dissolve wax, to dry (wet) clay, and to consume dense (bodies): by means of one burning power, it effects all these things.

34. So likewise THE WORD OF GOD, the King of all, He who is extended throughout all, is in and pervades all, that is both in the heavens and the earth; He is the governour of the things which are invisible and visible, and He directs by powers unspeakable”, the Sun, the Heavens, and the whole Universe. He is present to all things in His effectuating power; and He remains throughout all. He also makes to distil as rain, from His own resources, the never-failing light to the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. He has established, and perpetually holds fast, the heavens (as) an image of his own greatness. He also fills from the treasury that is with Him, those hosts of Angels and Powers of intelligent and rational spirits, at once with life, light, wisdom, and all the abundance of every species of beauty and of goodness. And by one and the same effectuating art, He never fails to supply substance to the material elements, and to Bodies (their) commixture and concurrence; (their) forms, appearances, and characters. He otherwise varies also and time after time, (His) innumerable operations, (whether) in the animals, the plants, or in the beings rational or irrational: at once He provides every thing for all, by (His) one power; and clearly shews, (that this) is not a mere Lyre (as it

were) of seven or many strings, but is the one universe of manifold composition, the workmanship of the ONE WORD, the Maker of the world.

35. Such therefore, is the common Saviour of all, THE WORD or the GOD of all, of whom one discoursing on God thus mysteriously speaks: *"He was in the world, and the world was (made) by Him; and the world knew Him not"* For, from ancient times (and) hitherto, it knew Him not, until He manifested Himself, in the latter times, to those who were holden in the darkness of vice. But He, the Maker of the whole world, He, who is the common Saviour of all, has been directly made known to us, as thus existing; and as affording to this whole, all this assistance. But, as to this whole world which is governed by one Ruler, (and) which consists of the heavens, the earth, and of the things therein, it is now necessary we should shew in a few words, what the nature of the being is which He has assigned to it.

36. This (universe) then, partakes of two natures; of the essence which is more excellent and is allied to THE DIVINE WORD; which, being intellectual and rational, is perceived by the mind, and apprehended by the reason: and to this is possible all that is superior to (material) Bodies. (It partakes) also of that which was necessarily brought forth for the use of this; which is matter, — is the offspring of Bodies, and is understood by the sense of reason, both to exist and to be perishable: and which, as I think, has been well said never to have had any (independent) being. But this, which is visible to the bodily sense, designates the one Universe. This same (too), the whole of which is visible, as well as that which is invisible, may thus be well said to constitute one family of rational beings; just as in the things that are visible, the nature of bodies is one; while of things, some are in the heavens and the aether, — those among these being distinct, and different; — some in the air and on the earth; and of which, the things visible are the animals and plants. So also, in the essence which is intelligent and invisible, the common kind of them all is one. One also is the nature of the generation of the rational and intelligent faculties, while many and various are the distinctions existing in this.

37. This same therefore, which has been fabricated out of matter, and (material) bodies; this, which we usually name the sensible world, which consists of the heavens the earth and of the things therein, may be likened to an imperial city in which there are many citizens, the houses of some of which

have been distinguished (as) apartments of the state. Of these, the inner ones are neither entered into, nor trodden, by the many. Some again are for stations without, (set apart) for the keepers of the middle portions. Others again, are far distant from the court, and are left for the inhabitants (generally) and their various assemblies. Many are (thus) the stations in the heavens, and many are those inferior to these in the sether, and in the air above the earth. The habitable part of the earth, (assigned) to those who walk upon it, is this broad space known to us all. Those (places) however which are beyond the heavens, are (exalted) above all mental apprehension, as are those also which are distinguished as inner apartments of the divine house of rule. But those (beings) who surround the King of all, and exult at the side of THE DIVINE WORD, are both enlightened and upholden by means of the rays which are drawn forth from Him, as from unfailing fountains of light; and are established in the fulness of light. (Thus) too all the enlightened, with the incorporeal assemblies of light, hold that rank of station which is beyond the heavens, and honour with the highest praises, (and) which are worthy of God, the God who is King of all. In the midst moreover, has He cast (spread) forth the vast heavens, the curtains (as it were) of the azure threshold, which exclude those who are without from the mansion of rule; while the keepers of the intermediate part perform (their) rounds in this, as being without the gate, with those who in the heavens are invested with light and holding lamps, as the sun and the moon, honouring Him who is beyond all, the King of all. And, at his intimation and word, these supply light by means of lamps which cannot be extinguished, to those whose lot it is to be in the place of darkness, and without the heavens. Thus are brought near to Him the powers of the air, which are invisible to bodily eyes, as also the animals and other earthly things (which are visible): so is man also the chief of them all, whose race was no stranger to that intelligent and rational Essence which is invisible, and who was created on the earth to render praise to the Godhead and rule of Him who is the Cause of all things. Like as on earth therefore, there is spread over the whole world but one, and that the same human nature; and, as many nations have arisen out of this, and the manner of life of every race, its fashions, modes, and governments, are different, not only of the barbarians and wild, but also of the peaceable, fashionable, and wise; and, (as) there are among these both slaves and freemen, poor and rich; those also who differ in colour,

as the Scythians, and those whose lot it is to dwell without, in the west; the Hindoos also, at the rising of the sun, and the Ethiopians at its setting; Greeks, too, and others whose destiny it is to reside among princes; and, among all these again, some bear rule over portions of the nations, and others are wholly subject: with the great king of all moreover, some are considered as in the place of friends, some are elevated to the greatest honours, others are more especially ennobled for their virtuous deeds: some, again, fill the rank of slaves; and others, bearing spears and shields, surround the sovereign: others again, are military officers in the cities, while others fill the situation of rule in these: others too, have met the fate of the vulgar; and others are considered as in the place of enemies and haters: still, the whole of these are men, and one is the common species of them all. Over them all too, is there one king, one only power, vested with his own authority which is all-supreme. And to this same, according to the law and edict of the state, — to him alone, the Father and Lawgiver, — is (the title of) great king ascribed: while He (the WORD) descending from above, and running (as it were) throughout the whole of the governors and governed, subjects to the one yoke of rule every race (placed) under his hand; elevating some to the highest honour, and to others rendering that which is their due.

38. As it is with these things, (so) one is the generating, intelligent, and rational Essence which is over all. And well might it be said, that one is the kind (genus) even of these, and that they all are nothing more than brethren (derived) from one, as made of Him who is the Father of THE WORD OF GOD. There are then, multitudes of nations, and of kinds (of these); and there is a portion the more virtuous, and the contrary. The differences too of these, as to mind (opinion) are innumerable, as are the fashions, modes of life, constitutions, and the contrary; but not as to their natures, for the nature of them all is one, and the kind is one. It is of the variety of their wills, that they have found out many and different fashions and modes of life. Hence, are the companies of angels, of spirits, and of incorporeal and invisible powers; some of which are resplendent and glorious, as enlightened by the splendour of THE DIVINE WORD; others are dark, blacker than any Ethiopian, and destitute of all rational light. This kind is quite deserving of the middle place, as capable at once of both the excellent and the base. But the King is one, that ONLY power which is God above all, both of those who are in the

heavens, and above the heavens. And He it is who holds by the law and edict of sovereign rule, the things that are in the air, on the earth, and under the earth, and which are of all, and in all. This law and edict is moreover one, (viz.) He who lives in all, THE WORD OF GOD, the minister, (lit. agent): not as that dying (utterance) which is sent forth from the mouth of mortals into the air; but is, — as it has now been made known to us (by the Gospel) — of things (in their nature) possible, the Governour of all in all wisdom and power. He (I say) who, as THE WORD OF GOD, distributes fully and in justice to all, the things which are most suitable to them; and gives to each, and to every one of them, the stations which are suitable: to those which are near, (those) of happiness; but those of the contrary, to them who have fallen from virtue, as they may have (severally) deserved. He at once gives to all — like those who are on the earth, — to reside in different localities; to some, to exult at the side of the heavenly sovereignty; to others, to keep watch without; to others, to dwell beyond (these), and at a distance: while all with one mouth, and according to the doctrine and instruction of each, celebrate the praise of the King and God of all: — (all I say) who bear this law in their hearts and in the mind of their nature, that they should confess that ONE, who is the likeness of the image of sovereign rule, who is the only (begotten) WORD, — Him “ *who is the Image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature,* ” — as the divine words mysteriously teach.

39. And to the honouring of Him are all, whether the rulers or the ruled in every house and city, at once devoted: not, with inanimate colours variously set forth in pictures (or images), but within, on the hearts of their intellectual faculties as upon intelligent tablets, is the worship of His Godhead inscribed. Thus do all those, who are subject to His power, tender their worship, irrespective of those vicious Demons, and wicked Spirits, and “ *Rulers of this world,* ” who consider themselves as in the situation of enemies and haters; those who have assimilated themselves to the image of fraudulent rule, and put forth various books in the place of others; that is, innumerable false scriptures (ascribed) to that fearful name, and to that expressed name, which governs the Law. But far superior to the Law is the name (which) they have surreptitiously assumed to themselves. Thus do they succeed in casting down to the earth among bodies, elements, and the portions of the world, the (whole) race of mortal men. Hence have men feared and served the creatures,

more than the Creator of these.

40. And again, they named (as gods) for themselves, these very powers, contenders and rebels against God, which in their perverseness so became gods; these (I say) which never existed (as such). And well may those be considered as enemies and haters, from whom the law of truth has commanded us to flee, and to take refuge in Him alone who is the WORD, the Saviour of all; — Him, who has cast forth the seed which is of Himself, in order that it may produce, not only in the heavenly places, but also on the earth; and has assigned both to those that are in the heavens, and to those that are in the elements of the earth, one and the same portion of kind. So that the rational mind which is in man, (and) is of that incorporeal intelligent essence, and of the kind of the DIVINE WORD which pervades all that has hitherto been generated, is nourished on earth by its meditations on Him, and previously trained for its transition (conversion) to virtue. Hence too, is it previously instructed and taught, to provide for its passing to the children of its own kind. Wholly therefore is this alone, of those that are on the earth, through its participation with THE DIVINE WORD, worthy of the name of rational. He has then, necessarily assigned a place on earth (to) the mind and rational soul; so that a small image of the great City of God, mentioned in the example a little while ago (given), has been set up on earth: nor is there in the whole empire of God, nor even a place on the earth, exempt from this lot. And it was right, that praise should be ascribed in every part of the universe to THE WORD, the common Father of all, by those who had been generated of Himself. Hence, even the element of earth is not exempt from being entrusted with this rational portion. Not only by those who are beyond the world, and in the heavens, and the rational (beings) that are in the air; but also by those that dwell on the earth, is that just praise sent up to the Maker and Father of all: which indeed the Divine Word teaches, when it thus commands every man to sing the praise which is due to God: “*Praise ye God from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights. Praise him all ye his angels; praise him all ye his hosts. Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars and light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens.*” After the things which are upon the earth, he (the Sacred Writer) reasons thus: “*Praise ye God from the earth (all)*” other things. He then also (reasons upon) this rational family of man, — this (I say) which divides itself from every thing else into various companies and orders of rank,

—— in this manner: ——” *Praise him, ye Icings of the earth, and allpeople: ye great, and all ye judges of the earth: young men and maidens: old men with children. Let them praise the name of the Lord; for great is his name alone; and his praise is in the earth, and in the “heavens.”*

41. With these (words) therefore, he leads over against and along with the companies that are in the heavens, those also that are on the earth, to the praise of the King of all. For to Him alone in truth, and to no other God, —— (to) Him who is beyond all the heavens above, —— do the companies that are above the curvatures of the heavens ascribe honour and praise. To Him (as) their Father do the hosts of angels and spirits, the offspring of the light which is intelligent, render the praises which are unutterable. To Him also the sun, the moon, and the stars which are in the circuits of distant worlds, and run their lengthened courses in the spaces of aether, and form a crown (as it were) to Him; —— the invisible powers also, which wing their way in the free expanse of air, —— proclaim the meed of praise and blessing which is (both) due and becoming.

42. How then, after (the detail of) these things could it be becoming, that the element of earth alone should be wanting in the provision which (prevails) in all? Or, that this nature which is generative of all these fruits, should stand alone, in withholding its meed of praise? Or, that the life which is (passed) on the earth, bearing every sort of fruit, should be barren as to (that of) the intelligent creature? Would it not rather appear that this would seem good to Him, —— who is the fulness of all wisdom, the Maker of all, —— that He should for His own sake, sow this locality of earth with beings intelligent and rational? and should, for the use of these, provide the rest of the creatures, as also that which is generative of fruits and flowers? And that He should here also join the praise of men, to that which is rendered by the companies of all (else), to His own Father? And this was so done in former times: —— this, that man, who had been made in the image of God, honoured with hymns and songs THE WORD, his Father, together with the divine and rational assemblies, and with the several orders of angels. His mind had not then erred in the setting up of inanimate images under the phantasms of demoniacal deception, nor under the stories of error common to polytheism: for these things recently, and after a time, became known through the vain babblings of the poets. Those primitive chiefs of our race, who hitherto had not learned the

arts of modelling, hewing, and carving, and had made no use of this extreme metal-working art of evil deeds, called upon the Maker of the whole universe and their Lord, in the simplicity of their souls, and in the mind of their (unsophisticated) nature: and Him alone did they confess, in their instruction which was mental, to be the Lord and God of all. And as these did, so did the chief of our nature (Adam), as also did the Hebrew race, which was in ancient times beloved of God, and received, as a son from his father, the good inheritance of the observances of the fear of God. But these honoured nothing with purity of life, and with the observances of the fear of God, except the one God, the King who is above all, and His WORD who is the Saviour of all. On this account, they were considered worthy of the revelation of the Word of God, of prophecy, and of the doctrines of righteousness.

43. Thus therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, the Maker of all things, fills, with His seed of intelligent and rational being, all parts and places that are above the world, that are in the heavens, and on this element of earth. That seed then, which falls upon the earth, constituting the intelligent and rational plant, is itself the knowledge which belongs to man, (and) which is now contained in the multifarious stem and herbage (as it were) of an earthly and perishable body: many stars of the life which is mortal surrounding it. If then, an enlightened cultivation meet it, so that it be cleansed from the obstinacy of matter, and recognize the Sower, THE WORD, who is above the heavens, and henceforth render praise to Him, meditating as a child on His primitive teaching, and in due time rendering the corn-ears of its superiority, the complete fruit of its rational nature; it shall as in the time of harvest lay down, by the death of the life which is mortal, those luxuriations of the stem that are without, together with the earthly and corruptible clothing of the body, which it shall have now well employed for the growth and perfection of the fruit. And happily shall it put off this in due time. The same too, as he becomes more excellent, and collects the powers of his superiority into the treasury of things that are good, is preserved (as) the perfect, that with the perfect he may be led on. To Him also, who is the Sower and the Cultivator of all, he renders the perfect fruit of that praise which is due to God. And, because he has in this- life recognized Him alone as his Father, King, and Lord, and has, together with his relative and sister beings (already mentioned), confessed Him alone to be God, his Maker and Creator; He will, — that he also may

(as) in the place of the society which is more excellent, exalt and honour Him with the honour that is becoming and just, — not name any other thing God, which it is not right should be called God, but Him alone to whom all things give (a similar) testimony; Him, whom all creation, visible and invisible, — even as He alone is the efficient Cause of all, — names its God, and whom it worships.

44. These things then being such, let us now again approach our subject afresh, as already laid down. These heavens then, and places in the heavens which are viewed by the bodily senses; this earth also, and air, as well as this whole constitution (of things) which is of them, (and) which may be likened to a great city, differ in no respect in their nature from those inanimate elements which are in its portions, the earth, the waters, the air, and fire. But it is not necessary, that the denizens of this great city should be considered as of the same material; nor is it, that we should affirm the seed of the rational soul, and of the perishable body, to be one and the same. For the mind, the reason, the rational soul, and the whole of the nature which is intelligent, may accurately and well be affirmed to be the seed of THE WORD OF GOD, the Creator of all. Nor were these any part of the earth, or of the air; nor, of any essence cold or hot; but, of those superior faculties, by which they were made worthy to partake in things most excellent. Because things prior in order, are the causes of those which succeed them. And the first things were those generated of THE WORD: after these, those that are irrational. After the primary essences therefore, were those latter ones, which followed (these as) causes. But these primitive ones, — the origin of production, — exist (only) in intelligent souls; on whose account it was, that the seed of passive bodies was also prepared. For it was necessary, that a sufficient house or residence should be prepared for these. Hence the primary heavens appeared to be a place suitable to the people of this city, who were both above it and in it; and the curvatures within the heavens, for those inhabitants who should be distinguished accordingly. But thou (reasonable soul), wouldest never designate as denizens of the city on earth, either the sensitive being of the fierce animals, or any kind of reptile refusing instruction; or indeed, any of all those that partake in the nature and name of irrational. For these are thy slaves, which have been subjected by the law of nature; and they necessarily render the service which is due to rational beings, as to their lords. For the

agricultural ox places his neck willingly in the yoke, for the purposes of agriculture for man; the carrying ass too, confesses his own nature; the horse also, on which his lord rides, exults; and the hunting dog fondles on him who feeds him.

45. The flocks too, and herds, (and) again, all sorts of possession (in animals), are given to men; even the fierce beasts are (at his ready) service. These same too, we kill and reduce to subjection. We also take, by means of reason, the bird that flies in the heights. We also bring up those (beings) which are beneath in the depths of the sea, and (otherwise) within it. And nature plainly teaches, that all these things have been established for the sake of man. Man is therefore the progeny of the DIVINE WORD; not for the sake of any other thing, but for that (only) of his Father, THE WORD; in order that he might see, and by his knowledge distinguish, all the wisdom of his Father, which (consists) in the workmanship visible throughout all creation; and that he should assimilate himself to this same, while hitherto youthful, and should in every thing emulate his Father, as to law, reason, knowledge, and wisdom; should live as taught, (that he is) the image of excellence; and should learn that, together with the companies that are in heaven, he should, as a prophet and priest, send up from the earth those praises which are due to the King of all, and to God who is the Cause of all.

46. In representations not unlike these therefore, does THE WORD, the instructor of all nature, —— wondering at the various excellency of the nature that is in man, —— cry out, and say in the divine praises, “ *What is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little less than the Angels: with honour and glory hast Thou clothed him, and hast given him dominion over the work of thy hands, and hast placed all beneath his feet: all flocks and herds; even the wild beasts of the desert, and the birds that are in the heavens, and the fishes of the sea, which dwell in the paths of the sea.* ”

47. It is this rational species alone, beloved of God, of those that are on earth, respecting which another prophet speaking of God, teaches, thus plainly (but) mysteriously, that in his essence he is in the image of God: “ *And God said, Let us make man in our Image, according to our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fishes that are in the sea, and over the fowl of the heavens, and over the beasts, and over all the earth, and over every creeping*

thing that creepeth upon the earth.” And to the word He also added the deed: “*So God made man,*” and said that He made him in the image of God. And again more particularly, He established (the fact) that the image was in the likeness of God, from the Divine inbreathing, when He said, “*And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living soul.*” He also teaches, that He gave to him the more excellent authority and rule, in these words when saying, *Let them have dominion over all that is on the earth, over the beasts, the fowls, the creeping things, (and) the animals.* And, to all these words does that nature give (its) testimony, which has put every thing under his hand, and has subjected all (things) to this rational creature. But, if the Divine words can obtain no hearing with thee, still, I cannot think that thy mind is so entirely darkened, that thou canst not think within thyself, How it is, that bodies and bodily substances, — or, whatever other divine thing it is which moves the body, — should consist of this possible excellence, — this, I say, — that (such body) should know how to avail itself of a discriminating reason, as to what its own essence is? — this, that it should deliver instruction by memory? — this, that it should extend itself to the contemplation of all things? But, be thyself and ask, whether the nature of the body can understand the constitution of the world; the operations of the primary elements; the beginning, the end, the middle portion, enumeration, and succession of the seasons; the changes of times; the revolutions of the year; the appointed order of the stars; and (I know not) how many other things, which men have by the experiments of geometry, computation, and enumeration, pointed out. For these (results) are incorporeal, and the contemplation of them is (purely) rational: that any one should make them adjuncts of the bones, the flesh, or the blood, would be folly infinitely great. And, well might they be asked, who thus think of these things, since these five senses comprehend all the faculties of the body, Which of them is it that can teach man the contemplation of any doctrine? Is it the sight of the eyes? But this distinguishes between colours and forms only. If you say, The hearing; you (only) name the recipient of sounds acute and grave, but not of any rational perception. And again, in like manner, the taste is the sense discriminative of sweetness, or of food, as it might be. The smell too, is the trier of scents, but not of doctrines. And again, this sense which is extended over the whole body, will touch (and discriminate) things cold and hot, hard

and soft; but not virtue, nor (yet) that wisdom which is much more excellent. And, How is it with the irrational animals? Have they not eyes, ears, and nostrils? the sense of taste, and of touch? But nothing of these can be brought near to the efficiency of reason: because the doctrines, which philosophy alone can apprehend, are not of the body, nor of the sense that is irrational: they belong solely to that superiority which attends the rational soul; which is superior to the nature of the body, and which takes up its abode in mankind alone. If however, any one wish impudently to persist by way of reasoning, and affirm, That we possess nothing beyond these irrational animals; that like these we are born, and are subject to corruption; because the one provision of us all, is of the earth: the passive nature of the body is the same; the sense is in nothing superior; the labour again, and rest is, in the same manner, one; as is the blood of us all, the corruption of the body, and (its) dissolution into the primitive elements. Hitherto however, you do not say, that any one of these can, like the rational animal, be brought near to the contemplation of things incorporeal; can bear about it any rational instruction, or lay up learning in its memory; can consider discourses about virtue and vice; and, as to philosophy, that it ever even entered its mind. But all these things I might omit, because all men do not possess them. I (only) ask your reason these things: Was there a city ever (yet) constructed by beings destitute of reason? Or, is there in these the mind of the Artificer, of the Builder, of the Weaver, or, of the Agriculturist? Or, has a ship ever been fitted up by them? Or, has the astonishing art of governing (such vessel) so much as even entered their minds? When, behold! the things which are bodily (only) are with them, far more excellent than with us: because, of all animals, man is the most defective, and, as the Poets sing, "*The human race is infirm,*" Nor can we say how much he is inferior, in magnitude of body, to the Elephant; or, to be thought of, as to strength and abundance, with the Camel species. And, to many other animals must he cede the victory, both as to power, and swiftness of foot. What can they scent better than the tracing dogs, which are taught to course by the smell? or, be said to see better than any Antelope; which, because they see (well) are, in the Greek, named "*the Seers?*" And, is it necessary we should hence say, how much weaker the body of man naturally is, than that of the Bear, the Lion, the Panther, and of many other animals? or, how quickly or easily he is deceived and overcome by those that attack him?

Nevertheless, this diminutive (creature) will, whenever he pleases, subdue any of those already mentioned; not by bodily or corporeal strength, for (in this respect) he is greatly the inferior, and is insufficient to fill the stomach of even one Bear. But there is a certain nature within him, more excellent than the body, the power of the mind, and of the intelligent soul. And it is by the superiority of wisdom that he effects these astonishing things. By means of these (things) hast thou, as a dear child, been honoured of God. Why (so) despisest thou thy greatness as to think, that this thy whole is (mere) flesh? and likenest this body, with the divine and rational knowledge which is within thee, to these irrational beings, the whole of which is perishable? Will then, neither the irrational nature of the animals, nor this common name *irrational*, nor (yet) the openly apparent useful servitude, under which these have never sought excuse from the bearing of burdens or of labour, suffice to persuade thee, (that all is thus) because God has given to thee the dominion and sovereignty over them all?

48. Man alone therefore, of those that are on the earth, — he who is in the image of God, carries on and introduces (his matters) wherever he pleases: at one time, he trains the animals that are suited to the chase; at another, he pastures the flocks that are adapted to this: at another, he avails himself of the tame animals for (his) service; reducing (their) fierce nature to peaceable subjection: at another, having so reduced them, he brings them into peaceable proximity with himself: at another, having brought them together by the multifarious means of reason, he confines them to the house. And not (this) alone, but he will also take into his hands the injurious reptiles, and play with them: and of those that breathe out death, and reject instruction, will he make his sport.

49. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is not to be persuaded to take up his residence in the caves that are in the deserts, or in the heights. He accordingly builds cities with walls, and adorns (these) with streets, palaces, mansions, and other edifices.

50. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, considers not of (his) provision after the unchangeable manner and usages of the irrational animals. For these, destitute (as they are) of knowledge, avail themselves of the aid of nature alone, and receive their provision from the stem, unprepared by agriculture, and uncleansed from the weed. He however, by his knowledge

cleanses (this); thus too does he pulverize, fully season, and make it well to pass the fire. Of the wheat also he will, whenever he pleases, make bread. He is moreover, careful so to provide, that a healthy provision of food may be secured. And every profitable commodity, either of the vine, the olive, or of the fruit tree of every flavour, does he appropriate; and these does he alone apply to the sanative uses of the body.

51. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, has, by means of rule and reason, discovered that mode of life which is regular and orderly: — has become a leader of armies; has engaged in the public conflicts, and in the subsidiary arts: and these very many (things), pertaining to doctrine, has he, by his rational superiority, put forth.

52. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, preserving (in himself) the model of excellence, has determined the measure, the weights, the extents, and several sorts, of justice. He too, distinguishes, — governing (all) by reason, — the things which should, and should not, be done: and (hence) he knows, how to give to every one, as it shall be right. The fishes however, the birds, and the animals, will devour one another: because no law (prevails) among them. But to men has (God) given justice, which is their supreme excellence, as says one of the poets, (and) according to my opinion, extremely well.

53. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, evincing within himself the image of THE WORD OF GOD, erects on high a house of judgment; and, acting after the manner of God's just Judge, duly determines (the award) of life and of death; apportioning life to some, and assigning death to others.

54. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will confide his life to the small section of a tree. He has also discovered the science of ship-building. He too will guide the ship on the back of the sea; will commit his person to the depths of the humid element, and beat back the death that stands at his side. He (alone) looks up to the heavens, and to that Governour of all, who binds together all distances, as to the safety of those who navigate (the seas).

55. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, has discovered the doctrines of astronomy: has, while moving below in the body, and clothed with the weight of mortality, ascended up in his mind on high; and, making the circuit

of the sun, the moon, and the stars, foretells what shall come to pass, as he also does the eclipses of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the changes of times.

56. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is viewed (as) the assistant of nature; has discovered the means of healing; and has, by his understanding, applied (to this) the powers of roots, and of drugs, with their combination and mixture by weight and due proportion. He too has become skilful in the healing of infirm bodies, and the helps of the life of man.

57. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, not having arrived at the manner of life of the gaminivorous (animals), has well applied (himself) to (the requirements of his own) nature. In the winter season he accordingly casts the seed into the earth; and, applying the sweat of his labour to agriculture, is repaid in the autumn with the fruits consequent upon his toil.

58. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, collects together, by (his) rational knowledge, the doctrines relating to all (things); the science and composition of music, as well as (that of) investigation by discussion. He also proceeds on to the manner of life, and to the fame attendant on philosophy; and (thus) he hastens forward the love of that superiority, which is vested within him: availing himself, not of the bodily sense, but of the faculty of knowledge, and of the stimulating power of reason.

59. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, bears about him, by means of his memory, the histories of things done in former times; converses with those who are (now) no more, as with those who are at hand: examines the opinions of the wise who have existed at any period; and from these, rather than from those who are his contemporaries, does he receive profit. And (thus) by the faculty of reason, — cognate with that of thought, — does he exist with those who have long ceased to be.

60. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, duly regulates the voice of the chant, by the divisionsof the chord. He also has divided the primary letters (of the alphabet) by the grammatical art, and has discovered the powers and province of reason. He too, has determined the combination of verbs and of nouns, as well as the precepts of rhetoric and grammar. All these moreover, does he bring together, preserve in his memory, and bring forward, as stores filled with every sort of treasure. In one mind too, does he comprehend both the events and histories of former times; and these will he

bring forth whenever he pleases, as a river from an unfailing source, and inundate (therewith) the hearing of all present.

61. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is, in his works, like unto God who is over all. Any thing which he pleases will he form into animals; even this inanimate matter will he change into the form, figure, and fashion, of every sort of creature. By means of this instructive nature, (and) the reasoning faculty, will he set about emulating (even) the Maker of all things; and man will make man, at one time in stone; at another, in wood; at another, in flowers of (many) colours; as well as in the forms that are impervious to change: and (indeed) every sort of animal and of plant, will he, by the same means, imitate: shewing forth fully, by his works, the power (vested within him) of the image of God.

62. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will imitate on the earth whereon he walks, the celestial sphere, and will engrave on the matter of brass the likeness of the very heavens, and on this will he impress a copy of the stars, both wandering and fixed. He will also appoint, by the modeller's art, the limits both of times and of seasons; and will surround the exterior (of his sphere) with the images of (various) animals. By the abundance of (his) knowledge moreover, and the means of (many) observations, will he imitate the heavenly sphere; and, — like God, — will allow the heavens whose revolutions are above the earth, and with the universal whole, — and whose revolving is an unceasing miracle, — to revolve with the things that are on the earth, (in) the similitude which is of earthly material. The angel of the seasons too, will shout (as it were) with a loud voice, and all, at once and in a moment, are in motion; the doors, too, at the coming in of the seasons, throw themselves open (as it were) of their own accord, and the inanimate images of the birds, placed round about it (the sphere), speak out in chirpings. The moon also which is on the earth, runs its course with that in the heavens; and the (mere) brass of itself, changes its fashions, after the manner of the moon; shewing itself now dichotomized, now on the wane, and now in its full light. Thus the images of the seasons follow the analogy of those in nature, and the human-made world contends with (that of) the workmanship of THE WORD OF GOD!

63. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, can, by means of words not to be uttered, of prayers acceptable to God, and by virtue of the fear of God,

(evinced) both in word and life, drive far away the invisible nature of concealed demons. But further, when he had even departed from the right way, he could effect all this by a power, such as would, by songs and incantations, subject the kind of these which flies in the air; and, again, would seize, by means of force, and the appetencies restrictive of nature, those unembodied powers which fly over any part of the earth, just as they would the flying sparrows. He would lead on, or bind, (these), whenever he chose: and, sitting upon the images of fabricated gods, would shew by these his doings, that his own power was far superior to that of the fabricated deity of such.

64. Man alone shews of what kind the superiority of (his) intellectual and incorporeal being is, and establishes (the fact) that (this) his power is impervious either to subjugation or deterioration by calamity. For, he will prepare his body for the fire, the sword, the fierce beasts, (and) the depths of the sea; and he will approach every species of torment. He knows too, this his nature, that it is perishable and fleeting, transient and dissoluble. But that which resides within, is unyielding; and, that this is different from that which perishes, he proved who cried out, "Bruise, bruise the form; but me thou wilt not bruise." And again another, proclaiming with freedom of speech: "Burn or roast the body, and be satisfied with me when thou hast drunk my blackened blood; but, before the stars descend to the earth, and the earth ascends to the heavens, I will present to thee no one conciliating perturbed expression." One of the friends of God moreover, when suffering evils, put forth these words: "*What shall separate me from the love of God? (shall) tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger, or nakedness, or cold, or the sword?*" I myself too have seen, in these times, some whose eyes were dug out; others, who were deprived of their legs by the cautery; and others who were crucified; their whole bodies hastening to dissolution, and their mortal nature subject to rebuke; while the conscious mind residing within them, attached to God, was immoveable, impervious to subjection, and unyielding to these hardships; clearly proving to those of sound minds, that their faculty of excellence was a thing altogether different from that which was perishable.

65. This alone, of the animals that are on the earth, partaking of the divine inbreathing, is worthy of the favour of the Deity. He too, will hold converse with the Angels of God, and will apprehend the foreknowledge of things to come to pass; at one time, by means of dreams; at another, when so invested

by the power of God with the Spirit, that he will even enounce the prophecy of things future; and, by the manifestation of deeds such as these, he will confirm (the fact of) his fellowship with Deity.

66. This (animal) alone recognizes in every thing, something greater and more excellent than any that is visible; — Him who is invisible to the eyes, and imperceptible to the touch, as well as to every faculty of bodily sense; but is visible to the mind and understanding alone. Him does he, by His (special) teaching, and the learning of which his nature is capable, confess; and Him does he call God: to Him also does he render praise; and shews, by means of this (his) knowledge, his relationship with the Deity.

67. This (being) alone has arisen (to be) the spectator of the great works of THE WORD OF GOD, and is fitted to worship his Father — Him (I say) who is higher than the heavens, — with the praises which are proper for the Deity; and to be assimilated to the company of the Angels in heaven. Because to him alone, of the animals that are on the earth, has this superiority been assigned. By means of this he recognizes, from the mind of his nature, Him who is the cause of every good; and is enjoined to render, as the return due to a Father, the praises of thanksgiving and blessing which are becoming.

68. The testimonies to all these things, does that word of the doctrine and erudition which is divine, confirm: (viz.) that of this undying nature, and equal of the citizens that are in heaven, is this (being) alone of those that are on the earth; this intelligent and rational essence (I say) which is in man: and, that he is the dear child of THE DIVINE WORD, the common Saviour of all; and that in his nature, he agrees both as to image and form with (this) his Father.

69. For if this rational animal, — this, who has become partaker in all this superiority; this, which alone of those that are on the earth, is in the image of God; this Brother of the divine hosts, and of the Angels, which are in heaven, — had been duly led by his nature, and had from ancient time adhered to the divine law; he would indeed have been freed from this earthly and corruptible (mode of) life, and would have continued in his conversation on earth, as in a state of migration. Had he first (of all) studied divine things (only), he would indeed have effected his departure hence to those things which belonged to him; and would have been registered (as) among those that were perfect, apart from this his state of defect, and of infantine constitution.

Thus therefore has man, of necessity, put on a corruptible and dissoluble body, (and this) through the mercy of his Father, that calamity may not be his permanent lot, and that he may not be tied interminably to corruption. Soon therefore, shall this corruptible be dissolved, and shall receive a participation with those who are incorruptible. For, just as that which is conceived in the womb, puts on the clothing of its locality; and the infant to be born, when the period of its destined months has arrived, casts this off, and accordingly comes forth into the light, inhales the purer air, and henceforward is considered as of the nature of man; so also is this perfectible species, (as) believed to be among men, (and as) opposed to the (still) superior one, — a mere infant, and as yet a foetus (only) conceived on earth, — clothed in this corruptible skin; which, by the mercy of the great gift of God, it is necessary it should cast off, in order that it should not be for ever harassed with these defective things, but should, in due time, go forth into the light, and pass on to the life, which is impervious to corruption. On this account, we have the companies of the wise, the attached to God, pressed (as) they have been by a participation in these corruptible bodies, desired their change for the better, and followed after their equals, the children of their city which is above, even as he was (circumstanced) who said in the divine word, *“Wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death?”* And again, *“Even if we live in the body, still we labour not in the flesh.”* He adduces his reason too, and says, *“For our labour (of culture) is in heaven; and we draw near to the city of the living God which is in heaven, and to the assembly of myriads of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven.”* — These are the words of a notable man, and of (all) those who love God.

70. If however, many are so foolish as to be attached to the lusts that are here, that they are to the present time but infants in intellect; What has this to do with right reason? For, that which is conceived in the womb, exults in this its usual locality, fears its departure from it, and lest it should be extracted from internal darkness, and weeps when it comes forth to the light. Still even these, did but those things which happen to their natural birth duly take place with them, would come forth from darkness to light, well and elegantly born. Thus would they, at the due time and season, be brought forth, (each) receive the natural air and breath, and bear about him the healthy vigour of man. Thus would (each) be delighted with the provisions of the breast, and of infancy;

then be placed under the hands of a nurse, and be delivered over to instructors, teachers, and doctors, until he came forth a man complete. Thus too would he pass a virtuous and honourable life, great in wealth, in the abundance of possessions, in power, rule, and the other stages (of distinction), in the increase of (all) those things which result from a happy birth; of those which multiply by means of instruction, and of those other innumerable things, which conduce to the experience of a happy life.

71. But, if any unnatural contortion should happen to that which is conceived in the womb, so that it affect such an one at his coming forth in birth; What need can there be for my saying, that the infant was distorted within (the womb)? and refused to come forth to the light? and that it must suffer, — by the iron instruments prepared for parturition, which shall violently and painfully be placed upon it, — the revulsion which is also unnatural? Nor would it be worthy even of the one birth, — even of the life of man, — or of the things belonging to this: but, on the contrary, that it should go forth from darkness to darkness, and not only be deprived of the life of man, but also of the name.

72. As are these things, so is he who passes the life which is human on earth, differing in nothing from the irrational and ignorant infant, or, from that which is yet, but a foetus in the womb. Nor can he be compared with those bodies which are without, the Angels and Divine spirits. He is even (as) an ignorant child; and, because of the excess of his childishness, he exults in the clothing of the body which is about him; loves the womb his (place of concealment), and knows not the locality which surrounds him, where murder, darkness, and (all) the other species of mishap, feed, as it were, in the pastures of wickedness. One of the ancients says, — when shewing that the air, which is on the earth, is humid and unclear, — that “*it consists of many compounds, (resulting) from the innumerable vapours which (arise) from the earth.*” One would think too that (man were such), although as an infant good. Nevertheless, if he pass the present life as it is becoming to his nature, and evince accordingly the conduct which is suitable to its law, “*that he think not beyond the measure of his stature,*” nor spurn the nature which has borne him as a mother; nor again, remain ignorant of his Father, but recognize his Father who is in heaven, the common Saviour of all, and render to him the service of thanksgiving, because he has made him to partake in the things which are

good; — be brought up in the instruction of righteousness, and previously study in his conversation which is on the earth, the life of heaven; well shall such an one, when he shall depart this mortal life, and shall put off the body, have the Angels of God for his obstetricators; — when he is to be born to the life to come, then shall both the good Powers receive him as the nurse, and the Divine assemblies teach him; that WORD OF GOD too, that teacher of the conversation which is in heaven, shall lead him on, as a dear child, to the completion of every thing that is good, and shall instruct him in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven. And, when He shall have made him complete and wise, He shall give him up to His Father, the King of all: and shall clothe him, both in body and soul which are (now) incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description. So that henceforth, he shall be even for the common advantage of all. Such is the last state of such an one. — But he who exults against the course of his nature, participates in the perversion which is not good, and despises the earth, the mother that bore him; and again, impiously recognizes not THE WORD OF GOD, the common Saviour of all, but subscribes to a multitude of fathers who have no existence, instead of that one who is; and calls those gods which never had any being, instead of that one who alone is true; and again, wholly plunges in pursuit of the things of this moist, humid and corruptible being, into the filthy and lawless lusts; and this not as the infant, involuntarily; but willingly, and of his free counsel, chooses to himself these vices, and so acts; his latter state shall clearly be but the counterpart of that pointed out by the example (above given). For no happy countenance, or smiling of good Angels, shall greet him; nor, when he goes forth into light, shall the Divine Powers receive him as fosterfathers. On the contrary, endeavouring in his extreme state to escape egress, and to hide himself within, in the concealment of the body and members: — when the dissolution of the body draws near, and he would assume the perversion which is out of nature; — (then) shall those who are appointed to this, forcibly attach themselves to him, and drag him forth. Then too, after his departure hence, — his miserable soul being reduced to sighing and lamentation, — shall he not have the light and life which is good, for his receptacle; but, on the contrary, darkness and the place of corruption. The judgment of God moreover, shall consign him (thus) impure and unclean, as filthy and abominable to the purification and punishment which is by fire:

because he would not be instructed by THE WORD (or Reason), nor adhere to the Divine law, when it was in his power to do so.

73. He therefore, who, in the example (above) was, as an infant conceived in the womb, in every thing so defective, and in every respect so destitute of power, that hitherto he could make no use either of the thoughts of his soul, or the senses of his body; — that mind, indeed, which is hitherto but (as) an infant in man; — may well be said, by way as it were, of experimental comparison with those incorporeal and Divine rational (beings) that are in heaven, to be altogether a child. Even, if (such) were the wisest of men, or even more perfect than those that are on the earth; still he would, when compared in himself, with his (future) perfect state, be nothing better than an infant. For, what his state of excellence shall be when he arrives at manhood, it will be easy thus to shew: — For if, when hitherto (as) an infant, and confined within this unyielding wall of earthly and corruptible being, he bears about him such a faculty of excellence, that he knows, not only the things that are on earth, and fabricates them by art, but also anticipates the life which is in heaven, and becomes like to God himself; makes too, whenever he pleases, likenesses of the things in the heavens, and of those on the earth; — can do all these things, just as those which have already been recounted: — these (I say), when immersed (as he is) in all this refuse of the body and blood; What then, ought we to suppose he will do, when he shall have proceeded to the perfect measure of man's estate, and shall have been liberated from these injurious bonds of corruption? — these humid and wasting properties of the body? and is made a partaker of the life which is incorruptible, and of a body which is impervious to death? For, if this seed alone of the reasoning faculty be thus all-able and powerful on earth, when as yet it is incapable of rendering the full return (of fruit), but has even been cast forth into the moist locality of the refuse of a corruptible body; it shall henceforth be able (fully) to know, of what sort the return of perfect fruit of this seed shall be as (sown) in the soul, when it shall have been made to partake of an adequate culture; shall have been removed hence, and have been planted in a superior locality, in land good and fertile; where that heavenly WORD, that Sower of all things, and Planter of every good thing, shall receive (back) his own seed, and shall, in the pastures of incorporeal and unembodied souls, as in the Paradise of them who love God, Himself water his own plant, shall nourish it to perfection, and

make it arrive at the increase of goods innumerable.

74. You will perceive therefore, the greatness of the complete state of man's superiority, from his changes and increments here, if you will consider, that the infant just born is in no respect superior to the worm; that it cannot, after the manner of the irrational animal, even make use of the bodily senses. Nevertheless this defective, lame, infirm, and thoughtless being, will, when grown in his stature, arrive at all this change and variation in the course of time, — will receive all this superiority, power, and beauty both of body and soul, — so, that should those who begat him see him, they could not distinguish whether this were he, who was sown (by them) in the womb, and conceived in darkness: — whether this were he, who came forth out of (this) darkness, to be brought up with milk and the swaddling bands; this, — who is now the man, who in wisdom and knowledge contemplates the whole world; — this, who subjugates every thing that is on the earth. And should any one by comparison, as it were, of the Divine faculty and of the Angels, and of the child just now born, place the complete man in the midst; he would not find a perfect equality as to the child, with respect to the perfect man; and of the perfect man, with respect to the superior power; but, the inferiority of the person of the child to the man, to be much greater, than is the inferiority of the man to the faculty of the Angels. For, the human infant lately born, cannot be compared in its being even with those irrational animals, which may just now be brought forth. But he, who has come out the perfect man, and is contemplated as the friend of God, will henceforward become a partaker in the divine Spirit, and will hold converse with the Angels: will arrive at a love and attachment to the conversation which is in heaven, and will previously prepare himself by purity of life, and the fear of God, — not (placed) at any great distance of limit, — for an equality with the Angels, and will be made a partaker both of (their) life, and superiority: which the Divine Word also shewed, when it said, *"What is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him."* is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him."

75. If then the child, when brought up to the (full) stature of his nature, and

supplied with the provision and instruction proper for it, receives all this change and variety; — and no one can disbelieve (this) his change, on account of the openness of the experiment; — Why need we wonder, if even this perfectible mind which is in man, such as it is when still in childhood, with respect to its more complete and perfect growth, should, when it comes forth to the full growth of its stature, be in dignity as the Angels? We do see however, that the nature of man undergoes dissolution by death. But, What of this? Is it not that we are the more convinced by it, that the soul is immortal? For if, when immersed in a corruptible and mortal body, it evince all this force of superiority, which we have already shewn; How shall it not, when it shall have separated itself from its participation in corruption, and shall have laid down mortality as a bandage, then act in its own power, in a manner less impeded than it now does? Do you not perceive, that so long as it entertains an attachment to the body, it thence acts basely? But, if it refuse participation (with the body), it (then) subsists within itself. And hence, is its essence clearly known to be incorporeal. For, How can that which is opposed to the body, be of (its) nature? The thoughts too of the soul are healthy, so long as the bodily passions are infirm, but the same will be dark and obscure when the body labours under the lusts. Hence, so long as the soul is infatuated, its whole attachment will be to the body; and, when attached to the body, it will be shorn of its excellence. When however, it becomes strong in opposition to the body, and flies from the lustful passions, it (then) becomes wise; and, when it has become wise, it turns away its face from a participation in mortality, and forthwith gives up itself to the knowledge which is pure, and, in a small degree, withdraws itself from the stimulating nature of the body. When moreover, it is powerful with respect to the riches which are its own, it (then) happily becomes more abundantly enlightened, directed, and stirred up. Then too, will it partake in knowledge, wisdom, and every sort of excellence, when it has ceased to countenance the motions of the bodily passions. And, so long as it counts upon (this) excellence, it deigns not to draw near with the eyes of the body; nor will it act by any other of its senses. When moreover, it (thus) vigorously shuts itself up, carries itself within, and withdraws to a distance from the things which affect the senses, and are visible; and (when) near only to the body, still turns with the eye of the soul to another quarter, and is itself united with itself; then again, will it avail itself of the mind that is

enlightened, and of the recollection which is pure; and will put forth, and nourish for itself, the reason which is imperturbed: and (thus) will every reasoning power exert itself without controul. But, should any of the things which are hurtful suddenly happen to the body, so that a mote should injure the sight of the eyes; immediately would the sight of the soul be disturbed: and, should remissness be given to the body, and the soul partake in the drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the rest of its pleasures; (thus) reduced in itself to vice —— the corruptible body too domineering over it like a wild and fierce beast, and itself remaining below (as it were) in the depths, —— will be filled with error, folly, and every sort of infatuation. What necessity then is there, that we should fear death, which is (only) the determination of the freedom of the soul from the body? And, for What (purpose) is the laying down of that which is faulty? Is it not for receiving the aid of that, which is more excellent? and, that we should confess the lives of those who loved God, then to be in truth, holy and happy, when nothing of an adverse nature shall controul them? If then, while this rational nature continues in this locality, —— and resides in this vessel (as it were) on the earth, clothed with a dense and earthly body, not unlike some earthen vessel,(and) wholly compressed within this its vesture, —— it be such that it will mount on high in thought, will mortify the members of the body together with their lusts, by means of patience, and the restraint of the desires; will be hastened, and hastening on, to the life of those that are incorporeal; will separate and deliver itself at all times, by the precepts of wisdom from an admixture with that which is vile; and will ever delight itself beforehand (with the thoughts) that it shall soon submit to death: —— if indeed (such) be, at any time, released from the bonds and agitation of wing (common to) the cares and anxieties that are here, and thus fly away in his departure, and change the place on earth, and meet with that which he loved: —— how he will then be circumstanced, ask not. For, when he shall receive his body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption; his shall be a conversation which is equal to that of the Angels in heaven: in the semblance of light, and of the sun-beam, shall he be; and of the form, in which even the Angels of God live; and, as reason with probability holds, he shall partake at once in their superiority and immortality.

76. For, just as the form (assigned) to the seed which falls upon the earth, is given for many: the WORD, which is called the seed, now secretly exerting

itself within the same seed, but silently after the manner of a spark confined within some dense body; — and (as) this same seed, when it shall fall to the earth, and its dense clothing which encircles it from without shall dissolve through corruption; — then will it shew itself to be lively (vigorous), put in motion the power that is vested within it, and take of the material which is beneath it: then too will it begin to act, and assume its lively (energetic) nature: its old dense clothing, which is without, will it also cast off, and put on the new, which is greatly its superior; —

77. So also is the nature of the rational faculty, which is in man, (circumstanced), that it is now bound up in a corruptible body, and of its own power acts but feebly. But, should it be freed from the corruption which surrounds it, and receive (as a possession) the locality which is in heaven, and henceforth be sown and planted (as it were) in the society which (is far) beyond it, and be fitted for the clothing of heaven and of the Angels; — of what sort it shall be, when it shall partake of the life that is pure, and shall be freed from a participation in mortality, it is neither becoming in me, nor necessary for me, to say: for this will be obvious to all who can see, from the example (given). For the whole of the wheat (seed) is not subject to corruption: it is only the part that is without which perishes, when it falls to the earth: while that concealed WORD and living power which is within it, lives and remains; and the excellence which is of this is such, that it will give forth vigorous corn-ears. Of plants too, the same is the WORD (invigorating cause), and so it is with every sort of seed. And, Shall man alone be wholly and in every thing subject to corruption, when released by death? And, Shall the clothing which is without, at once and together with that WORD which resides within him, cede to corruption? And, as to the knowledge which is incorporeal, — that which partakes in all these powers; that, which on account of its superiority, is likened to God himself; — Shall it not be (considered) even as one of those seeds which fall to the earth? or: rather greatly (their) superior? for it is not the beard, nor yet the blade, but those mature and fat corn-ears of his superiority, which he shall give forth. Then, when he shall be taken away from the corruption which is of the earth, and shall have been delivered as from bonds, and shall not imprudently have bartered the conversation which is in heaven, for that on the earth; and, when he shall be at the side of God; (then) shall he in truth render as the Angels do,

the fruits which are acceptable to God: those (I say), the seed and power of which he possessed from ancient times in a mortal body, and contained as it were in an oven.

78. All these things having been said for the purpose of shewing, that the essence which is in man is intelligent and rational; let us now proceed in our discourse to those consequent upon them. Had man then, brought up as he is in the conversation that is on earth, (but) known his own greatness, and continued careful of the teaching which is of God; there could have no impediment happened to him, that when taken hence, he should not delight himself in a conversation like that of the Angels, and take part in the life which is in the kingdom of his Father who is in heaven. But, because it is not one man, nor two, nor is the multitude small; — on the contrary, it is the whole rational family on earth which has received the power to govern self — (and) because his nature, which has received the seed of the kingdom from the DIVINE WORD the King, is free; (nevertheless) he has not well availed himself of his power; but has, by means of the subsidiary arts, laboured in all vain glory, after those other things, which impel men to the bodily desires, and are advantageous to life; has become skilful in agriculture, in the building of ships, in merchandise, and in the purchasing of possessions: nor (this) only, but he has also become great from every quarter, in the abundant increase of the wealth which puts forth no zeal against any kind of lust. All these things however, which conduce to the salvation of the soul, and to that life of righteousness which is well-pleasing to God; all these, (I say,) has he annihilated in his mind from their very roots; has disregarded his own excellency, and that of the race of his brethren who are in heaven, and has honoured, through the freedom of his will, those abominable bodily lusts, more than (this) his own greatness: of the righteousness of his Father who is in heaven, and of His praise, he has also been unmindful. These irrational itchings and delusions of childhood has he chosen: these which the fools of childhood usually do, who fly from the instruction and careful training of those who would enlarge their minds; extravagantly to honour the things which are sweet for the present, but which corrupt at once both the body and soul; and to hunt out for themselves the error and foolish knowledge of that voluptuousness, which is too vain to be conceived. All mankind being then, thus (circumstanced), the Increment of wickedness, that envious (being), the

hater of every good, and deceiver as to every thing lovely, in conjunction with the wicked Demons, became their waylayer: this same, in his wicked zeal, prepared the nets, and snares, and riches, —— the abundant means of every sort (of sin,) —— against the salvation of all; and so drove them down from above into the depths of evil, that none on earth could see, but transgressed the law of their nature: and (thus), the germ of wickedness, instead of the seed of excellence, sprung up within them; and he that was more peaceful, more wise, and more rational, than all that were on the earth, so fell into the last stage of brutality and irrationality, that one of those beloved of God wept over this overthrow of their fall, and cried out saying; “*Man understood not his own honour; but was given up to be as the brute, and became assimilated to it.*”

79. On these accounts therefore, a mighty Saviour, greater than any son of man, was evidently needful to them. And such is He who anxiously undertook to provide for all, THE WORD OF GOD: He who has, like a good and loving Father, shewn by deeds His providential care over the rational souls that are on the earth; and who hastened, in the mission of Himself, to the call, and for the healing, of those who were thus fallen and perishing.

The End of the First Discussion (Book) of (Eusebius) of Caesarea.

THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHERS.

1. THE human race, O my friends, stood (thus) in need of God the Saviour : and God alone was the helper, who, could give abundance to those who had suffered loss, and life to them who had become subject to death. The advent therefore of God, and the divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all; — of him who arose (as the sun) upon mankind was necessary, because all that was upon the earth, had, through the insanity (inculcating) a plurality of gods, and the envy and solicitation of demons, become corrupted to the last stage of vice, and (immersed) in the depth of ungodly error.

2. But again, that the cause of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all among men, might the better be known, let us first of all speak on the great fall of the human race, on their lawless wickedness and iniquity : and then let us pass on to the hidden mysteries of the doctrine of this divine Revelation.

3. For, it was not as some disease which (lay) on man, and was mighty as opposed to every other; but it was, that the evil Demon so led, and ruled over, the whole human race, like a pestilence that is mortal, (and) far surpassing every thing that is (generally) evil and hateful, that he drove him who was more peaceful than any other being, to the last stage of brutality; and him who was rational, to that of being the most irrational of all. Hence it was that men, in the blindness of their souls, recognized not the God who is overall; The Cause and Maker of all; The Reverend Name of that nature of the ONLY (Begotten) which had no beginning, Him who was before all, THE WORD OF GOD; The Father of the essence which is intelligent and rational; Him who rules both in heaven and earth ; Him who is at all times present to this world, and is in it, and is the (efficient) Cause of every good to all; That providential care ; That Saviour; That Upholder; That Giver of rain, and Dispenser of light, and Prince of life; That Creator of this whole (they recognised not, I say), but gave that Reverend Name to the Sun, the Moon, the very Heavens, and the stars; nor did they confine themselves to these, —

4. But also, to matter warm and cold, wet and dry, to the very waters, the earth, the air and fire; — things which we perceive with our eyes, have neither soul nor reason ; — and to the rest of the (constituent) portions of

the world, they likewise gave the names of Neptune, Vulcan, Jupiter, Juno, and of others, and honoured them with the title of god: nor did they confine themselves to these, ——

5. But, they also made Gods of the earthy nature of the fruits of the earth, and of the provisions intended for the bodies of every kind (of animal, and named them) Ceres, Proserpine, Bacchus : and, of other things allied to these, they made Idols: nor did they confine themselves to these, ——

6. But, they hesitated not to call the cogitative faculty of their minds, and their reason, which is the interpreter of of these, also Gods. Their faculty of thought they named Minerva, and their speech Mercury. The powers inventive of moral doctrines, they called Memory, and the Muses : nor did they confine themselves to these things, ——

7. But, increasing in manifold impiety and the excess of wickedness, they made themselves Gods of their own passions; which it was becoming they should have put away, and have cured by the effort of pure reason : —— of their lust, their baser infirmities and passions; of their grosser members also fitted for corrupt acts, and of the different parts of the body. And again , the appetency to the intemperatelusts, they named Cupid, Priapus, Venus, and other things allied to these: nor did they confine themselves to these, ——

8. But, they also prostrated themselves to that which was born of the human body, and to the life which is subject to death; they made men into Gods; and published of these, after undergoing a common mortality, that they were Gods and Demigods; imagining that the divine and immortal essence moved about the sides of graves, and among the monuments of the dead: nor did they confine themselves to these things, ——

9. But, they also honoured with the Reverend name, every species of irrational animal, and noxious reptile! nor did they confine themselves to these “, ——

10. But, they also cut down trees, and hewed the rocks: the metals too of the earth, brass, iron, and other matter, they sought out, and formed into the appearances of women, forms of men, and into the likenesses of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and to these again they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these, ——

11. But, they also ministered, by means of libations and the fumes of sacrifices, to the evil demons which had insinuated themselves into these

same images, which had been set up in the innermost recesses of darkness; and to them they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these, ——

12. But, they also drew over to themselves, by means of the ties of those who used abominable incantations, bysongs and other forcible and lawless enchantments, those invisible Demons and Powers which fly in the air: and again, they availed themselves of these, as abettors of the error of the deities, which they had (so) fabricated. And thus did they set up mortal men, as the Gods of Others. For the Greeks honoured Bacchus, Hercules, Aesculapius, Apollo, and other men, with the names of Gods and Demigods ; while the Egyptians imagined of Horus, Isis, Osiris, and again of other men such as these, that they were Gods. Nor did their wise men, who are boasted of for their excessive wisdom, and the invention of Geometry, Astrology, and Arithmetic, know or understand how to weigh or to discriminate in their minds, between the distinguishing measure of the Divine power, and that of irrational mortal nature. On this account, they hesitated not to give the name of Gods, to every frightful image of the animals ; to every sort of untamed beast, and reptile; and to the fiercest animals. The Phoenicians too, named Malkuthrudun, Ousurun, and other mortal men more contemptible than these, Gods ; while the Arabians did the same to Dusarin, and Oubadon; the Getas (Goths), to Zalmacusin : the Cilicians, to Mopsus ; the Thebans, to Amphiaras. And with others, again, others, —— who differed in no respect from mortals, but were in truth men only, —— they also honoured with the name of Gods.

13. The whole of the Egyptians, therefore, at once with the Phoenicians and the Greeks, (thus) availed themselves, contrary to humanity, of every mortal species, —— even as the rising of the sun illuminates (all) the portions of the universe, —— of the very elements, of the fruits which grow out of the earth, even of their own passions; and again, even of the madness of demons, and (other) delusions; and before these, of mortal men! Nor did they set up, during their lifetimes, the doctrine which is excellent; nor did they point out to men, the instruction which attends purity of life; nor did they shew forth the requirements of (true) philosophy, or discover the practices favourable (to this) : nor did they leave behind themselves any disciples of their superiority, or deliver either precepts or writings conducing to happiness of life. On the

contrary, they busied themselves with women, and the baser lusts ; and, as it happened, — I know not by what error of the participation in the deeds of Demons, — they named (these) Gods and Demigods, and honoured (them) with sacrifices, and services (connected) with the error of enchanters! They also built Fanes and Temples (to these) both in the cities and villages: but Him who alone is beyond the universe, THE WORD OF GOD in verity, the King of all, and Maker of all, they set at nought! These same multiplied all this, in the madness and corruption of (their) mind, to such an extent, that they forthwith called any men, with whom they happened to meet, Gods; and immediately attached themselves to these same passions of mortals! And to these did they ascribe lawless adulteries, abominable deeds, and perverse lives and deaths. Nor did these things come from others, so that they could say these were their calumniators; but they themselves are the witnesses of these things, confessing the error, the sorrows, the deaths; and prior to these, the adulteries, the corruptions, of men (with men), and the rapes of women. Nevertheless, they filled all their cities, villages, and (other) places, with the Fanes, Images, and Temples (of these)!

14. Nor was it this only, but also, from the speeches which they made about their Gods, they received every provision for the life which was lawless and base; and, in the first place, corrupted by every sort of abomination, at once both their souls and bodies. And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phoenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus. Now indeed, this city aloneremains in this sickly state of folly, by way of proof of these ancient vices; when, from ancient times, many thus suffered while the disease inflicted by Demons had more abundant hold.

15. Nor was it this only, but also, the very men who rejected the gods mentioned (above), preached up, by means of hymns, elegies, sacrifices, mysteries, books, and votive offerings to Idols, that Father and Leader of all the Gods, who was overcome by bodily lust, and fell in love with Ganymede:

and, as it were in emulation of their Gods, they transgressed the bounds of nature, and remained in this excess, at a distance not to be described, or (received) as real into the hearing. They fearlessly abused each other, as the Divine declarations affirm : *“Man with man working that which was shameful, and receiving in themselves the return of reward, which was due to their error”*.

16. Nor was it this alone, but they also subverted the common mind of all, placing under an irrational Fate, and natural necessity, the constitution and essence of every thing. They led too, the lives of beasts, even the life which was no life. Nor did they enquire into the essence of the soul, or think on the righteous judgments of God. The victory attendant on virtue, they never called to mind, nor again, the punishment due to a wicked life.

17. Nor was it this alone, but they also ran as herds into the midst of the theatres, old and young together ; mothers with their sons and daughters; and, conformably with the doings (there), they contracted every base and intemperate disposition. Men and women too, being (thus) congregated together, became at once filled with intoxication (as it were) and lasciviousness! How then, could they do that which was good, when they stored not their hearing by listening to words that were pure, inculcating the fear of God? and applied not their eyes for the advantage of their souls? but (the hearing), to the instruction of sentiments that were base; and the sight, to the representation of every (sort) of lascivious-ness? For, things such as these, were those which (were presented) to the sight; (and), on which whole multitudes so fixed their attention, that in them (was evinced) the maddened excitement of the stallion, the vile pleasure (felt) over those devoured by wild beasts; (the excitement) of grains of corn parched (by the fire); (or over) those killed in the lion-hunt; but not (any feeling) belonging to human beings! And again, the impudent laugh (set up) at the vilest things; the intense and foolish desire excited by the music; the lascivious shows personating women; and the loud uproar set up at the songs! For these, indeed, and such like things, were immense multitudes of the ignorant inhabitants brought together, with those who were their Princes, their Generals, and their Governours, and became saturated (as it were) with the corruptions which debase the soul.

18. Nor was it this only, but they also built seminaries of the precepts of ungodliness both among the (country) people, and in the cities. Instead of the

precepts of righteousness, and those which were advantageous to the world ; and, instead of the doctrine which was pure, and the love of God; they received into the memory, —— through the impious babblings of the poets, in which there were corrupt recitations, and stories about their male and female deities, —— passions filled with every thing shameful, as well as hard sufferings, differing in nothing from (those of) mortal nature; (I say), through the instruction and study of the lying writings of the Dramatists, both tragic and comic, these things, corrupting and injurious (as they were) of life, they first sowed in their own souls, and afterwards in those of the young. And accordingly, (through) the iniquity, which was the first and last of every other, —— which was, at once and entirely, that of all men, of Princes and Subjects, of the Sovereigns of nations, of Lawgivers, of Armies, of the Inhabitants both of villages and cities, among both Greeks and Barbarians; —— the praise which was due, and was suitable to Him alone who is King of all, they perversely gave to that which was adverse (to Him), and called the demons that had corrupted them, (their) Gods! They sang hymns moreover, to earthly and wicked spirits, to the inanimate elements, and to the sensible portions of the universe! And (thus), the companies of the rational animals which were on the earth, rendered not the praise of the officiating priest; nor, with their brethren who are in heaven, the holy Angels and Divine Spirits, —— those who praise the King of all, —— did they render praise, the praise (I say) which is proper for such : but, on the contrary, they sang, both in their feasts and festivals, that which was foreign to propriety, and was unsuitable, to those seducing Spirits which had led the world astray! To them, too they gave the honour of worship; insomuch, that henceforth, the whole element of the earth, uniformly with all nations throughout the whole of creation, became nothing better than the vessel in the storm, whose entire and violent wreck in the extreme depths of perdition, is momentarily threatened!

19. Much therefore, on account of all these things, was God the Saviour and (only) helper, needed by mankind. Had some societies only been led to this state of error, the evil would indeed have been (but) small. But now, the Princes of cities, the Leaders of the nations, the Kings of countries, the Heads of territories, and the Honourable of the nations, had at once become fully, and completely, diseased in this same error of Demons, and of a plurality of Gods. And behold! again, even those, —— who boasted themselves among

the Greeks of (their) philosophy, and made the profession, that in them was knowledge superior to any that was in the many ; were pompous in the streets, swelling with pride, and casting their mantles loosely about them ; had wandered in the great and wide earth; had freely taken from other nations this magnificence of doctrine about things; from this place, geometry; from another quarter, arithmetic; and again from another place, music, the art of healing, and those other things, which have their being in rational experiment: for, these things, and others like them, they got together from every place: — these fell (nevertheless), into a deadly and ungodly state of mind! By the mere discovery of persuasive words moreover, some of these set it up, — as if they would make no experiments even after the truth, — that indivisible bodies (atoms), having no extent, or having projecting parts, and infinite, were, forsooth, the origin of all things! These same too, determined *Rest* to be the extreme good : that which is, and evidently (so), a greater corruption than all the (other) vices. For, What could be more worthy of honour than *Rest*, with those who laid it down, that there is in this something which exists, neither Providence, nor God, nor soul that is immortal, nor intelligent essence, nor WORD OF GOD which is above all, nor (yet) beginning, nor end? and, that the things alone that are irrational and inanimate, which are indivisible and subtile bodies (atoms), and fall not, on account of their excessive smallness, under the (observation of the) senses; — that they should predetermine these very things, which are inanimate, irrational, as being without beginning, ungenerated, and in their multitude infinite, and as having, from times not to be comprehended, been dispersed just as it has happened? — still, things being thus, have affirmed, that these were the cause of this universal order; and, that there was neither God, nor Providence, nor Reason which viewed, or which governed, the whole? But, even if there were, that He would not possess the being of any one thing; neither would He give it to others! And, as my judgment is, the “*Rest*” which was (so) lovely to them, and which they also attributed to God Himself, — just as the doings of those were who arose as Philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and as was the whole traditionary (doctrine) of those amongst the Greeks, — was that of (this) life. And, being thus eminent, they approached the multitudes; at one time, walking to the temples with the inhabitants (generally) ; at another, shewing themselves to be those who feared the Gods;

because of the fear of punishment (otherwise to be expected) from the law. But such were these, who contended for *Rest* (as the extreme good).

20. Others too, fixed the limits of Providence as far off as the moon; the company of those too, who were of the school of Aristotle, excluded it from every other portion of the world: which same also, determined the extreme good to be, neither Virtue, nor Philosophy, unless indeed, it happened to be attended by wealth of possession, abundance of gold and of silver, Family, and and the glory which takes with the many! And, What could hinder such from boasting themselves in these things? — men, who had shut up, as with bolts and doors at the distance of the moon, the Providence which is over all? or, that they should affirm, that the intelligent andrational soul which is in man, is mortal; and, that it is nothing, but even as the body, or as its colour, or its form? They usually term it moreover, *Entelechia*. Nor did they, by any means, place in apposition with the chief good, either the life of Philosophy, or the superiority of rule: on the contrary, they lapsed into the things of accident, riches, greatness, and family: (affirming), that with these existed the superiority that was worthy of reason ; and that, without these things, it was nothing! Nor had the wise man any thing superior, unless he were also rich : nor had he, who was careful about purity of life, any thing good about him, unless he were a person of family! nor, would justice itself, or the completebeauty of virtue in the person of any one, be sufficient for the life of happiness, unless he happened to have a complete symmetry of bodily limbs! These men then, considered these things as being apart, in a place (removed) from the things pertaining to men, (and) higher than the moon : that a Godhead existed; but affirmed, that the providence of God looked not to the things on earth. Nor did they recognize the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF GOD, the Preserver of all things; but drew near for the purpose of reverencing those Deities, that were in certain places, and in the cities: professing themselves to be wise in some things, with those who knew them ; but performing others in their deeds. In their writings and common conversation, they made the oaths of their Gods: but, in their minds, no such thing existed. On the contrary, they submitted to this for the sake of the applause of the many. So that hence these same were Demons, rather than men, (and) to be despised by every sort of sound Philosophy.

21. Others also, besides these who boasted themselves (as being) the best

of Philosophers, dared with ungodlymouth to affirm, that God is a body; and, that His nature differs in no respect from fire. And this is the extreme error of the Stoics, who say of this sensible world, that it is God : and (so) set up a doctrine, which is impious and all-corrupting. For (they affirm), that the operative Cause, and the passiveness of matter, are of one and the same essence; and, that the maker and the made, are both bodies : and also, that the King of all, God who is above all, differs in nothing from sensible fire; but, that he mixes Himself up at once, with every thing, — just as fire does in (its) progress, — at the appointed times. But great is the sin (to affirm), that God is subject to change; and again, to combustion! This therefore, is the doctrine of the Stoic Philosophers, that all being, even the whole world, shall in time be mixed up with God in fire: and, (that) the whole shall effect a change, as in seed; and, that out of this, universal order shall again be produced, just as it was at the first: and that all these are Gods, as are all the portions of the world; and, because the whole consists of all its parts, the entire universe itself wholly constitutes the Deity! These same again affirm, that this intelligent and reasonable soul which is in man, is corruptible, just as it is corporeal. What then, could hinder such from daring to speak against God, the King of all? or again, from determining, that these souls (consist) of matter, and body? and, that they are nothing else but the dense smoke, and fumes of bodies? and again, that after the close of life, they shall continue, during the times destined for them? and (this) not of all, but only of the souls of the Philosophers ? and, that at last, with the general conflagration, these also shall burn together with God, and the whole universe? and, that at the same time, the souls of the wicked and of the just shall be dissolved ; the thing's also of the just, together with those of the atheists, shall be fused, as it were, by one and the same fire? and again, that the worlds shall be reborn from this consumption of universal fire, differing in nothing, but in every thing, similar to the former; so that again, as from a beginning, these (worlds) shall in those be reproduced; as shall this same traditionary (life). Modes of life again, such as shall in all respects be similar, and not differing: the same fashions too, customs, regulations, and passions, shall exist within these. In the same manner also, the same sorrows, honours, recreations, oppressions, shall subsist among these, and happen to the same individuals. So that Helen, and the calamities of Ilium, (Troy) may again be expected: and again, Anytus ,

and Melitus, and the deadly poison of Socrates: again too, the contentions of the Philosophers themselves: the same divisions on the same subjects; and, at last again, shall the whole be consumed by fire ; and again, after it has been burnt, again shall it be restored anew: and again shall consist of the same reducible materials. And indeed these, adhered thus violently to their error!

22. The descendants however, of the Philosophers, who were named the “primitive (students of) Physics”, (and) who preceded all (others), laid the origin of all upon the inanimate Elements, and recognized neither God, nor Providence, nor Creator, nor Maker of any thing; but vainly, emptily and falsely, arrogated to themselves the name and show of Philosophers: some of them affirming the earth, and dry substance, to be the origin of all; others the ocean, the Parent of all ; for thus they named the humid substance and waters : others, fire; others, theair; and others, a compound of these. They also introduced many male, as they likewise did, female Deities. Marriage too, and the bringing forth of children, they perverted by natural metaphors, and the specious diction of the fictitious stories of the Poets, to the adorning of (this their) vain glory. So that these also, fell down again, as it were by perverseness, from the heights above, upon the material elements and sensible portions of the universe!

23. Others however, exclusive of these, determined the reverse of all those mentioned ; — that there was nothing divine in (all) this which exists; neither God that was over all; nor the (Deities) which were in certain places, nor that superior name, nor the imposition of (plastic) hand upon matter, were things really existing: so that they proceeded to the greatest extent of impiety.

24. Plato alone, of all the Greeks, (as) it seems to me, adhered more eminently to (the true) Philosophy ; and held correctly, respecting that good Being who is the First, and Cause of all; and became truly wise, respecting the Second (Cause), who is the Creator of all.

25. He also established (it) justly and well, that the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and wholly and at once, the whole world, were made by the God of all.

26. He also affirmed of the essence of the soul, that it is incorporeal and foreign to corruption. He was also cognizant of the intelligent Essences; and confessed, that the mind which is over all, (and) which we call THE WORD OF GOD, is King of all. To the same he gave the Rule over all, after the

manner of a shipmaster, who well and duly provides for all: Him he also shewed was Governour. This man alone, of all the Greeks, confessed — just as we do, — of THE WORD OF GOD the Creator of the world. But, he is at hand, and we may hear (this) from himself, when discoursing of God thus : —

27. “ Let us render honour, neither to that (heavenly body) which is of the year, nor to that of the month. Nor let us cut off to these indeed, any portion : neither the time in which it proceeds in its orbit, and completes the visible world, which THE WORD OF GOD has set in order. Of all who are in it, he who is happy will have wondered(at Him), and afterwards acquired such love, as to investigate (Him) as far as mortal nature is able.

28. This man moreover, now calls THE DIVINE WORD, the Father, the Lord of all, and also Governour of all, in the very same words, and names Him just as we do ; expressing himself thus : —

29. “This Epistle, all you who consist of three should read, particularly in society: but, if not, between two in common, as each may be able. As often as ye shall be able, avail yourselves of compact (together), and of the Law; and, by that Lord, who is justice (itself) swear ye, at once with care ; — not without wisdom, — and with erudition the sister of care; and, by that Governour of all, of the things that are, and of those that shall be; and, by the Father of the Governour and of the (efficient) Cause, the Lord, swear ye: — Him, whom, if we are truly Philosophers, we shall all clearly know, as our power (may be, being) of those who are happy men.”

30. This (philosopher) also taught, that there was a just Judgment of God, and that He would render to every man as he should deserve: he very divinely shewed too, that the extreme good was this, that (men) be like to the Godhead; be attached, and made (as it were) twin brothers, to virtue. Nevertheless, he also fell justly, (and as it was) likely, more than they all under reprehension. Why? Because he knew God as He was; but honoured Him not as God. He concealed the truth too, and put forth falsehood to the many. To those whom he loved, he spoke openly and well, as a Philosopher, of the Father and Creator of this whole. But, with the inhabitants of Athens, he conducted himself as no Philosopher; and went down to the Piraeus to Socrates, at his word, to pray to the Goddess, and, at once, to complete the festival of Bendis, together with all the inhabitants. And again, he himself said of his master, that,

when the end of his life drew near, he commanded them to sacrifice a cock! Nor did the best of Philosophers blush; — nor was it concealed : — that, the Father of his philosophy commanded them to propitiate the Deity, by means of fabricated earthly matter, and a little blood ; — the body of a dead bird! And again, he called those (Deities) that were honoured in the cities, Demons: and this he did well. But, he further confessed, that these same were, and that they were formerly known as being, mortal men. And (here) he spoke the truth. Nevertheless, he advised that (men) should worship these same as Gods! And, because he submitted himself, with the multitudes, to the error of these, he may well have been memorialized as (implicated) in their pretences, because he concealed the word of truth under the show of Philosophy, and attached himself to falsehood. Hear therefore, the things that he has said in the Timaeus: —

31. “ To speak of the other Demons, and to know their power, is too great for us. We assent however, to those who have said before us, that they were the sons of the gods, even as they have affirmed : and they well knew their own fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the gods, when behold, they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs. But, as they affirmed, that they narrated respecting those who were their own (fathers) ; (so) we, adhering to the law, believe. Thus therefore, as these affirmed a generation respecting these gods, (so) let it be; and be affirmed, that the Ocean and Tethys were the sons of the Earth and the Heavens; and of these same, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea (Ops): and of Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno: and those others, whom we know were all of them brothers of those mentioned: and others again, the children of these.”

32. You (now) view the very Philosopher — who is from above, and of the exemplars that are above the world, and of the intelligent essences which are incorporeal, — beneath on the earth and on the ocean, immersed as it were in the depths of error! He has moreover, introduced a generation of the gods, — him who could himself alone, say with a mind, the voice of which was more elevated than that of man, —

“What is that which always is, but that it might exist, has no being? And it is this same which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and exists in all time according to itself. But, that which is to be considered by the sense that is irrational, and was, and is corruptible; that it might fully exist, it

never had even being.”

34. This selfsame Combatant therefore, now honours this identical (something,) — this which was, and is corruptible, but never fully existed, on account of its elemental and dissoluble character, — with the name of gods! And again the very same, (virtually) reprehending the expositors of this story of the gods, says of them, that it was neither from probabilities nor from strong proofs, that they spoke and put forth the error of these Deities. And, having accused them in this manner, he afterwards says, “We give our assent to them, and approve ;” when, behold! they had said nothing truly! Besides, when he called them the sons of the gods, he clearly knew, that he was introducing their fathers who were, like all (other) men, subject to mortality! And again, he memorializes mortal gods, and mortal sons, who were like to their fathers, and who plainly said that they knew their own fathers. Nor does he conceal himself when he says, “It is impossible therefore, that we should not believe the sons of Gods;” still, he immediately accuses them, that they had advanced neither probabilities, nor strong proofs, and adds, “We approve of them, as saying that they narrated respecting their own” (fathers.) He says not — and (this) fully and carefully, — that they narrated; but, as “they said that they narrated;” and, we “assent to them as saying, that they were the sons of the gods.” And, Whence had he learned this, that he should affirm just as they had said? For (says he) they said this: It was not I. That is; Still to them, when speaking of themselves, and unable to establish (the assertion) respecting themselves, either by probabilities or strong proofs, we nevertheless give our credence! He says too after this: “ Thus therefore, as these affirmed the generation of the gods, (so) let it be;” necessarily, says he, just as these say! Not indeed as my opinion is, but as theirs (was,) let these things be affirmed!

35. You perceive therefore, that he advises it as proper, that we should adhere to error! And, For what cause does he set this up? Not because of any other thing, except the Law : that is, because of the death that was suspended on the Law! And this he openly acknowledges when he says, “ We, adhering to the Law, believe.” The fear then of man, and of the Law, dismissed from the Philosophers, that Fear, and Law, which (were) of the truth! Where then, are those excellent and wise things, which the same elegant tongue, — (and) wholly for the sake of which, — said in astonishing language, and thus

magnificently? ——

36. “For there is neither law, nor any one ordinance superior to erudition; nor is it just, that the mind be subservient or subjected to any thing: it is, on the contrary, Prince of all, if indeed it be free in its nature.” This same too, is he who said, that “Wheresoever a man places himself, thinking it to be best, there he ought, as I think, to remain, (even) in the storm; making no account of any thing, neither of death, nor of any other thing, before things hateful.” He also said afterwards; “For this, that one should fear death, O men, would be nothing else, but that we should suppose him to be wise when he is not so.”

37. How then can you, O Philosopher! be moved by death after these expressions? or, draw near to honour” mortal Gods, on account of the Law? And, How can you dignify these, as sons of the Gods, in order that we might approve, and give (our) assent to them? In your own words you both reproach, and chastise (them), as having said nothing soundly, or by way of proof, respecting (these) their own Fathers. How then, having thus accused them, can you now advise men to approve of them? But, of these their Fathers, let us make inquiry : ——

38. Of the Earth, you say, and the Heavens, the Ocean and Tethys were the progeny: and again, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea. And so after all these, Jupiter and Juno! Jupiter, after the Earth and Heavens! Jupiter, after Saturn! and Rhea, after the whole of these! What say you, O Combatant? —— Where is the great Jupiter, who drove the flying chariot in the Heavens? Or, Is not that a sentiment of thine, over which every body cries out and wonders, when thou thus sayest: ——

39. “The same great Jupiter therefore, drove and guided the flying chariot in the heavens, and to the same adhered the hosts (both) of the Gods and of the Demons?”

40. But, I know not whence Jupiter is to be viewed, after these (viz.) the Earth, the Sea, the Ocean, Rhea, and Saturn, mortals! or How, according to this sentiment of thine, we can give our assent to that of those who said before us, that “they are the sons of the Gods, just as they affirmed; as they clearly knew their own Fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the Gods, when, behold! they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs.” And he adds; “Thus therefore just as they affirmed a generation, respecting these Gods (so) let it be, and be affirmed.” After this he makes a

long story, which is that of the generation of the Gods, (as) related by the Poets. And, upon this He assures us and says, that from Saturn and Rhea were Jupiter and Juno, and all those whom we know ; and the brothers of these, are they all said to be; and others again, who were the children of these.

41. Do you observe then, how this man goes on stating, — stating too not things that are not difficult, but impious, and those which are directly opposed to his own Philosophy? For this is he who in the Republics, drivesaway contemptuously (and) entirely from his commonwealth, those whom he here calls the sons of the Gods! — those ancients (I say) who spoke of the Divinity of these; Homer himself, Hesiod, and prior to these, Orpheus! But now, the same Philosopher advises, that we give credence to these; calling them the sons of the Gods! He supplicates too, — subsequently to the earth and the heavens, and to that humid substance which he names the Ocean, (implicated) in generation and corruption! — that Father of all, both of men and Gods; and Juno, with those others succeeding them, who — as he affirms — are said to be their brothers; and confesses, that they are the sons of those who are of the Earth, and of the Ocean: and he afterwards advises, that we should worship these as Gods! Where then is that multitude of intellectual Essences? And, Where that incorporeal Form which is beyond the world? or, that Divine story about the nature that has neither colour nor form? And, if indeed every soul be immortal, Why dost thou subject to mortal beings, those that are immortal? And, to the bodies of Demons, that which is Incorporeal? The intelligent and rational Essence too, to those that are of sense, and subject to corruption? It seems right to me therefore, to consider this man more reprehensible than (all) the rest; since an attachment, on account of the kindred character of his doctrines, drew me to him. For, as it appears to me, this man alone of all the Greeks, attached himself to the outward portals of the truth, and shewed, in many (of his) sentiments, a relationship with us. Nevertheless, such cannot be honoured by the truth; because he is, as it appears to me, more reprehensible by it than allothers. For he, — whose (main) desire was to live, while those things which attached themselves to his doctrine (virtually) effected his condemnation to death; and, while his opinion was that, (these) were no Gods;. — he did nevertheless submit himself (to them), as if he recognized no other life, but that only which was present.

42. The Peripatetics too, so attached, themselves to a belief, similar to that of the Originator of this Philosophy, that they supposed the soul which is in man to be mortal; and affirmed, that its form and body, was (what they termed) the *Entelechia*. For the sake of the present life, — which alone they acknowledged, — they submitted to the many. They believed too, that those were never Gods, which were (made) such by the law of the commonwealth: they submitted themselves (nevertheless to these) through the fear of death, and of the punishment of the Law.

43. The Stoics again, who taught that all was body, and that this sensible world alone was God, and that the (constituent) portions of this were Gods, persuaded themselves to do the things — although these might be odious, — which were conformable to these their precepts! And, because they called the (constituent) portions of the world Gods, and worshipped the earthy substance, How could they escape severe reprehension? These too, as they determined that the Elements were the origin of all things, worshipped the Elements accordingly.

44. He however (i. e. Plato) determined, as by divine revelation, what that is “which exists in all time, but which could not be (of itself) ;” and what that is “which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and (is) in all time according to itself.” He also said, in what way it exists; stating openly, well, and wisely, (and) in plain terms, the true account of the Deity, as (its) nature is, in these words: “God therefore, according to our former discourse, holds the beginning, middle, and end, of this all which exists: and, proceeding according to nature, He rightly disposes (it). And to Him does justice ever adhere, awarding punishment to those who swerve from the Divine Law.” But, How came he to swerve from the Divine Law, and to think defectively of the justice which is over all? and to put forth for us, these laws of mortal men? this Philosopher too, — this (I say), who could send the soul above the curvature of the heavens, — to fear Death? Besides, I cannot think that this same man held soundly of the immortality of the soul, because he made the notion of the vulgar his own. For, it was not (according to this) that the souls of men only were immortal; but also, (those) of dogs, hedgehogs, ants, horses, asses, and of the rest of the irrational animals ; and, that (these) differed in nothing, as to their essence, from the souls of the Philosophers! He (also) affirmed after the Egyptian manner, that these same effected a change into

every sort of body ; those of men being transfusable into the beastly nature. On these accounts, he is as worthy of reprobation in this case, as in that in which he gave his approval, but lied on the other side! And, although this was (such) an astonishing man, that he could apprehend the Maker and Creator of this whole; nevertheless, as he put not forth the word of righteousness, he is particularly deserving of the reprehension of every man : because “ *he knew God, but honoured Him not as God; but worshipped and served the creature, exclusive of the Creator.*” He also named those Gods, and worshipped them (as such), which were (supposed to be) fixed in visible bodies; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, confessing at once, and at the same time, that they were made, were perishable, and compounded in their nature of fire, earth, and at the same time, of the rest of the elements! And these same he worshipped, he honoured, and called them Gods! And then again, he afterwards confessed that these very same (Deities) were both dissoluble, and subject to corruption! But we may hear him, — as the thing said is at hand, — saying in the Timaeus: —

45. “Gods of the Gods, of whom I am the Creator: every thing therefore, that has been bound together, is dissoluble; hence, because you came into being, in order to exist, you are not immortal: neither (are you) wholly indissoluble.” And again (speaking) on their being, whence this is, and how to be determined, he says: “What fire is to air; such the air is to the water; and the water to the earth : out of which He bound up and established the visible and sensible heavens. And, by means of these things, and out of them, which are thus and the number of which is four, the body of the world came into being.” After this he says : “And, as to the existence of time, in order that time might be, the Sun, the Moon, and the five other Stars, which have the title of wandering (planetary), came into existence; (and this) for its determination, preservation, and calculation. So God made each one of these bodies, and placed them (each) in (its) course.” And again, he says of the heavens, how they existed in all time; there being no beginning of the essence (of these) not even one: or being, of what sort this was in its primitive commencement. He then turns his discourse to his soul, and says, “it became existent, is visible, is subject, to sense, and has a body: and, that all such things are thus subject to sense, and, that those which are subject to sense, are apprehended by thought, and (so) perceived to be existences”.

46. Was it not therefore, lapsing far from soundness of mind, that he, who spoke so orderly and well of these things, should call them Gods? that he should confess also, that they were made out of the perishable and corporeal matter of fire, water, air, and earth? and affirm that they were subject to dissolution, and in their nature corruptible? and, again, should name these selfsame beings Gods to be honoured? For, What participation can that Name and Honour have, which is the Cause of all things, with bodies that are subject to sense, and to dissolution? Or, What sort of companionship of the WORD, inseparable from Him who is in all time, but cannot be, (i. e. as we are, subject to corruption), with that which always was, but never had an existence (of its own), so that he should call these Deities God? For, if He is truly God, He who exists in all time, but has not that he might be (as we are) ; so far as He existed not thus, He was no God. But if he be God, who was at all times, but never existed (of himself): whatever he might otherwise be, he is no God. And, What sentiment can be more impious than this? For, the two things are opposed in their natures ; — this, which is apprehended by reason and knowledge; and that, which is to be considered by irrational sense: — this too, which is capable of action : and that, which is passive. How (I ask) can such opposites deserve one (and the same) name? For, this would be, as though a man should wonder at the science of the architect, but should attach the honour (due to him) to the work that was by him ; and (so) invert the order (of things)! And, should any one name the ship, the shipmaster; or the coachman, the chariot with its horses; so likewise, would he act most foolishly, who should dare to name the Creation of God, Gods; when behold! it had not escaped him, — but he had openly confessed, — that they were bound up in the bands of God the Creator of all, and (affirmed, that they) were constituted out of the inanimate elements, fire, water, air, and earth! Nevertheless even this man thus (taught)!

47. But, What necessity can there now be, that I should bring to light, how the wise men collected themselves together in ranks, as it were, sectioned themselves off, separated, and mightily armed themselves against one another, just as in battle array, and met with shields, spears, and hosts, — as one of the Poets says, “Behold the abundance of the uproar thickened — of the destroying and the perishing?” — for Plato termed their warfare with one another, the conflict of Giants when he thus spoke, —

48. “And behold! the conflict between them might be assimilated to that of Giants, because of the contention they had with one another about matter.”

49. Nevertheless, Plato himself said these things either against the Philosophers who were before him, or against those who were his contemporaries: and, that these also, — (as) he also afterwards cries out, — were those who took up arms against him, the evidence is clear. For Aristotle, who arranged himself against Plato, went off with his whole school from his doctrines. Others again, the Juniors afterwards arose, who attacked the philosophical notions of Aristotle; and, on the other hand, animadverted on the Stoics. Others, the Sceptics, put forth Pyrrho and *the reserve*: and, at once, ridiculed every body! For, they all fully equipped themselves for a mighty war of soul against one another: and (this) by means of words, fell moreover, but little short of arming themselves, fighting, and attacking one another, with spears and shields! Where it was any thing but right, they divided: but, where it was necessary they should contend with all their power, — I know not how it was, — they agreed; and particularly in the error of a multiplicity of Gods! They agreed (I say) in that, which before all men, and more than all men, they knew was a non-entity! That is to say, the Epicureans, (agreeing) with the Stoics: the followers of Aristotle, with those of Plato: the professors of Physics, with the Sceptics; (these) one and all, together with their wives, their daughters, and the ignorant crowd, going to the Temples, and presenting themselves for the purpose of worshipping with (their) vows, as Gods, the inanimate Idols, (formed) in the likeness of men: and these they honoured with libations, fumes, blood, and the sacrifices of irrational animals: shewing by this means, — and in this one thing only did they relax their enmity towards one another, — that they all studiously gave their assent to this their error. And (again), when the truth was laid open to them, they opposed it! For it was right, that where their knowledge was correct, there should they have shewn their character to be firm: that they should have contended and warred for the truth; and, had it been necessary, they should have even died for it: (and) should have received it readily in the love (thereof), as men boasting themselves that they were Philosophers. These same persons were therefore, friendly to one another in this, that they brought themselves together for the sake of falsehood: and, about those things, on which it was unbecoming they should contend, — because of the hidden

and unknown properties of these, — they contended as if it had been for the truth; readily too was their contention carried on about shadows, while they attacked and reproached one another, with innumerable wounding expressions. But, What need can there be, that (I should record) the contentions of the Philosophers against one another, their controversial expressions, and the common warfare which they set up, and in which they fell; since they availed themselves of human wisdom (only), and of the reasoning of the mortal mind: God the Teacher not having presented himself to them?

50. How was it then? — How, that those who contended about these things, had no God; when, behold! there was a multitude of Deities among them? — since that of Delphos, and that of Lebadia, was (each) a Diviner? — that of Colophon gave responses? — — ‘that of Miletus was also a Diviner? — and another was crying out from another quarter? Nevertheless, not even one of these could so teach these wise men, that they could apprehend the truth! All of them too worshipped these, as did their Fathers; and all the Greeks confessed, that they were gods: yet, they were not the more assisted in the discovery of the doctrines which are divine; when, behold! there was nothing hindering them from being forthwith (so) instructed in the truth, (or) from availing themselves of the Gods, who were on the earth and at hand, as (their) Teachers. Nor should they have injured, and reviled one another ; but, should have ceased from dispute, and have enquired of the Gods about the matters of contention; and so have learned the truth, as it were from Physicians, and (thence) have received advantage. And first, it was the duty of the school of Epicurus to have learned not to be godless, and not to have subjected themselves to “*Rest*” (as the chief good) : nor so to have infatuated themselves with ridiculous (notions), as to ascribe to subtile and indivisible bodies the power of making the universe; but to have persuaded themselves from the Gods, when (so) taught of the things respecting them. It was also the duty of the school of Aristotle, — who saw with their own eyes the Temples, Fanes, and Idols (that were) on earth : not one (only) but myriads (of these), in every city and place, — to have examined them as to their power: and, from the fact, no more to have confined their discussions about Providence, either to the (regions) above the heavens, or even to (those) above the moon; but, to have persuaded themselves, that there were Gods also on the

earth, and that they exercised a providential care over the men among whom they resided. And, as it was in their power to learn from these same their own (Deities), they should no more have contended with those that were arrayed against them, as to whether the soul was mortal, or immortal. They should therefore, have asked the God who was at hand, and (so) have received, as from the Gods, the true decision (of this question). Thus also, (it was the duty) of the Stoics; and thus too, of the Platonists: thus also, of the Sceptics who are termed Pyrrhonists : and thus also, of those who were in former times styled the Philosophers of Physics, that they should not have desisted from inquiry as to the truth, nor have supposed, as those do who play at chess, that every thing coming into their mind was truth. They should, on the contrary, have asked the Gods who were residing among them about every thing that was unknown: but not even one of the Wise Men has done this, nor did it even enter his mind! Was it then, that they were godless, and evil-minded towards the Gods, that (the task) was unwelcome to them, and (that) they acted thus? But, thus were they all at once godless; and the Philosophers appear to have been particularly so, and much more wicked than those who were unintellectual: those (I say), who made it no unwelcome task to enquire of the Gods about the taking of wives; the taking of a journey; blindness, or the infirmity of the body : — these too, were readily heard: and to those, who so sought did (the Gods), not invidiously, give their divinations. But, behold! it was any thing but becoming in the wise, to have enquired of those Gods who were among them, and to whom they rendered worship and honour, respecting their bodies (only) ; but not about the healing of their souls. And, as not even one of these marvellous Philosophers did this ; it remains, that we assure ourselves of one of two things; (viz.) Either, that these men were no Philosophers; or, that those (Deities) were no Gods. For if, when (these) were really Gods, they set them at nought; they were no Philosophers, but were fools and ignorant men: but, if they had in truth made any approach to the love of wisdom, and abounded in knowledge more than the many; it is clear that they would, with pure conscience, have laughed at the folly of the many ; and it is likely (they did so).

51. But, if those who have been mentioned, were really Gods; Why was it, that the conversation which is on earth, happened to be that of their lives? Was it for the common advantage of all? If indeed this was the case; Why did they

not give up those (their) vain stories, and preach to all men the things, that would aid in the acquirement of virtue? And, Why did they not give themselves to the enacting of laws for man, corrective of the common conduct? and (to the performance) of deeds, pointing out the life of virtue to all? And, Why was not their care more particularly exerted for healing the passions of the soul, than (the sufferings) of the body? — rather to deliver those who fled to them, from foolishness and ignorance, than from the loss of possessions, when they saw that men desired wisdom ; that they were labouring night and day for the discovery of the truth ; and were seeking (both) by labour and contention, for a decision as to the reverence due to these same Gods? And again, (these) went in among the Diviners, and offered sacrifices just as their Fathers had done; and honoured those (Gods) with the honours which they had by custom retained. Why then, did they not receive these with terms of affection? praise them for their labours? and, so delivering them from the contention which they had with one another, give them such aid from their labours, that they should become truly wise in God, and be (real) Philosophers? — and (thus) teach them the science of that true Philosophy, which is free from falsehood? But, as they did not this, they made it plain to every man's perception, that they were no Gods: and, that those who boasted that they were Philosophers, were unworthy of that name! For, had they been truly wise, they never could have supposed that these were Gods: inasmuch as they had afforded to them nothing worthy of Deity, nor had it in their power to teach those, who were anxiously careful about the knowledge respecting them, the things pertaining to Deity.

52. Thus these (Philosophers) became in (appearance) what they (really) were not: besides, they presented themselves to the many, and called those Gods, which they knew more accurately than all (other) men, were no such things! What sort of name these deserve, it is not necessary for me further to say, except, that those who made their locks to flow down, frequented the Temples together with tavern-keepers, with men the refuse (of society), and harlots! And, Did these wise men (then) ask of the Gods the things advantageous to the Philosophers? There is no one who will say this of them! — nor, in like manner, how it was, that no instructing Deity presented himself to afford the erudition which would aid them. But (the things asked) were, — as the Diviners (themselves) say, — the commodities and helps

of life generally; the discovery of a slave, if one had happened to run away; of a broken vessel; the purchasing of an estate; merchandise; the taking of a wife; or, other things similar to these. About these it was, that their admiration and reverence were called forth to their Gods; (and this) in the little blood of a cock, the immolation of a ram or of a bull; the (offering of) cups and bowls, or of a little wheat flower, or of purchased crowns! And, Had they any truth — teaching Deity, as to the things (comporting) with virtue, or to those which respected the healing of the soul? No, not (even) one! On this account, these Philosophers appear to me, to have laboured insolently in (their) warfare against one another, greatly to have aggravated their mutual differences, and to have departed (willingly) from the real knowledge of God : and accordingly, one might hear from them in words, of the Gods, the sons of the Gods, of Demigods, and of good Demons : but in deeds, every thing was adverse: and in opposing, they boasted themselves of opposition! Just as if one should be willing to point out the sun, with the luminaries that are in the heavens; but be unwilling to lift up his eyes to Him who is above (these): should cast down both his hands and soul to the earth, and seek among the clay and mud, the Powers that are in the heavens! In this manner therefore, had the whole race of men persuaded themselves, together with their Philosophers, and Kings, — through an estrangement of the intellect, and the error of wicked Demons, — that the rational and Divine Essence which is above the heavens, and beyond the universe, existed in place, below, among material bodies, and subject to the passions of both mortals, and immortals! And, since this entire estrangement of mind had infected the whole human race, Have we not soundly affirmed that God the Saviour, a Divine Revelation, and a common Helper of all, was required for this our state of life?

53. And again, all had been led to such a state of insanity, that they even sacrificed their friends to those who were thought to be Gods: nor did they spare their own nature; on the contrary, they put to death, through the madness and bondage of their minds, even their only children, and the friends of their children! And, What madness can be greater than this, that (men) should sacrifice human beings, and pollute all their cities and houses with their own blood? And, behold! Do not all the Greeks bear testimony to these same things? And, Is not the whole of their histories filled with the records of them?

54. For, the Phoenicians annually sacrificed (some of) their friends, and their only children to Saturn! To the same again, was a man also sacrificed in Rhodes on the sixth of the month Conun (March)! This same custom too greatly obtained, and was thus changed : They kept one of those, who had been publicly condemned to death, until the feast of Saturn; and, when the feast arrived, they brought the man out beyond the gate, over against the Image of Aristobule (Diana): they then gave him wine, and put him to death.

55. In the (place) also which is now called Salamis, but formerly Coronea, was a man sacrificed in the month named among the Cypriots Aphrodisius, to Argaula the daughter of Cecrops and daughter-in-law of Argaulis! And this custom continued to the time of Diomedes; and was (then) so changed, that they sacrificed the man to Diomedes! And in one (and the same) inclosure was the Temple of Minerva, of Argaula, and of Diomedes. He then, who was to be sacrificed, was accordingly — when his equals in age had led him three times round the altar, — stricken on the stomach with a lance by the priest. He was then wholly burnt on a fire that had been got together. This law however, Diphilus, — who was king of Cyprus in the times of Seleucus the Theologian, — abrogated: He also changed this custom for that of sacrificing a bull.

56. The law too, whereby men were sacrificed in Heliopolis (a city) of Egypt, was abrogated by Amosis, as Manetho attests in what he wrote about primitive justice.

57. Men were also sacrificed to Juno, and were chosen just as immaculate calves were sought after, and were slain! There were three moreover, sacrificed in one day! But Amosis commanded that equivalents of wax, resembling these, should be substituted for them.

58. They also sacrificed a man to the Omadian Bacchus in Chios, when they had torn him (to pieces)! and also in Tenedos, as Euelpis the Carystian affirms!

59. The Lacedemonians also, as Apollodorus affirms, sacrificed a man to Mars! The Phoenicians too, in their greater calamities, whether wars, pestilences, or famines, sacrificed one of their friends, who was selected (for this purpose), to Saturn. The history too of the Phoenicians — composed by Sanchoniatho in the language of the Phoenicians, and (which) Philo Biblius translated into the Greek, in Eight Books, — is full of this, (viz.) as to those

who were (so) sacrificed.

60. Ister also says, in (the) collection of select sacrifices, that the Curetes formerly sacrificed boys! And Pallas, who collected abundantly on the mysteries of Mithra, affirms, that the sacrifices of men entirely ceased every where, in the days of Hadrian the Emperour.

61. A Virgin was also annually sacrificed to Minerva, in Laodicea of Syria; but now a hart is.

62. The Carthaginians also, who were of Libya, made the same sacrifice ; which Iphicrates caused to cease. The Dumatians too, of Arabia, sacrificed a boy annually: him they buried beneath the altar, and this they used as an Idol!

63. Philarchus too has left it on record, that all the Greeks commonly sacrificed men, before they went out to battle!

64. But I omit the Thracians and Scythians; and also the Athenians, who put to death the daughter of Erectheus and Praxithia. But, Whom has it escaped, that even to this time, a man is sacrificed in the *Great City* (Megalopolis) at the feast of Jupiter Latiaris? For even up to this time, it was not only to Jupiter in Arcadia, nor to Saturn in Carthage, that they all commonly sacrifice men ; but, through the remembrance of the law, they shed their own blood upon the altars every year! The most select Philosophers also attest, that things were thus: for Diodorus who abridged the Bibliotheca has affirmed, that the Libyans publicly sacrificed two hundred of the sons of the nobles to Saturn! Nor did they add to the sacrifices, fewer than three hundred others! Hetoo, who wrote the history of the Romans, whose name is Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) has said, that Jupiter and Apollo required upon a time, human sacrifices from those in Italy who were called the Aborigines. These however, had sacrificed to the Gods that select part (Tithes) both of their fruits and flowers, which was required of them. But, as they had offered no human sacrifices, they fell into every sort of calamity. Nor did they obtain any relief from these evils, until they had decimated themselves! Thus therefore, having selected a tithe of themen, and sacrificed them to Jupiter and Apollo, they became the cause of (their) country's ruin! And, so far had this entire corruption of soul destroyed human life, that no other hope of salvation could be prescribed, except that which was from God the Saviour: this alone, and no other, was wanting to the race that is mortal.

65. And thus, in these (distresses) of soul were all men, in every place :

nor, was it enough for them, after these things, to act basely ; but, they were also harassed by innumerable other incurable calamities from without, in every place and city. For, all nations at once, throughout the whole creation, Barbarians and Greeks, were so inflamed by means of the maddening deeds of Demons, — were so stirred up by the grievous and calamitous disease (of these), that neither intercourse nor agreement existed among men, — that so far, — and farther, — was the great body of (our) common nature forcibly urged on, that, in every corner of the earth in which men lived, they were, both from their usages and laws, in a state of warfare with one another. Nor was it this only, but they were also so fierce in the commotions and wars, in which they opposed each other, that, always and throughout their whole lives, they so engaged themselves that no one who desired (this), could take a voyage for the purpose of merchandize to any place, unless he (first) armed himself as for war. In the villages and fields too, the Agriculturists put on swords, and furnished themselves with an excess of equipment, over and above that of the implements necessary for the cultivation of the earth. Men considered it (also) a virtue to rob, and steal from, their neighbours: and, to our affirmation do all the writings, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, give testimony. The Books also, which are among the Jews, teach (us), that, from times prior to Augustus and Tiberius, — in whose days our Saviour appeared, — there were in the world, in every city and village, kings and Toparchs fully (established) from the earliest times.

66. The Jews therefore, immediately after the egress from Egypt by Moses, when they had come into Palestine, expelled the Kings, thirty in number, from their cities. Those however, who were not extirpated, remained and availed themselves of their population, local residences, and kings: those (I say), who resided apart in Gaza, Ashkelon, Joppa, and Azotus, again rebelled among themselves. Scythopolis too, and the cities about it, were accordingly so governed, that hence it happened, that their study was in contention and wars with their neighbours. And also, when in Jerusalem the wonderful Temple was built, (and) which Solomon erected, What necessity can there be for saying, how many subsequent wars (happened) and dealt vengeance even on the Jews, on account of their dissimulation in the worship of their God; and on which account, they became divided from each other? They also arose against themselves, and availed themselves of (the aid of) various Kings and enemies

; some of whom took the metropolis formerly called Samaria, but now Sabastia; others again, resided in Jerusalem, and were always engaged in wars with their own people, and these with them.

67. Not unlike these too, did those suffer who resided in Arabia : for, among these also, there was a multitude of local Princes. The same also was the case with the Syrians, who were in subjection to their (many) kings. The Phoenicians again, so guarded their territories, that no one could mix himself with them, or pass through them: while they were continually desolating the lands of those who resided on their borders, and were constantly engaged in the reduction of cities, and in making captives of one another. Nor was it this only, but also the whole of Libya and of Egypt, subjected themselves to all these Princes and Kings, as if they had been Gods! They had too, thousands of different Gods, both in the villages and cities, as they also had of kings, who enacted laws adverse to them, and were the inventors of every form of Deity. These were they, from whom many places in Egypt received their names, as well as laws; which they still retain. These Deities moreover, and Laws, so affected those who were subject to them, that they made them at once, both enemies and haters to those who were in their neighbourhood; and that hence, they gave up the whole period of their lives to contention! And they were as much excited against one another, as if they had employed the many princes of the vilest Demons! Hence also, the error of a multiplicity of Gods began and obtained dominion, — like some evil and destructive disease of soul, — over the rest of the countries of the heathen! The Egyptians were moreover, (occupied) more than all other men in the worship of the Gods; and more able were they than all others, scientifically to honour them. But, that such fruits were the recompence of their worship, Do not thou (now) enquire. For, the causes of peace and mutual agreement, now so visible to the eyes, had no existence in former times; on the contrary, every thing opposed to these. On this account they were, during the whole period of their lives, harassed with wars and contentions against one another; and (hence), they filled their lands with their own blood, and with the slaughter of themselves; these very Deities apportioning to them, as a recompence for their worship, these and similar doings!

68. If however, these things are not known to all; yet Who, of those that are fond of reading of the affairs of the Greeks, can be ignorant of them? — of

the war (forexample) of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, of which Thucydides is the writer? — how Greeks warred with Greeks? — how they subdued the Potidaeans? — how they trampled on the Thebans and Plataeans? — how the Thracians and Macedonians at one time assisted the Athenians, and at another became their enemies? — how the Athenians reduced Corinth, and desolated the country of the Epirotæ and Traezenii? — how they wasted the Lacedemonians; and these again, suffered in like manner from the Lacedemonians when they invaded Attica, and depopulated the country of the Athenians? At another time, the Olynthians made war on the Athenians; and these again, on others: and these, on their neighbours! Every species of warfare moreover, abounded among them: fights in ships (by sea), fights by land, and fights with cavalry! All these innumerable things did the Gods, — as one may affirm, — fully bring to pass at that time among the Greeks! Nor was it (this) only, but they were also conversant among men; they were honoured, and they were served : not as is now the case; but, — as (all) affirm, — as their fathers worshipped those ancient (Deities), and gave themselves up to them, so as to be their friends and to converse with them, as being Gods (present) with them, and residing with them on the earth. And in many things, both by divinations and revelations, did these assist them. Nevertheless, the fruits of honouring these Gods were these; wars, contentions, desolations, and captivities!

69. But, if you wish to investigate things more ancient than these, contemplate with your mind him who was in Delphos, and held his seat (there) in the presence of the Greeks. I speak of the Pythian ; of him who was preached to all the Greeks, and who proclaimed to the Lydian (Croesus), — but was infirm when he did so, — —” *I know the number of the sand, and the measure of the sea: the deaf I understand, and the dumb I hear.*” He therefore, sent to this same (as) a reward for this song, the bricks of gold of two talents (weight), the phials of gold, and bowls in like manner. Nevertheless, Croesus was, with this his declaration, all infirmity : nor did this Deity in any way help those descendants of his house, so that they might live happily and soberly. On the contrary, Pisistratus became embittered against the Athenians, while this Pythian was seer among the Greeks, and the rest of the Gods had dominion over them, and were even partakers in (their) wars! The people of Argus accordingly, fought against the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians,

against the Traezenians; the Locrians again, waged war with the other Greeks, and the Corcyreans with others. Messena too, was taken four times by the Lacedemonians; and the Arcadians were reduced! The walls of the Orchomenians were alsorased to the foundations, and the Athenians: overcame the people of Aegina: and again, the Megarians, the Corinthians; the Lacedemonians, the Athenians; the Athenians, the Boeotians; and the Locrians, the people of Phocis! These things therefore, (did) all the Greeks to the Greeks; the Gods nevertheless, sitting at the side of Jupiter while all these came to pass! The Clarion Pythius; that of Dodona, which was in Epirus, did — since they were Demons filled with fumes, — very gladly receive the sacrifices which were of Demons, both the sacrificial bestial hecatombs of bulls, and those human sacrifices, which were of their own friends! And, while they were inflamed with this vile delirium and love of war, and were (even) rabid against one another; these Grecian Gods, — behold! when with them; these friends, (I say) and provident beings, these lovers and guardians of the Greeks, — restrained them not! But, if we must speak truly, these were the friends of war; these the haters of mankind; these the contenders with God! For, they were the cause of all these things, because they delighted in the slaughter of mankind. And when they had it not in their power to delight in war, they forthwith did so in human sacrifices, and in the libations of human blood, with which they glutted themselves in every city!

70. One of two things is, therefore (the case) : Either, they were nothing; and it was grievous error that had then so taken hold of mankind, as to induce them to honour inanimate images as Gods, and vainly, emptily, and by a sort of madness, to sacrifice their own friends(to them) : or, if they were possessed of power, it is likely that this would be fully effective, either of good, or of evil. Now, if they were in their nature beneficent Deities, remaining too on the earth, and occupying the middle part of the cities; they would not have evinced this sufficiently, unless for the advantage and safety of those among whom they lived. But, if they were wicked Demons, they would be engaged in every thing opposed to goodness. What then, can constitute a surer proof as to these things, than the fruits which (grew) out of their government; for, *“from its fruits is the tree known.”*

71. It is time therefore, that we enquire whether the wars and contentions — not of enemies, nor yet of Barbarians who arose against the Greeks, but

of the Greeks themselves, who subscribed to the Gods of their fathers, and were infuriated against one another; — were these fruits: the Gods too being within (their cities), and nearer than the (very) gates, and daily honoured by their citizens. What (then) did they give, worthy of this worship, to those who so worshipped them? Was it, first of all, peace? that they might live a life of ease and comfort? — and thence, laws that were efficient, arid preservative of every thing good? If indeed, the things just now said were of this sort; there is no necessity we should doubt of the existence of good governours. But, if the extreme of evils had taken hold of the whole family of the Greeks: — the Gods being more numerous than the inhabitants: nor was it, that they were honoured in every city only, but also in every house: — and, (if) when they were (so) honoured, they supplied nothing more to those who honoured them, than the slaughter of wars, the desolation of villages, the rasing of cities, captivity, and spoil; the Greeks being inflamed against the Greeks by these things: — What can there be wanting to our knowing, and (thence) affirming, one of the two things supposed (above)? For, either these Gods could do nothing, because they were nothing: and thus, were far from being the cause of the evils : or, they possessed somepower, and were the cause of these: or, that they permitted these things to be so: or, that they themselves did them. If then, they were the doers of these evils, it would thus seem, that they should be styled the *Princes of evil*. But if, when these evils were done by others, they connived (at them), they were again, the betrayers of their Friends: they were not (their) helpers: but (their) deceivers; and were therefore, vicious.

72. For, if they were no Gods, and in their nature by no means superior to ourselves, but, were otherwise men who had realized sincerity through their excellency and wisdom ; Would they not have interposed themselves, and have relieved their Friends from contention? — either persuading them by reason, or, saving them by power, and severing them to a distance from each other? counselling them also in the things which were becoming? — when acting (I say only) as good men; and, as being their Friends, relieving them from their (mutual) enmity, and bringing them together for peace?

73. How then ; — for good men would have done this, had they happened (to be circumstanced as just mentioned): — did the Gods (act), being present with the Greeks and conversant among them, and honoured by

all? Did they neglect their Friends, giving them up to bloodshed, desolation, and mutual slaughter? and, Why? Because they were unable to help them? or, being able, were unwilling? For if, when able, they were unwilling; it was no office of helpers which they performed for those who honoured them, but of enemies and deceivers! For those, who can deliver from calamities, but do it not, are in nothing better than enemies. But if, when willing, they were unable ; they merited desertion on account of their weakness. And, if they were thus circumstanced, the reputation of their being Gods was superfluous: nor did men truly ascribe to these the title of helpers; inasmuch as they did not help them to salvation, because of the weakness of their own nature.

74. But, if they advance a superintending fate, such as to take hold of every thing, and even of the Gods themselves, and (affirm), that this was the cause of the wars, and of every thing which came to pass among men ; this will overthrow the whole course of our life, as it will make every thing that is (virtuous) among us, vain ; and a doctrine false and vicious will, instead of this, make its ingress among us. And thus also, will the purposes of the Gods themselves be rendered vain, since they can do nothing hut that which has been fated. The things, which this makes it necessary should happen, (shall happen) even when the Gods will (them) not! And thus again, will the anxiety of those who reverence these Gods become vain and empty, since they render honour to beings who can effect nothing.

75. But in this were these astonishing (Deities) caught, that they had not the power to help against the evils of mankind ; that they were openly seen delighting in base and abominable stories about their own divinity, and in the wicked and unlawful sacrifices of men. From these things therefore, it becomes us to judge of these same Gods, as doing such things among the men of those times ; because, as their nature was attached to evils and to wars, they were convicted by their own deeds.

76. But now in our times, every anxiety about the Beings just mentioned has suddenly lost its power ; and the things belonging to this ancient disease have been cut off: every city, region, and locality, among the heathen, now remaining in the profoundest peace! The whole of Asia, Europe, Lybia, and Egypt, which were formerly not better than a ship in a storm, on which the violent winds and tempests had fastened from every quarter, and had thus far, — and still farther by the northern blast, — contributed to her immersion

; are now so righted by the happy guidance of the helm of peace, in a serenity that is peaceful and a calm that is resplendent, that they subscribe to the ONEShip-governour of all things. Such are all things now, since he that was in Delphos has been desolated; since that Pythian, (I say) has been extinguished, and since the recollection of the rest of the Gods has been wholly withholden from the hearing of mankind. Nor have such things as that necessity of fate, or (those) war-loving Demons, agitated the cities. For, since the doctrine of our Saviour has obtained throughout the whole creation of man, in every city, village, and place ; and again, since no race of Demons, but He alone who is the King of all, God, and that Creator of the whole world, THE WORD OF GOD, has been made known and honoured by all men, Barbarians and Greeks; every word about fate has been rendered unavailing: every war-making necessity too has been removed far away: the Divine peace-making WORD is hymned throughout the whole earth: the race of man is reconciled to God its Father ; and peace and love have been restored to all nations! The things, which pertained to the Gods, are now no more done; — nor are those which set up the system of warfare (that men carried on) against one another, when those (their) ancient temples occupied the highest positions throughout the whole earth, — (now that these) have fallen under the extremity of desolation, and all those Gods, which formerly uttered their cry in every place, have either from shame or fear, been reduced to silence: every city too, nation, and region, have by means of the right hand of love, been made at once to enjoy peace, and are delighting themselves under one government in the deepest established order and agreement. In what manner of life all, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians, existed formerly, when they honoured the Gods far more than their own friends, there is now no need we should shew at length, having shortly laid these things open already, except (to say) that these ancient things are, as such, matters of record.

77. But, Why should any one say that these are things of recent occurrence? since, as far back as (the death) of Alexander of Macedon, not long before the manifestation of our Saviour, many governments arose. For Arridaeus, the brother of Alexander, received the Kingdom of Macedon: of those that were in Europe, Antipater took possession ; Ptolemy, of Egypt and Alexandria ; Seleucus became Governor of Phoenicia and Coelo-Syria: Philotos, of Cilicia; Antigonus, of Asia ; Casander, of Caria ; Leonatus, of the

Hellespont ; Eumenes, of Paphlagonia ; and Lysimachus, of those parts that bordered upon Thrace. From this time these, with those who had received their governments, poured forth as rivers against one another in war. For, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, marched fifteen times out of Egypt. Seleucus too, met Ptolemy King of the Macedonians, and was killed. Perdiccas also, entered Egypt with an army. Ptolemy took Cyprus, and Demetrius seized upon Syria. Another too, went forth to another place, and, with the violence usually attendant on robbery, seized upon those who resided on his borders.

78. Thus therefore, during this same time, were things brought to pass one after another in every quarter of the world. When the worship of many Gods prevailed, there was neither peace nor agreement ; while mutual enmity abounded. Sacred places, Fanes, and Temples too, were abundantly appropriated to these in every city. With many votive offerings were these temples adorned. Much talk too was engaged in respecting these Gods, by the kings of those times, as was also by the people, the inhabitants of villages, and of every (other) place; so that they honoured with images and altars these (Deities) of their fathers, in their houses, their very treasuries, and inner chambers. Nevertheless, when thus circumstanced, they were no better than demoniacs whose souls had been perverted by madness, (and) that during their whole lives, they polluted themselves with the blood of their own countrymen! And truly demoniacal were they in their wars with one another, and in their pertinacity in the reduction of cities: the demons, the leaders astray of the world, being their helpers in these matters!

79. Those too who were thought to be Gods, who gave out divinations, and foreknowledge (of things to come) to their worshippers, were not so discerning as to foreknow, or to foretel, their own destruction: which happened to them all, at the manifestation of our Saviour among mankind! This too is a mighty proof of their inferiority, as it is a well grounded reproach on the divinations which were formerly published among all the Greeks. Nor did any one of the Diviners indeed, foretel that manifestation of our Saviour, which (has taken place) among men ; nor yet, the new doctrine which has been given by Him to all the nations. Neither did that Pythian (Apollo), nor any other of the great Demons, foreknow his own destruction; nor did he prophesy respecting Him who was to come (to be) the destroyer and uprooter of them all; nor yet, did he foresee respecting all those of the nations, both Greeks and

Barbarians, who should leave the error of a plurality of Gods, and acknowledge the God who is over all.

80. What Diviner then, or Enchanter? What Demi-god, Demon, or God, has foreshewn by divination, that these their beauties should be extinguished, when He should be manifested, who was to be a *new thing* in the life of man, and (is) the “*knowledge of God*” who is above and over all, and whose worship has now been communicated to all nations? Who is he (I ask), that has prophesied of the destruction of their Temples, and of their own utter ruin? and, Who, — supposing of these Images of gold and silver which are every where, whose fusion was by fire, and whose change as to appearance was quite useless, were supremely serviceable to man; — that, as (these) their Gods were (but) molten, they should, by way of contempt and derision, be afflictively cut to pieces? Which (I ask) of the Gods has ever put (this) on record? And, How was it with their supporters, that they lent no aid to their Temples, when these were rased to the ground by men? And, How were those circumstanced who, in former times were engaged in creating wars, that in their own calamities they should look with complacency on their uprooters, who were in the profoundest peace? But, the wonder of the matter is this, that, when their Temples were subjected to destruction, a peace, administering increase to every excellency and good, had taken firm hold on the life of men: every thing happening to the contrary, when the Gods were in peace! For, during their prosperity, wars, conflicts, commotions, and the reducing of cities, — as shewn in history, and as we have already said, — (prevailed) among men: but, in their desolation, an entire peace with every good thing without drawback. Whence it must be evident to every one capable of reflection, that these were no Gods, as it also must, that they were not good Demons, but on the contrary, vicious ones. Those must also have been destroyers, whose prosperity was the cause of calamities to mankind, and whose ruin led the way to the bringing in of every good to all. But, how (all was) formerly in commotion among the Greeks, and how the nations throughout the whole earth were agitated, we now know, as to a few things:

81. And hence we may perceive why appointments, the character of which was varying, subverted the lives of all. For the Egyptians had a law, allowing them to take their own sisters as wives: the Persians, to hold shameful and

sinful converse with their own mothers: others, topollute their own daughters in unlawful wedlock: and of these, the extent was such, that ("the natural use of) the woman was interdicted. The wickedness too, of the Philosophers themselves, as also the intercourse with men which is out of nature, had reduced all the Greeks to insanity. Besides there were some, by whom it was thought right to conceal (their own while living) in the earth in Sepulchres; and by others, to deliver (these) to the flames! Others however, gave up these things as impious, and exposed their dead(only) to the dogs and birds of prey. Others murdered those who came to them as guests! Others too, feasted themselves on human flesh! And again, there were those who, when their friends were in the agonies (of death), sacrificed them and feasted on them, before they expired! Others, who were approaching old age, they threw from rocks! Others they gave up to strangulation! Others they threw to the dogs, while still living; and others, while dying! Others they buried with these (alive)! while others put the living to death on the funeral pile; those (I say), whom those (now) dead had loved !

82. Thus therefore, had the whole human race been led on to the last stage of brutality, so that he, who was (once) rational, became the most irrational of all. Nor was there any other (being), of those that were on the earth, more vicious than man; who had been (so) led into every vile affection, and had (so) corrupted his mind with every species of wickedness, that he readily forsook even the reflection which belonged to his nature, and did nothing well, either of the things pertaining to the soul, the body, or of those, which were external to him; but, he every where became subject to vice upon vice! — For, the lives of men are divided among the things which are of the soul, of the body, and of those which are external (to both). But, the error of the Demons had (now) so possessed in every form, and had so corrupted, the lives of men, that the things of the soul were at war with them, through the madness of the Demon-worship which had (so) seized upon them, and through their foolishness and blindness as to the truth, — about which (truth) even the family of Philosophers was in a state of agitation. And, as to the things of the body, (they consisted) in the human sacrifices which (prevailed) throughout the whole earth ; and again, in the base, lawless, and corrupt practices, which were foreign to nature. The things too, which were external (to both, consisted) in this, that in the cities, localities, and nations, all were, at one

time, divided into parties ; at another, — when they were brought together, — they contended against each other, by means of the desolations and reductions of cities, in which they mutually laboured. And, the length of the day would be insufficient for me, were I to relate all the things pertaining to this ancient disease, which had (so) seized upon the whole race of man. And, on this account more particularly, was God the Saviour necessary to this our (mortal) life, as to those who had been cast down to the last extremity of evil: nor was there any other cure or aid (for this), except by means of the glorious and divine manifestation (of Christ).

83. What, then, was it right that THE WORD, the Father of rational beings, the Saviour of all, the Guardian, the providential Care, the Shepherd of the rational flock which is on the earth, should, after (the occurrence of) these things, do, in order to raise to great honour the rational and intelligent Essence which is in man, (and) which had (so) fallen into the vast depths of evil? And that he, who had with his own hands (so) dragged upon himself the cause of his ruin, might see (and know Him as) his friend? Would it have been well, that (even) a man should pass over the safety of his friends, and un pityingly neglect them when thus perishing, who had the highest claim to his providential care? No Captain indeed, would ever be termed wise, who should give up his ship with its crew to go down, having by him that which (would secure) the safety of those who sailed with him, but not applying it. Nor was there ever a General so merciless, as to give up, unavenged, the soldiers of his army to their enemies. Nor is there any good Shepherd, who unfeelingly neglects the (single) sheep that has strayed from his flock; but, he leaves those that are not lost and in a secure place, and undergoes every thing for the discovery of that which has strayed ; and, should it be necessary, he will even engage with the wild beasts (in its defence). The providential care, however, of THE WORD, the Saviour, — of Him who has provided every thing for (His) rational creatures, — was not put forth (merely) for a flock that is irrational. For, it is man (only) of the creatures that are on the earth, who is (thus) beloved of God; and it is man also, to whom He has, as a Father, given up every kind of irrational animal in subjection. It is to man too, to whom He has assigned the navigation of the seas; and for whom He has adorned the earth with every sort of plant. To him He has subjected both the (various) kinds of beings that swim in the unseen depths, and of the birds that fly in the

heights. It is man moreover, to whom He has granted the faculty of knowledge for receiving every sort of learning. To him likewise, has He made plain the observation of things in the heavens, the (annual) courses of the sun, the (monthly) changes of the moon, and the progress of the stars both planetary and fixed.

84. How then, after (the occurrence) of these things, could it have been becoming, that the fatherly anxiety and providential care which is over all, — which had (so) rightly exerted its care for those other things of the body, and of this sensible world, — should be so crippled as to become inactive, as it respected the healing of the rational Essence vested in man? It had afforded every sort of provision for man, every sort of remedy, and (means) of health, for the body, growth also, strength, beauty, riches, delights, and the increase of possession for (his) convenience. And, Would He put forth not so much as one effort of care, that they might become acquainted with the things which are most excellent in them, with their own souls, and the Essence which is intelligent? But thus, it is likely one would rather blame the imbecility (or) carelessness, not of the sheep wandering from the flock, but of the shepherd: and again, not the infirm of soul, or those calamitously circumstanced ; but the contempt or imbecility of the physician, if he gave not every sort of medicine for the healing and aid of those, who (so) needed (it). Every necessity would therefore call upon Him, who is the Guardian and Saviour of all, for the healing of his (rational) flock.

85. It is likely therefore, that the compassionate WORD OF GOD would, as a good Shepherd, Saviour, and Guardian, when His rational flock on earth was (thus) implicated in the greatest evils, deign openly to make a Divine manifestation of Himself; since, behold! He had never allowed even a period to pass, in which He did not fully exert His providential care, for the supply of every good thing to those who were in need. At every period therefore, in all ages of the world, He both looked, and engaged Himself, upon the things belonging to the earth; and gave freely in times of necessity, of the things which were (laid up) with Him: and so without upbraiding, evinced He the promptness of His providential care towards all men, that He even afforded instruction to those among mankind who were worthy (of this), by revelations of Angels, and by raising up holy Ministers of God : by Prophecy also, and familiar intercourse, He preached the Godhead of His Father, and the life that

was most excellent, to those who were capable of being taught in the mysteries of the worship of God: at that period, too, he gave the instruction which was from Himself to our Fathers, as to those who were still infants, and inexperienced in evil.

86. Because then (men) had by a perversion which was not good (growing) out of their liberty, and from the will of their minds, set themselves up, and (hence) had fallen from the life that is excellent into (many) evils; it is likely, that the same WORD OF GOD, would again, — as the Physician of souls, — by adequate aids succour those who suffered this malady, and bring back by bitter medicines, those who had not benefited by these His gifts. On these grievous diseases of vice therefore, He took vengeance by pestilences, famines, wars, conflagrations, and inundations (of waters); and thus turned back to Himself, those who stood in need of these things. At one time He purged the entire life of all, by destructions of waters: at another, He punished the wicked by excessive rains in (certain) places, by strokes of the lightning, by burnings, or by withholding the (necessary) rains. And again, in the abundance of His mercy, He made certain by these same deeds, both (his) rebukes and teachings against the errors of Demons. The Temples too, of those who were thought to be Gods, and (their) Fanes, together with the images and Gods themselves, did He desolate by destructive strokes of lightning; and thus He put to shame those follies. Nor was it (this) only, but He taught them to distinguish by their own reason, that these never were Gods, and, that it was not in their power even to help themselves: and also, that they were neither of the household of God the King of all, nor friends of Him, who (thus) waged war against them. For, How could He who is the cause of every good thing, give up to destruction by fire, the Temples which (men) had built to His own honour; unless (indeed) He did this for a reproof of their error? For, if it was His will that the Demons which resided in these should be honoured, Why did He destroy their Temples together with their images? By means of the arrows which were sent from above from God, He drove far away from their eminences those who resided in these (Temples), and fully preached, in this way (and) by these doings, in the hearing of all men, crying out (as it were), Cease ye from the error of Demons, and (from affirming) that there are many Gods; and acknowledge that Lord of heaven and earth and of the whole universe, who is God (indeed): that Saviour, that

Nourisher, that Preserver; — Him, who, (as) they may see with their own eyes, has openly shewn His providential care over them ; at one time, in the supply of seasonable rains, of fruits borne of all (that springs) out of the earth, of wealth, and of comforts, unsparingly : at another, by the chastisements sent from God, and by the modes of discipline which were from Himself, has He brought back as with a bridle, those who were insensible of the good things, with which He had furnished them. Nor was it (this) only, but He also so cured the error of those who supposed these to be Gods, by a continuance of the lightnings and conflagrations which (came) upon them, that the Temples of the Gods were even burnt, together with those who had fabricated Gods for themselves, by ambushments of men: plainly exhibiting to those who could see, the rebuke which was due to the error of these. Nevertheless, when these worshippers of the Gods witnessed these early (occurrences), they entertained no greater a disposition towards the correction of their impiety!

87. And again also, when they believed in these Gods, who had (virtually) confessed by their divinations, that they could effect nothing beyond what had been fated; — for Fate is the cause of all (in this acceptation); — they understood not, nor did they consider, that, as (this) Fate took hold both of themselves and of the Gods, vain must be (every) trust put in these, as they could neither help, nor injure mankind in any thing. And, Only so? — If it were right to honour Fate, as the cause of every thing; still this, as being a necessity impervious to change, could have no power even over itself! But, He has put forth the knowledge of Himself, — in order that (men) might know Him to be Lord of this (fate), and also of every (other) thing; — at one time, by the supply of every sort of good thing; at another, by chastising the error of a plurality of Gods in thunderings and inlightnings. And it has accordingly been made matter of history, that the Temple of Delphos, — of that Pythian (Apollo) who was (so much) preached of formerly, — underwent upon one occasion (an entire) conflagration; but these, remaining in their error, raised it up a second time; and God the second time destroyed it! They renewed it also a third time; and He again, expelled entirely from its place, not the Temple, but the Demon that resided within its chamber, by his Divine manifestation! so that now, this is no more a house of divination ; nor does he, who formerly led the Greeks astray, (any more) practise there.

88. The Temple of Diana too at Ephesus, came to (its) destruction three

several times. On one occasion, the Amazons burnt it; on another, Herododorus (Herostratus), one of the inhabitants of Ephesus; and lastly, on another, (it was ruined) by God who is over all. So that now, after the manifestation of our Saviour, nothing more is visible even there, except the great (and) signal mark of the victory of (its) overthrow.

89. They have recorded moreover, that the Temple of Juno in Argos was destroyed on one occasion by fire; as was also that in Abas, in like manner, when the Thebans made an incursion and burnt it, and with it five hundred men!

90. It is also said, that on one occasion, lightning struck the statue of Jupiter in Olympia.

91. The Roman histories likewise inform us, that the Temple of Vesta which is in Rome, and which is called the Pantheon, — (all) the Gods being assembled together there, as it should seem, — was again, destroyed by lightning.

92. And again, on one occasion, lightning fell from heaven on that which is called by them the Capitol, and destroyed that house of every Temple.

93. With all these modes of discipline therefore, has the Providence which is over all, THE WORD OF GOD, put to shame from all time, those who worshipped Demons. Nor was it (this) only, but He also taught them, from ancient times by doctrines worthy of God, that they should worship His Father. He has likewise, cast forth (as seed) among mortal men, the doctrines conducive to life; divine laws, and precepts of righteousness, as herbs (productive) of things that are good, and as medicines for the salvation of reasonable souls. Thus (did He) in ancient times with the Hebrews through Prophets, men who partook of the Divine Spirit. And again, from a long extended antiquity, through other Friends of God: and again afterwards, through those who were vested with the Divinity, did He call those who had been cast off to death, to (the means of) recovery. He also sowed (as it were) in the souls of men, the rudiments of the Divine laws; — of various kinds of instructions; of doctrines of every kind; of predictions, and of prophecies of things to come; as also the love of that life (which is devoted) to the worship of God. Hence poured forth as from a fountain, even in every part of the creation, the seed, (and thence) the rational observances (of life): and hence, laws and lawgivers were seen among all the nations; and the name of

virtue and of philosophy became known among men. (Now) came into being the love of things most excellent; and, the desire to discover the truth was in such active operation with the many, that the error of their forefathers came into utter contempt, and, with the intelligent, those things which belonged to the worship and love of God, into repute. The truth too had been wanting; and great had been the differences respecting this with the many, as had the contentions and divisions of those, who disputed about doctrines. And thus did these things shew, that the Providence (exerted) over mankind, was from all time great, (and) evincing the care for every man, which was both suitable and sufficient.

94. Because then, great would be the change for the better in every one, upon human life's becoming tranquillized, and the common conduct (of all) being changed from its former wildness to something approaching to benignity ; it is likely, that the common Saviour of all, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, would more particularly, and the more readily, make his Divine manifestation at a time that would be (most) suitable. He accordingly came in by the mission of himself, and shewed forth to men, — who could by no other means arrive at the knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of a human vessel, — the God of truth. The God of truth did then, through the divine operations and astonishing miracles which were evident to all, shew forth the doctrine of heavenly teaching which respected His Kingdom ; in order that by these, He might henceforth, — even as He had formerly afforded aid by means of the things already mentioned, — instruct the whole human race in the doctrine which is heavenly. It was impossible indeed, in ancient times, to make those who had been driven to the last stage of vice, pure by words (only), inviting (them) to the perfect knowledge of God, and to the better life of purity and of righteousness. On this account, just as Physicians prescribe their remedies to those who are sick and debilitated by pains and sufferings, not the healthy food proper for the robust, but things that give uneasiness and pain; and, should it be necessary, do not excuse themselves from applying cauteries and bitter draughts, to coerce the disease: — not the aliments proper for the healthy, but those suitable to the sick: but, when they have become convalescent, they will henceforth allow them to partake of wholesome and strengthening food : —

95. So likewise the common Saviour of all, as the Shepherd and Physician

of His rational flocks on earth, taught those —— who had previous to His last divine manifestation entered into the many follies of a plurality of Gods, and had been maddened by the evils and fierceness attending (this) corruption of mind, —— by bitter punishments, by pestilences, famines, and the continuance of wars against each other. And again, by excessive rains, by the withholding of the rains, and by calamitous strokes of lightning, did He annihilate these instances of obstinacy : besides, He afforded opportunity to the worshippers of the Demons to see, by the vengeance taken in the strokes of lightning sent upon the Idols, the reproach due to the error of a plurality of Gods.

96. He again as a good Father, thus also afforded instruction to the foolish; for He imparted to them ungrudgingly, the gifts which were from Himself, in the provision of every good and rich thing: rains in their seasons; the production of fruits; the changes of the seasons ; and the carrying forward of animal life. The rational means also of all kinds of art; the seeds of these, and the (due) consideration of them, He cast forth into the souls of men. Again also He sowed (as it were), by means of the Prophets who are preached of among the Hebrews, the rudiments of the Divine precepts; the instruction pertaining to the fear of God; the entrance, the stages, and principal things, attending the Divine laws ; such (I say) as were suitable to the men of those times. He again from his providential care, (and) by means of many others, also gave the aid which was convenient for men as then (existing).

97. Because therefore, the life of man had henceforward undergone a change, by means of these things, to a state of peacefulness and rest, and was prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God ; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth at a time that was suitable, and by these same operations, the Divine manifestation of Himself. But, as these things have been largely set forth already, it is (now) time we should proceed to those that (should) follow them.

The End of the Second Book of (Eusebius) of Caesarea.

THE THIRD BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. BECAUSE then, human life had undergone a change, through the things already mentioned, to a state henceforth of peace and rest, and had been prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth the divine revelation of Himself by very deeds, and at the time which was suitable. For, immediately and at once, when He appeared in the world, those things which appertained to the ancient service of Demons, were undone by the overthrow as it were, of (some ruinous) war-engine; tidings announcing good things were preached to all nations, and God who is over all, the Propitiator of the children of men, was announced. The whole error of a plurality of Gods was also overthrown, and all the operations of demons were forthwith cast aside. Men again were no more sacrificed ; nor were the slaughterings of human beings, which from former times had ruined the world, (persevered in). Nor again, were there multitudes of Rulers, Princes, Tyrants, and Governours of the people. Nor again, existed those things, on account of which wars, and the reduction of cities, had been set on foot in every city and place: on the contrary, one God was preached to all men : the one empire too of the Romans had extended itself over all : and the peaceless and uncompromising enmity, which had so long been the portion of the nations, came to an entire end. And, as the knowledge of the one God, and of one just and righteous conduct resulting therefrom, was, by the teaching of our Saviour, delivered to all men; so also one king, at one and the same time, was established over the whole Roman empire, and a profound peace prevailed in every thing. At once too, and at one period, as it were at the intimation of the one God, two singular advantages sprung up among mankind ; the Instruction that was in righteousness, and the Empire of the Romans. For formerly, this error of the Demons had grievously enslaved the nations: and, as the whole had been divided into many (parts), some taking Syria by way of portion; others bearing rule in Asia; others, in Macedonia; others cutting up and seizing upon Egypt; others, in like manner, upon the country of Arabia: the race of the Jews again, had possession of Palestine. And, in every village, city, and place, they were, as from madness (and) like marauders and demoniacs in reality, careful (only) about warfare and contention one against

another; — of which enough has already been said.

2. But (now), two great Powers sprung fully up, as (it were) out of one stream; and they gave peace to all, and brought all together to a state of friendship : (namely) the Roman Empire, which, from that time, appeared (as) one kingdom ; and, the Power of the Saviour of all, whose aid was at once extended to, and established with, every one. For, the divine superiority of our Saviour swept away the authority of the many Demons, and many Gods; so that the one kingdom of God was preached to all men Greeks and Barbarians, and to those who (resided) in the extremities of the earth. The Roman Empire too, — since those had been previously uprooted who had been the cause of the rule of many — soon subjugated all (others), and quickly brought together into one state of accord and agreement, the whole race of (man). And, behold ! it henceforth brought together such a multitude of nations, as soon to take possession (of all), even to the extremities of the earth; the teaching of our Saviour having, by the divine power, already prepared all parties, and established (all) in a state of equanimity. And this is indeed a great miracle to those, who set their minds on the love of truth, and are unwilling to be envious against that which is good. For at once, was the error of evil Demons put out of sight; and, at the same time, did the enmity and contention of the nations, which had always existed, lose its power: and again, at the same time, was the one God and the one knowledge of Him, preached to all men through the teaching of our Saviour: at the same time too, was the empire of the Romans established among men; and, at once, was the (state or) the whole race of man changed to (that) of peace; and all, professing a common brotherhood, betook themselves to the instructing of their own nature. Forthwith too, they became born, as it were, of one (common) Father, and as the children of the one God ; of one Mother too, righteousness and truth; and so received they one another with the salutation of peace, that henceforward the whole creation was nothing less than as one household, and as a race governed by one law. It was (now) practicable too, that any desiring to send, for the purposes of merchandise, and to proceed, whithersoever he pleased, to do this with the greatest facility. Those of the West could come without danger to the East: and again, those who were here (in the East) could proceed thither as to the house of their own fathers, according to the words of ancient prophecy, and of many other burdens of the Prophets, which we have not now

leisure to mention, excepting these respecting our Saviour, the WORD OF GOD, which proclaimed thus: “ *He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the extremities of the earth:*” and again, “ *In his days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace :*” and again. “ *They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into reaping hooks, and nation shall not lift up the sword against nation; nor shall they learn war.*”

3. These things were foretold in the language of the Hebrews, (and) have been published a very long time ago: they are now in our times witnessed in their operation, confirming the testimonies of those ancient declarations. If then, thou desire other proofs of the excellency of the truth, (shewing) that it is not of mortal nature, but is the word of God in truth; and (that) the “*power of God,*” the Saviour, has been revealed in the world, not by words (only), but by deeds; accept thou of them. Open the eyes of thy understanding, unbar the doors of thy mind; and let thy soul be wholly collected within thee. Consider and ask thyself, as if thou wert interrogated by another, and thus investigate the nature of the things (to be brought before thee).

4. Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, King, Philosopher, Lawgiver, or Prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, who bore all this pre-eminence, — not after his death, but while he was still alive, and drew breath; — and could effect so much, that he should be preached throughout the whole earth ? and, that his name should fill the hearing, and tongues of every people upon the face of the whole earth ? But this, no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who said to his disciples by word, and fulfilled it by deed: “ *Go and teach all nations.*” He said (also) to them, — what He had foretold and previously revealed, — that *it was necessary His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole creation, for a testimony to all nations.* And, with the word, He brought the deed also to pass: for, immediately, — and not at a great distance of time, — the whole creation was filled with His words !

5. Now. What can he have to say on this matter, who dares to oppose the truth; since the testimony which is by means of the sight, is better than that which is by any sort of words? But, if thou give up this first (sort of proof), betake (thyself) to the latter: and now consider with thyself, —

6. What mortal nature has ever appeared, which appointed like Him, by word only and not in writing, laws that were just and pure, and sent these same forth by the hands of His disciples, from one extremity of the creation to

another? and, Who so opened out His doctrines throughout the whole earth, that immediately and day by day, the instructions which it was becoming should be delivered by Him, were sufficiently preached in the hearing of all men, Barbarians at once, and Greeks? But, if thou seek, thou shalt find no other: for this is a work, resulting from the power of the Saviour of us all, alone. — Nor will this persuade him who is not to be persuaded. Let the same then say to us, for we are willing to learn —

7. Who, of those who have been praised for the wisdom of their observances, has ever so delivered the barbarous and brutal of barbarous nations, by his merciful laws, that those who became (His) disciples among the Scythians, feast (now) no more on human beings? nor, among the Persians, take their own mothers (as wives) ? others too cast not their dead to the dogs? nor do others deliver up those that are aged for strangulation ? nor are other brutal and beastly things allied to these, done with others? But these are only small proofs of the revelation of the Godhead of the Saviour of us all. Look now also at others, and consider with thyself: —

8. What mortal man, of all the Princes at once, and Kings, and Armies, and Companies, and Inhabitants, and Nations, ever existed during all these periods, who added this also (to his exploits), that even those who were thought to be Gods by the many, should wage war with Him, — and who at all times did wage war with Him; — but, that He shewed his pre-eminence so far to exceed that of man, that day after day there was exultation, and (that) His doctrine took effect throughout the whole world ?

9. And, Who is that other (person) who, since the life of man was set up, ever sought to constitute a people after his own name; — a thing never yet heard of: — and this, not in a corner, or obscurely in some part of the earth, but in the whole earth under the sun; (and) did so settle by the power of the rule of his Godhead, and so complete his wish, that he delivered the knowledge of the one God who is beyond the heavens, the King of the whole world, together with his fear, to all men on the face of the whole earth, to the nations both Barbarian and Greek ?

10. Who ever set about to teach, and, after he had so engaged himself, brought, as in this marked instance, the matter to its right effect ? and forthwith, through his own efforts, so made known his undertaking, that by the love of God, he closed rather the mouths than the doors of all; and proclaimed

God who is over all ? He commanded moreover, that all nations should truly acknowledge Him alone ? And, because he willed that which was acceptable to God, He deigned to give His aid and assistance to him, who was his own ambassador ? The doctrines therefore, accompanying this preaching, were delivered; they were also received into the hearing of all men, and they were by deeds confirmed! — How they were, see thou, and consider; —

11. What other person ever arose (as the sun) with his rational light to the souls of men, and so prepared them to laugh at the error of the Demons of their forefathers, that they no more attached the divine name to wood, stone, and matter that is inanimate ?

12. What other, excepting our Saviour, persuaded the Egyptians, — more attached as they were to the fear of Demons than any other people, and from whom came the error of a multiplicity of Gods to the Greeks, — that henceforth they should be no more (so) infatuated, and no more give that venerable name to beasts, reptiles, noxious and irrational animals; but should acknowledge that one God alone who is above all, and contend for his righteousness in every sort of death ?

13. And Who invisibly, and by the powerful means and force of his doctrine which was every where preached, drove out as evil beasts, from among his own human flock, that injurious and destructive family of Demons, which from ancient time had ruled the whole race of man; and, by means of the exciting power of Idols, had put forth innumerable errors among them, so that these Demons should no more give out their divinations at the springs and fountains ? Nor again, should any earthly spirits, leading the world astray, implicate mankind in error ? The fountain therefore, that was in Castalia became silent, as did the other which was in Colophon: other fountains of divinations also became silent; the Pythian, the Clarian, the Nemean; that in Delphos, and Miletus; that in Colophon, and in Lebadia, of which (last) so much was boasted from ancient times. To the doctrine of Christ did they all accede. Where are (now) Amphilocus and Mopsus? There is not a man in (either) place! Where are Amphiarus and Aesculapius? Where is that (Image) of Ammon, and (which was) in the Desert of Lybia ? All these Gods have crept under the earth, being alarmed at the name of our Saviour! not unlike those their Princes who could not, when He went about among men, bear the rays of his Godhead, but grievously complained, crying out, “ *What have we to*

do with thee, Jesus “ (thou) “ Son of God,” and saying, “ Art thou come before the time to torment me? We know thee who thou art, that thou art the Holy One of God.” The Egyptian Demons therefore, when hearing that the doctrine of our Saviour was preached in the whole of their land, confessed that they themselves were nothing ! They gave up accordingly the places subject to their customs to be destroyed, together with (their) Fanes and Images, and betook themselves to flight and departure; driven away as they were by the Divine power. The divinations too of every place were destroyed ; and the Christ of God alone, and the one only God who was preached by him to all men, became the object of divine worship.

14. What other (person) moreover, has, like this our Saviour, given such power to those who have, in purity and sincerity, arrived at the life of excellence and of wisdom which has been delivered by Him, that they should by calling on Him, and by means of pure prayers offered up through Him to Almighty God, cast out that superabundance of evil Demons from the human body ?

15. What other too, except Him alone, has granted to those who draw near to Him. that they should perform the rational and unbloody services which are (offered) by means of prayer, and the secret (use of) the Divine announcements ? and, on which account He has appointed, throughout the whole creation of man, altars without fire, services worthy of God, the setting apart of Churches, and, that intellectual and rational sacrifices should, by means of rites becoming the Deity, be put forth to that one God alone, who is the King of all nations ?

16. Who moreover, tacitly, and by means of His invisible power, has abolished those sacrifices which were completed with blood, impurity, smoke, and fire ? — those abominable shrines also for the slaughter of men ; and so provided, that human sacrifices should no more be offered, and these things be no more done ? — that the writings of the Greeks also should attest, that it was not from ancient times, but (only) after the divine teaching of our Saviour, in the times of Hadrian, that human sacrifices ceased throughout the whole earth ?

17. Since then, all these are clear proofs confirming the divine power of the Saviour of us all, Who is he whose soul (partakes) so much of iron, as not to give his testimony to the truth ? and to confess His divine and living (active)

power ? For it is of the living, and not of the dead, that these deeds are. For the visual perception of something distant is, they say, (the effect) of some thing (really) visible.

18. The Race therefore which contended with God, disturbed the life of man, and introduced, led on, and could effect much, has suddenly, lately, and but a short time ago — because driven out from among men, — been cast to the earth, as an object deserving of the utmost contempt, breathless, motionless, speechless, and again, bereft both of utterance and of remembrance !

19. This mortal nature therefore, and again that which has no proper existence, is (as) nothing. And that which is (as) nothing, is likewise inoperative. But, (as to) Him who acts at all times, and is every moment operative, and is more potent than any living creature, How can He be supposed to have no proper existence, although not visible to the bodily eyes? But, discrimination is not by the senses; nor do we try the terms of art, the perception of doctrines, nor yet the mind of man, by the bodily senses: much less can man ever see with the eyes the person, or the power, of God. Nevertheless, these things may be known from the effects of their (several) operations. On this account, it is our duty to inform ourselves respecting the unseen power of the Saviour of us all, to prove His works, and to distinguish, whether we ought to confess that the things which have hitherto been done by Him, are of one living; or, whether we are to affirm, that they are of some one, who had no proper existence; or, whether this same thing be foolish, and the question respecting it inconsistent. For, he who has no proper existence in all his parts, has, it is clear, no proper existence at all, and is unable either to act, or to effect any thing. Such is the nature which is dead ; while that opposed to it is living. — But, it is now time we should investigate those works of our Saviour which appertain to our days, and to take a view of the living (effective) works of the living God. For the living works of God are life indeed. Learn (then), what those things are about which thou enquirest, and Him (at the same time), who lives in His works.

20. Some of the contenders with God did, but a little while ago, rebelliously, forcibly, and with a mighty hand, so rase to the foundation and overthrow His houses of prayer, that the churches disappeared: by every means too, they made war with Him who is invisible to the eyes, attacking

and reproaching (Him) with innumerable injurious expressions. But He, while unseen, secretly avenged Himself of them. And they again (felt this), not by one intimation from God (only). They (I say) who, but a short time before, were delighting themselves and happy; — they who were worshipped by all men, as if they had been Gods, and who, during the revolutions of many years, gloriously administered the affairs of their rule: for before they made war with Him, they had the most perfect peace and friendship (with all) ; but when they became changed, and dared to contend with God, and arranged their Deities before them in battle array against Him who is our (God), in order that (these) might be their strength; — (then), forthwith — in one moment — and at the intimation of God, and through the power of Him with whom they had contended, did all they who had been thus daring, suffer punishment, so that they gave in to Him on whom they had made war, turned their backs (in flight), and confessed His Godhead ! They allowed also, and persuaded, that (men) should boldly do the reverse of those things which were from ancient time. He therefore quickly established throughout the whole earth the signal mark of victory, and adorned (it), as from the first, with Temples which were pure, and distinguished (set apart) as for the prayers of the whole creation; so that He consecrated holy and dedicated places, in every village, city, place, and even in the deserts of the Barbarians, to the One God (and) King of all; — to Him who is the Lord of all; — that He might hence dignify the things (so) set apart, with the name of Him who was their Lord. Nor was it of man, that (this) happy appellation fell to their lot; but it was of Him who is Lord of all, that hence they were each dignified with the name of “the House of the Lord.” Let any one who wishes then, stand forth in the midst and learn, who it was that, after all this subversion and destruction, raised up on high from the earth, buildings such as these throughout the whole creation; and who it was, that vouchsafed to afford to these things, of which every hope had been cut off, a renovation far better than they formerly had! Nor was the great miracle of THE WORD, which renewed these, delayed until after the death of those who contended with God, but (took place) during their stay in the world. Those very persons (I say) who rased (the churches), did by their words and writings preach the new birth, which directly opposed their own (former) darings : and this they did, notwhen enjoying rest, so that any one should imagine that it was of the friendship of men; but when driven forth by the

stroke of God.

21. He then, even after all these storms of persecution, did, by means of sharp calamities and His divine teaching, so enlighten and set up throughout the whole creation, men zealous of the life of wisdom, multitudes both of men and of ministering women, and of congregations of virgins, that they (all) were (thus) established throughout the whole of their lives in perfect holiness.

22. Who moreover persuaded women, multitudes of children, and of men, voluntarily to suffer the privation of food and of wine for many days ? to sleep on the earth ? to have recourse to a hard and robust discipline, coupled with chastity ? and made them exchange the food of the body, for those spiritual and rational provisions of the soul, — the one for the other, — which are obtained by the divine reading ?

23. And, Who taught men, barbarian and rustic, as well as women, children, and innumerable multitudes of heathen slaves, to despise death ? to be persuaded that their souls were immortal ? that the eye of justice was open, viewing the deeds of all men, just and unjust ? and to hope for the judgment of God ? — That it was, on account of these things, their duty to be careful as to the life of righteousness and temperance ? And, that if they werenot so, they could not otherwise be brought under that yoke of righteousness, which hitherto had been brought into operation by Him alone whom we call God ?

24. But, let us dismiss these things, and let us otherwise approach him whose mind is (as) the rock; and let us interrogate him thus, with the questions (growing) out of these things (following): — O bring thou forth the word of reason, not from a heart implicated in error, but advancing (this) as the fruit of the intelligent and rational soul; and, having meditated much, say between thyself and thy soul, —

25. What other, of those preached of from ancient times, ever did like Him who is called God by us, become known, established, and declared, by the enouncements from above of the Prophets many ages ago, among those ancient friends of God, the Hebrew family ? — those (I say), who also previously delivered in writing, in the divine scriptures, the place of His manifestation, the time of His advent, the manner of His life, His power, His words, and His deeds?

26. Or, Who so suddenly appeared as an executor of vengeance against those who dared to oppose Him, that, upon the Jews acting (thus) impiously,

He forthwith dealt out punishment by means of His unseen power on their whole nation ? and overthrew to the foundations, both their place and rule ? — For He at once levelled to the ground, both their Temple, and their sacred (things) !

27. And Who, like this our Saviour, has clearly foretold the things that respected the impious (Jews), and respecting the Church which was established by Himself throughout the whole creation, and in the very things themselves? and has shewn their confirmation in their effects? — who said of the impious (Jews), “*Behold, your house is left desolate; nor shall stone remain upon stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down.*” And of His Church He said; “*Upon this rock I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it ?*”

28. And this also, that He should change men poor and rustic, from the occupation of fishing, to that of rule ? and, that He should make these into Lawgivers, and Teachers, of the whole creation of man ? How is it to be imagined by thee, that He then (so) made the promise by word, and brought it to pass in deed, that He made them “Fishers of men?” He gave them moreover, all this excellency and power, that they should compose and complete Books; and, that they should give such confirmation to these, that they should be received throughout the whole creation, in the languages of both the Greeks and Barbarians ? and, that in all nations they should be taught, and believed, as containing the written words of God?

29. And, How does it appear to thee, that He should foretel what was about to take place ? and should previously testify to His Disciples, that, because they should give their testimony to Him, *they should come before Kings and Governours: and that they should be punished, and undergo grievous torments?* —

30. And this also, that He should so prepare them, that they should voluntarily suffer ? and, that they should so firmly arm their souls with the armour of righteousness as with adamant, that they should be seen (engaged) in conflict against those who opposed them ; — How does not this surpass all description ?

31. Nor was it only, that He impressed on the souls of those who (immediately) followed Him such power, that when, having clone nothing worthy of death, they willingly underwent every species of punishment and

torment, for the sake of the righteousness of that God who is overall; but also, on those who received (it) from them; and so again, on those who came afterwards; and on those even to this present, and (who live) in our own times; — How does this not transcend every sort of miracle ?

32. Besides, Which of the kings ever remained prosperous in his rule, throughout all this length of time ? And, Who is he, who so conquered after his own death, and established the mark of victory over his enemies, that he subdued every region, place, and city, both of the Greeks and Barbarians? and beat down, by the hidden and invisible power of (his own) right hand, that which opposed him ?

33. But, the chief of all the things that have been mentioned, is that peace which was, by His power, supplied to the whole earth; of which we have already said what was proper. And, What mouth of the calumniator would not (the consideration) close, that love and concord so ran together with His doctrine in (effective) operation, into all nations ? and, that the peace which took place among the nations throughout all the world, and the word, which was sown (as seed) by Him among all nations, had formerly been so foretold by the Prophets of God ? But a (whole) day would be too short, were I to attempt to collect and shew within it, the open proofs of the divine power of the WORD OF GOD, the Saviour of all, which have been put forth up to this time. So that there never was a man at any time, no not among the Greeks, who has shewn forth such transcendent and divine power as He has, who has been preached to every man, and is the Saviour of all, and the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD who is above all. But, Why do I say “of men ?” when behold! no such nature as His has appeared upon earth, even of those who have been named Gods by all nations? If (not so), let him who wishes shew (this): let every existing Philosopher too come forward and tell us, What God or Hero has at any period, or ever, been heard of, who delivered the doctrine of eternal life, and of the kingdom of heaven, — a thing not of recent occurrence, — to mankind, as this our Saviour (has done) ? who has caused innumerable multitudes, throughout the whole creation, to be instructed in His own doctrines of wisdom ? and has persuaded them to follow after the life which is heavenly, and to despise that which is of time (only) ; and to hope for the heavenly mansions, which are kept for the souls that love God?

34. What God or Hero is it, that has ever so fully arisen (like the sun) and

given light from the East even to the West by the bright rays of his doctrine, that, immediately and with the swiftness as it were of the course of the Sun, all the nations of the earth (thence) rendered to the one God, one and the same service?

35. What God or Hero is it, who ever contended with all the gods and heroes both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and laid down a law, that not one of them should be thought a God ? and, having so legislated, persuaded (men of this) ? and who, when they all afterwards waged war against Him, being one and the same, overthrew every power opposed to Him; and shewed that He was superior to all, both gods and heroes, that ever existed, so as to be called throughout the whole creation of man, and by all people, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD ?

36. What God or Hero was it, who ever delivered to all nations dwelling on the great element of the whole earth, — to those on the land, and on the sea, — that they should make a feast in holiness, both of the body and the soul, on the day of every week which is called among the Greeks the Sun's day? And, that they should assemble themselves together, not that their bodies should hear — but their souls — that it was by means of the divine teaching, they should live ?

37. What God or Hero was it who, when they so made war with him, set up, as our (Saviour) has done, such a mark of victory in opposition to his enemies ? For they ceased not to contend both with His doctrine, and His people, from first to last: while He, being invisible, secretly overthrew them, and advanced His own, togetherwith the houses of God, to great glory ! But, Why should we wish to circumscribe by words, the divine powers of the Saviour of us all, which exceed all description ? When behold ! should we remain silent, the things themselves would cry out to those, whose souls have ears ?

38. This is strange indeed, and something not to be imagined; at any period too, it must be a singular thing (which) He brought to this world of mankind, and, that the only Son of God should in truth, ever have appeared to those that are on the earth: — and that the whole race of man should through Him, receive one who should in his own (human) nature, so introduce him to the righteousness which is true, that henceforth there should be set up throughout the whole creation of man, places for instruction in the Divine enouncements

and teaching ; and that men, barbarous and fierce, should so change their minds to peacefulness, that the rational disposition of their souls should receive of His virtue; and, by His means, acknowledge their Father who is in heaven, with the Saviour of all, the ONLY (begotten)WORD OF GOD, the King of all; and that to Him, and through Him who is the Cause of every good thing, they should *so* render the praises that are due, and the blessings and thanksgivings which are right, that henceforth the righteous praises and thanksgivings, which are suitable to the companies of the Angels that are in heaven, should also be put up, day and night, by the inhabitants of this element of earth !

39. These acts, therefore, — pertaining to salvation, and advantageous to the world, and to the Divine Manifestation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, as well as innumerable others like them, on account of which he came into the world of men — He performed not in His usual manner, that is, incorporeally; for, He had acted throughout the whole world secretly, and, by these his works, shewed both to them who are in the heavens, and to them who are on the earth, His innumerable operations. But recently, (he has done this) in a manner foreign to His own custom. For He has, by means of a mortal vessel, — not unlike the king, who (acts) through an Interpreter, — openly declared His edicts and methods of government among men; in order that He might evince His providential care for mortals, by that which was like to themselves, (and) that they might find life. But, as it has been seen that not one, but many were the causes, why the Saviour of all made His Divine manifestation among men; it becomes necessary, that we should also say in a few words, in their order, why He availed himself of this human vessel, and came for the purpose of ruling among men. How then, could the Divine, concealed, invisible, and untangible, Essence, — that unembodied and incorporeal mind, THE WORD OF GOD, — otherwise exhibit himself to men immersed in the depths of evils, and the corporeal substances (of nature), seeking God upon earth, but otherwise not finding Him; — or, being unwilling to search after the Maker and Creator of the whole creation, — if not by means of (some) human compound, and in some form known to ourselves, and, as it were by anInterpreter ? For otherwise, How could the eyes of the body look upon the incorporeal nature of God ? And, How could mortal nature discover Him who is concealed, (and) invisible, whom they

knew not from the multitude of His works ? On, this account therefore, He required a mortal vessel, a help which would comport with the conversation (had) among men; because, this would be agreeable to them ; for they say, “Every thing loves its like .” For, just as some great king might stand much in need of an Interpreter, who could enounce his words to the inhabitants of both countries and cities, whose understanding (of languages) was diverse; so also did THE WORD or GOD, — who was about to be for the healing of souls, — that He should exhibit himself in a body, and upon the earth. He would want a Mediator, not unlike an Interpreter, and a bodily compound. And this would be some human instrument, by means of which He could make known to men, what those concealed (properties) of the Godhead were. Nor was it (this) alone, but also that He, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, should exhibit Himself to those who delighted in the sense of things seen, and were seeking God by means of inanimate Images, and carved Idols; and imagining, through (mere) material bodies, that there was a God; but, from the infirmity and deficiency of their minds were giving to men, mortal in their nature, the name of Gods. On this account, He prepared for himself a Temple more holy than all ; a bodily vessel, and sensible habitation, for the rational Power ; an Image pure, and in every thing excellent, and more honourable than the whole of inanimated images. For that which was of inanimatematter, and in the form of an Image of brass, iron, gold, ivory, stone, or wood, was fabricated by the hands of artificers of (mere) matter, altogether for the residence of Demons, and to administer to the error of fools. But the Divine Image, variously adorned by the wisdom of the Divine Power, partook of life and of the Essence which is intelligent: the Image, filled with every excellence, — the Divine Image, the habitation of THE WORD OF GOD, and the holy temple of the holy God, — was prepared by the power of the Holy Ghost, in order that He, who resided therein, might become known among mortal men by means of one who was their equal, as it were by an Interpreter; but who should not fall after the manner of their passions, nor be bound in the body, as the manner is with the soul of man : nor yet, when appearing small (in reputation), should undergo any change on that account as to his Godhead. For, as the rays of the sun’s light suffer nothing from their filling every thing, nor when they permeate the unclean bodies of mortals; so, in a far higher degree, the Power which is incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, suffers

nothing in its own Essence, neither is it mutilated, nor is it ever diminished, when, incorporeal as it is, it permeates that which is corporeal. In the same manner therefore, the Saviour of all presented himself to every man (as) the helper and Saviour, by means of the human vessel which He put forth, just as the musician (does), who is willing to shew his skill by means of his lyre. History too among the Greeks teaches (us), that Orpheus moved by his song every sort of animal, and pacified their angry feelings by means of a hollow instrument, the strings of which he struck. This is moreover sung in the assemblies of the Greeks; and it is believed, that an inanimate lyre soothed both the animals and trees, and so changed even the oaks that they became imitators of music. This (personage)therefore, filled with all wisdom and all prudence, THE WORD OF GOD, put forth every sort of healing for the souls of men which had been reduced to all kinds of evil. He took into His hands the instrument of the musician, the work of His own wisdom : this He struck with His hand, (producing) songs and sweet strains to rational man, not to animals that are irrational; and healed, by the medicines of His heavenly teaching, every kind of the fierce, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the rude and beastlike passions of the soul; and did, as a skilful physician, shew by the aid of one of their equals, and who was like to themselves, — to the souls which were implicated in disease, and seeking God among bodies and substances which were elemental, — God in man ! Nor again, was He less careful as to the body, than He was as to the soul. For He provided, that the things which He did by means of the Body, should be apparent to men's bodily eyes; (that is) that they should see astonishing miracles, signs, and (other) divine powers. And again, He preached to the hearing of the body, these doctrines through a bodily tongue. All these things therefore, He delivered by means of the Body which he bore, — as it were by an Interpreter, — to those who otherwise could not, — except only in this way, — be made sensible of His Godhead. These things too, were (thus) administered by the will of His Father: He still remaining with His Father, as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, (and) unchanged as to His (eternal) Essence. Nor did he suffer corruption from His(former) nature; nor was He confined by the bonds of the body ; nor was He here, only such as His human vessel was ; nor was He restrained from being in other places of (this) whole: on the contrary, even then, when He conversed among men, did He fill all things: was with

His Father and was in Him; and then also, He fully and providentially took care of all things, whether in heaven, or on the earth. Nor was He ever, as we are, withholden from being near to every thing; nor was He hindered from acting, after His own divine manner. On the contrary, the things that were of Himself He gave to man; but, those which were of man, He took not. Of His divine power too, He provided for mortals; while from His participation with the mortal, He received nothing. Neither was He who was incorporeal, polluted when born in the body. Nor again, did He who was impervious to passion, suffer in His (eternal) Essence, even when mortal nature had been assigned to Him. For, neither does he who strikes the lyre become in any thing subject to suffering, although the instrument should be broken, or the strings be cut: in like manner too, we do not say when punishment is inflicted on the person of a wise man, that the wisdom of the wise man, or the soul which is in his body, is either cut off, or consumed. So, much less is it right we should affirm, that the Power of the Divine WORD can receive any thing like loss from the sufferings of the body. Nor, does any thing forbid our affirming that, — since, in our example, the rays of the Sun sent down from heaven to earth, permeated the clay, mire, and every sort of impurity, — the light was therefore in no respect polluted, although these things received light from its splendour. For the light did not (thus) become clay, nor did the Sun become polluted, by its commixture with (such) body; because these things are not foreign in their nature to bodies. But He, — who is immaterial and incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, who is both the life, and intelligent light, — impels, by the divine power which is incorporeal, every thing He approaches, both to live and to remain in this rational light. In like manner also, the body to which this is near becomes sanctified; and quickly does He enlighten it: all diseases too, pains and sufferings, pass away (from it) ; and that which was defective is supplied from (His) fulness. On this account He gave up His whole life, at one time exhibiting His image under sufferings like those common to ourselves; at another, revealing himself, God THE WORD, in great and astonishing works and acts, as God. And, when He foretold something by His prophetic words which should come to pass, He likewise exhibited Him who was invisible to the many, THE WORD OF GOD, by works, and by astonishing deeds; by signs, wonders, and extraordinary powers (put forth) : and again, instructing the souls of men by the divine doctrines, He prepared them to draw near to the

heavenly city which is above, and to hasten to those their fellow-citizens there, as to their own brothers and equals : also, to know their Father who is in heaven, and the excellency of their kind, which is of the Essence that is intellectual and rational: teaching them also, that they should no more err, but henceforth so live in all purity and holiness, — so (I say), that they might make their departure hence to that place easy, and without hindrance; and, that they should be prepared to receive forthwith, with the companies of the holy Angels, everlasting life with God the King of all, and the light which cannot be described, and the kingdom of heaven.

40. Thus therefore, the ONLY (begotten) WORD or GOD, who availed Himself of a human instrument, and set up His own Interpreter, administered every thing for the healing of men by the will of His Father; still remaining immaterial and incorporeal, just as He formerly was, with His Father. By means of a man also. He shewed forth God to man, through mighty acts and wonderful works. In the divine Power and in true Wisdom, He scattered His doctrine (as seed); and taught these things, with others allied to them. Nor became He inferior, from what He did: nor, (as so) doing, became He the less dignified from what He taught and delivered. — The doctrines of life and words of light, He laid not down in any book of paper, nor in the perishing skins of animals; but He inscribed on the very souls of His disciples, as upon intellectual tablets, the doctrines respecting the kingdom of God. In the whole of His instructions on heavenly things, hidden enouncements, and which had never before been heard, were delivered. It was also by means of these things, that He taught that the souls which were on the earth, were beloved of God; delivered the memorial of the life that is with God the Father, in heaven; and also, stirred (men) up to cry in prayer and to say, “*Our Father who art in heaven,*” and, that they should be cognizant of their family which is above. If then, thou art desirous of being a partaker in the contemplation of these things, there is no feeling of jealousy hindering thy approach to the hearing of the Scriptures of His Disciples, and to the knowing of His record in all its parts, both as to His deeds and words ; so that thou mayest in truth, view God, and THE WORD OF GOD ; and see, how He existed by means of an Interpreter with men, in the example of (His) sufferings ; how He, who was immortal, conversed with mortals; how the Image (of God), which is incorporeal, became vested with the nature which is human: and, how the

Image of God, which was in Him, moved (Him): how He sent forth enouncements, and made public the Divine teaching; and (how) the Saviour of all, healed every sort of disease and infirmity: and, how ready He was, in whom there was no sin, to good works; and, how those things which eyes hadnot seen, and which had not entered into the hearing of men, He delivered in mighty deeds; and thus made His Disciples to approach the very summit of excellency with God; made them wise through the power which cannot be described, and constituted them true preachers of His Godhead. Thus again He healed those, whose souls were corrupted by every sort of sin; at one time, inflicting the sufferings (which were) helpful and right; at another, delivering a view of the mystery and doctrine of His Godhead to those who were able to receive it. And, What need is there we should say, how easily and well, and with (what) just rebuke, He received those who were enemies to the truth : at once healing and instructing even these, by the open enouncement of His words ? and, how meekly he presented His person to all as a helper, and as long suffering and passive ? as a Physician also, not of souls only, but also of bodies ? On this account, the name of JESUS was previously imposed on our Saviour; — which is a Hebrew word, designating JESUS as the Physician of all. Now, the (propriety of the) imposition of the name designating *healing* on Jesus, He evinced by the works (which He did); for He instructed the souls of men by the Heavenly doctrine, while he healed the Body of all sufferings, pains, and infirmities, by the power of the healing WORD. At one time, He cleansed the leprous in body: at another, He cast out by (His) command the Demons that (possessed) men: and, again at another, He freely healed those who had been reduced by disease ! At one time also, to him — whose body was debilitated, and all his limbs powerless, — He said by word only, “*Arise, take up thy bed, and walk;*” and this (man) did what He commanded ! And again at another time, He gave the perception of light to the Blind! And thus again, at another, a woman, — who had been afflicted with an issue of blood, and had during the revolution of many years been reduced by her complaint, seeing that great companies were round about Him, and not allowing her to kneel and pray that she might be healed of her complaint, — thought, that if she could but touch the border of His garment, (she should be healed) ; she accordingly pressed in, and touched the border of his garment; and at once, she was both healed of the evil, and immediately became healthy; bearing

(away with her) a mighty proof of the power of THE WORD OF GOD ! Another man also, the servant of a king, — because his child was grievously afflicted, — fell down before Him, and He forthwith took and healed him ! There was another again, the chief of a synagogue of the Jews, whose daughter (He restored) ; but this was after she was dead ! And, What need can there be, that we should tell how another arose by the power of the Saviour of all, who had been dead four days, hearing only the voice of the all life-giving WORD which called him ? Or, how He made His paths upon the sea as upon dry land, causing His Vessel to traverse the back of the waters? Or, how when His Disciples were sailing and the storm was against them, He rebuked the sea, the storm, and the winds; — gave the commandment by word; and they were instantly silent, so that they were wrought upon, as by the voice of their Lord ? (How) He so filled and satisfied five thousand men, — when there was with them a company of many women and children, — with five loaves, that they took up an entire remainder which would suffice to fill twelve baskets ! To Whom is not this astonishing ? and Does it (not) likewise challenge the inquiry which relates to his unseen power ?

41. Let any one therefore who will, take up the true faith, together with the open proof of the revelation of our Saviour's Divinity, from many other great miracles; and particularly from this, — if he will also consider, — that He foreknew by the divine power what should come to pass, and openly foretold the great change to His better (doctrine) which should take place among men throughout the world; and also predicted, that He himself would be the doer of this: and from these very deeds, let such place faith in (this) His promise. Many other great and evident proofs of His Godhead moreover, (afforded) in many things similar to these, will any one, carefully enquiring, find from His predictions with their fulfilment: which we ourselves shall also examine in this work at the proper time. But, that which we now have before our eyes, — that our discourse may not lengthen itself greatly out, so as to detain thee upon all His mighty works — is the death, which (His) Interpreter, — the clothing of THE WORD OF GOD, and the Image that was openly revealed, — underwent, and which (event) every one acknowledges.

42. This His death therefore, which has been made public, was (so) accompanied by the miracle, that it was unlike that of the rest of mankind. For it was not, that He perished by disease, by strangulation, or by fire; or was,

even on the cross itself, cut off by the sword, as a mark of victory, in the manner of others who are evil-doers; nor yet, did he suffer less than any one of those whom they usually put to death; for He suffered a death of violence: but He himself alone, by his own will, delivered up His Vessel to those (his) accusers; and forthwith He raised Himself from the earth ; —

43. For said (the Evangelist,) *“He cried out greatly, and gave up His Spirit to His Father:* and (so) effected a release from His soul, and made His departure from the body. On this account, He had previously delivered this same His death to his disciples, when teaching (them) and saying; *“No man taketh my life from me;”* and, *“I have power to lay it down:”* and again, *“I have powerto take it up:* and again, *“I am the good shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me; and I lay down my life for my sheep.”* The cause of His death too, He establishes in a few words, when saying, that, *“Unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it remaineth alone ; but, if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.”*

44. Having then, delivered representations of this sort respecting His own death, He effected the release from his soul, and made (His) departure from the body. After this, His body was taken up by his acquaintances, and was consigned to (its) due interment. Again on the third day, He resumed that (being) from which He had before, by the exertion of His own will, departed. And again, He shewed to his Disciples the selfsame person, both in body and substance, just as it formerly was: — to them (I say) with whom He conversed a little, and with whom He remained a short time. He was then taken up whither He was before : and, before their eyes, did He make his departure and ascension to heaven, in order that they, to whom He had delivered (His) pledge as to deeds, might be made the Teachers of the fear of God who is above, to all nations.

45. Now, What can be wanting after these things, except that we should state the cause of THIS, which was the chief of all ? I (now) speak of the close of His life, which has been spoken of by all; of the manner of His passion, and of the great miracle of His resurrection afterdeath. After viewing these things then, let us now come again to our proofs; and let us confirm these same by open testimonies. He availed Himself therefore, of a mortal Vessel, — for the reasons already given, — as of an Image becoming the Deity; and this He both put forth into life, and by means of this, as some great king by means of

an interpreter, He performed every thing that was worthy of the Divine Power.

46. For, if He had done otherwise, — after His dealings among men, — so as not to have been seen, and had suddenly taken flight, and secretly stolen away His Interpreter; or had, in escaping, been careful to convey away His Image from death; or again, had led on that mortal (being) by means of His person, to corruption and perishing ; He would have seemed to the many (but) as a spectre.

47. Nor could He have done any thing, which it was right He should do, as being the LIFE, the WORD and the POWER of God; having given up His Interpreter to corruption and ruin.

48. Nor, could those things which He did against the Demons, (or) in His contention with death, have been worthy of completion.

49. Nor could it have been known, where He remained.

50. Nor could it have been believed by those, to whom He had not delivered (it) ; — nor had it been seen, — that His nature was superior to death.

51. Nor, could He have delivered mortality from its own (mortal) nature.

52. Nor, could He have persuaded His disciples to despise death.

53. Nor, could He have established a hope of the life that is with God after death, with those who drew near for (the reception of) His doctrine.

54. Nor, could He have fulfilled the promises of His own words; nor have given to the prophecies, which went before respecting Him, a due fulfilment.

55. Nor, could He have overcome in the last conflict of all, which was opposed to the death that exists in all these things. For it was above all things right, that this mortal vessel should, after it had completed the service which it rendered to THE WORD OF GOD, obtain to itself an end worthy of God, (and that this) be through this same ordinance of death. For, there were two things resting upon (this) consummation ; (viz.) either, that He should deliver up (His vessel) to entire corruption and destruction, and (so) make His whole conflict, and egress from this world, matter of shame; or, that He should afford proof, that this same was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, make immortal that which was mortal. The first however, was incompatible with the promise. For, it is not the property of fire, to be cold; nor, of light, that it be dark : neither is it of life, that it should die; nor, of THE WORD OF GoD, that He should act with impropriety. For, What cause could

He have, who promised life to others, for being unmindful of His own vessel when subject to corruption: — for delivering up His Image to destruction, and for surrendering the Interpreter of His own Godhead, to the corruption of death ? — for Him to do so, who had previously promised to those, who should take refuge in Him, the life which is impervious death ? This (one) then, of two things was necessary : — this, I say, that He should shew him (His Interpreter) to be superior to death. And, How was it, that it was necessary He should do this ? Secretly, and by stealth ? or, openly before all men, and manifestly ? But, if this fact had taken place covertly and secretly; it would then have remained unknown, and unprofitable to man. But, as it was preached (to all), and heard of by all; it afforded to all, the advantage which (grew) out of the miracle. Well therefore, — because it was necessary He should shew His vessel to be superior to death, — did He also do this, not secretly, but before the eyes of (all) men. He escaped not from death; for this would have been pusillanimous, and it would have been thought that He was inferior to death. But, by this contention with Death as with a contemporary, He established the immortality of that which was mortal; and, this last conflict which was for the salvation of all, secured (for all) the life which is immortal. For this was done, in the first place, against the Demons, for the destruction of the error of a multitude of Gods, when He began to be known among men. It also appeared particularly necessary to Him, that, as He was to make His circuits among the flocks of men, He should immediately, (and) in the presence of all, drive out the enemies and haters of mankind, — as being the princes of wickedness, and like to cruel and fierce beasts, those (I say), — who had, from former times and falsely, been esteemed Gods. He therefore, THE WORD OF GOD, immediately led out His Vessel into the land of these enemies and haters, — that (land I say), which the words of mystery style “*The Desert*” as (being) destitute of every good thing; and there “*forty days, and as many nights,*” He wrought and performed those things of which no mortal knew, and which the eyes of man did not see. The testimonies however of prophecy teach, that to these things the declarations of the prophetic Scriptures agree, where it is written, that “*Jesus was led of the Holy Ghost into the desert, that he might be tempted of Satan. And He was there forty days and forty nights, and was with the wild beasts.*” And, What are these but the princes of the Demons, whom the Holy Ghost has said are, —

and has named by way of figure,—“*Serpents*” “*Adders*” “*Lions*” and “*Dragons*” on account, of the similitude to the viciousness of each of these: (saying) “*Thou shalt tread on the serpent and adder, and shalt trample on the lion and the dragon?*” The other things also which were done in the desert, this declaration intimates, saying thus in the person of the Vessel which He bore, “*His truth shall gird thee (as) a weapon: neither shalt thou be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that flieth by day; nor of the thing that walketh in darkness: nor of the wind that bloweth at noon. Thousands shall fall at thy side, and tens of thousands at thy right hand: but they shall not touch thee.*”

56. These things have been said in parables and mystically, on the conflict which (took place) in the desert between the Vessel of salvation, and the invisible spirits. During all these nights therefore, and days in like number, He contended with the whole race (of Demons) that was beneath the air. Nor was it tardily that THE WORD OF GOD drove these out, nor, that He pursued the whole congregation of the enemy; nor, that (He did this) as God in his abstract and unembodied power, but, by means of the body which He took. Because the whole race of man had, from ancient times, been subjected to these as to Gods: on this account therefore, principally, He subjected all the families of the Demons to this (His Vessel). For it was right, that He should make him who had been conquered, and iniquitously subdued to his enemies, not only (man’s) Deliverer, but also the Conqueror of his enemies; and that He (THE WORD) should shew, that His Friend, whom He had made in His own Image and similitude, was, on account of his participation in THE WORD, superior to the Demons who were formerly thought to be Gods; just as it is written in the words of mystery (the Scriptures).

57. Because then, the Saviour of us all had completed the conflict which was opposed to these (spirits), He went up thence, clothed (as it were) with victory, entered upon the life common to men, and delivered their souls: having relieved them from the bonds of the Demons: and, having revealed to His Disciples those other secret things, — as well as these which he performed in opposition to the enemies that are unseen, — He thus spoke, and He established (it), “*Be of good courage, I have overcome the world.*” The manner too of His victory, He taught by those things which He said to His Disciples in parables (viz.): “*No man can enter the house of a strong man and*

spoil his goods, unless he first bind the strong man; and then he shall spoil his house." He therefore bound the strong man, and drove out the whole race of Demons. And forthwith, He (so) wrought on the souls of those who were His, that He freed them from the bitter state, slavery, and error, of a multiplicity of Gods. This His first conflict however against the Demons, was completed at the outset of His manifestation among men. But the last (His crucifixion), was the commencement of His sovereignty over Death. For it was right that He, — who was superior to (that which was) no God, and to the error of Demons, and, had been attached to GOD THE WORD, — should receive the honour compatible with this His deed (viz.) the victory over Death. For the Demons, which had assembled together against Him, with their Head, and with the spirits residing above the earth in the air, (and) invisible to mortal eyes, turned their backs (in flight) in His first conflict (with them) ; directing their view to the second, and waiting for His last egress, and departure by death, from the world, which they expected would be like that of other men. For, they had no notion that the mortal nature could ever exist, which should be superior to death ; or, that Death was (not) the common king of all those, who had once experienced the birth of mortals. They thought too, that this was, of all evils, that which no man could either avoid, or evade. But, immediately after the signal mark of His first victory over the Demons, He engaged also in conflict with Death. And, just as one wishing to shew that some vessel was incombustible and its nature superior to fire, could in no other way establish this astonishing fact, except by placing the one which he held in his hand in the fire, and then taking it out of the fire, safe and sound; so also THE WORD OF GOD, the life-giver of all, willing to make it known that the mortal Vessel, of which He had availed Himself for the redemption of man, was superior to death, and, to shew that He made it to participate in His own life, conducted the matter both well and virtuously as it was most convenient. He left the body for a short time, and consigned mortality to death, for the rebuking of its (sinful) nature ; and again, He soon raised up the same from death, for the purpose of proving that the Divine power, which was by Him, — that eternal life, (I say) which was preached by Him, — was superior to every kind of death.

58. This therefore was the first cause. The second was, to shew that the Divine power resided in the human body. Because men had formerly made

gods for themselves of those who were men mortal in reality, had been overcome by death, (and) in whom the last common extremity had been witnessed ; and had named those heroes and gods, who had been taken away by death; on this account therefore, He happily shewed Himself; and for this cause, the same compassionate WORD OF GOD exhibited to men, the nature which was superior to death, and brought in mortality — after its dissolution — to a second life. He also afforded to all, the means of viewing the signal victory of life immortal over mortality; and taught (them) by (His) death to confess Him alone to be the God of truth, who had (so) bound the crown of victory over death, about His own head.

59. The third cause of (His) death was, the redemption that is (taught) in hidden (mystical) terms, which are these in effect: He was the sacrifice which was consigned to death, for the souls of the whole race (of man) : the sacrifice (I say) which was slain for the whole flock of mankind: the sacrifice turning (men) back from the error of Demons. The sacrifice therefore, — the great offering, and that which was superior to all (other) sacrifices, — was the Body of our Saviour which was sacrificed as a Lamb, for the whole race of mankind: and it came up for the souls of all the nations that had been held in the impiety of their forefathers, the error of the Demons. And thence, the whole impure and unholy power of Demons was destroyed ; this whole vain and earthly system of error, was instantly dissolved and ruined by a superior power! He therefore who was, from among men, the sacrifice of Redemption, — the bodily Vessel of THE WORD OF GOD, — was sacrificed for the flock of all mankind. And this is He, who was, by the accusation of men, delivered up as a sacrifice to death; of whom the Divine words exclaim, speaking at one time thus: *“Behold! The Lamb of God: behold! He (it is) who taketh away the sins of the world.”* And at another, thus previously enouncing: *“As a Lamb He was led to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before the shearer, He was silent.”* And the same (Divine word) teaches the cause, saying: *“ Truly He underwent our sufferings, and bore our pains; but we considered Him bruised and stricken of God, and humiliated. He was slain because of our sins, and was humbled because of our iniquity. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes are we healed. All we have strayed like sheep, and (each) man has turned to his part; and the Lord has made to meet in him the sins of us all.”* This bodily vessel therefore of THE WORD OF GOD, was, for

these reasons, sacrificed. But He, the great High Priest who officiates as Priest to God, the King of all, and Lord of all, is another distinct from the sacrifice, (viz.) THE WORD OF GOD, THE POWER OF GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD : He too, after no long time, raised mortality from death, making him (so raised) by participation, the beginning of the redemption of us all, and of that immortal life which is with God. Him too, (thus) vested with the mark of victory over death, and the deeds of the Demons; of those human sacrifices which had been delivered down from ancient times, did He constitute the Destroyer, for the sake of all mankind. Hence also was the name of *Messiah* (Christ) given to Him; which, among the Hebrews, attaches in like manner to the chief priest. He therefore received the two names: the name of *Jesus*, implying the sacrifice of *salvation*; and that of High Priest, the WORD OF GOD, who officiates as Priest for us all: — the custom of the Hebrews intimating (this) of the Messiah (Christ.)

60. After the things which have been said, the latter was the great cause of (His) death, viz. the Redemption spoken of: because, it was necessary to the disciples that they should see, with their own eyes, the life which was after death, He (thus) openly taught them to place their hope in this second birth. And, because He also encouraged them to be strong in the yoke of righteousness, He well delivered this, in order that they might, with their own eyes, see it. For it was necessary for these, who were about to be brought to the life of righteousness, that, first of all, they should receive this most necessary doctrine by means of open view; and much more, for those who were soon to preach it throughout the whole creation, and to cause the knowledge of God, (so) given by them, to arise (as the sun) in all nations, (and) among all men. It was necessary, that these men should receive the strongest persuasion of the life which is after death, so that they might accept fearlessly, and unmoved in their minds by death, the conflict against the error of many gods. For, if they had not been taught to despise death, neither would they have ever been prepared to approach afflictions. On this account, He the more particularly armed them against the power of death. Nor was it by precepts and words (only), that He delivered to them this doctrine: nor, in persuasive terms or similitudes, that He composed (his discourses) as men do, on the immortality of the soul; but He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory (obtained) over death.

61. For death had been, from ancient times, fearful to all men as the destroyer of our mortal race; its power being considered the undoing of the whole nature of man, both soul and body. Nor was there ever a man, who could relieve human nature from this fearful being. All were pierced,(as it were,) small and great, Princes and Subjects, Kings at once and People, as well as the Inhabitants and Societies of all nations and families, by the fear of death. Nor had mankind any solace for this evil, either in word, or form, or manner of life, opinion of the wise, writing of the Ancients, prophecy of the Prophets, or revelation of Angels. He was superior to all, supreme over all, and victorious over all! Death, like an inflated boaster, — who had subjected to himself the whole mortal race, — was conversant with every species of iniquity, both the impurities of blood-shedding, and the deeds which were unrighteous; with the error also of every sort of vile (and) ungodly impiety. For, of all these things he was the Cause; and, as if there were again no existence after death, the many did in their conduct the things which deserved death, and as if unsubdued by (the fear of) any impending punishment. On account of this dissoluteness (resulting) from death, they lived a life which (in reality) was no life: they entertained not God in their thoughts, nor the righteous judgment of God : nor did they cherish the remembrance of the rational Essence of their own souls. They were conversant (only) with the one hard Ruler, Death; and were reconciled to the corruption resulting from this, which was the undoing of their whole soul. On this account it was, that they gave the name of Pluto, — the god of riches, — to Death : and Death became their god ! And not he alone, but also those precious things which were in his presence, and contributed to a life of lust, became their Gods ! The very lust of the body therefore, became to them a God ! the common aliments, a God ! the seed which fell into the earth, a God ! the pleasant blossoms of this, a God ! the flowers of the apples, a God ! the pleasure that was in drunkenness, a God ! the love of the body, a God ! and the very lust of these things ! Hence, the mysteries of Demeter and of Proserpine: as also the rape of the Maid to Hell; and again, her return. Hence the feasts of Dionysus (Bacchus) — and of Hercules — who was overcome as by some great god by drunkenness ! Hence the mysteries of the adultery of Mars and Venus ! Hence themadness of Jupiter after women, and his love of Ganymede! the rambling stories about Gods lovers of lust, and attached to the vilest affections! And of all these, was

Death the (originating) Cause: for they believed Death to be the end and conclusion of all, the dissolution and corruption both of bodies and souls; and that there was no other life, except this of the body, and which is corporeal: — living a life worse than that of the whole irrational nature of beasts! On these accounts, it became the desire of the universal King, THE WORD OF GOD, at the intimation of His merciful Father, and for the purpose of affording help to these, to hasten, — as a king great in mercy, — and to undertake the reprehension of Death, by means of human nature; being as He was, THE LIFE, THE WORD, and THE POWER. OF GOD. Nor was it but that help should be obtained, that He caused that fearful being among men to be reproved: on this account, He, who was incorporeal, — availing Himself of human armoury, and of a mortal body, — by means of mortality overcame mortality. Hence His primary mystery, that of His Body, was instituted; and hence, the signal mark of the victory of the Cross; hence too, the commemoration of the life which is eternal and immortall, He named *His remembrance*. Of the armoury which is mortal, He availed Himself, and exhibited that greatest of miracles to all men, the mark of victory of eternal life, which He established in opposition to Death. For, He gave up mortality to be food for the beasts; and He himself was forthwith affixed to the cross of crucifixion, in order that to all might become known the nature of mortality. Nor was that which was done concealed by any means; neither from men, nor from Demons, nor from the Powers which are superior. For it was necessary, that all should take an accurate view of mortality, as in a great theatre, when He (thus) testified of the nature of His (human) person ; and afterwards (see) Death coming in like a fierce beast: and (also see), why it was that it slew Him : and (that) then, the Power of life came in after Death, and again established for all the victory which is over Death, when he had thus made that which was mortal, immortal. The Power therefore, which had taken hold of him, (viz.) THE WORD OF GOD, left the Body for a short time; and it was suspended for a short space on the Cross, and became a corpse. But the WORD, which gives life to all, became not a corpse. He therefore (thus) attested the mortal nature of his Person. This corpse too, of which Death had (so) taken possession, was now borne by men ; and — being worthy of the usual care — was afterwards consigned, according to the laws of men, to burial. The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out; a cave

that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living WORD ; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave. And much did Death exult in this, as if, behold ! he had (now) taken even this (Personage) under his power, together with those whom he had ever (so taken). But, when the period of three days had not yet passed, the same life shewed itself, after the rebuke which was sufficient against Death. For, if He had risen earlier (and) immediately, He would not then have been believed to have been dead. But, since He was (thus) in reality raised, He had also in reality died; and had, for a time, been in reality subject to Death ; then also did the all-life-giving WORD OF GOD evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the second birth of this selfsame mortal (body) !

62. What things then came to pass after these, as to their being (actually) performed, it is not my intention henceforward to be thy teacher. Those who saw them will be the witnesses best fitted for the truth (in this respect); those (I say) who, from having seen the acts themselves, did, both by their blood and persons, attest their faith in Him; and who, by the power of Him, to whom they gave their testimony, filled the whole creation with the righteousness which was preached by them. Those therefore, who were spectators of the things then done, and who saw with their own eyes the Second Birth which became theirs , have delivered (this) by their own testimonies. It was not indeed, that the things done had been heard of by them, as far as word or enunciation (went); but, they had been seen, and accurately felt by those who testified respecting them: and on this account, these same, who had by open vision and in reality apprehended (these things), and had received the signal mark of victory over Death, learned well to be daring against Death; and taught this same thing to their Disciples, (viz.) that they had received from their Saviour, the truth pertaining to life immortal. And thus also, was the whole mortal race thence refreshed (as freed) from the fear of Death: because he, who had formerly been terrific, had suffered rebuke in the presence of all; and the life which was after death, had (now) received certain credibility ; not

from the artificial enouncements of Sophists, nor from the discovery of persuasive words; but, by the deeds which came forth to light. Nor again, did (men) as formerly tremble at death, but they laughed much and greatly in the hour of this fearful being; so much so that they even followed after death, on account of (their) desire of that immortal life, which should succeed it.

63. Hence indeed, originated the care of mankind for the life which is holy and pure, and the diligence to attain to every (sort of) excellency : the (constant) recollection of God, and of the many enouncements respecting the righteousness of truth, and of the turning away from vice and ungodliness. Nor was it this only, but also the true notion of the life which is after death, was stirred up among all men, and (so was) the right and true state of mind, respecting the righteous judgment of God, the King of all. On this account did the whole race of man, — which had (now) been changed to a state of virtue by means of enouncements not to be described, — henceforward spit in the faces of the Idols, trample under foot the unjust laws of the Demons, and laugh at the ancient traditionary system of error of their forefathers.

64. Henceforward therefore, men became so instructed in the heavenly doctrine, and the enouncements respecting the knowledge of God, that they no more reverentially viewed this visible creation with the bodily eyes; nor, when looking upwards and seeing the Sun, Moon, and Stars, did they address their veneration to them: but they acknowledged Him who is beyond these; — Him who is secret and invisible, — Him who is the Creator of all, and the Maker of every thing: even as they had been taught to fear Him alone.

65. Nor did he, who had been instructed in the new doctrine, again imagine as formerly, that this nature of the body, which is fleeting and corruptible, inanimate (in itself,) and irrational; — nor, that the primitive elements, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, — were Gods; since he had also been taught, that the superiority of his own soul greatly excelled these.

66. Nor is he as formerly, a slave to his own lusts; nor is he overcome by the baser desires: for he was then vanquished, and could not overcome: (nor) can he, who has been commanded to be careful to root up the sin (of idolatry) from his mind and soul, together with every evil desire and folly, again fabricate Gods to himself, or, even dare to look upon a woman lustfully.

67. Nor will he again as formerly, venerate the Interpreter of his own soul, or dare to call it a God: nor will he name his own mind Minerva; nor indeed,

any of those other things, which are in like manner but for an hour; but Him alone who is beyond all, the WORD OF GOD, the Artificer of all, the WISDOM OF THE GOD OF ALL, will he recognize and bless, as his Saviour.

68. Nor again as in former times, does he, — who has subscribed to the one who alone is superior to Death; to the Conqueror, who has possessed himself of the signal mark of Victory over the power of Death ; to his Saviour ; — give the names and appellations of Heroes and Gods, to mortals who left this world in shame, and surrendered their lives to the dominion of Death.

69. Nor again as in former times, will he revere inanimate Idols. Nor will he honour the nature which is irrational, and of Beasts, through that fear of Demons which is out of nature. But, he will laugh at the error of his forefathers, and will turn his face from their manner (of life), which was destitute both of the knowledge of God, and of the contemplation (of this).

70. Nor will he again as in former times, express terror at the images of evil Demons, nor at the vain and erroneous phantasms of earthly spirits: — he (I say) who is constrained by the prevailing power of THE ONE WORD the King of all, has been taught to undo through Him, the whole race of the accusers of men, and (so) to abolish and expel, both from souls and bodies, these (causes of) injuries.

71. Nor will he as formerly, again pollute himself with libations, fumes, blood, and sacrifices; nor yet with the sacrifices of irrational animals: much less will he delight himself with the slaughter of men, and with human sacrifices. He has been taught, that God stands in need of nothing. — Nor will he delight in bodily matter, nor in the fumes of earthly sacrifices; but only in the enlightened mind, in purity of soul, and in holiness of life; in the sacrifices also which are without smoke and blood: those which are in the words of the mysteries: those (I say) which the Saviour of all has appointed to be delivered throughout the whole creation of man, for a *remembrance of Himself*.

72. Nor again will he, who has been taught by the words of his Saviour, to “*mortify his members that are on the earth*” dare, as formerly, to give the title of gods to the aliments of the body, and to drunkenness; nor yet to the lusts and passions.

73. Nor again will he, — who has subscribed to the only *One* who is above all, the life-giving WORD OF God, who is his Saviour, and the Conqueror of

Death, — be afraid of the solution of his soul, from the body which (now) accompanies it. Nor will he call Death, God.

74. With all these instructions of righteousness therefore, will he be armed who has been taught in the new doctrine. Nor will he, in opposition to the truth, give into those who dare to contend with God; but will stand up, in the mind (so) confirmed, against fire and sword; will bear up in the presence of fierce beasts, of the depths of the sea, and of every other terror of death. Those too, who in their natures are (mere) children and women, will sport with that death which was formerly (so) grievous, and the hearing about which was (so) dreadful. Barbarians at once and Greeks, who have received the powerful persuasion respecting the life which is immortal, by means of the resurrection of our Saviour, do follow after the life of that better wisdom, the fear of God, the signal mark of their victory over death, and of the eternal life which follows, having subscribed to their Saviour.

75. Hence it is, that this rational race of man, — since it has been its lot to reside on the earth, — this same (I say) acts henceforth according to its nature; being taught to live in the remembrance of God, in the fulness of every good, and in accordance with the prediction of the prophets, who, many years ago (inspired) from above, thus previously preached : *“All the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned to the Lord their God; and before Him shall worship all the families of the nations: because the kingdom is the Lord’s, and He is Governour over the Gentiles.”*

76. Hence, places of instruction have been established throughout the whole creation of man ; so that the words of God, the doctrine of purity of life and of the fear of God, are preached in the hearing of all nations.

77. Hence, in every city and place, congregations (assembled) from among all, ascribe, in songs of victory, honour to the all-life-giving WORD of God.

78. Hence, the hymns which are suitable to the assemblies of Angels in heaven, even the race of mankind tenders to God the King of all. And henceforth, — togetherwith those spirits, the intelligent and unembodied powers that are with God who is above all; those also, whose lot it is to reside below on this element of earth, as also the rational souls of the just, — do, by means of the body, as by an instrument of music, send forth the hymns which are becoming, and the blessings which are due, to their one Saviour, the cause of every good. And that, which never (before) existed, the fruit which is due

to God the universal King, is now daily rendered (to Him) throughout the whole creation of man, by every race as by one general agreement, and at the same befitting hours and seasons.

79. Those genealogies of the Demons, and stories about the Gods, which are now superannuated, perished when (so) consigned to oblivion. But, the word of Christ is renewed, and in (vigorous) youth with all. Now are the Divine Laws and Lessons preached throughout the whole earth, and they succeed in purifying all men. The instruction too, of the fear of God in truth, has filled all places, both of the Barbarians and the Greeks. Now do those of foreign, as well as those of many, languages, send forth in one manner of life, and with one consent, the ascriptions of blessing which are becoming, to the Creator of all: — one enouncement, the same Law, and one mystery, suitable to God: and to this same conduct do they adhere. Now has there been established, throughout the whole creation, one combination of souls, and one accordance of doctrine. And hence, at one moment of time do those whose lot it is to reside together in the east, along with those at the setting of the Sun, glorify, by means of the same doctrines, the One God who is beyond all, the Lord of the whole world. Nor do they subscribe to any other, except only to the Christ of God, who is the cause of their happiness. Those also, who have possession of the northern parts, together with those who are in the south, at once call Him THE SAVIOUR. And, so do they honour God in the same (forms of) words, that no difference will again soon be made — although it might be imagined as to speech, — between the Barbarian and the Greek; nor, that the Greek be a person to be distinguished from the Barbarian; for with God *“there is neither Barbarian nor Greek.”* For every one fearing God, is (here) a wise man. And now Egyptians, Syrians, Scythians, Italians, Moors, Persians, and Hindoos, all and at once, have be-become wise by the doctrines of Christ. In these things too are they all, at once made wise, and (so) instructed, as to be intrepid against Death; to despise the things of this life, and to put forth the one good hope, which is in the promise of the word of our Saviour. But they also learn, that they shall receive that life of the soul which is immortal, and which has henceforth been promised to them as a deposit, in the habitation of the circle of the heavens, and in the kingdom of God. This promise, their Saviour confirmed by deeds in His conflict with Death ; by which He proved to his Disciples, that Death which had (hitherto) been so

fearful to all men, was nothing. The life moreover, which had been promised by Him, He established by open view to their very eyes; so that they should even see it; and made this His Image (body), by its resurrection, the commencement of our hope, — of the imperishable life of our bodies, of the soul as being immortal, and of our greatness as like to that of the Angels.

80. The deeds therefore, pertaining to Redemption and affording aid to the world, as to the Revelation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, are these. If however, any one require a greater abundance, so as to be supplied with many other proofs of the Divine power (in this respect), personal leisure will be requisite, for the examination of the things which have been written respecting Him. Of these I will select a few from the writings of His Disciples, — which he previously preached as predicting the things which should be done by Him, — in proof of his Godhead: and will so lay before those, who do not acknowledge the conclusiveness of my former statements, this as the last (and greatest).

The End of the Third Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. IT is desirable then, that we should hear from the common Saviour of all himself, who, speaking with men after the manner of a good Parent, became as a child, and gave (his) answers, as the nature of mortals was able to hear, by means of the vessel which he assumed, as through an Interpreter. For, when he made his Divine manifestation among men, he gave many other proofs of the power of his Godhead, by means of deeds which any one who chooses may collect, from the Books (that have been written) about Him. Nor will that again, be a trifling conviction as to His truth, which takes its stand on the words which he uttered, and which it is necessary we should bring forward against those, who do not readily give credence to his astonishing Divine performances. Even in those other things which have been preached respecting Him, — which (consist) in the *power* of His words, — there is no small proof afforded to those who possess mind. For, as on many occasions, we know those whom we have never seen with our eyes, and whose words only we have heard ; and distinguish the speaker by what we hear, whether he be Greek, — as the case may be, — or Roman, or even Egyptian; or, whether in age old, or young; or, whether the strain be that of man, or woman ; or, the enunciation that of the wise and rational, or, on the contrary, of the foolish or ignorant; so also, although we might not have happened to see with our eyes those Divine acts which THE WORD OF GOD performed, when He made His conversation on earth; still, from the teaching of His words, the enunciation of which was foreign, and surpassing general apprehension; — also, from the foreknowledge of things to come to pass which he predicted ; — and, from the things which he promised he would do in after times ; — as well as from the issue of the things (so) predicted, the fulfilment of which is now before our eyes, (and) brought about by his power; — there must result no mean proof, as to those (declarations) which bear testimony to His Godhead. For, the miracles which were performed by Him may be divided into (two) periods; that, in which the conversations He made on earth are commemorated, and that which succeeded, and extends to our times. Those great acts then, which he formerly did when he was with the men who happened to exist at that time, it was in their power openly to view ; but to us,

these were unseen ; and they are laid down, (as) having been unseen. And thus again also, the things which have been fulfilled in our times, — in the order in which His words foretold them, and are even to this present witnessed by us in the very facts, — could not, to those of the times in which they were foretold, have yet been known as to their results; and they were, no doubt, considered by them, who believed not, as impossible. It is nevertheless likely that even then, those whose character was that of sound judgment, — although not witnessing the results of the predictions, — did still believe in them, on account of His other acts. For, Is it likely that they who saw with their eyes the evident powers of God, the miracles and astonishing acts and deeds which eclipsed all mortal nature, believed only the things which were then seen, but, (as) confirmed by these of his foreknowledge, did not (as) readily also believe those which were afterwards to come to pass ? — So that again, it is right that we should, from those miracles which we ourselves have seen, also give our credence to the things which were then witnessed by his Disciples. For, the very things which were delivered in the hearing only of (our) predecessors, are (now) visible to our own eyes: and, they are sufficient for those whose judgment is incorrupt, as proofs setting a seal on the things which have been recorded. And these are the things which then existed not; nor had they yet been set up; nor had they so much as ever entered into the minds of men: but they were foretold by Him, from His divine foreknowledge of the future ; and, in after times, they have been fulfilled, and are in (these) our times seen by us, even to this very day. — Of these, our means of knowledge are at hand.

2. A certain man, illustrious from (his) service to the rule and power of the Romans, was in a state of suspense, because his favourite boy had become paralytic in his limbs, and was laid (up) in his house; who, when he saw that our Saviour shewed forth such powers upon others, — healing the sick, and curing every pain and infirmity, — he perceived in his own mind, that this miracle was not of man. He approached Him accordingly as God; — not looking to the vessel of the Body which was visible, and by means of which He carried on His discourses with men, but to that God who was unseen ; to Him, who by means of a mortal being, made known these His excellent doings; — he fell down and worshipped Him, praying and striving (with Him), that He would afford to him for his boy the aid which is from God.

And, when our Saviour said to him, *“I will come and heal him,”* the Chiliarch answered Him, — for he had been considered worthy of this rule among the Romans; — and said to him, *“Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but, speak the word only, and the child shall be healed. For, I am a man in authority, and there are soldiers under my hands; and I say to this, Go; and he goeth: and, to another, Come; and he cometh: and, to my servant I say, Do such a thing: and he doeth it.”* Hear therefore what our Saviour did upon this request, not from me, but from the Writer himself, — teaching (us) thus — in the very words : *“But, when Jesus heard it, He wondered, and said to those whofollowed Him, Not even in Israel have I found such faith as this. And I say unto you, that many shall come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall go out into outer darkness.”* And, after these words, He thus spoke to the Chiliarch: *“Go: as thou hast believed, shall it be unto thee. And his boy was healed from that hour.”* And, when the Chiliarch returned to his house, in that very hour he found his boy well.

3. With so much power therefore, did the word of our Saviour go forth, and shewed so much virtue, and so replete was it with power and with so much mercy, and with such ease were the good aids (it afforded given), that He readily promised He would come. And such indeed was the miracle which accompanied the act, that it is impossible to conceive of it as we ought. For this, that He said to the Chiliarch no more than, *“As thou hast believed, so shall it be unto thee,”* and, with the word, gave health to his son, How effectually does it shew, that it was God who spoke in mortal voice ! But, should any one be persuaded of this with difficulty, on account of the greatness of the miracle; still, such cannot fairly be excused as to His prediction, in which a powerful argument will be afforded in favour of the deed, if any one will consider that at this period, the Roman who drew near to our Saviour, was ONE (only), namely, the Chiliarch, who made a greater and better profession of Him, than (did the whole) Jewish people; and, that our Saviour prophesied that instead of ONE, those, who should like this man draw near to Him, should be MANY ; and, that these should be of those residing in the East, and in the West: — those (I say), who, by means of theknowledge of Him, and of the confession (made) of Him, should be considered worthy of

honour with God, equal to that of the Hebrew Fathers: — even of him who is preached of as being the Father of their Fathers, Abraham, who went forth from among his idolatrous forefathers, and changed his manner of life; and, leaving the error of many Gods, recognized the ONE GOD who is over all. He also foretold, that like to this (man), and to his sons Isaac and Jacob, there should be myriads of men throughout the whole creation; and particularly of those who resided both in the East, and the West. To these things He added, — and this (constitutes) the greatness of the prediction, — that these very Jews, the descendants of these Friends of God, who make their boast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, should, on account of their resistance to Him, and their want of belief in Him, — as if cut off from the light of knowledge, — go forth into outer darkness : and, because of their extreme ignorance and foolishness, (be consigned to) an entire disseverance from the light of salvation. Thus He predicted. — It is now right we should consider the fulfilment of these things, and receive from the testimony of our eyes how these very Jews, who boasted of their descent from the family of those called the Friends of God, have been cast out, not only from the kingdom of God, but also from their own metropolis, the most excellent place of rule, in which the law appointed that their noblest service should be performed ! and (how) those who were formerly free, and the virtuous children of these Fathers, have become slaves; and, being mixed with foreign nations, — a thing unlawful with them, — wander about in lands not their own, and are not permitted to view, even from a distance, the land of their own religious worship! Being moreover, deprived of those princes and kings, who were vested with rule by traditionary right, they now remain in subjection to those who have raised their temple to the ground, and have subdued their whole nation ! Nor is there, as formerly, either prophet or revelation; nor is there help, or act of God. Of all these things, not one existed from ancient times; it was (only) after our Saviour had turned away His face from them that these came upon them, according to His predictions; and such are the things respecting the Jews.

4. Instead then, of that one Chiliarch who drew near to our Saviour at that period, a number of men exceeding description has, from all nations, drawn near to Him, not of Chiliarchs only, but also of the mass of the Roman armies; so that even myriads of princes and governors bearing rule among the nations, and in the (various) regions; and also of others, much more

honourable and exalted than these, — those who are great, and glory in the royal apartments, — have like the Chiliarch approached the Christ of God ; and have, by means of his doctrine, acknowledged the God of those Friends of the Deity, who (formerly) arose among the Hebrews; and they have accordingly, been considered worthy of a return from God the supreme King, equal to that afforded to these. If indeed any one will consider, what numbers of Christians and of churches, and of vast congregations, are said to be in the country of the Persians and of the Hindoos, residing in the East; and, how there are with these, through the words of our Saviour, women, virgins desiring, and men coming over to, holiness, and to the provisions which are for the life of philosophy and of purity, and how numerous the confessors are, who live among these: —

5. Also, how those very persons who confess Him who has arisen from the seed of Abraham, and that He is the Christ of God; and have become, by means of the new birth which is in Him, the children of Abraham ; and have (thus) set their seal to the prophetic Word of our Saviour: and this also, that, in like manner, in the western parts of the world, the whole of Spain and Gaul , in the countries of the Moors and Africans, in the (Islands of the) Ocean itself, and in Britain, men subscribe to Christ, and even acknowledge the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: upon Him also they call in their prayers, and are looked upon (as) partakers with these same (Fathers) in the worship of God: — If (I say), any one will therefore take these things into his consideration, he will then understand what the power of the prophetic word (was) that declared and said, *“Many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.”* These things therefore, He said, and foretold to the Chiliarch : and, on many other occasions, things not unlike these to the Jewish Doctors. And in this manner He spoke: *“When ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves going out. And they shall come from the East, and from the West, and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.”* Of these things an open confirmation is afforded by the fact, of all nations having been converted to the God who is over all. These, He therefore said to them, respecting the conversion of all nations to God, who is over all.

6. Thou wilt learn moreover, from the writings of His Disciples, — that it

was by their means He was about soon to call in the nations — which are to this effect: “*When Jesus passed over a part of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting nets into the sea : — for they were fishers. — He said to them, Follow me; and I will make you fishers of men. And they, in the same hour, left their nets and followed him. And, when he departed thence, He saw two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John Ms brother, in the ship with Zebedee their Father, and He called them ; and they, in the same hour, left the ship andtheir Father, and followed Him.*” Another writer too has left it on record, that He spoke to Simon on two occasions, a prediction similar to this: “*When a great multitude was standing over against Jesus*” He (this writer) has said, that “*He went up into one of the ships, which was Simon’s; and, when He had sat down in it, He interpreted to the multitude.*” But, after the teaching which was sufficient, — because it was suitable that He should add some Divine work to His words, for the advantage of those who were looking on, — He commanded Simon to “*cast forth his net for a draught: and he said to Him, We have toiled the whole night, and have found nothing ; nevertheless at thy word, I will cast out the net.*” And, what He had been commanded, he did. And, when he had taken a great number of fishes, their nets were breaking, — because they were heavy with the many (fishes), — and they called to those who were in the ship at their side, to help them. And thus, when they had drawn up the fishes, they filled both their ships, insomuch that they were pressed to sinking; and, upon these things, Simon was astonished and wondered, confessing that he was not worthy, that our Saviour should come near him. But, when He had thus shewn him a representation of what was about to take place, He also gave its explanation (thus); “*and Jesus said to him, Fear not; Thou shalt henceforth be a fisher of men unto life.*” It was to Galileans, — men unacquainted with any thing beyond the Syriac language, and this mean profession and necessity of fishing, by which they were driven, — that our Saviour well promised, that He would “*make them fishers of men*” and preachers of His doctrine. And, He made them (such). Nor did He belie His promise; but He shewed forth the “**POWER OF GOD,**” the Doer of a thing, which eclipsed every human excellence! For, had He brought near to Him the Intellectual and the Wise, the Rich, and Illustrious, among the Jews; and had made use of these (as) the Teachers of His words; it would indeed have been likely, that men would have

supposed this matter to have been brought about by human means only. For thus are most men usually overcome; (namely), they are either wrought upon by the gifts of the rich, or, they are led astray by excellency of speech, or, by the phantasms of science : or, they fear the power of illustrious personages. But He made use of no such disciples as these: on the contrary, by the poor, the despised ; — by men ignorant as to speech, Syrians in language, and in their character humble and mean, — did He openly manifest His work (of redemption). It was the Divine Power alone, which He made use of; — that which He evinced when He previously called them, and made them go forth ; and so promised that He would make them both “*Fishers of men,*” and *Preachers*; that, instead of the nets which they then had, they should receive from Him the net, which should comprehend in its texture, an aggregate of the declarations of both the Law and the Prophets, as well as of those comprehended in (all) the Divine teaching. This they should cast into the sea of mankind as existing in the world, and inclose (therein) as many as they could; filling these their rational netswith every sort of the fish that are rational. But these things, which were then heard by word, were words and sounds, and nothing more: it was an effort of the Divine Power itself, which, at no distant time, brought them to pass; and so fulfilled by deeds the things which had been foretold, that, in a short time, He made His own possession the whole creation of mankind, — congregations innumerable, — by means of these poor and illiterate men; and, that His Churches were every where filled, both with Greeks and Barbarians. For, it was not by that one Divine word of promise, that He would teach His Disciples, but, that He would **MAKE** *them Fishers of men*. Nor was it therefore, that He knew only, what should come to pass; nor, that He foretold this; but, that He should also be looked upon (as) the Effectuator of all this knowledge. — He spoke in word, and He performed and established the deed: — that something (I say), which was to be brought about, (He foretold) by demonstration and representation; and of this He gave the fulfilment in the fact itself! For, to them who formerly toiled throughout the lengthened night, which was dark and destitute of the true light and knowledge of God, and could find nothing which they could take, (leading) to salvation, He arose (as the sun) in His brightness, and commanded those who were in the light and the day, — not by their art, but by trusting in his word, — to cast out their nets into the deep. And they so

enclosed this great multitude of fish, that their fishing vessels were pressed to breaking, and the ships themselves to remaining in the deep from their weight. And, because these things were so done, astonishment and great fear came upon Simon. But, our Saviour said (as it were) these things to him, *Let not these things alarm thee: they are (but as) recitations for the present, and representations of something hereafter to come to pass: for, these are fish unendued with either voice, or reason; these too, are ships and nets, composed of (earthly) material, and are inanimate; but, not as these things, are those of which these are the representations : for shortly afterwards, — that is, immediately, now, and forthwith, — thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life (eternal). This laborious fishing which returns no profit, thou shalt relinquish; and, thou shalt become a fisherman of reasonable creatures, in place of these which are irrational. Nor shalt thou again draw up those whom thou shalt catch from the depths of the sea, but from the bitterness of the life that is hateful; from the chambers of ungodly darkness and from sin, into the light which is intellectual; and to the elevation of purity. That is, thou shalt catch them for life, by means of that which is of life: it is not death that thou preparest for them. These first indeed, which are drawn up out of the sea, and which formerly enjoyed life in darkness and the deep, perish immediately on their ascending and receiving the light. But, those who shall be caught by thee from among men, shall be caught up out of the darkness of ignorance, and shall be changed to the life that is of God. These things therefore, (namely,) “Thou shalt henceforth catch men unto life,” our Saviour foretold by the Divine power: and the same, our Saviour shewed by very deed, were sure and true. This Syrian fisherman therefore, this net-caster, — did by means of his net, — the texture of which was by the Divine power composed of the words of mystery, — catch innumerable multitudes of men. And, “The visual perception of something hidden, is something visible.” The things therefore, which the long life of the world, — and which from the first experienced not the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour, — could not effect: — the things which neither Moses who gave the law to the Hebrews, nor the Prophets who came after Moses, could ; nor yet the multitudes of others, who from ancient times carried as fishermen the doctrine of God to man, and who toiled throughout the whole night which preceded his manifestation, — could do, this Galilean, this Pauper, this Barbarian, this Simon did, by means of his*

voice bring to pass. The demonstrations indeed, then given of Simon as to these things, are the Churches which up to this time have arisen, far more in number than the ships (then present), and these, filled with fish that are rational. Such is this of Caesarea of Palestine, and such is that of Antioch of Syria; and such is that of Rome; for, by these Churches — which Simon set up, and by all those near them, — are these things commemorated. Those too that are in Egypt and in Alexandria itself, did he again, not by his own means, but by those of Mark, his disciple, erect. Of those also, that are in Italy and among the nations adjoining, he was the Steward (Dispenser): and he made his disciple Mark the Teacher and Fisherman of those in Egypt. Now, give thy consideration likewise, to the rest of our Saviour's Disciples, on those whom He said *He would make Fishers of men*; — and this his word He has shewn forth by deeds. For up to this time He did, and caused, that, forthwith, and throughout the whole creation of man, — His rational net should be filled with every sort of rational fish, Barbarian and Greek ; and that He should draw up from the depths of evil, and the darkness of ungodliness, the souls of men ; turning these daily and hourly to the light and knowledge of God which had been delivered by Himself. Which things, seen as they are with our own eyes, establish, — as it appears to me, — beyond (all) doubt, the Divine manifestation of our Saviour.

7. Art thou desirous then, of hearing a third declaration of the Divine word, which foretold that His Disciples should arise (as the Sun) throughout the whole world ? Hear this also, for it is after this manner : *“Ye are the light of the world:”* and, *“A city that is built on a hill cannot lie hidden:”* *“nor do men light a candle, and place it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house. So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.”* Here again, these very fishermen, who went forth from Galilee, — a corner of Judea so called, which is situate on the sea; and of which Isaiah, — one of the Prophets, — making known at once its obscurity, and at the same time, the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour, which he announced should take place there, — proclaimed (saying), *“Galilee of the Gentiles, a people sitting in darkness have seen a great light:”* — those (I say) who went forth from thence; men, mean, necessitous, illiterate in speech, and poor in circumstances; — those very fishermen He said, should be the light of the

world; and this promise He confirmed by deed ; (namely), that this same Simon who was called Cephas, (and) who went forth from Capernaum which is a village of Galilee, — should enlighten many souls of men with the light of the knowledge of God ; and should himself become known throughout the whole creation, even to the regions of the West: and, that even to this time, his memory should be more celebrated among the Romans, than that of those of former times, so that he should be considered worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city ; and, that great multitudes of the Roman Empire should run to it, as to a great asylum and temple of God. How then, Does not the truth bear testimony to Him, who said to his Disciples, “*Ye are the light of the world?*” So again, the name of John the son of Zebedee also, — who (was engaged) in fishing with his father and brethren, and mending the net, whom He (Jesus) saw, and considered worthy both of this call and promise, — arose (as the Sun) throughout the whole creation ; and whose words have, through the Gospel which was delivered by him, also enlightened the souls of men ! — which has been translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and is daily preached in the ears of all nations ! And more particularly, the sepulchre of this (Disciple) which is in Ephesus of Asia, does glorious honour to his death, and shews to the world the memorial of that light which cannot be hidden. In like manner also, the writings of the apostle Paul are preached throughout the whole creation, and they enlighten the souls of men. The martyrdom of his death, and the sepulchre which (is erected) over him, are, even to this day, greatly and abundantly honoured in the city of Rome. And, What need is there we should say, that the mode of life set up by means of the Disciples of our Saviour throughout the whole creation, — like the exhibition of a banner of victory, — is as a famous city which has nothing hidden within it ? but which is in authority in the midst of all other cities, (and) according to the enouncement of our Saviour, “*Is like to a city placed upon a hill?*” And this is the very word, which they preached respecting their master. It was not, as (if) hidden under a bushel, or given up to error and darkness; but, as upon a lofty candlestick, and lifted up to an exalted eminence, and giving light to all that were in the house of the whole world ! And this, (viz.) “*Let your light so shine before men*” evinced (both) foreknowledge and prophecy; not precept only, but also intimation of what should come to pass. He fully too named them all (here),

the light when He said, “YE *are the light of the world.*” Not, that they were many lights; but, that they all together (constituted) one light: as if from an equality of them all, there should be at once an arising (of light as of the Sun) to the whole world. For, it was His alone to say, “I AM *the light of the world.*” And of Him it has been truly said, that “*He is the light that came into the world, which enlighteneth every man.*” But, since these things have been thus foretold, and fulfilled; observe how He again spoke of, and explained, them to His Disciples: “*That which I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and, that which ye hear in your ears, preach ye on the housetops. And fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear ye Him rather, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.*” He also promised by these things, in the very beginnings (of the ministration) of His Disciples, — when they knew nothing of them, but were as if they had been in the dark, — the knowledge of the light. He prophesied also, to those (then) hearing His precepts, that they should preach openly to all men that which was (now) secret, in darkness, and invisible. He taught them too, not to be perplexed, but to suffer affliction with all their soul; to preach Him in the ears of all; and not to fear those, who would kill the mortal body: the soul not being subject to loss of life by men, because it is incorporeal and immortal. For it is God only, who is able to inflict punishment and death, at once on both body and soul. It may be observed therefore, that He taught by these things, that the soul is incorporeal; and set up, in a few words, the ordinances of (true) philosophy,

In that He foretold at the outset to His Disciples, that He would make them Fishers of men; and, that they should eventually, openly, immediately, (and) through His power, make Disciples of all nations. From the Gospel of Matthew.

8. After his resurrection from the dead, all of them, — being together as they had been commanded, — went to Galilee, as He had said to them. But, when they saw Him, some worshipped Him, but others doubted. But He drew near to them, spoke with them, and said: “*All power (both) in heaven and earth, is given to me of my Father. Go ye and make Disciples of all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, behold! I am with you always even to the end of the world.*” Observe now, in

these things, the consideration and caution evinced by the Disciples: (viz.) that they did not all worship Him when they saw Him. Some of them indeed did this faithfully and devotedly, but others refrained for the present. It was not easily and suddenly, that they gave in to this miracle; but, it was after much investigation and with every caution they were so at last persuaded, that they went out to all mankind. They became too, the Preachers of His Resurrection; because it had prophetically said in the Scriptures of the Prophets, in His Person, *“Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (for thy) possessions, the uttermost parts of the earth.”* Just as the testimony of this prophecy has now been fulfilled in fact, He said to His Disciples; *“All power is given to me, as in heaven, so in earth.”* For, He had possessed the sovereignty of the things which are in heaven from eternity; but now, He said was given to Him, by His Father, those upon earth, in conformity with this (viz.) *“Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy possession.* For, from ancient times, — as Moses attests,—” *The most High, when dividing the nations, appointed the boundary of the people, according to the number of the angels.*” So that the Angels of God were, from ancient times, Rulers over all that was on the earth. But, when mankind had been perverted to the error of many Gods, and the Angels, who were the Rulers, were unable to afford any remedy for this; the common Saviour of all Himself taught, by means of His Divine manifestation, and after His victory over Death, that the empire of the nations upon earth, should no more be given by his Father to the Angels, but to Himself. And on this account, He commanded his Disciples, — not from ancient times — but now, that they should make the circuit, and make Disciples, of all nations. And He necessarily added the mystery of cleansing. For it was necessary to those, who should be converted from among the heathen, that they should be cleansed by His power from every pollution and uncleanness; because they had been defiled by the error of Demons, and had been holden by the worship of Idols, and by uncleanness of every sort, but had now first been changed from that life of abomination, and of lawless practices. These very persons then, did He direct to teach, — after this cleansing, which is by the mystery of His doctrine, — not, that they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the Law of Moses, but all those which He commanded them to observe. And these are those which the whole of the Disciples, — making severally the circuit of all the nations, —

equally delivered to every Church throughout the whole creation. He necessarily therefore, stirred them up, and made them readily to confide, — to undertake the circuit of all nations, and to make Disciples of all races of men, through the promise by which He counselled them, saying: “*Behold, I myself am with you.*” To this word of promise, He also superadded the performance. He was present in the Divine Power with each and every one of them; to the whole of them was He at once present, and with them He acted and wrought. He confirmed too, even to victory, (the promise) constituting them Teachers to all nations, of that fear of God which was delivered by Himself. In this promise therefore, they trusted; and forthwith, did they fulfil His words by deeds: nor did they in any thing hesitate; hut they (so) went forth with all readiness to the disciplining of all nations, that they engaged in the work. With their eyes they had seen Him who was a little while before dead, then living: and, Him whom they had denied with cursing, — on account of what then happened to them, — they had seen openly, present, and in his own person; and, as His custom was, He had conversed with them, and promised them the things of which we have already spoken. Nor could they disbelieve His promises, because of His appearing (to them); which (appearing) they bad investigated. Now in this precept, there must have been (much) that was discouraging to them, knowing as they did in themselves the rusticity and illiterate character which they sustained; on account of which, they might indeed have sought to be excused, and have well imagined it impossible that those, whose Language was the Syriac (only), and who knew nothing beyond the art of catching fish, could be Teachers both of the Greeks and Romans, of the Egyptians also, the Persians, and the rest of the barbarous nations : and set about to legislate, — in opposition to all other Legislators and Kings throughout the wholecreation, — that which was opposed to the things delivered to them from all ages, respecting the Gods of their Forefathers. But it was not possible for them to think such things, who had heard the voice of God saying to them, “*Behold, I myself am with you always.*” They had too, openly viewed the Godhead of Him who spoke with them. It had been seen to be superior to Death : respecting which however they had entertained fear. On the contrary they (now) hear, that henceforth they shall, with all their soul, undergo afflictions. They had now taken up from their Master, the certainty of life after death ; they went out tlherefore, with confidence to make the circuit

of all nations, that they might confirm by fact, the promises of Him their Lord. But He attached to the promises made to them, a more excellent word ; and, — what exceeds all wonder, — this He shews forth even to this present time; (viz.) “ *Behold, I myself am with you always* ” He added also, “ *even to the end of the world* ” And this applies, not only to them, but also to all those who came after them, and from them received His doctrine; and, thenceforward, even to this time, is He present to all those who have become His Disciples. Hence, His Church, which is kept by Himself, is daily increasing and multiplying to myriads; and by His Power shall it be congregated, even to the end of the world !

On the conversion of all nations to God. From the Gospel of Luke.

9. Again, upon another occasion after His resurrection from the dead, He appeared to the other disciples, and to them, — yet doubting and not believing in Him, — He put forth and said these words: “ *These are the words which I said, to you, when I was yet with you; that it is necessary every thing should be fulfilled which is written respecting me in the Law of Moses, in the Prophets, and in the Psalms. Then He opened their understandings that they should understand the Scriptures : and He said, Thus it was right that Christ should suffer, and that He should rise from the dead on the third day; and (that) repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations, beginning from Jerusalem. And ye are the witnesses of these things.* ” On one occasion indeed, He said, that “ *in His name should be preached repentance to all nations.* ” (Now), if the Deed did not follow upon the Word; neither can His resurrection from the dead be credited. But if, even up to this time, the things which His prediction foretold, remain in fact, so that His lively, (energetic) and operative word is visible (in effect) throughout the whole creation to our eyes; then is it unbecoming we should disbelieve Him who spoke this. For He, whose power is living (energetic,) operative, and visible to the eyes, powerfully impels us first of all to confess thereupon, that He is living; and that He brings to effect the living things of God, whose living (actual) deeds are seen fulfilling His words. These His words then, — being varied and translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and the Barbarians, — has He made intelligible to all, so that His doctrine is heard by all nations, and has stirred up myriads of congregations of those, who were formerly wickedly led on in the error of many Gods, in the worship of Idols,

and in (the course of life) which was unbecoming, to conversion and repentance. He did not command them first to preach remission of sins, and then repentance; but first, repentance, and then remission. For it was to those, who evinced a sincere repentance of former sins, that our Saviour's grace gave the pardon of their deeds; — on whose account indeed He suffered Death, and gave His soul a ransom for the souls of those, who should be saved through Him. Thus therefore, these His disciples, — men rude of speech and altogether illiterate, poor and needy, (as) they were in their character, — trusted in the power of Him who appeared to them after Death, and openly held converse with them. And they began from Jerusalem according to His commands, and went forth into all nations; the things too, which they were commanded, they performed, and preached repentance to all men, and remission of the former sins of the soul. And such was the entire superiority which they evinced, that, even to these our times, the doctrine of these poor and illiterate men, is in active operation throughout the whole creation of man. *How His acts should be heard, and preached of, throughout the whole world.* From the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark.

10. When our Saviour was in Bethany, a village not far from Jerusalem; — having been invited by one who was (named) Simon, and sitting down there ; — a certain woman took an alabaster box of balsam (ointment), which was very precious, and came and poured it out upon his feet: but His Disciples forbade her ; complaining of what had happened. But He received the tiling done as a sign, and intimated that this act should be preached of, and heard, throughout the whole world. He prophesied accordingly, and said: "*I say unto you, that wheresoever this my Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, what this (woman) hath done, shall also be spoken of for a memorial of her.*" Now these things He foretold, when, at that time, the writing of the Gospel had yet entered into the mind of none, nor had it come to the hearing of any. Nor, as it is likely, had what was then done, been learned by any who resided in the neighbourhood, but by those only who were present. Nevertheless, He left this whole enunciation in word, and prophesied that the Gospels, which should be written by His Disciples, should be preached throughout the whole world. And to the word He at once also superadded the deed, and said, that with His acts should be written in the Gospel, and spoken of throughout the whole world, even that which had been done by this woman, for a memorial

of her: — which same thing has (now) been seen confirmed by Him in very deed! For there is neither people, region, nor place, in which the memorial of this woman, as recorded in the Gospel, has not been mentioned; and, together, with the doctrine respecting Him, is it preached throughout the whole world. — Of the things therefore, respecting this (Gospel,) and respecting His Church, hear (now) how He made His promises : —

How He mentioned His church by name, when yet it had no existence: and how He declared, that the gates of Hell should never prevail against it. From the Gospel of Matthew.

11. When asking His Disciples on a certain occasion, what men said of Him, and they answering according to the opinion of the many, He asked them the second time, “*But what say ye?*” and, when Simon had said unto Him, “*Thou art the Christ of the living God*” He answered him, and said : “*Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood hath not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, Thou art Cephas: and upon this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*” The (term) “*this*” He took (as implying) *the knowledge*, that *He was the Messiah*, the Son of the living God ; and *Cephas* (the rock), because it should neither *be rent* nor *moved*. It is not unlikely, that He named (in) “*THIS*” the whole sense comprised here. On this account too, He designated that same Disciple, who had formerly been called Simon, *Cephas* (Peter), with reference to *this knowledge*; (and) of which He afterwards prophesied, and said: “*On this rock do I build my Church, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it.*” He foretold at once something to come to pass, and promised, that Himself would build it (the Church), and bring the work to completion, by the things of this *knowledge* which had now been given concerning Himself; that it should be made firm as on a confirmed foundation ; and that His Church should be built, solely by means of His own power which is everlasting, and that the gates of Hell should never overcome it. He himself afforded a proof (of this) in the fulfilment, better than any (that) words (can give). For innumerable persecutions, and many forms of death, have sprung up against His Church, but in nothing could they prevail against it. He has therefore, openly confirmed the enunciation of His prediction, by deeds; its truth He has shewn, by the fulfilment. The Church too, which He called the congregation, about to be set up in His name, evinced no small

foreknowledge: for the congregations of the Jews had been termed *Synagogues*; and, during the time of His going about among men, He frequented the Synagogue of the Jews. Nor was there hitherto, so much as one Synagogue only, set apart to Him. And, Who is not astonished, that He so foreknew those congregations which should afterwards be set up, at a great distance of time, in His name, and, that He should not name them, after the Jewish custom, *Synagogues*, but *Churches* ? He added too, that the gate-bars of Hell should not prevail against them: — things, which we perceive with our own eyes ! Nor should we wonder at the prediction only, but also at His promise, namely, “*I build my Church upon the rock, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it:*” which is (all) so brought near in fact, that we can see it ! For it was not by the power of men, nor yet by the superiority of the Teachers (employed), that His Church was raised ; but, it was He who promised, and in deed fulfilled His promise ! — He (I say) who up to this time has, by the Divine Power, built up, and enlarged, His Church throughout the whole creation of man !

On the divisions which are in Houses and Families up to this time, on account of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

12.*Think not, that I am come to send forth peace upon earth : I am not come to send forth peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide a man against his Father, and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter in law against her Mother in law : and the enemies of a man (shall be) those of his own house. (Or), as Luke enounced (it) ; “Think ye then, that I am come to send forth peace on earth ? I say unto you, No ; but divisions. For, there shall be henceforth five in one house, who (shall be) divided, three against two, and two against three. And the Father shall be divided against his Son, and the Son, against his Father; and the Mother shall be divided against her Daughter, and the Daughter, against her Mother; and the Mother in law, against her Daughter in law ; and the Daughter in law, against her Mother in law.”* And, Who is not astonished, that the things which should take place in every individual house, in times far removed (from those of the prediction), and even up to this time, did not remain hidden to the foreknowledge of our Saviour ? For He foretold to His disciples, the things which up to this time are taking place, just as one present to the things themselves, and making the circuit of the dwellings of all the children of men : — things which hitherto

have not existed, nor did they at the period in which He enounced these words. Nor, were there yet any such doings; they were then heard only in the ear. But now, that the prediction has in fact come to its completion, and is visible to the eyes, How can any one, who would think justly, but confess that they are in truth the words of God ? And again in these things also,— “*For I am come to divide and to send forth a sword, and divisions among the children of men,*” — we likewise see with our own eyes, that no word of man, either of philosopher or prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, ever shewed forth power such as this, that he should so hold the whole creation, that there should be divisions in every house; that he should pass through and distinguish every race, throughout all their families ; and, that of these some should be considered as his own, and others as opposed to these ! But it was our Saviour alone, and this WORD OF GOD, who promised to do this, and He confirmed the promise, in very deed ! The cause therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to pass in houses He Himself taught, as we have found in a place in the Gospel existing among the Jews in the Hebrew language, in which it is said: “*I will select to myself these things: very very excellent are those whom my Father, who is in heaven, has given to me.*” And, one may learn from this, how in every house in which the word of Jesus should prevail, the excellent would be distinguished from the vile. For, if a man make a comparison among brothers, or servants, or in families generally, as to the customs, forms, manner of life, and the purity and meekness of those, who have chosen the doctrine of our Saviour; — for this is what is meant by *those who have been selected by Him* : — and, of those who have not yet become worthy of Him ; — he will perceive what sort of power that is, of which He has made use; and, that He did not only foretell what should come to pass, but that He has, according to the prediction, also brought the works to pass : and, with other things, these also in which it is written that He said, “*I will select to myself the very excellent, those whom my Father who is in heaven has given to me.*” Nevertheless, (what He) now (said), “*I am not come to send forth peace on earth,*” with other things, He explained to the Disciples themselves and said; “*I leave peace with you, my own peace give I unto you: it is not as the world giveth peace, that I also so give peace.*” It was the knowledge and love of God, which He had prepared for His disciples ; and this, that the soul should not be perturbed. And in this way, He named the light, and

confirmation of the mind. These things therefore He foretold, and also respecting these (men) : but, of those which He foreknew and foretold respecting the Jewish People, (the time) is at hand that we should enquire.

On the things which He prophesied against the Jewish people in parables.
From the Gospel of Matthew.

13. When the Rulers of the Jewish people, the chief Priests, and the Doctors of the Law, were assembled together in Jerusalem, and He was in the Temple; He foretold covertly and by parable, the things they were about to dare against Him, and the destruction which should overtake them on account of this daring, in this manner : “ *There was a certain master of a house, (who) planted a vineyard, and surrounded it with a fence, and digged a wine-press therein, and built in it a tower, and delivered it to husbandmen, and departed. And, when the fruit-season drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might bring to him the fruit. But these husbandmen seized his servants, and some of them they smote, and some they stoned, and some they killed. And again, he sent other servants, more than the former; and to these, they did in like manner. But at last, he sent his Son, and said, Surely they will reverence my Son. But these husbandmen, when they saw the Son, said among themselves : This is his heir ; come let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours. So they took him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. When therefore, the Lord of the vineyard shall come, What shall he do to those husbandmen? They say to him, he shall most miserably destroy them; and his vineyard he shall deliver to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus himself said to them, Have ye never read in the Scripture, ‘The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner stone of the building: This is of the Lord, and it is a miracle in our eyes?’ Wherefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people which shall render the fruits” (thereof.) And this parable is of a sort with that, which is in the Prophet Isaiah, which is (given) in this manner: “*My beloved had a vineyard on the horn of a fat place. And he cultivated it, and surrounded it with a fence, and planted in it vines, and built a Tower within it. He also made a wine-press in it. And he expected that it would produce grapes; but it produced wild grapes.*” But this that is in the Prophet, accuses the vineyard; which he thus interprets, as to who was (really) intended, when he says, “*For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house**

that is in Israel, and the men of Judah are (His) one beloved plant. I looked for judgment, but there was rapine; and for righteousness, but behold, howling!"

14. The parable then, spoken by our Saviour, was so like to that of the Prophet, that it was known to point out those who were present and heard (it). But, it was not of the vineyard that it was spoken, because the Prophet had already made his prediction of this. The things however, which were not mentioned in the Prophet, He supplied in His parable: those, I say, which respected the husbandmen of the vineyard; and these were the Elders of the people, the chief Priests, the Rulers, and Doctors: those, who indeed were the cause to the whole congregation, that they should render evil fruit, and, on whose account, the vineyard itself was left to destruction. That is, the whole of their people, with their fence, was rooted up; those who formerly contended for the people, and watched over the people, together with their place. The Tower that was in it, was the Temple; the wine-press, the Altar. And all these were therefore, wholly taken away, even to their foundations ; because the husbandmen had become polluted with blood ; those (I say), who had openly slain the servants first and last; those Prophets, who had, time after time, been sent unto them. The Old Testament also gives its testimony (otherwise) to this matter; and, of the Prophets, Elias who in his prayer to God says, "*Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and broken down thy Altar: and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life.*" Of these things therefore does this Prophet, by his prayer, accuse the rulers of the Jewish people. These however, the pollution of the Prophets' blood had not satisfied, and at last they slew the Son himself, that is, *the Son of God!* Nor was it that they knew Him not; but, when they knew fully and accurately, that He was the heir ! These things then, our Saviour Himself delivered by parable, respecting Himself, before His suffering. He also foretold, — by His foreknowledge, what should come to pass; (viz.) these things when walking in the Temple, — to those husbandmen of the vineyard of His times, the Chief Priests, the Doctors, and the rest of those who were at the head of the people. And much (and) openly did He, in the parable, prepare them to pronounce condemnation against themselves : asking them in the close of the parable, and saying, "*What shall the Lord of the vineyard, when He comes, do to those husbandmen?*" And they, not yet understanding that it had been spoken of themselves, gave judgment against

themselves, saying, “*He shall most miserably destroy them, and shall give up the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*” Jesus then said to them : “*Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: This is from the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes?*” Very consistently after the prediction of His death, He pointed out, from the testimony of the prophets, His own resurrection from the dead. For He had previously taught, that the Son of the Lord of the vineyard should be slain by the wicked husbandmen, and had obtained from themselves (their own) condemnation. After that, He brought this forward : “ *The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building:*” which, in the prophecy, had been given by way of parable on His resurrection. For, — after He had been rejected by those husbandmen who were also the builders, He (I say), who was (as) a precious stone, and of whom the Prophet Isaiah says, “*Behold, I lay in Zion a choice and precious stone, the chief corner (stone) of the foundation: And he, who believeth in it, shall not be ashamed,*” — He became the chief corner (stone) of another building, of which the (divine) word has said: “*And this is a miracle in our eyes:*” by which He meant His Church. And thus deservedly did He, according to their own judgment on themselves, repay them, saying, “ *The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people, that will render the fruits*” (thereof) : which corresponds to this declaration (already) mentioned, (viz.) “*from them;*” that He would “ *give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who should render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*” For He named the “*kingdom of God,*” those observances in which the worship of God consisted; and these He declared, should be taken away from those husbandmen: and (this) He has most openly shewn, and brought to effect; giving (the vineyard) to another people, which does bring forth its fruits. And this is the Christian people, which does, throughout the whole creation, bring forth the fruits, that are both conformable, and suitable, to the observances of God; and shews this daily, both in words and works.

On the rejection of the Jews at once, and the calling of the Gentiles: also on those who should unworthily be gathered into His Church ; and on the end of these, From the Gospel of Matthew.

15. After the Parable which has already been mentioned, the word of the

Divine Scripture states, that *“When the chief Priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they knew that He spake against themselves, and they sought to take Him: but they feared the people, because they held Him as a Prophet.”* *“And Jesus answered them, and said again in a parable: The kingdom of heaven is like to a (certain) man, a king, who made a (marriage) feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been bidden to the feast; but they would not come. And again, he sent out other servants, and commanded them to say to those who had been bidden: Behold, my dinner is ready, my fatted oxen are slain, and every thing is prepared for you : Come to the feast. But they disregarded and went away, One to the village (farm), and Another to (his) merchandise. But they who remained seized his servants, and abused and slew (them). And the king was enraged, and sent his army and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city. He then said to his servants, My dinner is ready, but those who were bidden were unworthy of it. Go ye out therefore, into the ways and paths, and every one that ye find, call to the feast. So those servants went out into the ways, and they brought together all they could find, (both) bad and good.”* Now, in the former Parable, the Vineyard, the Tower, the Winepress, and the Husbandmen, were evil: and the servantssent, first and last, were killed. And, at last, even the Son of the Lord of the vineyard was himself slain : by which were pointed out, the People, the Temple, the Altar, and the Rulers of the Jews; and also those wicked husbandmen, who, standing at the head of the people, slew both the former and latter Prophets, and at last the Son of God Himself!

16. Now the Parable before our eyes, obviously introduces the familiar feast, and bringing together, of the Bridegroom and Bride, with a marriage-supper: and again the servants also, who are here destroyed and slain, and the former and latter persons bidden. By means of these again, He points out covertly, the things that happened after His resurrection from the dead. For the Bridegroom is, THE WORD OF GOD ; the Bride, the rational soul, which is associated with Him, and receives the Divine seed that is of Him. And (this) Divine and rational association, (represents) that of His Church : and, consequent upon these things, the rational feast and marriage supper, (represent) the Divine and heavenly aliments (so prepared). He does not here speak of the inviting servants, with reference to those who were formerly sent to the vineyard, but, with reference to the latter ones. For those were the

Prophets; but these, His own Apostles, who were sent forth to make the call, (and) first, of those who were of the circumcision. For, when He first sent these forth, He charged them, saying, *“Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not; and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go ye to the wandering sheep of the house of Israel.”* These same persons therefore, the servants did first invite; but, when they hearkened not to the call, He sent also, the second time, many Evangelists and Preachers of the Gospel ; those whom He chose, after the twelve Apostles, the seventy other Disciples, who also first preached the Gospel to the Jewish people, and called them to the feast of the New Testament. But they availed nothing, because they, who had been bidden, were busied with their merchandise; and who, after they had heard the call of the servants, abused some, and killed others. And it is in our power to find from the Scriptures, how many of the Disciples of our Saviour they afterwards killed, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of Judea. Stephen then was, in the first place, forthwith slain by them by stoning. After him, James the brother of John. And again after them, he who first chose (to accept) the throne of the Church of that place, James who was called the Brother of our Lord: whom, on account of his great excellence, they called *“the Just.”* Him too, the Jews of those times killed by stoning. How they abused the Apostles by stripes, the Book of the Acts relates. And these things did He, by His divine knowledge, foretel before they happened; He also foretold the things which should befall them from the Jews. By means of a parable too, He predicted what should come to pass before these things took place, by these expressions, (viz.) *“The king was enraged”* at the abuse and slaughter of his servants, *“ and sent his army, and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city.”* And, What can be more obvious than this foreknowledge, and the fulfilment of the things themselves (so predicted) ? For the army of the Romans came soon after, and took the city, and destroyed the Temple itself by fire. And, of Whom was it, except of Him who is King of all, God over all, that it was thus said, that *“the King shall send his army, and shall slay those murderers, and shall burn up their city?”* To this very time indeed, the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city, are obvious to the sight of those who travel thither. But, how those murderers of the Apostles were taken in the reduction (of the city), and suffered the punishment which they deserved, it is not necessary we should say, as the things which were done to them, may

readily be found in the record of the Romans by Flavius Josephus. After the slaughter of these therefore, and the reduction of the metropolis of their kingdom, they, — who remained of those servants that had first heard it said by their Lord, “*They who were first called were not worthy; but go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find, call to the feast*” — performed even the thing commanded. Our Saviour said to them therefore, after His resurrection, “*Go ye and make Disciples of all nations in my name,*” And these things He said, who formerly had commanded: “*In the way of the Gentiles go ye not*” but (enjoined) that they should preach to the Jews only. But, when these had abused (their) Inviters, then He dismissed the servants the second time, and said, “*Those that were called were not worthy. Go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find call to the feast.*” And this they fulfilled in deed. They went out into the whole creation, and they preached to all nations, the divine and heavenly calling; and “*they collected together as many as they could find, (both) bad and good.*” Let no one therefore wonder, that, of those, who are collected into the Church of Christ, all are not good; but, that in the mixture together with the good, the evil will also be collected. Nor did this escape the foreknowledge of our Saviour. And it is accordingly seen to remain in fact, in conformity with that foreknowledge : and, what the end of those will be, who are brought together unworthily in His Church, He Himself shews; for He afterwards teaches these things in the parable, saying, “*And the feast was filled with guests: but, when the king came in to see the guests, he saw there a man who had not (on) wedding garments. And he said to him, My friend! how earnest thou in hither not having put on wedding garments ? And he was silent. Then the king said to the ministers: Bind him hands and feet, and cast him out into outer darkness. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. For many are the called, but few the chosen.*” He likewise previously rebuked, with these predictive words, those who should conduct themselves unrighteously in His Church.

Again, on the rejection of the Jewish people. From the Gospel of Matthew.

17. “*Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, How shall ye escape hell ? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you Prophets, and Wise men, and Scribes: and some of them ye shall kill and crucify, and some of them ye shall scourge in your synagogues, and shall persecute them from city to city; so that there shall come upon you, all the blood of the Righteous, which has been shed*

upon the land, from the blood of Abel, even to the blood of Zecharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the steps and the altar. I say unto you, *All these things shall come upon this generation.*” There is no need we should affirm, that all these things are so plain, as to require no explanation whatever; which, being afterwards fulfilled in very deed, confirmed by (their) open fulfilment, the foreknowledge of our Saviour. For the Apostles were scourged by the Jews at a subsequent period, in Jerusalem itself; when also, they went forth from their synagogues, *“rejoicing that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name’s sake that they were found worthy to be reproached for his name’s sake.”* Stephen also was stoned by them; and James was slain with the sword; and again, the second James was put to death with stones. And Simeon, who after James held the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem, was given up to crucifixion, as the history reminds (us). And many others again, who were slain by the Jews, have (thus) set their seal to the foreknowledge of our Saviour. On account of all which, the judgment of God took vengeance on the generation that dared to do all this: and, upon it turned back the (just) consequence of all its deeds. For it was of that generation that their Temple and altar were rooted up, and the kingdom, which had, by tradition from their forefathers, been preserved to that very time, was dissolved. And of the same, was their freedom taken away: and, from the effects themselves it was evident, that the avenging of the blood of all the Righteous was on that generation, in conformity with the words of our Saviour. It is necessary then we should see, with what entire power, and by what sort of force, it was said, *“Behold I send to you Prophets, and Wise men.”* For (this), *“Behold I send”* is an intimation of the power of God. And, that He called the Rulers of the Jews to their face, a *“generation of vipers,”* affords no proof of deficiency (in this respect). The prediction too, of the destruction which should overtake them, does, after all the rest, afford ample confirmation as to these declarations; and this their complete fulfilment proves. These things are therefore sufficient (here). Let us then, now enquire accordingly, how it happened to the land which had always been precious to them, and to those glories of the metropolis of the kingdom which had been (so) famous with them; of which, by His divine foreknowledge He attested ; — weeping bitterly as He did over them of his mercy, — that the whole should undergo a change to the extremes of calamity, because of the insolence of its inhabitants against Him.

18. What the end of those things should be, which had been foretold respecting the Jewish people, has (already) been said and shewn. But, as He, THE WORD OF GOD, prophesied also respecting these places themselves, it is necessary we should see His words on them. Now, when the Rulers of the Jews would not bear the purity of His Doctrine, its publication, nor His rebukes, they so acted as to rid their city of Him. He then, leaving Jerusalem, pronounced these words over their city: *“Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that hast killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto thee, How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings : but ye would not. Behold I your house is left desolate. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.”* Impurity (and) pollution afterwards marked their doings: and this was the sin in which they dared to persist against our Saviour. And it was right, not only that the Inhabitants of the city, but also the land itself, — in which they so greatly boasted. — should be made to suffer the things, which the deeds of its inhabitants deserved. And these they did suffer ! For it was not long, before the Romans came against the city: and, of the inhabitants, some they killed by the law of war; others they destroyed by famine; others they led away captive ; and others they persecuted. The captive (City) and Temple they burnt, and reduced to utterdesolation ! But the things which took place afterwards, did our Saviour, from his foreknowledge as THE WORD or GOD, foretel should come to pass, by means of those which are (now) before us. For He named the whole Jewish people, *the children of the City*; and the Temple, He styled *their House*. And thus He testified, that they should, on their own wicked account, bear the vengeance thus to be inflicted. For many times would He have gathered their children together beneath the yoke of the worship of God, just as all formerly was; even as He had from ancient times been careful for them, and had, during all ages, instructed them by one or other of the Prophets, and called them, but they would not hearken to his call; — on this account, He gave judgment against them, and said, *“Behold your house is left desolate.”* It was therefore with special care that He said, not (only) the City itself should be desolate, but the House that was within it: that is, the Temple; (and) which He was unwilling should again be called His, or yet “the House of God,” but

theirs (only). He prophesied too, that it should be desolate in no other way, than as deprived of that providential care, which was formerly exerted over it: hence He said, "*Behold your house is left desolate.*" And, it is right we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation as this was. Not at the time when it was raised to its foundations by the Babylonians, on account of their great wickedness, their worshipping of Idols, and pollution in the blood of the Prophets. For seventy years was the whole period of the desolation of the place in those times: because it was not (thus) fully said to them at that time, "*Behold your House is left desolate.*" Nor was it (then so) forsaken; an event happening soon after, which dignified it with a renewal much more illustrious than its former state, as one of the Prophets had foretold : (viz.) "*The glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former.*" After the enunciation therefore of our Saviour, — that they should so be *left*, and their house come, by the judgment of God, to utter desolation ; — to those who visit these places, the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the prediction. The period too has been that of many years, and (of duration) so long, as not only to be double of the desolation of seventy years, — which was that in the time of the Babylonians, — but even to surpass four times (its duration) ; and (thus) confirming the judgment pronounced by our Saviour. Again, on another occasion, our Saviour — walking by the side of the Temple, just mentioned, and His Disciples wondering at the building which surrounded it, and pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same Temple; — returned to them answer and said, "*Behold! see ye not all these things ? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone, which shall not be thrown down.*" The Scriptures do moreover shew, that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple there, were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous: and, for proof (of this), there are preserved, even to this time, some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But, of these ancient things, the greatest miracle of all is, the Divine word (declaring) the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully enounced to those, who were wondering at the buildings (of the Temple), the judgment, that there should not be left in the place at which they were wondering, "*one stone upon another which should not be raised*" For it was right, that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of its

Inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And, just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple, and its walls, — as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description, — have suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too, this increases : and, so has the power of THE WORD gone on destroying, that, in many places, no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it, may see with his own eyes. And, should anyone say, that a few of the places are still existing; we may nevertheless, justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing: the predicting word, just mentioned, daily operating by a power which is unseen. I know too — for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage before us differently, — that this was not said on all the buildings, except only on that place which the Disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him ; for it was upon this that He spoke the predicting word. Again, the Scriptures of His Disciples which teach respecting Him, (teach) us these things (following), on the utter destruction of the place. —

On the taking of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.

19. *“And, when He saw the city, He wept over it, and said, If thou hadst known, even in this day the things of thy peace. — But now, they are (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, in which thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall press upon thee from every part of thee: and they shall utterly root thee up, and thy children within thee.”* The things, prior to these, were predicted respecting the Temple; these, which are now before us, respecting the City itself; which the Jews named the City of God, because of the Temple of God that had been built within it. Over the whole of this then, the compassionate (Saviour) wept. It was not, that He had so much pity on the buildings, nor indeed upon the land, as He had first upon the souls of its inhabitants, and (then) upon (the prospect of) their destruction. He pointed out moreover, the cause of their desolation when He said, *“If thou hadst known, even in this day, the things of thy peace:”* intimating too His own coming, which should be for the peace of the whole world. For this is He, of whom it was said, *“In his days shall righteousness arise (as the sun), and abundance of peace.* He came also for this purpose, that *“He might preach peace to them that were near, and to them that were afar off.”* And, of them

who received Him, He said, *“Peace I leave to you I leave to you; my peace give I unto you:”* the peace, which all nations who believed on Him throughout the whole creation, have received. But the people, who were of the circumcision and believed not on Him, knew not the things of their peace : and, on this account, He said afterwards, *“It is now (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee.”* The things (I say), which were therefore to take hold on them, a short time after, in the reduction (of the city) : (and), because they had no previous perception of the peace, that had been formerly preached to them, it should now be concealed from their eyes. They had therefore, no previous perception of any thing, which should afterwards befall them; He then plainly foretold these things by His foreknowledge, and gave open intimation of the reduction (of the city), which should come upon them through the Romans, (when saying), *“The days shall come upon thee...because thou knewest not the things of thy peace.”* For, for this cause *“there shall come upon thee the days, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall go round about thee, and shall press upon thee from every quarter of thee; and they shall root thee out, and thy children within thee.”* In these (words) then, has been recorded the form of war which should come upon them. And, how they were fulfilled, we shall presently find from the writings of Josephus, who was himself a Jew, and descended from a tribe of the Jews ; — one of the well known and famous men among that people. At the time of the reduction (of the place), he committed to writing every thing that was done among them; and (so) shewed, that the predictions before us were, in their facts, fulfilled.

Again, on the reduction of the City. From the Gospel of Luke.

20. *“When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, know ye that its desolation is near. Then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains. And let those that are within it (Jerusalem) give up: and let not those that are in its borders, enter into it. Because these are the days of vengeance, that all which has been written should be fulfilled. But, woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days; for there shall be great tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled.”* Previous to this He said, *“Behold your house is left desolate.”* He now gives

by the words before us, the signs of the times of the final destruction of the place; and these He shews, saying, "*When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, thence know ye that its desolation is near.*" Now, let no one imagine, that, after the reduction of the place, and the desolation that should be in it, another renewal of it shall take place, as it was in the times of Cyrus, king of the Persians; and afterwards in those of Antiochus Epiphanes; and again, in those of Pompey. For many times did this place suffer reduction, and was afterwards dignified by a more excellent restoration. But, when ye shall see it reduced by armies, know ye that which comes upon it, to be a final and full desolation and destruction. He designates the desolation of Jerusalem, by the destruction of the Temple, and the laying aside of those services which were, according to the law of Moses, formerly performed within it. You are not to suppose, that the desolation of the city, mentioned in these (words), was to be such that no one should any more reside in it: for He says after this, that the city shall be inhabited, not by the Jews, but by the Gentiles, when speaking thus, "*And Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles.*" It was known therefore to Him, that it should be inhabited by the Gentiles. But He styled this its *desolation* (viz), because it should no more (be inhabited) by its own children, nor should the service of the law he established within it. And, how these things have been fulfilled, many words are not wanted (to shew) ; because, we can easily see with our own eyes, how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and, how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem, — but is now named Aelia by Aelius Hadrian, — are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. The wonder therefore of the prophecy is this, that He said of the Jews, "*they should be led captive into all nations;*" and, of the Gentiles, "*that Jerusalem should be trampled on by them.*" This miracle is then complete : the Jews being now fully (dispersed) throughout the whole creation, so that they are (found) remaining among the Ethiopians, the Scythians, and in the extremities of the earth. It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on), that they cannot enter! But, if the city itself had been utterly desolated, and without inhabitants, men would have thought that this was the cause (of their exclusion from it). Now however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and that it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers; the

things foretold of it are fulfilled, in exact accordance with the prediction: (viz). *“They shall be led captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles”* The manner moreover of the captivity, points out the war. of which He spoke; *“For (said He) there shall be (great) tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people : and they shall fall by the edge of the sword.”* We can learn too, from the writings of Flavius Josephus, how these things took place in their localities, and how those, which had been foretold by our Saviour, were, in fact, fulfilled. He also shews plainly the fulfilment of the prediction of our Saviour, when He said, *“Woe to those that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days.”* For he has put it on record, how the women roasted their children by the fire and ate them, on account of the pressure of the famine which prevailed in the city. This famine therefore, which took place in the city, our Saviour foresaw, and counselled His Disciples that, in the reduction which was about to come upon the Jews, it was not for them to take refuge in the city as in a place guarded and preserved by God, but in which many should suffer ; but, that they should depart thence, and *“flee to the mountains;”* and, that those, who should be within Judea, should give up to the Gentiles; and those, who were in its lands, should not take refuge in it as in a fortified place. On this account He said, *“Let those who are in its borders not enter into it, since these are the days of vengeance, that all may be fulfilled which has been written.”* Any one therefore, who desires it, may learn the results of these things from the writings of Josephus. And, if it is right we should lay down a few things from him in this book, by way of testimony, there is nothing that should hinder us from hearing the historian himself, who writes in this manner; —

From the sixth Book of Josephus.

21. “And, How can it be necessary, that I should describe the severity of the famine, as to things inanimate? I come then to the making known of a fact, the like of which has not been recorded, either among the Greeks, or the Barbarians : one which, it is shocking to mention, and, to the hearing, incredible. I myself indeed, would gladly have left this calamity (unmentioned) — that I might not be thought by those who shall come after, to have related falsehoods, — had I not had many witnesses among those of our own times. I should indeed otherwise have rendered but a doubtful good, as to the land of my fathers, had I omitted to mention the things which, it has,

in fact, suffered. A certain woman, of those who resided on the other side of the Jordan, — whose name was Mirian, well known on account of her family and wealth, — took refuge with many (others) in Jerusalem, and with them was shut up (in the siege). This woman's other possessions, as they were after she left the passage (of the Jordan) and came into the city, the Tyrants seized. The residue of her treasures moreover, should it have sufficed for her daily sustenance, was invaded and seized by the attendant soldiers. Grievous indignation therefore, took possession of her; and many times did she excite the robbers against herself, by curses and reproaches. But, when no one put her to death. — either on account of her indignation or in mercy; and she became weary of seeking sustenance for others from every quarter, and (as) suspicion was excited against her, even if she found (it) : hunger, at the same time, remaining in her bowels, and indignation inflaming her more than hunger; — she took for her counsellor impetuosity and necessity, and dared to do that which was contrary to nature. She seized upon her son, — for she had a sucking infant, — and said, “Wretched (babe) ! for Whom do I preserve thee in war, famine, and tumult? — that thou shouldest be a slave to the Romans ? If thou shouldest indeed live happily with them, still famine precedes (this) servitude ; and the seditious are cruel. Come ; be thou thou to me for food; to the seditious, the vengeance; — and to the world, the tale which alone is wanting to (complete) the sufferings of the Jews ! And, saying this, she at once killed her son. She then roasted him, and ate a part of him ! the rest she hid, and kept!” These sufferings out of many, I have here set down on account of the Divine prediction of our Saviour, which declared, “*Woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days.*” and because it adds this also to the predictive words of our Saviour, “*There shall be great tribulation on the land, and great wrath upon this people.*” or, as Matthew has said, “*For there shall be at that time great tribulation, the like of which has not been since the beginning of the world, even until now ; nor shall be*” (hereafter). It will be well therefore, to hear this writer himself, when thus putting on record the fulfilment of these same things.

From the fifth Book of Josephus.

22. “It would be impossible to give an account of each and every of their iniquities singly; we say then summarily, that no (other) city (ever) suffered all these things; and, that there never was a generation so fruitful in vices as

this : for they destroyed the city itself! and (were the cause) that the Romans should be recorded, — as forced by them against their own wills, — to this sadvictory ! They accordingly dragged them on forthwith, unopposed, to the Temple ; and viewed from the upper city, the fire that was burning within it.” Nor were they pained, nor did they weep at these things ! Because, *“there should be at that time great tribulation, such, that its like existed not since the beginning of the world.”* This very thing was foretold by our Saviour, which this writer attests ! the whole of which was fully brought to pass forty years afterwards, in the times of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Our Saviour moreover, added to His predictions, — determining the time, — how long Jerusalem should be trampled on by the Gentiles; for He said, *“Until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled:”* intimating by this, the end of the world.

Again, on the laws of the Jews, (viz.) that they should no more be observed, either on mount Gerizim, or in Jerusalem. And, on the service worthy of God, which should be set up in His Church. From the Gospel of John.

23. On the side of this our neighbouring city Neapolis of Palestine, — which was not small, but is even (now) a city of celebrity, — a woman of Samaria drew near to Him ; and, after other words, said to Him, *“Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where (men) ought to worship.”* Upon which, our Saviour returning this answer, said to her, *“Believe me woman, the hour cometh (in) which, neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship the Father.”* And, after a few other things, He said : *“The hour cometh, and now is, (in) which the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh even such as these to worship Him. God is a, spirit, and it is right that those who worship Him, should worship him in spirit and in truth.”* And, by these things also, He fully proved that His foreknowledge was not small. For formerly, in the days of Tiberius the Roman Emperor, — in whose times these things were said, — the Jews were particularly collected together in Jerusalem, for the observance of the precepts of their Law; and the Samaritans, on the mount called Gerizim which they honoured, on the side of Neapolis, affirming that it was right the Law of Moses should there be observed. Now, these mounts are, as it were, anathemas of God. With both, certain parts were honoured; and of both, the Scripture of each bears record ; that of Moses, respecting Gerizim ; and those

of the Hebrew Prophets, respecting Jerusalem. The sentence of judgment therefore, put forth in the Divine enunciation of our Saviour was, That no more, either in Jerusalem, or on mount Gerizim, should those henceforth worship, who then adhered so pertinaciously to these places : which came to pass soon after. (For), in the days of Titus Vespasian, and in the reduction which happened in those of Hadrian, both these mounts were, according to His words, desolated. That on the side of the city Neapolis, was defiled by unbecoming Images, by Idols, by Sacrifices, and the shedding of blood, and (thus) rendered abominable. The Temple also of Jerusalem was rased to the foundations, and has remained, during the whole of the time mentioned, in utter desolation and (destruction by) burning. And, from that time and even until now, has the prediction of our Saviour been fulfilled, which declared, “ *The hour cometh, (in) which neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship,*” He terms the time (meant) “*the hour;*” which was not yet at hand, but was about to be. And, speaking to His Disciples on the rational service to be completed by Himself, He added, “ *The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth.*” He necessarily added therefore here, *It “now is.”* For immediately, from the very hour (in) which he said these words, (viz.) “ *The true worshippers*” — of whom He was the Head and Teacher, — His Disciples, who received the rational service, — from Him, did perform the service of God, “*in spirit and in truth.*” But the thing, above all (others) prophesied of in these words, implies, that no more on any mount, nor in any distinct corner of the earth, but throughout the whole creation, should those “ *true worshippers*” worship the God who is above all, and should present to Him the Divine services, which should be performed without blood, “*in spirit and truth.*” Not by similitude, nor by those things of which He was the antitype, as were those of Moses observed by both Jews and Samaritans, in slaughter, sacrifices, incense, fire, and many other bodily modes; — that all of these should be abolished through the things now before us, did THE WORD OF GOD here predict. He also said, henceforth “*in spirit and truth.*” That is, “*the true worshippers*” shall render to God, the service which is worthy of Him, in a manner divine and with both the soul and mind.

On the people which should be set up out of foreign nations, by means of his teaching. From the Gospel of John.

24. “*I am the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me.*

Even as the Father hath known me, so know I the Father....And I lay down my life (lit. self) for my sheep. And I have other sheep, those who were not of this fold; and it is necessary that I should bring in these, and that they should hear my voice. And there shall be one flock and one shepherd." By other words (too) He taught and said, "*I am not come, but to the sheep that have strayed of the house of Israel.*" It was the Jewish people then, that He named under this figure; but, by the things before us, He predicted, that it was not those only who had become His disciples from among the Jews, that were considered (as) of the number of His flock; but those also who were without this fold. For thus, the word (Scripture) usually names at one time, the whole Jewish people; at another, Jerusalem, and the service there performed according to the Law of Moses. — That "*He would collect other sheep which were not of that fold*" implies the whole creation; and He foretold by these things, that out of them (this) rational flock should be so brought together to Him, that to the one and self-same worship of God, all, (both) Jews and Idolaters believing in Him, should come over; and, that there should be "*one flock and one Shepherd.*" This is His Church, which has been established both from among the Jews, and Gentiles. And thus, has it come to pass ! For at once, at the outset of the preaching of the Gospel, great multitudes of the Jews were convinced that He was the Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. And with these, (those), who believed on Him from among the Gentiles, were brought together in one Church, under the hand of the one Shepherd, — of Him who is THE WORD or GOD. For in Jerusalem itself arose, from among the Jews, one after another fifteen bishops of the Church there, from James who was the first. There were too thousands, at once both of Jews and Gentiles there, who had been brought together, even to the time of its reduction in the days of Hadrian. And, that He was the (good) Shepherd who had been many times preached of in the words of the Prophets, it is obvious to us: the words (I say), which mention THE WORD OF GOD and teach, that He is the Shepherd of the souls of men, as of rational flocks. For it is thus said on one occasion by the Prophets: "*The Lord feedeth me (as a shepherd), and I shall lack nothing.*" And on another; "*Shepherd of Israel look, (thou) who leadest Joseph as a flock:*" and, on another, He introduces (one) saying, "*He is the Lord, and the Shepherd of the sheep.*" He therefore alone, is truly declared to be the Shepherd of rational souls. For, just as the

case is among men, the nature of the sheep is one, and that of the shepherd another; and, (as) the rational nature rules and leads that which is irrational; so also is it with respect to the superiority of the Shepherd (here), THE WORD OF GOD, the nature far excels that of man. We indeed are His flock, and, as compared with His power, we are less rational than any sheep. But He is in truth the good and pure Shepherd, who does not so neglect His flock, that it may be devoured by the wolves; that is to say, by the wicked demons, the corrupters of souls. This constrains us to look to His word which declared, with great power and might, "*I am the good Shepherd;*" and which also said, "*I lay down my life for my sheep.*" (This) He said in a mystery respecting His death. He also taught at the same time the cause; viz. that it was for the redemption of the souls of the rational flocks, that He (so) gave His life. And this also: "*I have other sheep,*" shews, that the Jews were not His only possession; but also, that the whole of the nations had been given to Him of His Father, according to this (declaration), "*Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance.*"

How His death was the cause of the redemption of many. From the Gospel of John.

25. He was often with the Jews, because to them were known the predictions of the Prophets respecting Him. But, because the Greeks upon one occasion also approached His Disciples, desiring to see Him, — it is written, that, when they had told Him this, He said: "*The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified. I say unto you, that unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it will remain alone; but if it (so) die, it will bring forth much fruit.*" By these things also) He obviously declared in a mystery, that, among the Greeks, among foreign nations and the children of a different generation, those things which comprehended the praises of His Godhead should be embraced. For it was not when He was among the Jews that he said, "*His hour had come that He should be glorified,*" but, when the Greeks drew near to Him. After this, he necessarily continued shewing of His own death, His resurrection, and of the calling of the people, among whom He then was. For, just as the grain of wheat, before it falls into the earth, remains alone, but contains the life-producing-power, with the energies of the seed included within it, (and) which the ears shall produce; but, after falling into the earth, — just as that which lives after death, — it will increase, and, from the power

vested within it, produce many ears of corn; so did He also declare respecting Himself, that the things should be. And this indeed, the result of them has plainly evinced. For, it was not the Greeks alone who, after His death, received of His power and of the provisions of His Godhead, but also many nations. He was therefore, that seed which fell, and sprang up again, "*He who was dead, but is alive.*" He, who after His fall which was by death, increased greatly, is He who has, by His resurrection, filled the lands of the heathen, as it were cultivated fields, with the Divine unutterable power. On this account He said, "*The harvest is great, but the labourers are few.*" And again, "*Lift up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest.*" These things He also foretold (figuratively), of those who should after His death establish themselves in Him, through the pure faith which is by Him; the multitude of whom should, throughout the whole creation both of Greeks and Barbarians, constitute the Church to be established in myriads of congregations ; — collected together, as it were, (the produce of) rational well-cultured fields, into one place ; (that is) the souls of men, into the granaries of His Church. Hence it has been said, "*He whose fan is in His hand, and who will cleanse His floor, and collect the wheat into (His) treasures: but the straw He will burn with fire unquenchable.*"

How Simon the chief of the Disciples, should, like his Master, be given up to crucifixion, and depart this life. From the Gospel of John.

26. "*My children, a little while I am with you; and ye shall seek me: even as I said to the Jews, whither I go, ye cannot come; and thus also I say again unto you. Simon Peter said unto Him, Whither goest Thou ? And Jesus answered him: Whither I go, thou canst not now come, but, after a time, thou shalt come.*" And again, in the latter part of the book, Jesus, after his resurrection from the dead, said to Peter: "*I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy loins, and wentest whither thou wouldest ; but, when thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee, and shall lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. And these things which He said (were) to shew, by what death he should glorify God. And, when He had said this, He said to him, Follow me*" And, Who is not astonished, that, when He said these things to His Disciples, they should be prepared and ready to adhere to Him even to death ? For He did not deceive them by intimating, or promising to them, the things

considered good in this life ; nor did He by any such means, allure them to give their adhesion to Him ; but, He simply foretold those obvious tortures which should, on His account, befall them. And (so) He previously shewed to Simon the mode of crucifixion, by which he afterwards closed his life in the city of Rome, in this which He said, "*When thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee.*" And similarly, He also shewed mystically in this which He said, "*Whither I go, thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come.*" Now, these things were not said to them all, but only to Peter ; because it is he alone, who, in the Scripture, (is said) should end his life after the manner of the suffering of our Saviour.

How He foretold to the rest of His Disciples, the persecutions which were about to arise time after time against them. From the Gospel of Matthew.

27. "*Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to their Rulers, and shall scourge you in their Synagogues, and shall bring you, before governours and kings for my sake, for a testimony to themselves, and to the Gentiles.*" And again, "*Blessed are ye when they persecute you, and revile you, and say every evil (thing) against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, since great is your reward in heaven ; for so they persecuted the Prophets who were before you.*" Now, the wonder is this, (viz.) the additional word here saying, "*for my sake.*" For it was not sufficient, that He should only foreknow and foretel the persecutions which should arise against His Disciples; but, that He might also shew the cause of these, He said, *they should suffer these things for His sake.* Nor was it on account of any evil practices, nor yet for any other fault; but, — (as) He previously testified, — that every thing (of this sort) should befall them *for His sake*: which is present in the fact for our information ! For if any one, during the time of the persecutions, denied only that he was a Christian, he was released from all blame and cause of accusation. But, so irreprehensible and sinless were the lives of His Disciples to be, that they should suffer every sort of calamity for no other cause, except only their confessing, and giving testimony to, Him. He did indeed, fully stir up and make them ready (for this), by comparing them with the ancient Prophets and Friends of God ; for, (said He), *even as they persecuted the Prophets who were before you, so shall they, without cause, drive you out; and, after the manner of the Prophets, shall ye be punished, because ye worship the God*

who is over all; on which account, they also persecuted the Prophets. Now that He should foretel, that even governours and kings should be moved by these things; that the time was then at hand; that He should (so) speak with His Disciples; and that His words should so come to pass and remain in fact, How greatly does it exceed (all) wonder ? For there have been many others, both Barbarians and Greeks, who have said and promised many wise things to their Disciples. Of these, some supposed that there was no God; others annihilated every consideration about Providence; and others (received) those who were thought Gods by the many: others arose (as) the leaders of vicious factions; others (who thought), that *Rest* was the extreme (good) : and others, that *Rest* indiscriminately was; and who indeed talked just as they might be circumstanced. But never did any one of these, previously determine such things for His Disciples. Nor do we know of any persecutions that opposed them, such as those were that opposed the teaching of our Saviour. How then shall we not wonder, and confess, that these are indeed the words of God ? — these (I say), which not only previously attested, through the Divine foreknowledge, the persecutions which should come upon His Disciples; but also, previously pointed out the cause of these, by this which He said, that *these things should happen to them, for His sake?*

How those also who were equals should arise, and persecute each other, in the times of the persecutions. From the Gospel of Matthew.

28. *“The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the father his son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake; but he, who shall bear even to the end, shall live.”* Now, how these things have, even to the present time, been fulfilled in fact, What need is there that we should shew at length, since these facts are superior to all report ? We have seen too with our own eyes, how many things of this sort took place, both during the persecutions, and in our own times. Nor do you simply hear this, that “*the brother should deliver his brother to death;*” for even this might have been as any mere matter of opinion. But we can investigate (the case), and inform ourselves how it was, that “*the brother delivered his brother to death.*” — When one surrenders himself to fraternal affection, and chooses the love of life, and denies God, and particularly with respect to his brother, whom he will solicit and persuade to worship idols; will excite and inveigle, putting

forth (his) fraternal affection, so as to make him disregard the command of our Saviour; then indeed, will *the brother deliver up his brother to the death of his soul*. In like manner also, will the father cause his son to err (by enticing), and will persuade him to worship the idols, and (so) *deliver him to death*. So also *the children, their parents*: they will, through their affection for them, (so) lead them on, that they will choose the mortal life which now is, rather than that which is with God; and will (so) become the cause, both of the death and perdition of the soul of their parents. And many such things as these, did we witness with our own eyes, during the times of the persecutions ; so that in them was fulfilled the (prediction) : “*Ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake.*” In this place also was this addition carefully made, teaching the Disciples that, it should not be for any hateful deed, but for *His name’s sake, they should be hated*.

On those who should impurely collect themselves into His Church, and on the punishment that should come upon them. From the Gospel of Matthew.

29. “*The kingdom of heaven is like a net that fell into the sea, and collected of every sort (of fish) ; and, when it was full, they drew it up to the shore, and sitting down they selected those that were good, and put them into vessels; but the bad, they threw away. Thus shall it be in the end of this world: the angels shall go forth, and shall separate the evil from among the just, and shall cast them into a fiery oven: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*” The “*net*” — which is here (put) by a figure for the word, — and which is woven (as it were) from the various mind of the old and new Scriptures, He names His own doctrine : the fluctuating life of man, which is subject to hardship in its doings on account of the calamities attending it, “*the sea.*” Out of this (sort of) life, as from the sea, the “*net,*” so foretold, was to catch up tens of thousands. And under it were to be (taken), the various multitudes of those opposed to each other in their characters; and of these, the good and bad in their dispositions. Of these too he spoke mystically, as being caught up from the sea after the manner of fish, when He said in the first calling of His Disciples, “*Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.*” This collecting together therefore of such men, bad and good, in His Church, — assembled (as they are) to this very time, — was not unknown to Him : for He taught, that these same should at last be separated by the Angels, who should be appointed to this (work) ; and (so) should the punishment, due to the

disposition of each one, be awarded.

How Impostors and Seducers should invest themselves with His Doctrine, and formally present themselves to Him. From the Gospel of Matthew .

30. *“Beware of lying Prophets who come to you in lambs’ clothing, but inwardly (are) rapacious wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them. For men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles. So every good tree produceth good fruit, but an evil tree giveth forth evil fruit.”* He (here) counselled (them) by His foreknowledge, to beware of those ungodly persons, who, availing themselves of the opinions of others, and of the words of the Scriptures of His Divinity, should in after times formally assume the name of Christianity. He also shews the marks and vouchers of the evil concealed within them, and which should deceive the many, when saying, *“By their fruits ye shall know them.”* Now the fruits of such are these ; the ungodly words uttered by them; their unrighteous and perverse manner of life. These things then, when uttered and foretold by our Saviour, afforded at that time no visible testimony whatever to those who heard them, (as to their truth) ; but, in after times, the facts (so) declared became openly visible to all: the followers accordingly of Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, and those other corrupters of souls, sprang up, (viz.) Bardesanes, and that madman in opinion of yesterday, and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichean heresy; who all became the sources of lying and ungodly doctrine. Nor did they otherwise come to light, but as outwardly clothed with the skins of our Saviour’s lambs. And He plainly styled His Disciples *“sheep;”* saying, *“My sheep hear my voice:”* and again, *“Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves.”* Of these then they outwardly assumed the manner, while in themselves they were *“rapacious wolves.”* (And), How many thousands of the sheep of our Saviour, did these Deceivers snatch away ? Who, presenting their persons in form as to Christ, attached themselves to His instruction, and to the terms of the doctrines relating to His Godhead, and exhibited themselves as (His) lambs ! But, that ungodly bitterness which lay (as) in ambush within them, adhered secretly to those who had been ensnared by them. These, therefore, who were now thought to be *“sheep,”* because of their (thus) drawing near (to Him), openly appeared afterwards to be *“rapacious wolves.”* And hence, our Saviour taught us previously to beware of them, when He said by way of instruction, *“By their fruits ye shall know them.”*

How even He and His Disciples should be thought to have taken men, by means of Magicians, and of intercourse with Demons.

31. *“The disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his lord. It is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his master; and for the servant, as his lord. And, if they have called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, How much more the children of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; nor concealed that shall not be made known.”* The Jews held that Beelzebub was an evil Demon, and prince of the Demons: they blasphemed our Saviour accordingly, (affirming) that by the power of this, He expelled the rest of the Demons from men . But, He returned the true answer to those who thought this, which is also written among His words. He foretold too, to His Disciples, that they also should be thought to overcome men, through intercourse with Demons and Magicians: which very thing, now affirmed by the many, has sealed and confirmed the prediction of our Saviour. He also gave His testimony, that this notion, (so) ascribed to them, should come to nothing, from (the consideration) of their lives, and conduct; their purity of doctrine, and that (inculcating) the worship of God. He said therefore, *“Fear them not; for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, nor concealed that shall not be made known.”* He therefore reproved these (Disciples), for a considerable time, because the things formerly escaping the many, had, on this account, been supposed (by them) to be incapable of publication; as also those, belonging to the doctrines of the (true) worship of God, of being made openly known. But, His ordinances and precepts have now been made known to every man ; and He has extinguished that (injurious) opinion respecting them, (His Disciples) which had formerly been held by the many.

On those who should remain in complete holiness in His Church, and in the life inexperienced (in conjugal) Society. From the Gospel of Matthew.

32. When He determined for them, that (one) should not leave his wife except in the matter of fornication , and His Disciples said to Him, *“If the cause of a man with the wife be thus, it is not advantageous to take wives;”* It is written, that He said upon these things, *“Every man is not sufficient for this matter, except those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs, who were, thus from their mothers’ womb; and there are eunuchs, who were (made) eunuchs by men ; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs, for the*

sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can bear (it) let him bear (it).” It is evident from the context of the Scriptures, that there never was among men, and particularly among the Jews, any one who uttered by revelation any thing like this ; or, who did any thing like it: or that, throughout the whole creation and among all nations, whether in the cities or villages, there were multitudes, not of men (only), but also of women, who kept themselves in perfect holiness, and the state of virginity, through the hope and expectation of the kingdom of heaven. We have seen in the very experiment itself, that they learned they should soon be prepared for this. The fulfilment however, of the claim to foreknowledge, was not simply (realized here); for we have seen many men, well known to us, who (actually) availed themselves of the iron (knife,) and made eunuchs of themselves for no other cause, except that of the hope of the kingdom of heaven: who neither hesitated, nor were weak in the doctrine of our Saviour, but simply and boldly betook themselves to the thing itself. So that the foreknowledge of our Saviour, even respecting these things, sets to its seal, that His word was in truth the word of God.

On the distinction of those who should not worthily receive the seed of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.

33. When a great multitude of men had come near Him, He thus foretold by a parable what those should be, who should receive the seed of His doctrine, saying : “*Behold, a sower went forth to sow: and, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of heaven came and devoured it: and some fell on the rock, where there was not much earth, and immediately it sprang forth ; and, because there was no depth of earth beneath its root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up, and choked it: and some fell upon good ground, and it gave forth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold.* After these things He cried out and said, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear*” After this also, He was asked by His Disciples, what the interpretation of the parable should be; and He taught them, saying, “*Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. Every one that heareth the word of the kingdom, but understandeth it not, — the Evil one cometh, and snatcheth the seed out of his heart. This is that which is sown by the ivay side. And that which is sown upon the rock, is he who heareth the word, and with readiness receiveth it: but, not being confirmed therein, he is offended by a little affliction. And that which fell among the thorns, is he who*

heareth the word, but the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it remaineth without fruit. But that which is sown on good ground, is he who heareth the word, and understandeth it, and produceth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold." Now, Whence could it have happened to human nature, not only to declare by (one's) foreknowledge something that should come into being; but also, to determine the kinds and sorts of persons (who should), unless indeed He were truly THE WORD of God ? — He (I say), who at that time (so) prophesied and taught; — of whom it is said, "*The WORD OF GOD is lively (energetic), and more sharp and cutting than the two-edged sword, and passeth even to the parts of the soul and of the body, and of the joints and marrow; and is the Judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, and from whom no creature is hidden?*" He well declared therefore, the distinguishing marks of those who should afterwards receive His doctrines; and He also foretold, that those who should in impurity receive the seed of His instruction, should be of three kinds; as should in like manner the good, who should like good ground hear much, and give great increase to the word itself. Of those corrupters of the seed too, which should fall into their souls, He declared there should be three (moving) causes : Either from the considerations of life, and the care of things not (absolutely) necessary, and from riches and pleasures, immersing (as it were) the seed sown within them, and making it resemble the seed choked by thorns: or, others not receiving it into the depth of the mind, but immediately extinguishing it when affliction overtakes them: or, the third cause may be, that the source of the destructions of the seed within them is, the surrendering of a lax and ready hearing to (men) wishing to seduce them, and to snatch away the seed that had fallen into their souls. And these same are, in no other way cut off from bearing the fruit that is of God, except as by one or other of the means just mentioned. But those who are opposed to these, and receive the seed of salvation into a soul that is pure, and a mind that is devoted, do again, as their power may be, greatly increase their fruits. He moreover assimilates the distinctions of these, to those of good and excellent lands which bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred-fold. For such as these powers are, are those occasionally found in the souls of men. These things therefore, He prophesied on these matters. But, of the multitude of those who should in after-times bear (much) fruit, through the instruction of His words,

He thus cried out and said, *“The harvest is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth labourers into His harvest.”* And again, of these same He said on another occasion : *“Do not ye yourselves say, that there are yet four months, and the harvest cometh ? Lift up your eyes, and see the fields that they are white for the harvest!”* And, Who does not wonder, that He should shew even the fewness of those who should in purity be the chiefs of His word, for He said, *“The labourers are few?”* And, as prayer was necessary for the obtaining of these, He said therefore, *“Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He send forth labourers into His harvest.”* When He said therefore, *“The sower went out to sow,”* He also said, that there was another sower, and another seed ; and He also shewed and taught, whence, and whither, he went forth by the things said in the parable immediately following this, which is in this form : —

On the teaching of Heterodoxy, which should be sown together with His word in the souls of men. From the Gospel of Matthew.

34. He added another Parable, and said: *“The kingdom of heaven is like to a man, who sowed good seed in his field. But, when men slept, the Enemy came and sowed Tares among the wheat, and departed. When therefore, the wheat sprang forth and produced fruit, the Tares appeared in like manner. And his servants drew near and said to him : Our Lord, Didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? Whence are there Tares in it ? But he said to them, The man (who is) the Enemy hath done this. They say to him: Is it thy will therefore, that we go (and) gather them ? But he said to them, No; lest, while ye gather the Tares, ye also root up the wheat with them. Let them both grow until the harvest. And at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the Tares, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather ye the wheat into the granaries”* (lit. treasuries). This same Parable too, He explained to His Disciples in the house, when they drew near to Him and said, *“Explain to us the Parable of the Tares of the field. And He answered them, and said: The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world. (As to) the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the Tares, those are the children of the wicked one; and the Enemy, who sowed them, is the Accuser. And the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. Even therefore, as the Tares are gathered up, and fall into the fire; so shall it be at the end of this world. The Son of man shall send His*

Angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences, and those that do evil, and shall cast them into the Gehenna of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then shall the righteous shine in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.” Our Saviour shewed therefore, by His explanation of the Parable, these things (viz.), who the sower that went out to sow the seed was, and what the seed was which He cast forth, in the expressions: “*The sower of the good seed is the Son of man ; and the field is the world.*” For He usually called Himself the “*Son of man,*” on account of His going about among men. He therefore *went forth* from within, and came out. Where then was He *within*, but above the world ? where (indeed) He existed; and in the end of the world *He came forth*, and came down to us, who were *without* (out of) the kingdom of heaven. And with Him He brought the heavenly seed, which He sowed in the souls of men as in distinguished lands. For the Parable placed before us teaches respecting the field, as of what sort it is, into which He cast the seed; — which says, “*The field is the world;*” and it shews of this field, that it belongs to none but Himself; — to Him who came forth from *the inner part of His kingdom*, to those who were “*without*” (out of it), when saying, “*the servants drew near and said to Him, “Our Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in THY field?”*” He therefore taught plainly, that even this field is His own : and this He interpreted and shewed, was the world. In the former Parable therefore, He shewed His foreknowledge as to what the distinctions of those would be, who should receive the seed into their souls; but in this, which is placed before us, the perverse doctrines and errors of the ungodly Hereticks: when not one of them had yet so established himself among men! Nevertheless, it was not unknown to Him that this should come to pass. For, as false scriptures were scattered as seed in succeeding times throughout the whole earth, with enouncements assimilated to those of His doctrine, by an opposing nature, not unlike the Tares (sown) among His pure words and life-giving doctrines; — and there are myriads even to this time, some of whom make their boast of Manes, some of Marcion, and some of others, of those (I say) who put forth ungodly heterodoxy, and “*Tares*” (as it were), assimilated to the doctrine of our Saviour; making use of His name, and holding false books of the Gospels: — but he who was the Father of these things; — he who first sowed them in the souls of those who received him, was the Accuser himself: so He (our

Saviour) well evinced, by the Divine power, the foreknowledge of what should come to pass; and these things He previously testified, which have been thus fulfilled in fact; and accordingly their fulfilment was, as His words (had foreshewn). As He therefore truly shewed forth these things, and as we see in the facts themselves, the fulfilment of these predictions of our Saviour; so ought we also to think, that the rest shall come to pass. And these are, “*the harvest*,” “*the end*,” and “*the angels the reapers*.” also that the Tares shall be gathered, and shall fall into the fire: — the extreme good things too of those, who shall have preserved and multiplied the living, pure, and life-giving seed ; of whom it is said, “*Then shall the righteous shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father*.”

On those who should falsely name themselves the Christ. From the Gospel of Matthew.

35. “*When He sat on the mount of Olives, His Disciples drew near, saying between themselves and Him, Tell us, When shall these things be ? and What is the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world ? And Jesus answered them, and said, See that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ; and shall deceive many*” And again, after a few things He said, “*If at that time any one say to you, the Christ is here, or there; believe ye not. For false Christs shall arise, and false Prophets, and shall give great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the elect. Behold, I have foretold (it) to you. If therefore they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, go not forth; or, Behold, He is in the chamber, (it) not. For, as the lightning shineth from the East, and is seen even to the West; so shall the coming of the Son of Man be*” And on another occasion, when speaking with the Jews, He added these things and said, “*I am come in the name of my Father, and ye receive me not; but, if another come in his own name, him ye will receive.*” These things He foretold when warning His Disciples against the lying Antichrist, whom they were expecting: and one (of these) shewed of another in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, who (should be) in (the time of) *the end*. But, that others also should be before this, our Saviour Himself foretold in several places: “*For many*,” said He, “*shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ, and shall deceive many.*” And there were many (such) after (these) His words. And so the Samaritans were forthwith persuaded that Dositheus, who was after the times of our Saviour,

was the prophet of whom Moses predicted . And he so deceived them, that they declared he was the Christ. Others again, in the times of the Apostles, named Simon Magus *“the great power of God”* and thought that he was the Christ. Others (thought the same) of Montanus in Phrygia: and others again, of others, in another place. Nor did the deceivers cease. And it is necessary we should suppose, that there were many such as these; so that even from them, testimony may be had, as to the reality of our Saviour’s foreknowledge. Our Saviour taught moreover, that His glorious second coming should not again be, as it was at the first, in some one place, so that it may be supposed to be visible in some corner of the earth: and, that no one should thus think, He said, *“If any one shall say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or is there, believe ye not.”* For opinions such as these comport by no means with Him, but with those false Christs and false Prophets. He indeed appeared once in the form of man, and in a certain district. But, of what sort his glorious second coming from heaven should be, He taught and said, *“For, as the lightning goeth forth from the East, and is seen even to the West; so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be.”*

On the events that should happen at the end of things. From the Gospel of Matthew.

36. *“Ye shall hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be famines and pestilences, and commotions in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated by all nations for my name’s sake.”* And after this He added, and said, *“Then shall many stumble, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And, because of the abundance of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he, who shall bear until the End, shall live. And the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations; and then cometh the End.”* He clearly foretold also by these things, that His Gospel should, of necessity, first be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, *“and then should the END come.”* For the END of the world should

not come, before (the Gospel) had been preached; but, when His word should have so taken effect among all nations, that the people should be few, among whom His Gospel had not been preached; so also should the time of the END be short (in its coming). He further teaches and says, “*Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet.*” He also shews when this shall be, for He says, “*The Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations: and then cometh the end.*” When also, “*famines and pestilences, and commotions (shall be) in divers places, and nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom*” and there shall be overwhelming persecutions, and great afflictions. After these things too, He says, “*And ye shall be hated of all nations*” not on account of any other hateful acts, but “*for my name’s sake.*”

37. These proofs of the Divine manifestation of our Saviour, which we have thus far seen, are at the same time demonstrative, that both the words and deeds (had in view) are Divine. For in former times, the words were simply heard; but now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly visible in deed, together with powers eclipsing those of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded by these, we ought not to wonder: because it is usual with man *so* to resist things the most plain, as even to dare to oppose by his words the existence of an universal Providence; and hence also, to deny God himself! And thus also, will he disingenuously contend against many other things, to which the truth bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in its own nature true; so also will the wicked unbelief of men, in no way injure the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. But, if it is right that we should compose, for these also, a form (of prescription) conducing to intellectual health ; it is time that we should here again present, for their use, (other) proofs of the (truth of the) Gospel, and now also recite the things, which have formerly been investigated with reference to other (objectors), as to those who will not be persuaded by the things (hitherto) said.

The End of the Fourth Book (of Eusebius) of Caesarea.

THE FIFTH BOOK OF (EUSEBIUS) OF CAESAREA.

1. SUCH as these (then), are the proofs of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all, Jesus the Christ, which have been thus far visible to the eyes, shewing forth at once the Divine words and deeds. For in ancient times, the words, of which we have already spoken, as to things which should come to pass, were simply heard ; those (I say) which He prophesied to His disciples when He was near, (and) in their presence. But now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly viewed in fact, with powers eclipsing that of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded of these things, we ought not to wonder: because man is accustomed so to resist the clearest things (possible,) as to dare to oppose in his assertions even the existence of an universal Providence, and thus also even to deny God Himself! And thus disingenuously, will he also contend against many other things, to which the truth (itself) bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in (its own) nature true; so also will the wickedness of the unbelief of men, injure in no respect the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. Let us not deign therefore, even in word to attach ourselves to these. For those, whom the works of God will not persuade, the word of man will be (too) abject to move. Nevertheless, let us again take up the more vigorously, those things against such, which we formerly investigated by questions, in proof of the Gospels. If therefore ally one should, after all this, impugn the truth and dare disingenuously to affirm, that the Christ of God was not (such) as we believe He was, but was a magician, seducer, and impostor; we would present to him, as an infant in mind, those things which we also formerly investigated: —

Against those who suppose that the Christ of God was a magician and deceiver.

2. Let us now ask then, Whether there ever was a man heard of at any period, who (as) a magician and deceiver, was (also) a teacher of humility, meekness, purity, and of every other virtue? And, Whether it is just to call by these names, Him who would not allow, that (men) should even look upon women with evil desire? And, Whether he could be a magician, who delivered the chief philosophy by teaching His disciples, that the indigent should of their wealth adhere to Him, and that compassion and liberality should abound

with them? And, Whether He could be a magician, who forbade the assembling together of ferocious and tumultuous inhabitants, and taught them to love the retirement only, which devotes itself to the word of God ? How could He, — who deterred from every species of falsehood, and commanded that men should so honour truth above all things, that they should not stand in need of a true oath, much less of a false one, — be justly named a magician? But, What need can there be, that I should now say manythings (on this point,) since we may readily inform ourselves from His own words, — which have, even to this day, been preached throughout the whole earth, — what the sort of conduct was, which was disseminated by Him in the world ? Every one who loves the truth will confess of Him, not only that He was neither magician nor deceiver, but was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the teacher of the divine philosophy and righteousness; and not of this common philosophy of the world ; —

3. But the things pertaining to His form of doctrine were such as these. — Come then, let us enquire whether this His error, consisted in (any of) the many things of His teaching. Observe then, Was it not God, the King of all, Him alone, of whom it is written that He is the cause of every good thing, that He taught and presented to His disciples ? And, Do not the words of His doctrine to this very time, raise the mind of every Greek and Barbarian in existence, to the God who is supreme, to Him (I say) who is the maker of the heavens and of the earth, and of the whole world; making (them) overleap all visible nature, and every thing fabricated ? Was this then His error ? or, Was it, that He did not allow those to worship many gods, — to whom it had been made clear, from this worship of God only, that He could not be convicted of falsehood: — (and) who had fallen after their Head, on account of this real error? But this was not new, nor was it His word (only), but that of those Hebrews, friends of God, who arose in ancient times. And from them it was, that these recent (true) philosophers were aided in these great (performances), and gave in to their doctrines: the wise men of Greece too, glorying in the divinations of theirdeities, have put it thus on record of the Hebrews, that *“wisdom came to the Chaldeans alone, and the Hebrews purely worshipped the Essence of the person of God, the King of all.”*

4. If then those ancient friends of God, — those to whom (these) divinations have more particularly home testimony, — did raise the act of

worship (directing it) to the God who is over all; How should we confess of Him, that He was a deceiver, and not a most wonderful teacher, who has extended this worship of God — as to the things which were known only in former times to these descendants of the Heads of the Hebrew fathers, — to all mankind ! And this to such a degree, that no more, as in those times, a few, and those easy to be numbered, hold the orthodox faith respecting God; but thousands of congregations of barbarians at once, and of those who in ancient times were perfectly savage, also of the wise, and men of Greece, — of those (I say) who now, like the prophets and just men of old, have been taught in the worship of God, solely by means of His power, and of His instruction !

5. But, let us also investigate this third (consideration). Was it then for this, that they called Him a deceiver (viz.), because He taught, that men should no more honour God with the slaughter of bulls, or with the sacrifices of irrational animals ? Neither with blood and fire, nor with incense, which are of the earth, because these things are of small value and earthly ; and shewed that they never could comport with the nature which is immortal and incorporeal? — determined also that to keep the commandments of God, and by their means to purify both the soul and body, was more acceptable and becoming to God, than any sort of sacrifice ? — inculcated too that men should be careful to become like God, both in enlightenment of mind, and in the knowledge of his worship ? And, should any one of the Greeks find fault with these things, let him know that it is not to be imagined, that the things (so) received are against (even) those of His own teachers, who have put much together on this (matter,) viz.; That (men) should not suppose they honoured God by means of blood and the sacrifices of irrational animals, or by those of fire, smoke, and the fumes of fat.

6. We know too that we are, after these things, taught by Him that the world was made; and that these Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, are the work of God; and that it is not right we should worship these, and not Him who is the Maker and Creator of them all. It may be well therefore for us to see, how He could have deceived men, from whom we have learned to think that this system (of things) is nothing new, but is that of the Hebrews, the ancient friends of God. Even this sentiment was also from these famous philosophers; — they delivered these same (particulars), affirming that these beavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the whole world, were also made by

Him, who is the Creator of all things. He also taught us to believe, that the soul which we possess is immortal, and that it is in no respect like the animals that are irrational, but that (the faculties) within it resemble the powers of God. He likewise taught, that all those who were barbarian and ignorant, should (at once) make this their own, and be, and know. And, How was it, that we were not made wise by those sages among the Egyptians, or by those Greeks who made broad their foreheads; those who said that the soul which was in man, was in no respect better in its essence than were gnats, fleas, worms, or reptiles; nor even, than the soul of the serpent, the viper, the bear, or the panther? and that swine, as to their soul, differed in no respect, (from men) ? —

7. And, that after these things, He perseveringly admonished (men) of the judgment of God, and of the punishments and vengeance, — things from which we cannot be exempt, — which are recorded against the wicked; also, of the promises of eternal life, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the life of happiness with God, respecting the just. Whom then did He deceive ? Did He not rather stimulate (men) to hasten on to virtue, because of the victories reserved for the righteous ? and, to flee from, and repel from them, every vice, because of the punishments to be inflicted on the wicked ? Such then, being the instructions contained in the doctrinal ordinances of our Saviour; What room does there remain for imagining, that we should suppose Him to have been a Deceiver and Magician ? — But, let us also investigate these things. —

8. When a magician associates his companions with the things of this vice, Like to what men does he makethem ? Is it not to magicians, deceivers, and fabricators of magical drugs, — in all respects like himself ? Was there ever, then, a man found among the whole Christian race, who fabricated magical rites or drugs, from the doctrine of our Saviour ? There is no (such thing) existing for any man to say; but, the contrary to this, that they have been seen passing over to the precepts of the philosophy which is Divine. How then, can He be justly styled other, in truth, than the Teacher of the life which worships God, the common Saviour of all, — who became throughout the whole habitable world, and to all nations, the (sole) cause of purity and of holiness of life, and of the knowledge (inculcating) the worship of the Creator of all things ?

9. Those too, who adhered to Him from the first, as well as those who

afterwards received the traditionary account of the manner of their conversation, were, as to all these matters, so far removed from suspicion of evil and bitterness, that they did not even allow the sick to do many things which the many dared to do; either, that they should write (charms) upon tablets, or make use of amulets; or, that they should in their minds have respect to those who promised to use enchantments; or, that they should prescribe for the persons (of the sick), as cures for complaints, either the fumes of roots, or of apples, or of any other similar things. All these things were therefore, excluded from the doctrine of our Saviour: nor was there ever a Christian to be found who used amulets, or enchantments, or the means of written tablets, or, indeed, any other forms allied to these; the indiscriminate use of which was in repute among the many. What then can be said against the men who had been instructed in these things, so as to cast the imputation on them, of their having been the disciples of a master who was a magician ? when, behold, the association of any one among the disciples, who promised any (new) doctrine, was severely reprehended! Those men therefore both of art and science, to whom He was the cause of their (christian) instruction, fully confessed of Him, that He was much their superior (in these respects). For, even as physicians are witnesses of the goodness of the doctrine of their master ; so, of geometricians, Who has assigned any other instructing heads, except geometricians ? and of arithmeticians, except arithmeticians ? And in like manner, of the magician, the best witnesses as to these things have been His disciples, who have (always) fully resembled their Master, and have done (as he did). But no man has ever been found, during all these years, a magician and (at the same time a) Disciple of our Saviour; when, behold, kings and governours have, during the whole of these times, made the most careful inquiries into (these) things by means of the worst of torments !

10. And thus indeed, neither was there (ever) any magician His Disciple, so as to be left free and exempt from every (sort) of condemnation; being only reduced by them (the persecuting emperors) to sacrifice.

11. But, that our discourse may not wander from Scripture, take the proof of these things even from the writings of those primitive acquaintances and Disciples of our Saviour, (as found) in the book of their own "*Acts.*" They so wrought upon those of the Gentiles who received their doctrine, that many of these, — who formerly accused them of magic, — so entirely changed their

conduct, that they boldly brought forward the abominable books which they had formerly kept secret, to them into the midst of the assemblies, and threw them into the fire in the presence of all. Hear then the statement of these things, which runs thus: —

12. *“The greater part then of those who practised magic brought in their books, and burnt them in the presence of all men; and they reckoned their price, and it was found, that they were worth fifty thousand”* (pieces of silver).

13. Such therefore were the Disciples of our Saviour, and such was the entire power of the word, which they put forth in their discourses with (their) hearers, that it became fixed in the depths of their souls; — were so struck and inclined, that every one took up the resolution no more to suffer those things to remain hidden, by which the many had formerly been implicated in error, but that these secret things should be brought out into the light, and that they should become witnesses against themselves, of their own former wickedness. Such also were those who became their Disciples, so pure, noble in soul, and abundant in love, that they allowed nothing impure to remain concealed within them, but, on the contrary, they gloried and exulted in their change from vice to virtue. Since therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour were seen to be such, Must not their Master have first been much more excellent? But, if you wish to know from those who are Disciples, of what sort their Master was, you have tens of thousands of the Disciples of the precepts of our Saviour even to this time; of whom there are multitudes of congregations of men, who have armed themselves against the lusts of the nature of the body, and have accustomed themselves to preserve their minds uninjured by any of the evil passions : those (I say), who have passed their whole lives, (and) grown old in purity ; and have put forth, from the provisions of His word, the most brilliant examples (to others).

14. Nor was it that men only were in this manner (attached) to Him, and became Philosophers; but also tens of thousands of women throughout the whole creation; those (I say), who like Priestesses of the supreme God, attached themselves to the most exalted service, and applied themselves to the love of the wisdom which is heavenly. On the generation of the body they cast contempt, giving all care to their soul, keeping themselves in purity from every thing sordid and unclean, and extending their desires to all holiness and to virginity. The Greeks, indeed, sing of one shepherd who left his place for

the sake of philosophy, and him they hawk about here and there. This was Democritus. They also express their astonishment at one Crates, who gave his possessions to his citizens. He then took with him himself alone, and boasted in the provisions of liberty. But these counterparts of the word of our Saviour, are tens of thousands in number; nor was it one, or two (only), who sold their possessions and distributed them to the poor and needy: indeed we ourselves are witnesses, that these were even such among men; and, in the effects themselves, we have seen the righteousness of the doctrine of our Saviour. And, What need can there be that we should say, how many myriads even of the barbarians themselves, and not (of these) only, but also of the Greeks, have, by the doctrine of the words of our Saviour, been raised above every error of a plurality of gods, and have recognized and confessed the one only God, the Father and Creator of this whole world? Him (I say), whom one Plato formerly knew, but confessed that he durst not speak of Him before all men; because such power as all this of God's worship was not with him: but to these the Disciples of our Saviour it was, through the help of their Lord, easy to acknowledge Him, and to find Him (at hand as) the Father and Creator of all. To every race of men did they reveal Him, and so preached the knowledge of Him to all, throughout the whole creation, that, from their teaching, there are even to this time, among all nations, tens of thousands of congregations, not only of men, but also of women, children, slaves, and villagers! All this (then accrued to them) from this philosopher, so that they were not wanting, not only to make Him known (as) the Maker and Creator of this whole world, but they also became his ambassadors in every place. Such were the victories of the common Saviour of all; these, the deceptions of Him who was thought to be a Deceiver! While, behold, such alone were His Disciples and acquaintances; from whom it was (but) right, we should learn of what sort their Master was.

15. Come then, let us again try the matter thus, — You say of Him that He was a magician; and not (only so,) but, that He was a maker of magicians. You style Him cunning, and a deceiver. How then was it, that He was the first, and the only one, who has arisen capable of this matter? Or, Is it (not) right we should, according to custom, ascribe the cause to the Teachers? If then He was the first and only one capable of this; — no one having taught Him, and He having never learned any thing from others, nor yet derived it from the

ancients; — How is it not then incumbent on us to confess of Him, that His nature was Divine? He (I say), who without book, without precepts, and without teachers, (so) learned of Himself, and was seen to know from Himself, the Maker of all these things? when, observe, it is impossible for any one to acquire a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of logic, or of the primitive elements (of the world), without some one to instruct and teach him. But, if He was out of nature; — and no one ever, (so) taught of himself, came out a teacher of grammar, or of rhetoric; not having previously been taught; nor, has there been a physician, or builder, or practitioner of any other art: these things being but small, and belonging to men; but this, one might say, is of the Teacher of the whole habitable world; (viz.) that He performed the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, (and) whose Disciples (taught) by Himself were such; having received nothing from the ancients, neither having had any help from those moderns who performed things not unlike what others had done, who had preceded Him; — What other thing can we testify or confess, but that the matter is in truth Divine, and such as exceeds all human nature?

16. But. you say of Him that He had deceiving teachers, and that neither the sciences of the Egyptians, nor those mysteries which were formerly preached among them, escaped Him: that from these He collected together (His doctrines), and that He seems to have been a man of this description. — If then others, His superiors, appeared before Him, and were His teachers, whether in Egypt or elsewhere; Why did not the fame of these also run forth, prior to His name among all men, just as His has done? and, Why is not the praise of them also proclaimed, even to this time, just as His has been ? and, Who is the magician, of those who arose at any time, Barbarian or Greek, who was the teacher of such disciples; the originator of all such laws and precepts as these are; and has shewed forth the power of (this) the common Saviour of all ? and, of Whom has it ever been written, that He did such cures as those which have been recorded of our Saviour? — The knowledge too of something to come to pass, with all those predictions ? those too, which like these, have by their means been laid down as principles, What other has, either before, or after Him, been memorialized as having delivered ? and, Who is it that has promised that he would effect those things, throughout the whole habitable world, which he had (so) predicted, and has, in fact, so confirmed His words, that, even to these our times, the fulfilment of His

predictions is visible to our own eyes ? And, Whose disciples and eye-witnesses of the things themselves (here had in view), have ever so sealed the truth regarding those which they attested of their Lord, by the trial of both fire and sword, as these Disciples of our Saviour have done ? — who (indeed) bore the reproach of all men, for the sake of the things which they had seen and witnessed of Him, and submitted to every species of torment; while the end of their testimony respecting Him was, as that of the Son of God ! How much less would magicians seal with their blood their testimonies? And, Which of the magicians, even if it ever came into his mind to set up a new people in his own name, did not only think of doing this, but also gave effect to his project ? How would not this eclipse all human nature, that he should also frame laws opposed to the error of a plurality of Gods, and adverse to the ordinances of Kings, Legislators, Philosophers, Poets, and Theologians? and, that he should send these forth and shew, through the period of a long life, that they were (at once) triumphant and faultless?

17. Which of the magicians is it, who ever projected that which our Saviour did ? But, if one did so project; still he dared not to advance this. But, if one so dared; still he brought not the matter to effect. He (the Saviour) said in one word and enouncement to His Disciples, “*Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach ye them every thing that I have commanded you.*” And the deed He made to follow the word. For thence, every race of the Greeks and Barbarians became at once, and in a short space of time, (His) Disciples: The laws too of our Saviour were not written in any Book of His; but, without book, were disseminated at His command among all nations; (and) these were opposed to the ancient worship of a plurality of Gods: — laws at enmity with the Demons, and unfriendly to every error of a multitude of Deities : — laws purifying the Scythians, the Persians, and other Barbarians, and converting (them) from every savage, and lawless sort of life: — laws subversive of the customs, which had obtained from ancient times among the Greeks, and teaching the new and genuine worship of God. How then have they dared so (to advance) such things as these, that one should say of Him, that He was probably aided (in) this magic by others, — the ancient magicians, — who were before His times? But, if there was no other person, whom any one could say resembled Him ; neither was there consequently, who could have been the cause of His possessing all this superiority. — It is

now time therefore that we should confess, that an extraordinary and Divine Nature came into the world, which first and alone performed the things which had never before been commemorated among men.

18. Let us again ask, after these things, Whether any one ever saw with his eyes, or learned by hearing, that there were magicians such as He was, and composers of (magical) drugs, who, without libations, sacrifices, and invocations of Demons, performed the rites of magic ? When, behold, it is well known and clear to every one, that the whole process of magic is usually effected by these things. For, How can any one bring an accusation of this sort either against our Saviour, or against his Disciples, or against those who are, even to these times led by His doctrine ? Is there a man who can bring such an accusation as this against them? Is it not evident, even to the blind, that we are prepared for every thing the reverse of these things ? And that we dare to surrender up ourselves to death in an instant ? but that we will not sacrifice to Demons : — that we instantly submit to be put out of life; but do not submit to be subjected to Demons! And, Who is he who knows not how delightful it is to us, that, through the name of our Saviour, (coupled) with prayers that are pure, we cast out every kind of Demon ? And thus the word of our Saviour, and the doctrine which is from Him, have made us all to be greatly superior to the power which is invisible, and impervious to inquiry; and, (such) that we are ready to be enemies and haters of the Demons, but not that we should be friends, or followers, of (their) customs; much less be subjected and obedient (to them). How then could He have been a slave to the Demons, who delivered such things as these, to those who were devoted to Himself? And, How could He have sacrificed to evil spirits? Or, How could He have called upon the Demons (as His) assistants and helpers, when all the Demons and impure spirits have been agitated, as by some torment or punishment even to this very time, at the mention of His name ? (and) have departed and fled before His power, as it was the case in former times, when He conversed with men, when they could not bear to see Him ; (one and) another, crying out from another place, and saying, “ *What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God ? Art thou come to torment us before the time?* ”

19. Now, Is not the man whose mind is intent on magic only, — and is wholly addicted to things (thus) base, — in his character openly odious, vile, corrupt, iniquitous, ungodly, and impious ? And being such, Whence, and

How, can he teach others, either the things which pertain to the worship of God, or which respect purity ? or, which concern the knowledge of God ? or, which are on the immortality of the soul ? or, which inculcate righteousness, and the judgment of God who is over all? Would he not be an ambassador of the things which are opposed to all these? persevering in those that attend on hatred, and the denial of God ? and rooting up as fabulous the (doctrine of a) general providence of God ? and laughing at the words which treat of virtue, and (affirm) of the soul that it is immortal ? If indeed, such things as these had been witnessed (of Him), then would there have been nothing, even respecting this our (Teacher), which we could have said to the contrary. But, if in all His words and His deeds, He was seen to call upon God who is over all, and King of all; and prepared his Disciples to be such; and, if He was Himself temperate, and a Teacher of temperance ; if too, He was a doer and a preacher of righteousness, of truth, of mercy, and of every virtue; and, if He shewed forth the worship of God, the King of all; How does it indeed not follow upon these things that we should think of Him, that not one of those wonderful acts which He did was done by magic ? and confess that it was, in truth, by the unseen power of God ?

20. These things then, are directed (against) those who dare, with ungodly mouths, to blaspheme against Him. But if they change and confess of Him, that He was a teacher of purity and sobriety of life, and a bringer in of the doctrine of the (true) worship of God; still, that He was no doer of those wonderful, powerful, and miraculous works which are recorded of Him, or of those divine deeds which are superior to man; and, that His Disciples have fabricated these same; it is now time that we should also meet this accusation.

Against those who do not believe the testimony of the Disciples of our Saviour, respecting His miraculous deeds.

21. If then (these) should say of Him, that He wrought no complete miracle, nor yet any of those wonderful works of which His disciples bore testimony, but that His disciples have otherwise falsely stated them, and have lied for the purpose of putting forth miraculous relations about Him ; let us see whether the word of these is to be taken as satisfactory: there being no (earthly) cause that they can assign, why they the Disciples, and He their master, went forth into the world. For He who teaches, gives a promise of some doctrine: and they again, the Disciples, love both the precepts and doctrines, as if

(conveying) some (valuable) art, and give themselves up (accordingly) to the Teacher. What ground therefore, can there be for any one to speak against the disciples of our Saviour, on account of their conversation with Him ? And, What could have pressed them to this care respecting Him, and that they should have recorded Him (as) the teacher of such doctrines to themselves ? Or, Is (not) this clear ? For the things which they learned of Him, they also declared fully to others: and these were the appointments of this His philosophy. They were too, the first ambassadors of God who is over all, of the providence of God, of the righteous judgment (of God,) of the soul's being immortal, of the distinction between the life of the good and the bad, and of other things of this kind, which are written in their Scripture. It was also a precept pertaining to the life of this philosophy, which He laid down for them when He said, "*Possess ye neither gold nor silver in your purses, neither scrip for the way,*"? with other similar things: but (His great precept was), that they should give up their souls, only to the providential care of the Governour of all, and not be anxious on account of want. And He so instructed them, that they should consider (His precepts) much better than those which Moses delivered to the Jews. For he laid down a law for them, — as for men to whom murder would be easy, — that they should not kill. And in like manner, that they should not commit adultery, as to men dissolute and adulterous. And again, that they should not steal, as to men to whom slavery would be suitable; and, that they should not injure, as to men who were fraudulent. But of these, He knew that it was desirable they should stand in need of no such laws; but that this should above all things be precious in their sight, (viz.) that their soul should be subject to no (evil) passion; and that they should root up and expel from the bottom of their heart, as from its root, the germ of (every) vice; (and,) that they should be superior to wrath, and every base desire: that is to say, that they should not even be angry, because of the superiority of their soul, as being free from passion ; that they should not look upon a woman with evil desire; that they should so labour against theft, that they should give of their own to them that needed; and further, that they should not glory in this, that they injured none, but (rather) in this, that those who wished to injure them, they bore with without anger. But, What need is there that I should collect together all the things which He, and they, taught ? He also counselled them, — together, with all these things, — that they should be so confirmed in

the truth, as not to be under the necessity of giving even a true oath, much less a false one: but that they should so form their character, that in it, apart from every sort of oath, they should appear as true, and should proceed no farther than “*yea*” (*yea*), and should in their conversation truly apply this.

22. We may ask therefore, whether there is any thing — whatever it might be — against those who were the hearers of these things, and who forthwith arose as teachers of them to other Disciples, (out) of which we may suppose they fabricated all the things, which they attested their Master had done. And, What is there in this leading us to suppose, that they all thoroughly lied ? They were, in number, the Twelve who had been chosen, and the remaining Seventy of whom it is said, that He sent them before Him, two and two, into every place and part to which He was about to go. But, there is not so much as a word that can be said of this whole company, (shewing) that they belied Him : — of men, who loved the life that was pure, and the worship of the (true) God ; who cared but little for all the children of their own families; and who instead of their friends, their wives I say, their children and all belonging to them, took to the life which had no possessions; and fully gave their testimony to their Lord, as from one mouth, among all mankind.

23. This is therefore, the leading, primary, and true reason. Let us then, also investigate that which is opposed (to it). Let Him therefore be (considered) the Teacher, and them the Disciples ; and so, as it were in a relation of hypothesis that He taught none of the things already mentioned, but those opposed to them (*viz.*); that they should forthwith be transgressors of the Law; should act impiously, iniquitously, fraudulently, and falsely; should swear falsely, and do (many) hateful things, and if there be any other vice that can be named. Now, all these things are wholly foreign to the doctrines of our Saviour; they are opposed (to them,) and would be the (offspring) of arrogance and impudence. Nor, are they only opposed to His words and doctrines, but also to the mode of life which has hitherto been delivered to all nations; that which is practised in all His Churches. But, even if the matter be (wholly) false, then cannot its like be advanced; (*viz.*) that we should have been a race so negligent, as not even to have examined the things now before us! — Let Him then be (supposed to have been) the Teacher of every vice, and iniquity; and that the chief care was, that they should after all these things remain concealed. And such custom is most wisely concealed under the form of a doctrine which is

pure, and putting forth a new (mode) of worship. These then, were led by such things, and by others still worse. For vice previously ensnares, and it constitutes the teaching of itself. They would (then,) exalt their Master to a state of greatness by lying words, and spare not even one expression of falsehood; and falsely ascribe to Him every sort of miracle and wonderful work, that (men) mightwonder at them and felicitate them, that they were dignified by being the Disciples of such a Master.

24. Come then, let us now see, — if they really were such, — whether it was possible that could have been established, which they endeavoured to do for Him. For they say, that *“Evil is friendly to evil, but not to good.”* Whence then, is this agreement in vice to be discovered in the multitudes of all these men ? And, Whence this testimony respecting them (viz.), that the object of them all was in unison ? And, Whence this doctrine about the Divine appointments, and the teaching of the (true) Philosophy ? Whence also, the mind (intent) on the life of virtue ? And, Whence the doctrine (inculcating) flight from every vice ? Whence also, the knowledge and recording of precepts such as these ? And, Whence the glory of the conduct and conversation which was delivered by them, throughout the whole creation of man ? Whence too, all this power ? Whence this courage ? Whence this confidence ? Whence this resignation even to death ? — But, Who would at the first, even in opinion, have had respect to the man who taught vice and bitterness, — as it is (here) said of Him, — and who promised such things ? They would surely say (such were the deeds) of a Magician. But, the Disciples of this Leader were in nothing vicious. And, Must not they have understood these things at the end of their Master ? and, by what sort of Death he was affected ? Why then, after such an end of shame, did they continue in these things ? and affirm of Him who was then among the dead, that He was God, unless they thought it a thing of no moment, that they themselves should suffer similar things ? Now, Who is it that has voluntarily and openly ever chosen punishment for the sake of nothing profitable ? For, had they been desirous of possessions, so would they also ofprofit: and, if they had been abominable in character, they would have been lustful. We may then think of them perhaps, that they had thus dealt with the matter for the sake of these things, and intrepidly exposed themselves even to death ! But, if they preached what was adverse to these, and fully proclaimed (it) in the hearing of

all the congregations (of Christians); and also, immediately instructed (men) in the doctrine of the Scriptures, (viz.) that they should flee from every vicious and base desire; should avoid every thing fraudulent; should overcome every sort of lust, and the love of money; and that they did moreover, so teach those who became their disciples; it will be likely that they carried on no merchandize, collected no wealth, and took no part in a life either of ease, or of pleasure. Since therefore, they were led by none of these things; How could they have been induced to suffer, for no object, the worst of punishments and of vengeance, for the testimony given of their Master, which, again, had no foundation in fact?

25. But let it be granted, that they honoured Him while He was yet with them, and had His conversation among them, and led them astray by deception, as it has been affirmed; How was it then, that even after His death, and then much more strenuously than before, they went on calling Him God ? Because, while He was yet among men, it is said that they even forsook and denied Him, at the time when His deceivers were ready (to take Him); but, after His departure from among men, they joyfully chose death, rather than relinquish the good testimony they had given respecting Him ! Those (Disciples) therefore, who formerly knew no good thing of their Master, neither the life, deed, doctrine, nor work, that was worthy of praise; and, who had received no advantage from Him, except indeed vice, and the leading astray of men; How was it, that they so easily gave themselves up to death, not, because they were in any respect guilty, but because they had attested things so glorious and praise-worthy of Him; when behold, it was in the power of every one of them to live in safety, and to lead a life of comfort at home with his friends? But, How could men, who were themselves deceived and deceiving, submit willingly to death for another, who, as they knew with certainty, (and) better than all others, had not been in any one thing the cause of good to them, but — as men say, — the Teacher of every evil ? A man endued with mind and virtue, may indeed for some noble conquest, or for some excellent person, occasionally with propriety, and even with glory, submit to death. But he, who is so base in character as to have been in pursuit only of the things of a temporal life, and the enjoyment of lusts, has never chosen death rather than life; nor has suffered severe punishment for the sake of his friends, much less for one convicted of vice. How then, could the

Disciples of the (Person) mentioned, — who could not have been ignorant that He was a deceiver and magician, if He really had been such, and even retaining inthemselves every vice that was hateful, — have willingly undergone every species of torment and of punishment from their countrymen, on account of the testimony they had given of Him ? But this is by no means, the disposition of the vicious. For I myself have seen many, who have faithfully kept society and oath with the living; but who, as soon as these died, dissolved every compact of this sort entered into between them. And we all know accurately how the Sophists, — brought together in the cities (generally), and in glorious repute for their erudition and display of words, — load with praises the governors, and those vested with great power and rule, just so long as they retain this; but, as soon as any change (in this respect) happens to them, these also change their words; and no more will they willingly memorialize those whom they formerly did, purely from the fear of those (now) in power.

26. If then, these Disciples of our Saviour were deceived and deceiving, I would add this also: They were unlearned, and altogether illiterate; that is, they were even barbarians, and understood no language except the Syriac. How then did they, after the departure of their Lord from among men, go forth into the whole creation, and give their testimony to His Godhead ? And, by What sort of advice were they prevailed on to attempt this ? By What power too, did they effect that which they undertook? It might have happened indeed, that some rustics at their own homes would be perverted and led astray. But, that they (the Disciples) should be sent forth into foreign countries, and should not relinquish their object through remissness, but should preach the name of our Saviour to every man, together with His deeds of wonder; and not this only, but should also teach His commandments both in the villages and cities; — some of them to the Roman power (itself), and (so) apportion to themselves this city of the empire: others also, to the Persians; others, to those among the Armenians; others, to the nation of the Parthians; and again, to that also of the Scythians: (that) some of thesesould go forth, even as far as the extremities of the creation, and arrive at the country of the Hindoos; others pass over to the Islands beyond the ocean, and which are called Britain; — could not, I think, have been the things of men; How much less, of those who were deficient and illiterate? How much still less, of

deceivers and magicians?

27. How then could those, whose experience of their Master was, that He was vicious and a perverter, — and who had with their own eyes witnessed His departure by death, — have used such terms with each other, for this (viz.), that they should unanimously lie respecting Him ? For they all attested as with one mouth, the cleansing of lepers, the casting out of Demons, the raising of the dead, (the restoring of) sight to the blind, and many other instances of cure, which were effected by Him : —

28. And after these things, His resurrection after the death which they had previously witnessed? For, to such things, not happening, nor even being heard of in their times, How could they, with one mouth, have given testimony, and convinced (themselves) that they came to pass ? and have continued to place faith in (this) their testimony, even to death ? Was it, either that they were brought together, and that they swore to do this ? and that they entered into compact with one another, to fabricate, and falsely to put forth, things which never came to pass? And shall we say, that they used terms to this effect as the pretence for such compact? or, such as these? Men, our friends! — Him who was, (as it were) yesterday or the day before, a Deceiver and Teacher of error, — who suffered extreme punishment before the eyes of us all, — we know better and more accurately than any other, how far He excelled, because we were the Disciples of His secret mysteries. He appeared as pure to the many, and thought that He possessed something better than the many. But He possessed nothing great, nor yet any thing worthy of (that) His resurrection ; unless one might say, that He was cunning and impure in character, and that those were perversions which He taught us, and the false boastings which was favourable to such things; — come, let us give the right hand to one another, and let us all at once enter into compact among ourselves, that we will unanimously put forth, among all mankind, falsehood respecting Him, and will say, that we saw “ *Him give sight to the blind,* ” a thing which no one (of us) ever heard of; and that “ *He cleansed the lepers* ” and “ *Raised the dead.* ” And we will in a body affirm, that things were done by Him which we (indeed) never saw; and were said (by Him) which we likewise never heard. Those things too which were done, as it were in reality, we will contend for (as such). And, if this His last end has been published, and He so openly received His death that no one can conceal it, we will

nevertheless, impudently make this of no effect; attesting pertinaciously that He rose from the dead; was also with all of us, and accompanied us both in conversation and in the usual meals. Let this then, be pertinaciously and shamelessly retained in all these things, and so remain with us, that we persist in it even to death ! — For, Why might we (not) expose ourselves to death for nothing ? And, Why should it molest us, willingly to receive stripes and torments in our persons, for nothing that is necessary ? And, if it be required that we should suffer imprisonment, injury, and affliction, for nothing that is true; should submit instantaneously to this; should all of us together lie by consent, and put forth falsehood for no profit whatever, either to ourselves or to those who may be deceived by us; or, to Him, of whom these lies have been told by us; affirming that He was God: and that we should extend this falsehood, not only to our own people, but should also go out among all mankind, and fill the whole creation with the things we have (thus) laid down respecting Him; and should thence proceed forthwith, to make laws for all nations, subversive of the opinions respecting the Gods of their forefathers; those (I say), which had from ancient times been established among them : and, that we should first of all lay our commands upon the Romans, not to worship those whom their forefathers supposed to be Gods; that we should then also pass off to the Greeks, and preach that which is also adverse to their wise men : that we should not neglect the Egyptians, but contend also with their Deities, but should not draw out against them the things of Moses, which were in former times adverse to them, but place against them the Death of our Teacher as something terrific: and should destroy that fame respecting the Gods, which formerly went out from among them to all mankind, not by mere words, and stories, but by the power of our Lord, of Him who was crucified; and, that we should again proceed even to the extremities of the land of the Barbarians, and subvert the things (prevailing) with all men: and for this purpose not one of us should be wanting : For the reward pertaining to the things which we (so) attempted, would not be small, since the triumphs to which we should present ourselves, would not be simple ones; but, as it is likely, (would be) punishments awarded by the laws of every place; open bonds, torments, imprisonments, fire, sword, (death by) the cross and (by) wild beasts: but, because we would acquire a likeness to our Teacher, we would willingly rather, and with joyfulness one and all, continue (partaking)

in these calamities! For, What can there be better than this, that we should be found enemies to both God and man, for no one thing profitable ? And also, that we should obtain nothing of ease ? neither should see our friends, nor in any way increase our wealth ? nor even possess the hope of any good to perfection ? but should, on the contrary, vainly and without any object errourselves, and lead others (also) astray ? For this is the helpful thing (had in view), that we should both be opposed to all nations, and also engaged in contention with those Gods, whom all men have from ancient times confessed: and, that we should preach of Him who was our Teacher, and who died before our eyes, that He was God, and the Son of God : and that we ourselves should be ready to die for Him, having learned from him nothing true, and nothing advantageous! And that we should particularly honour Him, because He aided us in nothing excellent: and should moreover do every thing in order to glorify His name; suffer every sort of injury and vengeance, and willingly receive every form of punishment for nothing that is true! For, evil certainly is truth, and falsehood has that which is opposed to vice. On this account we say, that *“He even raised the dead, also cleansed the lepers, also cast out Demons, and was the doer of other wonderful works,”* when we know of no such things done by Him, but have fabricated all these things for ourselves; and (thus) led all astray, on whom we could prevail to do so ! But, if any one would not be (so) persuaded, still we ourselves should, — for the sake of the things which we had (so) bargained upon among ourselves, — have brought forth upon ourselves the things worthy of such a system of error.

29. And Do these things appear to you as convincing ? And, Can you so far persuade yourself, that they (His Disciples) did falsely put forth such things as these ? And, that men so deficient and unlettered, did actually make (such) compact among themselves, and (triumphantly) walk over the power of the Romans ? Could human nature, possessed as it is with the love of life, have ever submitted, for no object and of its own will, to death ? Or, Could the Disciples of our Saviour have been carried on to such an excess of madness, that they should at once, — when they had seen no act of a miraculous character performed by Him, — have falsely put forth by compact such things as these? And again, Could they have put together such lying statements respecting Him, and then have readily submitted to death in support of them?

30. But they went not forth by compact, to this (work of) preaching

respecting Him; nor did they make (any compact) among themselves. Whence then, had they this perfect agreement of testimony respecting His deeds ? Is it (not) likely, from seeing the things which were done by Him ? — For one of (these) two things must be the fact: (viz.) Either, they made compact among themselves, and lied; or else, they attested (what) they had seen with their eyes. If then, they really saw (the things), and preached (them) to all men; they were worthy of credit when they said of our Saviour, that He was God; and, that He permitted them to see with their eyes, (the putting forth of) Divine powers, Miracles, and wonderful Works. If however they really saw none of the things (so) recorded, but put together false statements; and accordingly made oath, and sworn covenant, on this, (viz.) that they would say nothing true, and (then) lied, and attested of their Lord what was false; How could they in reality have submitted to death, for nothing true ? and, that neither fire, nor sword, nor fierce beasts, nor the depth of the sea, could make them falsify the accounts, which they had (thus) falsely put forth respecting their Lord ?

31. But, How can you say that they neither expected nor hoped, that they should suffer any calamity from this their testimony respecting Him; and, that they therefore went out, even boldly, to the (work of) preaching about Him ? On the contrary, it was impossible they should not have hoped, that they should suffer every sort of calamity: superinducing as they did the destruction of the Gods, at once of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Barbarians. Now the Book itself, which (speaks) of them, shews plainly, that after the death of their Lord certain men, enemies of the word and who lay in wait for it, laid hands on them; delivering them first to imprisonment, and then strictly commanding them, that they should speak to none in the name of Jesus. And, when they found them afterwards openly teaching the multitudes the things respecting Him, they violently seized, and scourged (them), and forbade them (so) to teach ; Simon Peter answering said to them, *“It is right that we should rather hearken to God, and not to men.”* After these things too, Stephen was stoned with stones, and died; because he had openly spoken (of Him) in the assembly of the Jews. And there arose no small persecution against those, who were the ambassadors of the name of Jesus. And again at another time, when Herod the king of the Jews slew James the brother of John with the sword, he, the same, confined Simon Peter in bonds, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles.

And, while these suffered such things, the rest of the Disciples persevered, grew strong, and remained in the doctrine of our Saviour ; and again preached to all men more particularly respecting Him, and His wonderful works. After these things, James — whom those who formerly resided at Jerusalem called “*the Just*” on account of his great excellence, — was interrogated of the chief priests and doctors of the Jewish people, as to what he thought of Jesus; and, when he returned answer to them, that “*He was the Son of God,*” he was also stoned with stones by them. Simon Peter too, was, after his Head (i.e. Christ), crucified at Rome. Paul also was taken off (slain,) and John was committed to the island (Patmos in banishment). And, while these suffered such things, not so much as one of therest forsook His (Christ’s) doctrine; and (indeed) all of them prayed, that such things might befall them, in order that they might, for the sake of the worship of God, be like to those already mentioned. And, on this account again, they openly gave their testimony of our Saviour, and of His wonderful works, the more abundantly.

32. And observe, If the things which they preached respecting Him were lies, and they had fabricated them by compact; we ought to wonder how this whole company could have observed this agreement, in what they had fabricated, even to death. And no one of them ever betrayed any fear, on account of the things that had happened to those who had previously been slain; or left their society; or preached that which opposed what his companion had; or brought to light the things they had (so) agreed upon. But even he, who, — filled with the love of money, — dared to deliver Him up to (His) enemies, did forthwith, and with his own hands, inflict punishment on himself !

33. Now, Is not this replete with wonder, that men, who were deceivers and unlettered, knowing neither how to speak, or understand, any language beyond that of their fathers, should not only undertake to go forth and to pass into all nations, but should also (so) go forth and effect (their) purpose ? And, let this also be considered, that not even one of them ever uttered a word adverse to the marvellous deeds of their Lord ! If then, the agreement of witnesses is sufficient to settle any of those things, about which there is doubt, and which is commonly brought into dispute in the courts of law; — and the law of God has declared that “*in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter shall be established,*” — Shall not the truth also be established by

these, who were the chosen twelve, and the Disciples seventy in number, and thousands of others besides these, all of whom at once exhibited (so) wonderful an agreement, and who have (so) given their testimony to the things done by our Saviour ? This too they did, not without affliction; but in the suffering of torments, and of every species of injury, of scourgings, imprisonment, and deaths! On this account they were through God believed, in order that (He) might everywhere confirm the word preached, by their means, throughout the whole habitable world, even to this day !

34. Let it be considered then, that we have granted these things, by connivance at an unjust principle. For (in) this, that a man might imagine that which is adverse to the Scripture, and, that we should say of the common Saviour of all that He was a Teacher, not of righteous precepts, but of those of vice, fraud, and of every sort of abomination; and, that these His Disciples learned the same from Him, and were all lustful and vicious in every thing, beyond all men that ever existed; we allowed, by connivance, according to the statement (supposed), that which is of all things the most improper. For this would be, as if one should in a similar manner, injuriously accuse Moses who said in the law, "*Thou shalt, not kill; neither shalt thou commit adultery ; neither shalt thou steal; neither shalt thou bear false witness;*" and should say, that he uttered these things by way of irony and in hypocrisy; for, it was his wish (nevertheless) that his hearers should kill, commit adultery, and act in direct opposition to the things, which he himself shewed the Law laid down; and put forth (merely) the form of an approach to purity of life! — But there is nothing so shameless as this ! In like manner also, might any one arraign the positions of the Philosophers among the Greeks, whose lives were those of patience, as were all their words, and might say, that they were in their conduct opposed to what they wrote; and so shewed themselves to have made a mere (hypocritical) approach to the life, which belongs to philosophy. And thus, we affirm, might any one simply arraign all the writings of the ancients, and shew cause against the truth which they contain; and might Himself receive that, which is diametrically opposed to these! But, as it cannot be difficult to any one possessed of common sense, to pronounce of this that it would be madness; so also, of the precepts of our Saviour and of His Disciples, should any one pervert the truth which is (found) in these, and then attempt to fix upon Him the things diametrically opposed to His teaching. —

But, let that be granted which the statement itself requires. How much more will it then appear, that the assertion of the opponent cannot stand, as (being grounded) in a connivance (concession) which it is improper to (allow) ?

35. These things being then refuted, let us also consider the testimony of the Scriptures of the Divinity, and the spotless and truth-loving manner of the Disciples, of our Saviour. Any one therefore, who chooses (to exercise) a sound mind, may hence see, that they were worthy of all dignity, since they confessed that they were mean and unlettered in their discourse, and betook themselves to a love for the doctrine of the worship of God, and of philosophy. They also desired the life, capable of submitting to sufferings, and afflicted by fasting, (by) abstinence from wine and from flesh, and (by) many other humiliating things of the body; by prayer and supplication to God, and more particularly by temperance, and the chief holiness of body and soul. And, Who is not astonished at this, that they should, for the sake of the excellency of wisdom, have even separated themselves from the wives that had been lawfully given to them ? and that they were led by no natural desire, and subdued by no love of children; since they desired not the children that were mortal, but those which were immortal ? And, How can any one fail to wonder at this their character, that they desired no money ? or (How) imagine this, that they fled not from, but loved, a Teacher who despised the possessions of gold and silver ? and the Lawgiver, who laid it down that they should not enlarge their possessions even to two coats? which any one hearing, would doubtless seek excuse from its severe requirements; while they were seen to act upon it, even to the letter ! For, upon a certain occasion a lame man — one of those who begged, on account of the extreme doubt as to provision, — asked (alms) of those who were about Simon Peter: and, when Simon Peter had nothing that he could give, he confessed that he was destitute (lit. clean) of every sort of possession of silver and gold, and said, “*Silver and gold have I none.*” After this he brought forth the precious name, — which is of all things the most precious, — and said, “*This which I have give I to thee. In the name of Jesus the Christ, arise and walk.*”

36. And, when they attended to their Teacher, (Jesus) enjoined upon them the grievous things, (which should happen to them) in these words which He said to them, (viz.) “*In the world ye shall have tribulation;*” and again—” *Ye shall weep and mourn, but the world shall rejoice,*” How plainly did the

firmness and deep (sincerity) of their character not appear, since they fled not from these (severe) exercises of the soul, nor betook themselves to the things of the desires ? nor did their Lord moreover allure them by way of deception, or make them His by promising them the things which supply ease and comfort; but, truly and freely foretold to them those which should happen to them; and enabled them to choose for themselves the sort of conduct, which He had laid down for them. Of this sort were the things, which He foretold and attested, respecting the persecutions that were to happen to them, because of His name, (viz.) “*that they should come before governours, and even kings;*” and, that they should suffer every sort of punishment and vengeance, not on account of any thing hateful, nor for any other just cause ; but for this only, (viz.), for their testimony respecting Him; which (indeed), we have seen with our own eyes, has happened even to this time ? His prediction moreover, is worthy of our admiration ; for the testimony (given) respecting the name of our Saviour, and the confessing of Him, had usually the effect of inflaming the anger of the Rulers. And, even if nothing hateful had been perpetrated by any one confessing Christ, they punished and injuriously treated him, on account of His name, as evil, and more evil than any other thing: but, if any one did not confess His name, but denied that he was a Disciple of Christ, he was immediately set at liberty, even if he were implicated in many things which were abominable! But, What necessity can there be, that I should collect and endeavour to record, the many things relating to the lives of the Disciples of our Saviour, when the things already advanced, will be sufficient proof of (all) that is before us ? To these (however) we will again add the things (following), here in (their) place; and with these we will conclude our discussion.

37. As to Matthew the Apostle his former manner of life was not that which was excellent; on the contrary, he was one of those whose business was tax-gathering and fraud. This however, not one of the rest of the Apostles has laid open to us, neither John the Apostle who was with him, nor Luke, nor Mark, the writers of the rest of the Gospels: but Matthew, recording his own manner of life, has become his own accuser ! Hear then, how openly he has memorialized his own name against himself in his own writing, and has thus spoken : —

38. “*And, when Jesus passed from thence, He saw a man sitting among the*

Tax-gatherers, whose name was Matthew; and He said to him, Follow me: and he arose (and) followed Him. And it came to pass that when He was sitting in the house, Behold many Tax-gatherers and Sinners were sitting with Jesus, and with His Disciples.” And again, after these things, when passing away, and reciting the number of the rest of the Disciples, He added respecting Himself the name of Tax-gatherer, and spoke thus: *“The names of the twelve Apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the Tax-gatherer.”* Thus therefore Matthew evinces, through the greatness of (his) humility, his truth-loving character, calls himself a Tax-gatherer; conceals not his former mode of life, and counts himself among sinners ! He also numbers himself second to the Apostle who was with him; for he associated (himself) with Thomas, as (he did) Simon with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew ; placing Thomas first, and honouring him as the more excellent Apostle with himself; while the rest of the Evangelists have done the reverse of this. Hear therefore how Luke bears record of Matthew, not giving him the appellation of Tax-gatherer, nor placing him after Thomas; but, because he considered him the more worthy, numbering him first, and placing Thomas after him, just as Mark has done: His words then, are these: *“And, when it was day, He called His Disciples, and chose twelve out of them, those whom He named Apostles: Simon, whom He named Cephas; and Andrew his brother, James and John, and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas.”* Thus therefore Luke honoured Matthew, just as they, who had from the first been eye-witnesses and hearers of the word, had delivered to him. And thus Matthew, through his humility, made little of himself, confessed that he was a Tax-gatherer, and numbered himself the second (in order), after the Apostle who was (named) with him.

39. You will also find that John is like Matthew (in this respect) ; for in his Epistle he does not so much as make mention of himself, or call himself Elder or Apostle, or Evangelist. In the Gospel too, which was written by him, he says of himself that Jesus loved him, but he does not reveal his own name.

40. Simon Peter moreover, did not so much as attempt the writing of a Gospel, on account of his great fear (of responsibility). But Mark, they say, who, being well known to him and his Disciple, put on record the declarations

of Simon respecting the deeds of our Saviour. Who, — when he betook himself to the recording of these things, (viz.) when Jesus asked what men said of Him, and the Disciples themselves what they thought of Him; Simon answered and said to Him, “*Thou art the Christ;*” — made the statement that Jesus did not even answer him, or say any thing to him; but that He forbade their telling this to any man. Now Mark committed these things to writing, although he was not present with Jesus when He said them; but he had heard them from Peter, when he taught them. Peter however, was unwilling to state the things which Jesus had said either to him, or about him, by way of testimony (favourable) to himself. But, the things which were said of him are these, (which) Matthew has put forth in these (words): “*But you, Whom say ye that I am ? Simon said to Him, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him; Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood have not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gate-bars of hell shall not prevail against it. And I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and every one whom thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and every one whom thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*” When (therefore), all these things were said to Simon Peter by Jesus, Mark did not record so much as one of them ; because, as it is probable, neither did Peter mention them in his teaching. These things therefore, Simon Peter well kept silent, and thence Mark omitted them. But the things of his denial (of Christ), he preached to all men; and (so) caused an accusation to be recorded against himself! That he wept bitterly too, over this, you will find Mark to have given the record in these (words): “*And, when Peter was in the court, one of the maid-servants of the High Priest came to him; and, when she saw that he was warming (himself), she looked upon him and said to him, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied and said, I know (him) not, nor do I perceive what thou sayest: and he went out into the outer court; and the cock crew. And again a maid saw him, and began to say to those who were standing (by) ; This (man) also is (one) of them. And he again denied. And again a little after, those who were standing (by) said to Simon, Truly thou art (one) of them; for thou art also a Galilean. But he began to curse and to say, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And immediately, the cock crew the second time*” These things Mark wrote; and

these, Simon Peter witnessed against himself. For all these things of Mark are, they say, the memorials of the declarations of Peter himself.

41. Of those therefore, who excused themselves from saying the things which would contribute to their own good fame, and who recorded against themselves accusations which can never be forgotten, charging themselves with their own foolishness, in things which none of those who came afterwards could have known, had they not been recorded by themselves; How (shall we not assert) they were free from every feeling of self-love, and lying statement ? and justly confess of them, that they openly and clearly put forth the proof of an ardent love of truth? Those therefore, who evinced such a character as this, — of whom men thought that they were the authors of falsehood and of lying, and whom they endeavoured to malign as Deceivers ; — How are these not (now) found to be a laughing-stock, lovers of hatred and envy, and enemies to the truth ? For, How should not those be such, who (insisted) on the things which were guileless, and of no hateful observance; these same (I say), whose characters were true and pure, and who shewed forth their habitual dispositions by their words ? — (not) that (men) should say of them, that they were cunning and wily Sophists, and fabricators of things that had no existence, and laid upon their Lord, by way of favour, things which He never did. It does appear to me, that we may well put the question to these, Whether it be right we should give credence to the Disciples of our Saviour, or not ? And, if we are not to give credence to these only, Whether we should to all those also, who have long ago preached the memorial of their conduct and precepts, (both) among the Greeks and the Barbarians; and have committed to writing time after time the victories attending this ? And also, Whether it be just to extend credence to others; but to withhold it from them only? — How clearly then, does not the malice of such (opponents) appear!

42. But, Why should these have lied respecting their Lord ? and have delivered down, in their writings, things of Him which had no existence, as if they had really happened ? Why too, should they have falsely stated of Him the sufferings, and (other) grievous things (which He bore) ? His betrayal by one word of His Disciple (Judas) ? the accusation of those who criminated Him ? the ridicule ? the contempt of the judgment (passed on Him) ? the reproach ? the smitings on the face ? the scourges laid upon His loins ? the

crown of thorns which was placed upon Him in reproach ? the purple robe which they put upon Him after the manner of a cloke ? and, at last, the bearing of His cross, the signal mark of His victory ? that He was then affixed to this? that He was pierced both in His hands and feet ? that they gave Him vinegar to drink ? that one struck Him on the head with a reed ? that He was derided of those who looked on Him ? Is it right (I say), that we should suppose His Disciples to have falsely stated even these, and many other similar things that are written about Him ? Or, that we should believe they truly stated these (disreputable) things ? but, that we should not give credence to those which are honourable (to Him)? But, How can this system of contrariety be supported ? For this, that (men) should affirm that these same persons were true; and again this, that they were false, would be nothing else but to affirm of them, that which is in itself contradictory ! Of What sort then, should the reprehension of these be ? For, if this stigma is to be fixed upon them, (viz.) that they propagated falsehood, and exalted their Lord by lying statements, and adorned Him by means of (fabricated) miracles; they surely never would have committed to writing the things already mentioned, which were adverse to themselves; nor would they have made it known to those, who should come afterwards, that He, whose ambassadors they were, was “*oppressed* and “*exceedingly sorrowful*” and was *perturbed in his soul*: or, that they “*forsook Him and fled-*” or, that he, who was the chosen of all the Apostles, and His Disciple, the same Simon Peter (I say), — who is preached of, — did, without either pain (inflicted), or torment threatened, deny Him three times! For these things, even if said by others, it was necessary they should deny; they (I say), who betook themselves to nothing else, except the fabrication of false statements favourable to Him, and magnifying both themselves and their Lord.

43. If then, they appear to be lovers of truth in those grievous accounts (which they give) of Him ; much more are they so in those glorious ones. For those, who chose to lie on any one occasion, would the more particularly avoid those things which brought difficulty with them, either by silence or denial of them : because, those who should come after, would not have it in their power to blame the things, which they had (so) kept silent. Why then, did they not lie and say that Judas who betrayed Him, forthwith became a stone, when he dared to give the kiss — the signal of betrayal? And, that he

who dared to strike Him on the cheek, had his right hand immediately withered ? And the High Priest of the Jews, because he ran along with those who criminated Him, became blind in his eyes? But, Why did not they all lie, (and say) that, intruth, no grievance (whatsoever) happened to Him ? but, that He concealed Himself from men, and laughed at their judgment-hall? and, that those who accused Him, were deceived by spectres sent from God ; thinking that they were doing something adverse to one who was not near them ? And, Why should not this have been (deemed) more glorious, than their falsely stating that “*He raised the dead,*” and was *the doer of wonderful works* ? This, that they should have recorded, that nothing either human or mortal happened to him; but, that He did every thing by the Divine power ? — That He made His ascension to heaven in the Divine glory ? For those, who gave credence to their other accounts, could not have with-holden their belief from these. How then, should those be (deemed) worthy of exemption from every suspicion of vice, who concealed nothing of the truth, as to the difficulties and calamities (so happening); and not also worthy of all credit, as to the other miraculous deeds which they attested respecting Him ? The testimony therefore, of these men respecting our Saviour, is sufficient. There is nevertheless, nothing to prohibit our availing ourselves, even the more abundantly, of the Hebrew witness Josephus; who, in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writing the things that belonged to the times of Pilate, commemorates our Saviour in these words: —

(The testimony) of Josephus respecting the Christ.

44. “ At this period then was Jesus, a wise man, if it be right to call Him a man; for He was the doer of wonderful works, and the Teacher of those men who, with pleasure, received Him in truth. And He brought together many (both) of the Jews, and many of the profane (Gentiles). And this was the Messiah (Christ). And, when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal ancient men among ourselves, laid on Him the punishment of the Cross, those who formerly loved Him were not reduced to silence. For He appeared again to them, on the third day, alive: things which, with many others, the Prophets had said respecting Him : so that from thence, and even until now, the race of the Christians has not been wanting to Him.”

45. If therefore, as (this) author attests of Him, He was the doer of wonderful works, and that He made His Disciples, — not only the twelve

Apostles, or the seventy Disciples, but also attached to Himself, — myriads of others both of the Jews and Gentiles; it is clear, that He possessed something excellent beyond the rest of mankind. For, How could He have otherwise attached to Himself the many, both of the Jews and Gentiles, unless He had made use of miracles and astonishing deeds, and of doctrines (till then) unknown ? The Book of the Acts of the Apostles also attests, that there were many thousands of the Jews, who were persuaded that He was that Christ of God, who had been preached of by the Prophets. It is also on record, that there was a great Church of Christ at Jerusalem; which had been collected from among the Jews, even to the times of its reduction by Hadrian. The first Bishops too who were there, are said to have been, one after another, fifteen (in number), who were Jews; the names of whom are published to the men of that place, even until now. So that by these, every accusation against the Disciples may be undone; since, what was prior to them, and independent of their testimony, these attest of Him, (viz.), that He, the Christ of God, did by means of these wondrous works which He performed, reduce many, both of the Jews and of the Gentiles, beneath His power.

46. You will also be made acquainted with the Divinity of His power, if you will consider of what nature He was; and how it was that all this superiority of the Divine power (operated) in the overcoming of tilings exceeding all description. For let it be considered, No one — who ever wished to disseminate his laws, or any strange doctrine among all nations, and, who would shew himself to be a Teacher of the worship of the one supreme God, to all races of men, — would be willing to make use of those as the ministers of his will, who were of all men the most rustic and deficient. And it is likely, one mightthink, he would attempt this with the greatest impropriety. For, How could they who could scarcely open their lips, ever be the Teachers of any one man, much less of multitudes ? And, How could they, — destitute of every sort of erudition, — address whole assemblies, unless this were indeed a shewing forth of the will of God ? For He called them, as we have already shewn, and said in the first place *“Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of men.”* And, because He thenceforth made them His own, and they adhered to Him, He breathed into them the Divine power, and filled them both with strength and courage: and, as He was THE WORD or GOD in truth, and the Doer of all these miracles, He made them the Fishermen of intellectual and

reasonable souls; adding, at once to the word *“Follow me, and I will make you”* the Deed, making them both the Doers, and Teachers, of the worship of His God. And thus He sent them forth into all nations throughout the whole creation, and demonstrated that they were the Preachers of His doctrine. And, Who is not astonished, and probably incredulous, as to this miracle, — which could scarcely (indeed) have been imagined ? Since no one, of those who have been eminent, has ever been commemorated as having had recourse to any such thing as this; or has come up to any thing resembling it. For it has been the desire of each one of these, to set up something promising to himself, in his own land only; or, to be able to establish such laws as seemed to him good, among some one people of his own. But observe of Him, who availed himself of nothing either human or mortal, how, in reality, He again put forth the word of God in the precept, which He gaveto these His powerless Disciples, (viz.) *“Go ye and make Disciples of all nations!”* It is likely too, His Disciples would thus address their Lord, by way of answer: How can we do this ? For, How can we preach to the Romans ? And, How can we discourse with the Egyptians? What diction can we use against the Greeks; being brought up in the Syrian language only ? How can we persuade the Persians, the Armenians, the Chaldeans, the Scythians, the Hindoos, and other nations called Barbarians, to desert the gods of their forefathers, and to worship the one Creator of all things? And, upon What superiority of words can we rely, that we shall succeed in this ? Or. How can we hope, that we shall prevail in the things attempted ? (viz.) that we shall legislate for all nations, in direct opposition to the laws laid down from ancient times, (and this) against their gods ? And, What power have we upon which to trust, that we shall succeed in this enterprise ? These things therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour would either have thought, or said. But He who was their Lord solved, by one additional word, the aggregate of the things of which they doubted, (and) pledged them by saying, *“ Ye shall conquer in my name.”* For it was not that He commanded them, simply and indiscriminately, to go and make Disciples of all nations; but with this excellent addition which He delivered, (viz): *“In my name.”* Since it was by the power of His name that all this came to pass ; as the Apostle has said, *“God has given Him a name, which is superior to every name: that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow which is in heaven, and which is in earth, and which is beneath the earth.”* It

is likely therefore, that He would shew forth the excellency of the unseen power, which was hidden from the many, by *His name*; and, (accordingly) He made the addition, "*In my name.*" He thus accurately foretold moreover, something which should come to pass, (when) He said, "*It is expedient that this my Gospel be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations.*" Now, this matter was then declared in a corner of the earth, so that those only who were at hand could have heard it. But, How could they have believed Him when He said this, unless they had taken experiment as to the truth of His words, from the other Divine acts which were done by Him ? For this, you are compelled to confess when it is considered, that they gave credence to what He said. For, when He gave them the command, not so much as one sought to be excused; but they confided in what He had intimated : and, just as His promises had been, so DID they make Disciples of the whole race of men ! They did go forth from their own land into all nations ; and, in a short time, His words were seen in effect! His Gospel was therefore shortly preached, throughout the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, so that the Barbarians and Greeks received the Scriptures, respecting the common Saviour of all, in the handwriting of their Progenitors, and in the words of their spiritual Fathers.

47. A man might therefore well stand in doubt, as to what the form of the doctrine of our Saviour's Disciples was; how they passed on into the midst of cities, and so proclaimed (it) in the middle of the streets; lifting up their voices, calling to those with whom they met, and thence conversing with the people: also, of what sort the language was in which they addressed them, so that we can imagine the hearers were persuaded thereby: and (again), how (such) men, inexperienced in words and far removed from every sort of erudition, could speak before the people ; and (this), if not in large assemblies, still with the few with whom they met, and then addressed: and, of what, and of what sort of terms, they made use for persuading (their) hearers. Nor was their effort small, since they by no means denied the ignominious death of Him, whom they preached. But, even if they concealed this, and did not confess before all, what, and how many, things He suffered of the Jews, but put forth only those splendid and glorious things — I say indeed, — His wondrous works, His miraculous operations, and His doctrines of the (true) Philosophy; still, the matter will not thus be made easy, (viz.) how they could

make those who heard them, easily to give in to their declarations: because their diction would be foreign. They would too, now be listening to declarations entirely new, (coming) from men, who possessed nothing worthy of truth, in testimony of the things affirmed by them.

48. But, let it be supposed that the persuasives now put forth were these, (viz.) that those who were His ambassadors, should at one time preach that He was God ; that, in body, He was human ; and that, in his nature, He was no other than THE WORD OF GOD: on which account also, He performed all these miracles, and (put forth these) powers: but, that at another time, He suffered reproach and infamy, and at last the capital and shameful punishment of the Cross; which is inflicted on those (only), who are in their deeds the worst of all men. Who then, would not (now) properly treat them with ridicule, as affirming things opposed to each other ? And, Who is he, whose intellect would (partake) so much of stone, as readily to believe them, when they said that they saw Him after His death ? that He rose from the dead? — Him (I say), who could not help Himself when among the living? And (again), Who would ever be persuaded by men so illiterate and deficient as these, when saying; You should despise the things of your own forefathers; charge as folly those of the wise of ancient times; suffer yourselves to be persuaded by us alone, and to be commanded by the precepts of Him who was crucified: for He only is the beloved, and only (begotten) of that God alone, who is over all ?

49. I myself however, investigating for myself with effort, and in the love of truth, this same thing (singly), should perceive not one virtue in it (making it) credible, nor even any thing great, or worthy of faith, nor so persuasive, as adequate to the persuading of even one illiterate person, much less men wise and intellectual. Nevertheless, when again I view its power, and the result of its doings; how the many myriads have given their assent to it, and how Churches of tens of thousands of men have been brought together, by these very deficient and rustic persons; — nor that these were built in obscure places, nor in those which are unknown, but rather in the greatest cities, I say in the Imperial city of Rome itself, in Alexandria, in Antioch, in all Egypt, in Libya, in Europe, in Asia, both in the villages and (other) places, and among all nations; I am again compelled to recur to the question of (its) cause, and to confess, that they (the Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this

enterprise, than by a Divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them, “Go, *and make Disciples of all nations in my name.*” And, when He had said this to them, He attached to it the promise, by which they should be so encouraged, as readily to give themselves up to the things commanded. For He said to them, “*Behold I am with you always, even to the end of the world.*” It is stated, moreover, that He breathed into them the Holy Ghost with the Divine power; (thus) giving them the power to work miracles, saying at one time, “*Receive ye the Holy Ghost;*” and at another, commanding them, to “*Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and cast out Demons: — freely ye have received, freely give.*”

50. Even you yourself see therefore, how this their word took effect; since even the Book of their Acts attests things like to these, and which accord with them ; how, — (for example,) when writing also of those by whom miraculous deeds were done in the name of Jesus, — those, who were present and saw, were astonished. They were astonished, as it should seem, at those who had formerly seen (this power) by means of deeds ; and who then made them (*i. e.* the chief Priests,) readily to ask, Who this was, by whose power and name the miracle had been wrought ? — And thus, as they taught, they found that these had in faith (even) run before their instruction. For, it was not by words that they were persuaded; but it was by the deeds which preceded these, that they were readily prevailed upon to accede to the things said. It is also said, that men suddenly brought to them sacrifices and libations, as if they had been Gods ; thinking that one of them was Mercury, the other Jupiter: and the whole of this astonishment was, to their minds, a demonstration that the deeds done were miraculous. And, as all those which they preached respecting our Saviour, were such as these, they were thenceforth quickly, and with propriety, received. Nor did they give their testimony of His resurrection from the dead, by mere words and without proofs; but, by their power and by deeds did they persuade, and shew forth the works of the living (God).

51. If then, they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, and that He was with the Father before He came among men ; Why should they not have especially added to this, that they believed what was adverse to have been impossible and incredible ? For they must have justly thought it impossible, that these acts could have been those of men ; but, on the contrary,

those of God, even the more though no one would say (this).

52. And this, and nothing else, is indeed the thing required, (viz.) by what power the Disciples of our Saviour gained credit from those, who had from the first heard them: and how they persuaded both Greeks and Barbarians to think of Him, as of THE WORD OF GOD: and how they set up in the midst of the cities, and in all villages, Houses (appropriated to) the Doctrine of the worship of the supreme God. And, Who is not also astonished at this, when he considers with himself, and feels satisfied, that this could not have been of man ; that never at any former time, were the many nations of the whole creation subject to the one sovereign rule of the Romans, except only since the time of our Saviour? For it happened, immediately upon His passing about among men, that the affairs of the Romans became great; — that, at that time, Augustus was primarily the sole Sovereign of many nations; and that in his time Cleopatra was inflamed with love; and the traditionary (kingdom) of the Ptolemies in Egypt was dissolved. For, from that time, and until now, that kingdom which was from ancient time; and of it, as one might say, the ancient germ of men which was established in Egypt, have been rooted up. From that period too, have the Jewish people been in subjection to the Romans; as has that, in like manner, of the Syrians, the Cappadocians, the Macedonians, the Bithynians, and the Greeks; and, to speak collectively, all the rest of those subject to the rule of the Romans; and, that this did not come to pass without regard to the Divine teaching of our Saviour, Who will not confess, when He has considered, that it would not have been easy for His Disciples to be sent forth, and to pass into foreign parts, when all the nations were divided one against another ? and when there was no one uniting element among them, on account of the many Satraps (stationed) in every place, and in every city ? But, in the extirpation of these, they immediately, fearlessly, and with pleasure, set about doing that which had been placed before them; because God, who is over all, had previously made their course peaceful, and had restrained the wrath of the worshippers of Demons in the cities, by the fear of the great Empire. Consider then, If there had not been something to restrain those who had been stupified with the error of a plurality of Gods, how they would have contended with the Doctrine of Christ. For, you would doubtless have seen in every city and village, commotions (stirred up) against each other, with persecutions and wars of no mean description , had the

worshippers of the Demons possessed the sovereign rule over us. But now, this also is a work of the God who is over all, that He might subdue the enemies of His word, by the greater fear of a superior kingdom. For it was His will, that (His word) should daily increase and extend itself to all mankind : and again, so, that it should not be thought, that, it was by the connivance of the Rulers, and not by the superior power of God, it took effect. — When any one of the tyrants was so elated by wickedness, as to set about resisting the word of Christ, the God of all even allowed such at once to do his will; because he would afford proof to those combatants for (establishing) the worship of God, and also that it might be seen clearly by all men, that it was not by the will of man that the word was established, but by the power of God himself. And, Who is not instantly amazed at the things which usually come to pass in times such as these ? For, those ancient combatants from among men for the worship of God, kept secret the nature of their superiority ; at that time they became known and seen by all, when they were adorned with the victories which were from God : while those, who were the enemies of the worship of God, received the punishments which were justly their due: chastized (as they were) by strokes sent from God, and their entire bodies wasted by grievous and incurable diseases, so as to have been speedily driven to confess their wickedness in opposing our Saviour! But these, the rest of all those who were worthy of the Divine name (Christian), and who gloried in thinking of the things which belonged to Christ, did in a short time shew, — being brought through trials, — the purity and refining of their minds, and that they had thus also obtained freedom for their souls. And soon did God cause, that, by their means, THE WORD, the Saviour, should arise (as the sun) on tens of thousands.

The End of writing the Five Books of Eusebius of Caesarea, which are called “The Divine Manifestation.”

On the Star (Spurious)



Translated by William Wright, 1866

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EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA ON THE STAR.

From 'The Journal of Sacred Literature, 4th series vol. 9' (1866) p. 117; vol. 10 (1867), pp.150-164.

THE tract which I now offer to the readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, is ascribed to Eusebius of Caesarea ; and there is no reason, so far as I can see, to doubt the correctness of the statement. It is entitled : *Concerning the Star ; showing how and through what the Magi recognized the Star, and that Joseph did not take Mary as his wife*. Consequently, it stands in a certain connection both with parts of the *Chronicle* and with the *Quaestiones*, edited by Mai in his *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, t. i., and his *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, t. iv., p. 219 foll.

This tract is, I believe, now published for the first time. The Greek original appears to have perished ; and the Syriac fragment *De stella quae Magis apparuit*, given by Mai in the *Nova Patrum Bibl.*, t. iv., p. 281, is evidently extracted from a different work. I have taken it from a manuscript in the Nitrian collection, Add. 17,142, a small octavo volume of seventeen leaves, dating apparently from the sixth century. The text, which I have reproduced as faithfully as possible, is, I am sorry to say, very corrupt ; but I shall endeavour to correct at least some of the mistakes in the notes to the translation, which I hope to publish in the next number of this Journal.

WILLIAM WRIGHT.

24th March, 1866.

“ICH habe den seltsamen Tractat über den Stern mit Interesse durchgelesen, obgleich er ganz ändern Inhalts ist, als ich erwartete. Meinen Freund Gutschmid interessieren die Königslisten sehr, und er ist schon dabei, alle nach ihren Quellen zu ordnen. Die assyrischen Könige gehn auf Ktesias zurück. Das persische Verzeichniss findet sich eben so bei Malala. Den König [Syriac] erkannte Gutschmid sogleich als alllos, und diese Conjectur bestätigte ihm der Text des Malala. Nur mit dem Verzeichniss der Könige seit Alexander ist Gutschmid nicht im Heinen. Uebrigens bestätigt Gutschmid meine entschiedene Zweifel an der Echtheit des Werkchens, welches zwar vielfach auf Eusebius’ Chronik zurückgeht, aber doch von einem weit weniger hervorragenden Mann geschrieben sein muss. Ich glaube sogar, der Urtext ist Syrisch, hauptsächlich weil die Bibelstellen und biblischen Anklänge mehr Aehnlichkeit mit der Peshito, als mit den LXX zeigen.”

So writes my friend Professor Noeldeke of Kiel (21st May, 1866), and I am glad to find that this little Syriac tract “on the Star” should have proved so interesting, not only to a linguist like himself, but also to a historical critic like Von Gutschmid.

With regard to the authenticity of the work, I am quite prepared to give it up, now that I have studied it more carefully myself, and have heard the opinion of Noeldeke and Ceriani, and the reasons on which that opinion is based. Considering the age of the manuscript, which certainly cannot be assigned to a later date than the sixth century, there can, I think, be but little doubt that this tract is the production of a writer who lived not long after the time of Eusebius — say, towards A.D. 400 — and who made use in composing it of the first and second books of the Maccabees, the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, the works of Ctesias, and the writings of one or two other ancient chroniclers.

With regard to my translation, I have done, on the present occasion, precisely as heretofore ; that is to say, I have striven to be as accurate and literal as possible, my main object being to *translate*, not to comment and annotate. The names of the Assyrian and Median kings, from Ascatades down to Astyages, I have reproduced in Greek letters. This will convey to such of my readers as are not orientalists, some idea of the corrupt state of the manuscript. The names themselves, as well as those of the Persian kings from

Cyrus to the last Darius, may, in general, be easily identified and restored by referring to the lists of Ctesias (ed. Müller, appended to Dindorf's *Herodotus*, 1844), Eusebius (*Chronicon bipartitum*, ed. Aucher, Yenice, 1818; *Chronicorum Canonum libri duo*, ed. Mai and Zohrab, Milan, 1818), Jerome (in the eighth volume of the Benedictine edition, 1734-1742), Georgius Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, 1829), Joannes Malala (ed. Dindorf, 1831), and the *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf, 1832). The list of kings, however, from the time of Alexander to that of Augustus Caesar, I have not yet traced to its source, and must now leave it to the care of others. These names I have reproduced in Roman capitals, as several of them do not admit of being transcribed into Greek.

W. WRIGHT.

London, September, 1866.

CONCERNING THE STAR; SHOWING HOW AND THROUGH WHAT THE MAGI RECOGNIZED THE STAR, AND THAT JOSEPH DID NOT TAKE MARY AS HIS WIFE.

I WILL write and inform thee, our dear brother, concerning the righteous of old, and concerning the handing down of the histories of their deeds ; and how, and through what, the Magi recognized the Star, and came and worshipped our Lord with their offerings ; partly from the Holy Scriptures, and partly as we have found in the true chronicles, which were written and composed by men of old in various cities.

The ancient scribes testify, that everything which was written by the care of Jason in five large books,¹ from the year 88 of the kingdom of the Greeks till the year 177 (B.C. 223 — 134), they themselves abridged hastily in two books, from the year 137 (B.C. 174), omitting also the things that were done within the space of fifty years. But as regards other things, with the care that they took, they entered into the repository of the archives of their fathers, where were written and deposited the acts of the remaining histories of the Prophets, which were not written in the books of the Prophets ; and they found in the chronicles, that the Tabernacle of Witness which Moses made, and the Ark which he constructed, and the Altar of Propitiation which he consecrated, — these the Prophet Jeremiah took, and concealed them in a cave of the mountain on which Moses used to pray.² And they also found in these chronicles, that the fire which Moses received from Heaven, and with which the priests used to minister, till the time they went down to Babylon, — it too was found to have been buried and concealed by Jeremiah the Prophet in a pit which was in watery ground;³ and after seventy years it was discovered; and with it the captive priests used to minister on the altar, until the appearance of our Lord. And many other things, which the scribe Aristobulus and his colleagues⁴ had written in the book of records, and in the epistles of the kings of the house of David and Hezekiah and Josiah and their companions,⁵ were written and deposited (there). And when they had found them, they collected them, and wrote them out in the volumes of their books. And through the care of these ancient writers, when they saw that the Jews went to the city of Tyre to praise Herakles, a hero of the Greeks,⁶ — this too they put into writing; and that Andronicus used treachery towards Onias,

the high priest and a famous man, and slew him at Daphne, which lies by Antioch, without any crime,⁷ — not even this did they neglect.

And it was found in the true chronicles of the Persians, which were written and deposited there from ancient generations, that Jerusalem was a warlike city from its (earliest) days, and did not make much account of kings, and great fortresses were in the midst of it.

And when Sihon, the king of the Amorites, was slain, Moses said : “Now is fulfilled that which was spoken in the ancient proverbs : ‘A fire shall go out of Heshbon, and a flame from the city of Sihou, and shall devour the city of Moab, and all the worshippers of the altars of Arnon.’”⁸ And when Moses heard that this was written in the books of the Amorites, he too added and put it into his book.

And when King Saul persecuted David, David recited to him some of the ancient proverbs, and said: “From the wicked proceedeth wickedness, but verily my hand shall not be upon thee ;’ and because of this my hand is not upon thee, but the hand of the Lord hath power over thee.”⁹

And when the people went up from Babylon, and there was a great strife concerning their going up, king Darius commanded, and the books of the records and acts of the preceding kings were called for ; and there was found among their chronicles a roll,¹⁰ in which was written : “I truly, Cyrus, king of Persia, have commanded that the people of the Hebrews should go up from Babylon to Jerusalem, along with the vessels of the service of the house of the Lord.” And when king Darius heard this, he too affixed his seal to this order, and commanded that, whosoever should disobey this order, a beam should be pulled down from his house, and they should make it into a cross, and hang him upon it, and that his house should be given up to plunder.¹¹ And he added of his own (goods) expenses for the house of the Lord.¹²

And Job, whose time was anterior to that of Moses, — before that Moses narrated the history of the creation of Adam, Job said unto his friends, as he had found in the tradition of the generations before him : “This we have found in the world, since Adam was created upon the earth. Who is he that made man upon the face of the earth?”¹³ And to his Lord he said: “What shall I do unto Thee, O Maker of man ? in return for Thy hands, which have laboured and made me, and fashioned me and framed me, when Thou didst curdle me like cheese of milk.”¹⁴

Moses himself too found many things, which were going down and coming by tradition from mouth to ear, from one generation to another ; and he put them into his book, although he left out many things which could not be comprised (in it). For that which is said of Abraham, that he was enjoining his children and his household to keep the commandments of the Lord,¹⁵ is older than the laws of Moses by four hundred and thirty years. For these commandments, which Abraham was enjoining his household (to keep), were received by him, as it were by tradition, from Shem ; and Shem too received them from his father Noah ; and Noah received them from Enoch ; and Enoch received them from Adam ; and Adam received them from his Lord. For the barbarous races who keep (the commandments) ‘Thou shalt not kill,’ and ‘Thou shalt not steal,’ and ‘Thou shalt not commit adultery,’ and destroy wizards,¹⁶ and so forth, — this is not (done) as it were by the law of Scripture, but by the law of the mind of ancient tradition, which is older than the law that Moses wrote. For it was not of the law of Scripture that Joseph was afraid, and did not come nigh unto his master’s wife;¹⁷ nor was it of the law of Scripture that the king of Gedar¹⁸ (Gerar) was afraid; he and his nobles, and did not come nigh unto Rebecca; nor was it of the law of Scripture that Lot was afraid, and said to the people of Sodom, “Do not do this disgraceful and shameful thing to the men who have entered under the shadow of my roof;¹⁹ but of that law and mind which was born with the ancient generations, and went on, and came by tradition of their children down to the time of Moses, who put into writing those things which were written on the tablets of the heart; for “the law was added because of falling away.”²⁰

And as many things, which Moses also neglected, are found in chronicles that were written and laid up, so too the history of the Star which the Magi saw, was found in a chronicle which was written and laid up in Arnon, the border of the Moabites and Ammonites. And this history was taken from the place in which it was written, and was conveyed away and deposited in the fortress of Achmethan,²¹ which is in Persia. Because that, in the time of Moses, and both before and after Moses, the Assyrians were lords over the land of the Moabites and of the Ammonites, where Balaam said, “A Star shall rise out of Jacob, and a Head shall arise in Israel.”²² And it was not merely over the land of the children of Lot that the Assyrians were lords, but also over the land of Sihon and of Og, the kings of the Amorites, and over the

whole land of Palestine, and over Phoenicia, and Syria, and all Mesopotamia; seeing that the nations sent up tribute to them, as if subdued under their hands, and gave them hostages, and offered them crowns of victory. And whenever one place rebelled against another, and they commenced war against one another, (word) was written and sent to the Assyrian kings, and as they commanded, so it was (done), and those who rebelled received chastisement.

And along with these things, both the deeds which Moses did in inner Arabia, and in outer Arabia, and in Rekem of Gea, and in the regions which were round about the cities of Moab, and the history of the Star, which Balaam spoke, and so forth; — these things the princes and judges of those places wrote down, and sent and made them known ; and they were read before ασκρτοσ, the king of the Assyrians, who was reigning at the time in which they were done. And he commanded, and the record of these matters was deposited in the fortress of Achmethan, where they were preserved among the books of the kings of Assyria, as was also the custom in other countries.

And after ασκρτοσ [ασκδτοσ], there reigned after him αμυντοσ there in Assyria, when Moses was between the Amorites and the Edomites, and had come to the city of Petra, which is called in the language of Mesopotamia Rekem of Gea.

And when the people encamped over against ‘Ad’ira, which is ‘Adu’ira (Aroer), that lies in the valley of Arnon, which separates the Midianites, the children of Kentura (Keturah), the concubine of Abraham, from the children of Lot, Abraham’s brother’s sou, in the days of Balak the son of Zippor, the king of the Moabites ; and when Balak saw the people that were with Moses, which had come near to his borders, he despised them, and neglected the wars which he had witnessed ; how Sihon, king of the Amorites, who had taken possession by war of the land of the Moabites, carrying away hostages from the Moabites, was not able to stand before this people, who had slain him and destroyed him at Jahaz;²³ nor was the king of Canaan, who dwelt in the south, able to stand before this people, and they called his place a devoted place.²⁴ Of these things Balak, the king of Moab, was afraid, and he trembled, and was frightened to wage war with Moses, before whom neither the kings of Egypt had stood, nor the kings of other very mighty nations, nor had even the terrible sea itself dared to stand before Moses. And Balak called the elders of

the Midianites and his nobles, and said to them:²⁵ “This Moses, who, lo, has terrified the whole earth, and slain the kings that were around us, — and behold, the people that are with him are grazing on our land as the ox that grazeth in the field, — is he not that Moses, who was made the overseer and shepherd of Jethro, the priest of your gods, whom ye received as a guest, and who was protected among you as a stranger ? And lo, today he is expelling us from our lands, and driving us out of our territories. But let us abstain from war, and let us send and call Balaam the soothsayer, to come and curse them ; because they are the children of Jacob, who trembled and was afraid of the curses of his father Isaac, as we have all heard from our fathers.” And they sent after Balaam the soothsayer. And the messengers went and found him at Urem,²⁶ which is situated over against Turär, the eastern (part) of Mesopotamia; and they said to him : “The king of the Moabites, and the princes of the Midianites, have sent us after thee, that thou mayest go with us and curse the people that has come out of Egypt.” But Balaam, through his craftiness, because he knew that the power of his word was not sufficient to enable him to do this, and to stand before six hundred thousand drawers of the sword, laid hold of a pretext, and said to those who had come after him : “Be ye witnesses unto me henceforth, that I fear lest perchance the Lord should not permit me to curse the people and destroy it by means of words and maledictions.” And when he went unto Balak the king, instead of the curses which he was looking to hear from him, he heard blessings from him. And when Balaam saw that Balak began to be vexed with him, because, instead of curses, he heard from him something which he did not expect, Balaam said unto Balak : “The . princes whom thou didst send after me, can testify that I said unto them, ‘Whatever the Lord sayeth unto me, I will say, and not what Balak says unto me, who has sent you unto me.’ And upon this condition I arose and came with them unto thee, to tell thee that the legions of the Chittites and the armies of the Greeks are about to issue forth from the whole land of the Macedonians, and to subdue the Assyrians in wrath and the land of Nimrod in anger.²⁷ And after this happens, then shall rise the Star out of the children of Jacob,²⁸ whom thou didst wish to keep in darkness ; and the Head shall arise in Israel, to come and destroy whom thou didst send after me ; and He shall destroy their mighty men, and shall subdue the whole seed of Seth the son of Adam.” But Balak the king and his nobles, — when they heard

that the mighty Assyrians, who were rulers over them, were going to be subdued under the yoke of the king of the Greeks, and the whole earth (was going to be subjected) to Him on whose account the Star was going to rise, destroying their mighty men, — laid aside the fear of the people who were abiding over against them.

But that king Balak might not come to disgrace and (incur) the punishment of death from *amunts* king of the Assyrians, he wrote and informed him of the things that Balaam said. And he commanded, and the letter was laid up in his archives, as was written above ; and they received this writing, this history being handed down and coming from people to people through the whole land of the Assyrians.

But the Assyrians, because they were born and brought up in the doctrine of the Chaldaeans (astrologers) of their country and of the soothsayers their countrymen, according to what they had received from their mother Babylon, from whom, began astrology and soothsaying and magic, just as from Egypt (began) incantation, — on this account they received the word of Balaam the soothsayer, the disciple of Babylon, and were not able to refuse credit to his word, lest the whole doctrine, on which they took their stand, should be proved false; for Balaam was called “the soothsayer,” because of the doctrine of astrology in which he was brought up. And as to his being besides called a prophet, because his word turned out true in regard to the legions of the Chittites which issued forth, and about the Star which arose, — although in these things indeed he was true and trustworthy, yet because he was a false witness, and said : “I see no iniquity in Israel,”²⁹ the children of Jacob slew him” as a liar.

To be brief, — the tradition of the history of Balaam was handed down and came from king αμυντρος (αμυντος) to king βχοσ (βλχοσ), in whose days Othniel the son of Kenaz was ruler over the Hebrews.

And from βχοσ (βλχοσ) to king βλπτωρ (or βλφτωρ), in whose days Ehur (Ehud) killed Eglon the king of the Moabites.

And from (λ)βκροσ (or βχροσ)³⁰ to king πραιρσ, in whose days the Philistines subdued the Hebrews.

And from πραιρσ (πραιδος) to king σωροσ, in whose days the Hebrews were delivered from beneath the hand of their enemies.

And from σωροσ to king πλμροσ, in whose days Jael killed Sisera the

general.

And from (λ)πλμρος to king πισος, in whose days Gideon slew the children of Midian.

And from (λ)πισος to king σρσμοσς; in whose days Abimelech slew his seventy brethren.

And from σρμοσς to king μνθρος, in whose days died Tola, the son of Abimelech's uncle.

And from (λ)μνθρος to king τομοσ, in whose days Nephthah (Jephthah) offered his daughter a sacrifice to God.

And from (λ)τομοσς to king τυασσ, in whose days Samson died among the Philistines.

And from (λ)τυασσ to king θινοσ, in whose days died (Eli) ³¹ the high priest.

And from (λ)θινοσ ³² to king δρκλσ, in whose days Saul was slain on the hill of the Gibeonites, and David became king.

And from (λ)δρκλσ (δρκλσ) to king ευπλσ, in whose days Solomon sat upon the regal throne.

And from (λ)ευπλσ to king αθνοσ, in whose days Jeroboam became king over Israel.

And from (λ)αθνοσ to king πτραιος; in whose days (Azariah) the son of Azur ³³ (Oded) the prophet said unto king Asa : “Because this people listened not unto the voice of the Lord their God, there was no peace either to him that went out or to him that came in.”

And from (λ)πτραιος to king φτριοσ, in whose days the Lord smote Jehoram the son of Athaliah, the sister of Ahab, and his bowels came forth from his inside, and he died.

And from (λ)φρτισ to king ακρπζσ, in whose days Joash was slain by his servants.

And from (λ)βπρσ to king θισκων, in whose days Uzziah was smitten with leprosy.

And from (λ)θισκων to king αρβκσ, in whose days Menachem reigned over Israel.

And from αρβκσ to king σωσρμσ, in whose days Jotham built the gates of the house of the Lord.

And from σωσρμσ to king μρκιοσ, in whose days Hezekiah opened the

gates of the house of the Lord, which had been closed by Ahaz his father.

And from king (λ)μρκοσ, in whose days Manasseh made the image with four faces, to king αρκσ, in whose days Manasseh returned and came up from Babylon, because he knew that the Lord was God.

And from (λ)αρικσ to king φρατροσ, in whose days Josiah burned the bones of the priests.

And from φρτροσ to king κυβροσ, in whose days Daniel and Hananiah and their companions were led away captive to Babylon.

And from κυβροσ to king αστβυγσ, in whose days the Babylonians laid waste Jerusalem.

And from αστιβγσ to Cyrus the king of the Persians, who proclaimed the return to the children of Israel, that they should go up from Babylon to Jerusalem.

All these kings of the Assyrians, from the days of Moses to Cyrus the Persian, were on their guard and watching to see when the word of Balaam would be fulfilled; and when the legions of the Chittites would issue forth from the land of the Macedonians ; and how would be devastated the lands and regions of all Asia, and the city of Ephesus, and the districts of Pontus, and Galatia, and Cilicia, and all Syria, and the spacious country of Mesopotamia and of all the Parthians; and (how) they would pass on to Nineveh, the city of Nimrod, the first of all mighty men, and would wage war violently with the Assyrians, and conquer them and subdue them.

When then the Assyrians saw that their kingdom was taken away from them, and was given to the Persians, they thought that the great war of the Chittites too, of which they had been afraid, had passed away from them. For although at different times the Assyrians had had wars of and by themselves, — when the Babylonians waged war with them, and took away from them the kingdom ; and again the Medes waged war with the Babylonians, and took away the kingdom from them also; and the Persians also waged war with the Medes, and the Persians conquered and won the kingdom; — yet they had had no fear in all these wars and struggles, because they knew that those who were overcome, were the brethren and associates of those who were victorious. For neither was it possible that Cyrus the Persian should succumb in war, because that in the days of Isaiah the prophet the gates of victory had been opened before Cyrus ; nor was it possible that the gates should be shut in

his face, because he was called the Anointed of the Lord.³⁴

And after Cyrus the Persian reigned Cambyses, at whose word Syria was laid waste, and Phœnicia, and Palestine, and other countries.

And from Cambyses (the tradition was handed down) to the first Darius, in whose days Ezra the scribe rebuilt the desolate places of Jerusalem.

And from Darius to king Artachshasht, in whose days Sanballat and Shimshai the scribe were hindering the people from rebuilding the desolate places of Jerusalem.

And from Artachshasht to king,³⁵ in whose days went up the remnant which had remained in Babylon, and some of the children of the captivity of the people.

And from to another Darius, in whose days went up Ezra the scribe, he and the priests and the Lévités, and were walking upon the wall of Jerusalem, and repeating the psalms of David for the completion of the building.

And from Darius to the last Artachshasht, in whose days the furniture of Eliashib was thrown out into the street, because he had made for himself a house in the court of the house of God.³⁶

And from Artachshasht to the last Darius, who is the ram that Daniel foresaw,³⁷ butting westward and northward and southward ; and there came a he-goat, and the legions of the Chittites with him, as Balaam had said, and waged war with Darius, king of the Medes and Babylonians and Assyrians and Persians, and overcame him, and slew him, and ravaged the people who were with him, and cast him down, and subdued the Assyrians under his power, and made them tributary to the kingdom of the Greeks, which was of old subject to the power of the Assyrians. The kingdom of the Jews too, which had also been subject to the children of the East, passed under the power of the Greeks.

And when the Persians saw that the word of Balaam had turned out true and become a fact, they were also specially concerned to see when the Star would arise and become visible, about which he spoke, meditating what might perchance happen at its rising, and whence it would appear, and concerning whom it would testify.

And after this Darius, whom Alexander the king of the Greeks slew, there arose king ARSUN, in whose days cities were increased in their buildings in the land of Syria.³⁸

And from (L)ARSUN (the tradition was handed down) to king ARTMRSUS, in whose days the Books of the Hebrews were translated into Greek.

And from (L)ARTMRSUS to king ATISHCHU, in whose days lived Jesus the son of Simeon, the priest, who was called Bar-Sira (the son of Sirach *or* Siracides).

And from (L)TISHIS to king APTSHURS (or APHTSHURS), in whose days the impure Jason ³⁹ received from the king of the Greeks the power over the children of his people ; and he wrote the children of his people by the name of Antiochians ⁴⁰ through the praises of Herakles.⁴¹

And from (L)APTSHURS to king PRIDUS, in whose days the senators (συγκλητικοί) of the Romans wrote to the cities letters of greeting regarding the party of Jonathan and Simeon (Simon), the sons of Mattathias.⁴²

And from (L)MPRUS to king ASTRUS, in whose days Arshak (Arsaces) the Parthian waged war with the king of the Greeks and slew him.

And from (L)MPIZRUS to king ANSCUS, in whose days the kingdom of the Greeks was cut off.

And from (L)ISCUS ⁴³ to king PIRSHBUR (Pir-Shabur?), in whose days Augustus Caesar reigned over the Roman empire. And in his days was the glorious manifestation of our adored Saviour. And therefore in the days of this PIRSHBUR, who was called ZMRNS, there appeared the Star, both transformed in its aspect, and also conspicuous by its rays, and terrible and grand in the glorious extent of its light. And it overpowered by its aspect all the stars that were in the heavens, as it inclined to the depth, to teach that its Lord had come down to the depth, and ascended again to the height of its nature, to show that its Lord was God in His nature.

And when the Persians saw it, they were alarmed and afraid, and there fell upon them agitation and trembling, and fear got the mastery over them. And it was visible to the inner depths of the East alone ; and the Persians, and the Huzites,⁴⁴ and the other peoples that were around them, knew that this was what Balaam had foretold ; and this apparition and news flew through the whole East : “The king of Persia is preparing splendid offerings and gifts and presents, and is sending them by the hands of the Magi, the worshippers of fire.” And because the king did not know where the Messiah was born, he commanded the bearers of the offerings, (saying): “Keep going towards the

Star, and walking on the road along which it runs before you ; and by day and night keep observing its light.”

And when they set forth with the sun from their country, in which this sun (of ours) is born every day, the Star too with its rays was running on before them, accompanying them and going with them, and becoming as it were an attendant of theirs. And they halted in many places, passing by large fortified towns, and (through) various foreign tongues and different garbs, that were unlike to one another. And they halted outside of the cities, and not inside of the cities, until they reached the gates of Jerusalem, over which the Star stood still, entering and alarming Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and terrifying also the kings and priests.

And when they had entered within the gates of the city, it was concealed from them. And when the Magi saw that neither the kings, nor the priests, nor the chiefs of the people perceived the coming of the Messiah, and the Star was concealed, they knew that, because they were not worthy, they did not perceive the birth of the Son, nor were they worthy to behold the Star.

And when the Magi saw that the Star was hidden from them, they went forth by night from the city ; and at that very moment the Star appeared unto them ; and they went after the apparition of it, until it descended and stood still over the cave of Bethlehem, where was born the Messiah. And in that hour they opened their treasures, and offered unto Him many presents and gifts of offerings, bowing down in adoration before the Messiah, that their offerings might be accepted, and that they might be delivered from the hateful treachery which they had seen in Jerusalem, and might reach their own country without fear, and might carry back word to those who had sent them of what they had seen and heard.

And when they had made their offerings and passed the night there, the Star too stopped with them above the cave. And when they rose early in the morning to set out for their country, it was for the second time running on and going before them on the way, which was different from the former one; and until they had entered their city, it did not quit them, nor was it concealed as on the former occasion.

And when they had entered into the presence of the king who had sent them, they narrated to him all that they had heard and seen. These things too were written down there in inner Persia, and were stored up among the

records of the deeds of their kings, where was written and stored up the history of the legions of the Chittites and the account of this Star, that they might be preserved where were preserved the histories of the ancients.

But Joseph and Mary, when they saw the treachery of king Herod and the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees, arose and took the Child, and went to a foreign country and of a barbarous tongue; and there they dwelt for the space of four years, during which Herod continued to reign after (their flight). And at the commencement of the reign of Herod's son, they arose and went up from that land to the country of Galilee, Joseph and Mary, and our Lord along with them, and the five sons of Hannah (Anna), the first wife of Joseph. But Mary and our Lord were dwelling together in the house in which Mary received the Annunciation from the holy Angel.⁴⁵

* * * * *

and eleven, in the second year of the coming of our Saviour, in the consulship of Caesar and of Capito, in the month of the latter Kanun, these Magi came from the East and worshipped our Lord at Bethlehem of the kings. And in the year four hundred and thirty (A.D. 119), in the reign of Hadrianus Caesar, in the consulship of Severus and of Fulgus, in the episcopate of Xystus, bishop of the city of Rome, this concern arose in (the minds of) men acquainted with the Holy Books; and through the pains of the great men in various places this history was sought for and found, and written in the tongue of those who took this care.

Here ends the Discourse on the Star, which was composed by Mar Eusebius of Caesarea.

ENDNOTES.

¹ a 2 Maccabees ii. 23.

² b 2 Maccabees ii. 4, 5.

³ c 2 Maccabees i. 19, etc.

⁴ d [Syriac, Greek] See 2 Maccabees i. 10.

⁵ e 2 Maccabees ii. 13.

⁶ f 2 Maccabees iv. 18, 19.

⁷ g 2 Maccabees iv. 33-35.

⁸ h Numbers xxi. 27, 28.

⁹ i 1 Samuel xxiv. 12, 13.

¹⁰ j Ezra vi. 1, etc.

¹¹ k Ezra vi. 11.

¹² l Ezra vi. 8.

¹³ m Job xx. 4. The last clause is corrupt. In the Peshitta it runs thus : [Syriac], from (the time) that He made man upon the earth.

¹⁴ n Job vii. 20, and x. 8, 10.

¹⁵ o Genesis xviii. 19.

¹⁶ p Exodus xxii. 18 ; Deuteronomy xviii. 10, 11.

¹⁷ q Genesis xxxix. 7, etc.

¹⁸ r As in the Peshitta, [Syriac]. See Genesis xxvi. 6, etc.

¹⁹ t Genesis xix. 7, 8.

²⁰ u Galatians iii. 19.

²¹ v [Hebrew], Ecbatana.

²² w Numbers xxiv. 17.

²³ c Numbers xxi. 21, etc.

²⁴ d Numbers xxi. 1-3.

²⁵ e Numbers xxii. 3, etc.

²⁶ f By [Syriac] is probably meant [Syriac], on the Euphrates near Samosata. See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orient.*, t. ii., in the *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, art. *Urima*. Knobel identifies [Hebrew] with ‘Anah, [Syriac].

²⁷ i Numbers xxiv. 24.

²⁸ j Numbers xxiv. 17.

²⁹ m Numbers xxiii. 21.

³⁰ p The λ, [Syriac], seems due, here and elsewhere, to a blunder of the scribe, who has taken the preposition for an integral part of the name.

³¹ v The name of Eli is wanting in the Syriac text.

³² w v is a slip of the pen for l...

³³ y 2 Chronicles xv. 1-7. Azur as in the Peshitta, [Syriac]. The name of Azariah is wanting in the Syriac text.

³⁴ d Isaiah xlv. 1.

³⁵ f The monarch intended must be Artaxerxes Longimanus, but I do not know what to make of the αλ, ελ, or ουλ of the text. Von Gut schmid has suggested “to another king” ([Syriac]=ἄλλος); but the writer of this tract could hardly have been so ignorant as to take ἄλλος for a proper name.

³⁶ g Nehemiah, xiii. 8.

³⁷ h Daniel viii. 3, etc.

³⁸ i This refers to the founding, or restoring, of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, Edessa, Berœa, and Pella, by Seleucus Nicator.

³⁹ j 2 Maccabees iv. 7, etc.

⁴⁰ k 2 Maccabees iv. 9. ...

⁴¹ l 2 Maccabees iv. 19.

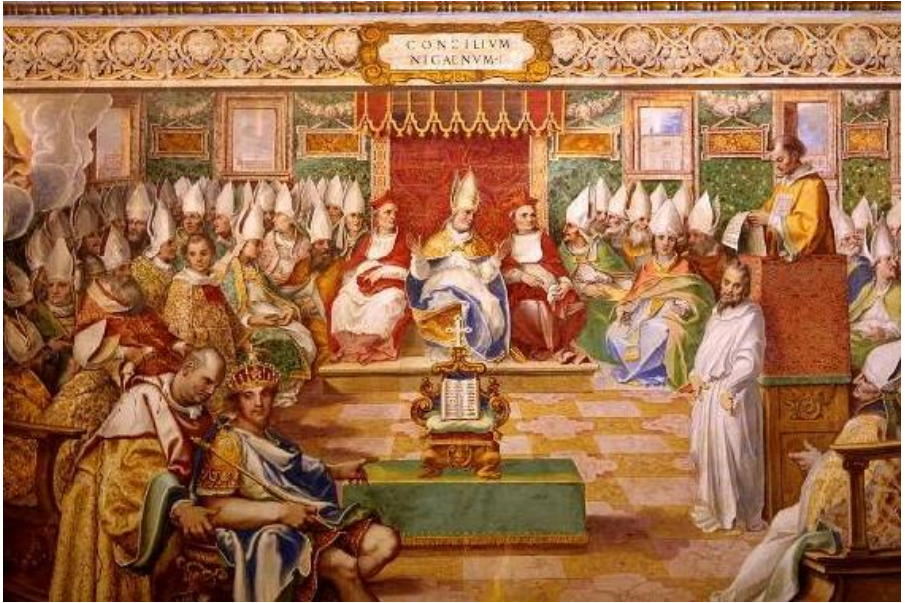
⁴² m 1 Maccabees xv. 15, etc.

⁴³ o For (L)NSCUS, ...

⁴⁴ p The inhabitants of Al-Ahwaz, ... or Chuzistan.

⁴⁵ s Here some sixteen or seventeen lines of the Syriac text have been. purposely erased, probably on account of some statement which a later reader considered heretical.

The Greek Text



Sixteenth century fresco depicting the Council of Nicaea — revered as a learned man and famous author, Eusebius enjoyed the favour of Constantine. He was called upon to present the creed of his own church to the 318 attendees of the Council of Nicaea in 325.



Mosaic in Istanbul's Hagia Sophia, c. 1000, depicting Constantine the Great, who summoned the bishops of the Christian Church to Nicaea to address divisions in the Church.

Historia ecclesiastica



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Source text: Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, Vol 1-2. Eusebius of Caesarea. Kirsopp Lake. J.E.L. Oulton. H.J. Lawlor. William Heinemann; G.P. Putnam's Press; Harvard University Press. London; New York; Cambridge, Mass. 1926-1932. With thanks to the Pegasus Digital Library.

BOOK I.

A Τάδε ἡ πρώτη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

A Τίς ἡ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας υπόθεσις.

B Ἐπιτομή κεφαλαιώδης περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ προουπάρξεώς τε καὶ θεολογίας.

Γ Ὡς καὶ τὸ Ἰησοῦ ὄνομα καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔγνωστό τε ἀνέκαθεν καὶ τετίμητο παρὰ τοῖς θεσπεσίοις προφήταις.

Δ Ὡς οὐ νεώτερος οὐδὲ ξενίζων ἦν ὁ τρόπος τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταγγελθείσης πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐσεβείας.

E Περὶ τῶν χρόνων τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους.

Σ Ὡς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτοῦ ἀκολούθως ταῖς προφητείαις ἐξέλιπον ἄρχοντες οἱ τὸ πρὶν ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνευς ἡγούμενοι πρῶτός τε ἀλλόφυλος βασιλεύει αὐτῶν Ἡρώδης.

Z Περὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις νομιζομένης διαφωνίας τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίας.

H Περὶ τῆς Ἡρώδου κατὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ οἷα μετῆλθεν αὐτὸν καταστροφή βίου.

Θ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πιλάτον χρόνων.

I Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ἀρχιερέων καθ' οὓς ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιήσατο.

IA Τὰ περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένα.

IB Περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

II Ἱστορία περὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἑδессηνῶν δυνάστου.

Τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὰς σὺν καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διηγουμένοις χρόνοις, ὅσα τε καὶ πηλίκᾳ πραγματευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν λέγεται, καὶ ὅσοι ταύτης διαπρεπῶς ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ἐπισημοτάταις παροικίαις ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ προέστησαν, ὅσοι τε κατὰ γενεὰν ἐκάστην ἀγράφως ἢ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τὸν θεῖον ἐπρέσβευσαν λόγον, τίνες τε καὶ ὅσοι καὶ ὀπηνίκα νεωτεροποιίας ἡμέρῳ πλάνης εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλάσαντες, ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως εἰσηγητὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακεκηρύχασιν, ἀφειδῶς οἷα λύκοι βαρεῖς τὴν Χριστοῦ ποίμνην ἐπεντρίβοντες, [2] πρὸς ἐπὶ

τούτοις καὶ τὰ παραυτίκα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος περιελθόντα, ὅσα τε αὖ καὶ ὅποια καθ' οἷους τε χρόνους πρὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁ θεῖος πεπολέμηται λόγος, καὶ πηλίκoi κατὰ καιροὺς τὸν δι αἵματος καὶ βασάνων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεξῆλθον ἀγῶνα, τὰ τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μαρτύρια καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πάσιν ἴλεω καὶ εὐμενῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀντίληψιν γραφῇ παραδοῦναι προηρημένος, οὐδ' ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἄρξομαι τῆς κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν [3] Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομίας, ἀλλὰ μοι συγγνώμην εὐγνωμόνων ἐντεῦθεν ὁ λόγος αἰτεῖ, μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμετέραν δύναμιν ὁμολογῶν εἶναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐντελῇ καὶ ἀπαράλειπτον ὑποσχεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρῶτοι νῦν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐπιβάντες οἶα τινα ἐρήμην καὶ ἀτριβῇ ἰέναι ὁδὸν ἐγχειροῦμεν, θεὸν μὲν ὁδηγὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου συνεργὸν σχήσειν εὐχόμενοι δύναμιν, ἀνθρώπων γε μὴν οὐδαμῶς εὑρεῖν οἰοί τε ὄντες ἔχνη γυμνὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμῖν προωδευκότων, μὴ ὅτι σμικρὰς αὐτὸ μόνον προφάσεις, δι' ὧν ἄλλος ἄλλως ὧν διηνύκασι χρόνων μερικὰς ἡμῖν καταλελοιπάσι διηγῆσεις, πόρρωθεν ὥσπερ εἰ πυρσοὺς τὰς ἑαυτῶν προανατείνοντες φωνὰς καὶ ἄνωθ' ἐποθεν ὡς ἐξ ἀπόπτου καὶ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς βοῶντες καὶ διακελευόμενοι, ἥ χρὴ βαδίζειν καὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου πορείαν ἀπλανῶς καὶ ἀκινδύνως εὐθύνειν. [4] ὅσα τοίνυν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν λυσιτελεῖν ἡγοῦμεθα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις σποράδην μνημονευθέντων, ἀναλεξάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ λογικῶν λειμώνων τὰς ἐπιτηδεύουσας αὐτῶν τῶν πάλαι συγγραφέων ἀπανθισάμενοι φωνάς, δι' ὑφηγήσεως ἱστορικῆς πειρασόμεθα σωματοποιῆσαι, ἀγαπῶντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπάντων, τῶν δ' οὖν μάλιστα διαφανεστάτων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τὰς διαδοχὰς κατὰ τὰς διαπρεπούσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν μνημονευομένας ἐκκλησίας ἀνασωσαίμεθα. [5] ἀναγκαιότατα δέ μοι πονεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἡγοῦμαι, ὅτι μηδένα πω εἰς δεῦρο τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων διέγνωμι περὶ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς σπουδὴν πεποιημένον τὸ μέρος· ἐλπίζω δ' ὅτι καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτη τοῖς φιλοτίμως περὶ τὸ χρηστομαθὲς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχουσιν ἀναφανήσεται. [6] ἤδη μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ πρότερον ἐν οἷς διετυπωσάμην χρονικοῖς κανόνσιν ἐπιτομὴν κατεστησάμην, πληρεστάτην δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὠρμήθην τὴν ἀφήγησιν ποιήσασθαι. [7] Καὶ ἄρξεται γέ μοι ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἔφην, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπινοουμένης ὑψηλοτέρας καὶ κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον [8] οἰκονομίας τε καὶ θεολογίας, καὶ γὰρ τὸν γραφῇ μέλλοντα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑφηγήσεως παραδώσειν τὴν ἱστορίαν, ἄνωθεν ἐκ πρώτης τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν, ὅτιπερ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς προσωνυμίας ἡξιώθημεν,

θειοτέρας ἢ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς οἰκονομίας ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἶη κατάρξασθαι.

Διττοῦ δὲ ὄντος τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν τρόπου, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος εὐκότος κεφαλῇ, ἣ θεὸς ἐπινοεῖται, τοῦ δὲ ποσὶ παραβαλλομένου, ἣ τὸν ἡμῖν ἄνθρωπον ὁμοιοπαθεῖ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκεν ὑπέδου σωτηρίας, γένοιτ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν ἐντελής ἡ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν διήγησις, εἰ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορίας ἀπάσης ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλαιωδεδεσμένων καὶ κυριωτάτων τοῦ λόγου τὴν ὑφήγησιν ποιησαίμεθα: ταύτη δὲ καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν ἀρχαιότητος τὸ παλαιὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ θεοπρεπὲς τοῖς νέαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐκτετοπισμένην, χθὲς καὶ οὐ πρότερον φανεῖσαν, ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἀναδειχθήσεται. [2] Γένους μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀξίας αὐτῆς τε οὐσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ φύσεως οὗτις ἂν εἰς ἔκφρασιν αὐτάρκης γένοιτο λόγος, ἣ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἐν προφητείαις ‘τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ’ φησὶν ‘τίς διηγήσεται;’ ὅτι δὴ οὔτε τὸν πατέρα τις ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὔτ' αὖ τὸν υἱὸν τις ἔγνω ποτὲ κατ' ἀξίαν, εἰ μὴ ὁ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ, τό τε φῶς τὸ προκόσμιον καὶ τὴν πρὸ [3] αἰῶνων νοερὰν καὶ οὐσιώδη σοφίαν τὸν τε ζῶντα καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ τυγχάνοντα θεὸν λόγον τίς ἂν πλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καθαρῶς ἐννοήσειεν, πρὸ πάσης κτίσεως καὶ δημιουργίας ὁρωμένης τε καὶ ἀοράτου τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον τοῦ θεοῦ γέννημα, τὸν τῆς κατ' οὐρανὸν λογικῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου στρατιᾶς ἀρχιστράτηγον, τὸν τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον, τὸν τῆς ἀρρήτου γνώμης τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπουργόν, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων σὺν τῷ πατρὶ δημιουργόν, τὸν δεῦτερον μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ μονογενῆ, τὸν τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων κύριον καὶ θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα τὸ κύριον ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ κράτος αὐτῇ θεότητι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τιμῇ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποδεδεγμένον, ὅτι δὴ κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυστικὰς τῶν γραφῶν θεολογίας ‘ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος: πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, [4] καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.’ τοῦτό τοι καὶ ὁ μέγας Μωσῆς, ὡς ἂν προφητῶν ἀπάντων παλαιότατος, θείῳ πνεύματι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσιώσιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν ὑπογράφων, τὸν κοσμοποιὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ θεῷ δηλαδὴ καὶ πρωτογόνῳ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ τὴν τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων ποίησιν παραχωροῦντα διδάσκει αὐτῷ τε κοινολογούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας: ‘εἶπεν γὰρ’ φησὶν ‘ὁ θεός: ‘ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' [5] ὁμοίωσιν.’ ταύτην δὲ ἐγγυᾶται τὴν φωνὴν προφητῶν ἄλλος, ὧδέ πως ἐν ὕμνοις θεολογῶν ‘αὐτὸς εἶπεν, καὶ ἐγενήθησαν: αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο, καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν,’ τὸν μὲν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν εἰσάγων ὡς ἂν πανηγεμόνα

βασιλικῷ νεύματι προστάττοντα, τὸν δὲ τούτῳ δευτερεύοντα θεῖον λόγον, οὐχ ἕτερον τοῦ πρὸς ἡμῶν κηρυττομένου, ταῖς πατρικαῖς ἐπιτάξεσιν ὑπουργοῦντα.

[6] τοῦτον καὶ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀνθρωπογονίας πάντες ὅσοι δὴ δικαιοσύνη καὶ θεοσεβείας ἀρετῇ διαπρέψαι λέγονται, ἀμφί τε τὸν μέγαν θεράποντα Μωυσέα καὶ πρό γε αὐτοῦ πρῶτος Ἀβραὰμ τούτου τε οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὅσοι μετέπειτα δίκαιοι πεφήνασιν καὶ προφηταί, καθαροῖς διανοίας ὁμμασι φαντασθέντες ἔγνωσάν τε καὶ οἷα θεοῦ παιδὶ τὸ προσήκον ἀπένειμαν σέβας, [7] αὐτὸς τε, οὐδαμῶς ἀπορραθυμῶν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας, διδάσκαλος τοῖς πᾶσι τῆς πατρικῆς καθίστατο γνώσεως. ὥφθαι γοῦν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀνείρηται οἷά τις κοινὸς ἄνθρωπος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καθημένῳ παρὰ τὴν δρῦν τὴν Μамβρή: ὁ δ' ὑποπεσὼν αὐτίκα, καίτοι γε ἄνθρωπον ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρων, προσκυνεῖ μὲν ὡς θεόν, ἱκετεύει δὲ ὡς κύριον, ὁμολογεῖ τε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ὅστις εἴη, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς λέγων 'κύριε ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, [8] οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν;' εἰ γὰρ μηδεὶς ἐπιτρέποι λόγος τὴν ἀγένητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον οὐσίαν θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος εἰς ἀνδρὸς εἶδος μεταβάλλειν μὴδ' αὖ γεννητοῦ μηθενὸς φαντασίᾳ τὰς τῶν ὁρώντων ὄψεις ἐξαπατᾶν μὴδὲ μὴν ψευδῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πλάττεσθαι τὴν γραφὴν, θεὸς καὶ κύριος ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν κρίσιν, ἐν ἀνθρώπου ὁρώμενος σχήματι, τίς ἂν ἕτερος ἀναγορεύοιτο, εἰ μὴ φάναι θέμις τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον, ἢ μόνος ὁ προὖν αὐτοῦ λόγος; περὶ οὗ καὶ ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἀνείρηται 'ἀπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰάσατο αὐτούς, καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτούς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν.' [9] τοῦτον δεῦτερον μετὰ τὸν πατέρα κύριον σαφέστατα Μωυσῆς ἀναγορεύει λέγων 'ἔβρεξε κύριος ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου.' τοῦτον καὶ τῷ Ἰακώβ αὖθις ἐν ἀνδρὸς φανέντᾳ σχήματι, θεὸν ἢ θεία προσαγορεύει γραφή, φάσκοντα τῷ Ἰακώβ 'οὐκέτι κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἰακώβ, ἀλλ' Ἰσραὴλ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὅτι ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ,' ὅτε καὶ 'ἐκάλεσεν Ἰακώβ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου Εἶδος θεοῦ,' λέγων 'εἶδον γὰρ θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, [10] καὶ ἐσώθη μου ἡ ψυχή.' καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὑποβεβηκότων ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν θεοῦ τὰς ἀναγραφείσας θεοφανείας ὑπονοεῖν θέμις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτων ὅτε τις ἀνθρώποις παραφαίνεται, οὐκ ἐπικρύπτεται ἡ γραφή, ὀνομαστὶ οὐ θεὸν οὐδὲ μὴν κύριον, ἀλλ' ἀγγέλους χρηματίσαι λέγουσα, ὡς διὰ μυρίων μαρτυριῶν πιστώσασθαι ῥάδιον. [11] τοῦτον καὶ ὁ Μωυσέως διάδοχος Ἰησοῦς, ὡς ἂν τῶν οὐρανίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων τῶν τε ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων ἡγούμενον καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχοντα δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῆς κατὰ πάντων βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμπεπιστευμένον, ἀρχιστράτηγον

δυνάμεως κυρίου ονομάζει, οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἢ αὐθις ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ καὶ σχήματι θεωρήσας. [12] γέγραπται γοῦν ‘καὶ ἐγενήθη, ὡς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἐν Ἱεριχῶ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας ὁρᾷ ἄνθρωπον ἐστηκότα κατέναντι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ῥομφαία ἐσπασμένη ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσελθὼν Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, ‘ἡμέτερος εἶ ἡ τῶν ὑπεναντίων;’ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ‘ἐγὼ ἀρχιστράτηγος δυνάμεως κυρίου: νυνὶ παραγέγονα. καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ‘δέσποτα, τί προστάσεις τῷ σῷ οἰκέτῃ;’ καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἰησοῦν, ‘λῦσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου: ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας, [13] τόπος ἁγίος ἐστίν.’ ἐνθα καὶ ἐπιστήσεις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ῥημάτων ὅτι μὴ ἕτερος οὗτος εἶη τοῦ καὶ Μωυσεῖ κεχρηματικότος, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδέ φησιν ἡ γραφή ‘ὡς δὲ εἶδεν κύριος ὅτι προσάγει ἰδεῖν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βātu λέγων, ‘Μωυσεῖ Μωυσεῖ: ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ‘τί ἐστίν;’ καὶ εἶπεν, ‘μὴ ἐγγίσης ὧδε: λῦσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου: ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν.’ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ‘ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρός σου, θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ.’’ [14] καὶ ὅτι γέ ἐστιν οὐσία τις προκόσμιος ζῶσα καὶ ὑφεστῶσα, ἡ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων εἰς τὴν τῶν γεννητῶν ἀπάντων δημιουργίαν ὑπηρετησαμένη, λόγος θεοῦ καὶ σοφία χρηματίζουσα, πρὸς ταῖς τεθειμέναις ἀποδείξεσιν ἔτι καὶ αὐτῆς ἐξ ἰδίου προσώπου τῆς σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι πάρεστιν, διὰ Σολομῶνος λευκότερα ὧδέ πως τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς μυσταγωγούσης ‘ἐγὼ ἡ σοφία κατεσκίηνωσα βουλήν, καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ ἔννοιαν ἐγὼ ἐπεκαλεσάμην. [15] δι’ ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσιν, καὶ οἱ δυνάσται γράφουσι δικαιοσύνην: δι’ ἐμοῦ μεγιστᾶνες μεγαλύνονται, καὶ τύραννοι δι’ ἐμοῦ κρατοῦσι γῆς:’ οἷς ἐπιλέγει ‘κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέν με: ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸ τοῦ τὴν γῆν ποιῆσαι, πρὸ τοῦ προελθεῖν τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, πρὸ τοῦ ὅρη ἐδρασθῆναι, πρὸ δὲ πάντων βουνῶν γεννᾶ με. ἡνίκα ἡτοίμαζεν τὸν οὐρανόν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλεῖς ἐτίθει πηγὰς τῆς ὑπὸ οὐρανόν, ἤμην σὺν αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα. ἐγὼ ἤμην ἥ προσέχαιρεν καθ’ ἡμέραν, εὐφραινόμενη δὲ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, ὅτε εὐφραίνετο τὴν οἰκουμένην συντελέσας.’ [16] ὅτι μὲν οὖν προῆν καὶ τισὶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπεφαίνετο, ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν ὡς ἐν βραχέσιν εἰρήσθω. [17] Τί δὴ οὖν οὐχὶ καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, καὶ πάλαι πρότερον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν ἐκηρύττετο, ὧδε ἂν γένοιτο πρόδηλον. οὐκ ἦν πω χωρεῖν οἶός τε τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάνσοφον καὶ πανάρετον διδασκαλίαν ὁ πάλαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος. [18] εὐθὺς μὲν γε ἐν ἀρχῇ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐν μακαρίοις ζωὴν

ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἦττον τῆς θείας ἐντολῆς φροντίσας, εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν θνητὸν καὶ ἐπικήρον βίον καταπέπτωκεν καὶ τὴν ἐπάρατον ταυτηνὶ γῆν τῆς πάλαι ἐνθέου τρυφῆς ἀντικατηλλάξατο, οἱ τε ἀπὸ τούτου τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς σύμπασαν πληρώσαντες πολὺ χεῖρους ἀναφανέντες ἐκτὸς ἐνός που καὶ δευτέρου, θηριώδη τινὰ τρόπον καὶ βίον ἀβίωτον ἐπανήρηντο: [19] ἀλλὰ καὶ οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε πολιτείαν, οὐ τέχνας, οὐκ ἐπιστήμας ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐβάλλοντο, νόμων τε καὶ δικαιομάτων καὶ προσέτι ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐδὲ ὀνόματος μετεῖχον, νομάδες δὲ ἐπ' ἐρημίας οἶά τινες ἄγριοι καὶ ἀπηνεῖς διῆγον, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ φύσεως προσήκοντας λογισμοὺς τὰ τε λογικὰ καὶ ἡμερα τῆς ἀνθρώπων ψυχῆς σπέρματα αὐτοπροαιρέτου κακίας ὑπερβολῇ διαφθείροντες, ἀνοσιουργίας δὲ πάσαις ὅλους σφᾶς ἐκδεδωκότες, ὥς τοτὲ μὲν ἀλληλοφθορεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ ἀλληλοκτονεῖν, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἀνθρωποβορεῖν, θεομαχίας τε καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν βοωμένας γιγαντομαχίας ἐπιτολμᾶν, καὶ γῆν μὲν ἐπιτειχίζειν οὐρανῷ διανοεῖσθαι, μανίᾳ δὲ φρονήματος ἐκτόπου αὐτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν πολεμεῖν παρασκευάζεσθαι: [20] ἐφ' οἷς τοῦτον ἑαυτοῖς εἰσάγουσι τὸν τρόπον κατακλισμοῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ πυρπολήσεσιν ὥσπερ ἄγριαν ὕλην κατὰ πάσης τῆς γῆς κεχυμένην θεὸς ὁ πάντων ἔφορος μετῇει, λιμοῖς τε συνεχέσι καὶ λοιμοῖς πολέμοις τε αὖ καὶ κεραυνῶν βολαῖς ἄνωθεν αὐτοὺς ὑπετέμνετο, ὥσπερ τινὰ δεινὴν καὶ χαλεπωτάτην νόσον ψυχῶν πικροτέροις ἀνέχων τοῖς κολαστηρίοις. [21] τότε μὲν οὖν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ πολλὸς ἦν ἐπικεχυμένος ὀλίγου δεῖν κατὰ πάντων ὁ τῆς κακίας κάρος, οἶα μέθης δεινῆς, τὰς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισκιαζούσης καὶ ἐπισκοτούσης ψυχᾶς, ἡ πρωτόγονος καὶ πρωτόκτιστος τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ προὖν λόγος φιланθρωπίας ὑπερβολῇ τοτὲ μὲν δι' ὀπτασίας ἀγγέλων τοῖς ὑποβεβηκόσι, τοτὲ δὲ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ οἶα θεοῦ δύναμις σωτήριος ἐνὶ που καὶ δευτέρῳ τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ δι' ἀνθρώπου μορφῆς, ὅτι μηδ' ἐτέρως ἦν δυνατόν αὐτοῖς, ὑπεφαίνετο. [22] Ὡς δ' ἤδη διὰ τούτων τὰ θεοσεβείας σπέρματα εἰς πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καταβέβλητο ὅλον τε ἔθνος ἐπὶ γῆς θεοσεβεῖα προσανέχον ἐκ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν Ἑβραίων ὑπέστη, τούτοις μὲν, ὥς ἂν εἰ πλήθεσιν ἔτι ταῖς παλαιαῖς ἀγωγαῖς ἐκδεδιημένοις, διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως εἰκόνας καὶ σύμβολα σαββάτου τινὸς μυστικοῦ καὶ περιτομῆς ἐτέρων τε νοητῶν θεωρημάτων εἰσαγωγάς, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὰς ἐναργεῖς παρεδίδου μυσταγωγίας: [23] ὥς δὲ τῆς παρὰ τούτοις νομοθεσίας βοωμένης καὶ πνοῆς δίκην εὐώδους εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους διαδιδομένης, ἥδη τότε ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τῶν πανταχόσε νομοθετῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων ἡμέρωτο τὰ φρονήματα, τῆς

ἀγρίας καὶ ἀπηνόους θηριωδίας ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶον μεταβεβλημένης, ὥς καὶ εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν φιλίας τε καὶ ἐπιμιξίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχειν, τῆνικαὐτα πᾶσι δὴ λοιπὸν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσιν ὥς ἂν προωφελημένοις. καὶ ἤδη τυγχάνουσιν ἐπιτηδεύειν πρὸς παραδοχὴν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνώσεως, ὁ αὐτὸς δὴ πάλιν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῶν ἀρετῶν διδάσκαλος, ὁ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπουργός, ὁ θεῖος καὶ οὐράνιος τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, δι' ἀνθρώπου κατὰ μηδὲν σώματος οὐσίᾳ τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν διαλλάττοντος ἀρχομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἐπιφανείς, τοιαῦτα ἔδρασέν τε καὶ πέπονθεν, οἷα ταῖς προφητεῖαις ἀκόλουθα ἦν, ἄνθρωπον ὁμοῦ καὶ θεὸν ἐπιδημήσειν τῷ βίῳ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητὴν καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν διδάσκαλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς εὐσεβείας ἀναδειχθήσεσθαι τό τε παράδοξον αὐτοῦ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τὴν καινὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰ θαύματα ἐπὶ τε τούτοις τοῦ θανάτου τὸν τρόπον τὴν τε ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς [24] ἔνθεον ἀποκατάστασιν αὐτοῦ προκηρυττούσαις. τὴν γοῦν ἐπὶ τέλει βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης θεῷ πνεύματι συνορῶν, ὧδέ πη ἐθεοφορεῖτο, ἀνθρωπινώτερον τὴν θεοπτίαν ὑπογράφων: ‘ἐθεώρουν γὰρ’ φησὶν ‘ἕως οὗ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιοὶ ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο. καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ ὥς εἰ χιὼν λευκόν, καὶ ἡ θριξὶς τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὥς εἰ ἔριον καθαρόν: ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλόξ πυρός, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον: ποταμὸς πυρὸς εἵλκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. χίλια χιλιάδες ἐλειτουργοῦν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύρια μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. [25] κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν, καὶ βίβλοι ἠνεώχθησαν.’ καὶ ἐξῆς ‘ἐθεώρουν,’ φησὶν ‘καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὥς εἰ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος, καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασεν, καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη: καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοὶ φυλαὶ γλῶσσαι αὐτῷ δουλεύουσιν. ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἣτις οὐ παρελεύσεται: καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ οὐ διαφθαρῆσεται.’ [26] ταῦτα δὲ σαφῶς οὐδ’ ἐφ’ ἑτερον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα, τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν θεὸν λόγον, ἀναφέροιο ἄν, υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὴν ὑστάτην ἐνανθρώπησιν αὐτοῦ χρηματίζοντα. [27] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν οἰκείοις ὑπομνήμασιν τὰς περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητικὰς ἐκλογὰς συναγαγόντες ἀποδεικτικώτερόν τε τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλούμενα ἐν ἑτέροις συστήσαντες, τοῖς εἰρημένους ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀρκεσθησόμεθα.

‘Ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τοῦ τε Ἰησοῦ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πάλαι θεοφιλέσιν προφήταις τετίμητο, ἤδη καιρὸς ἀποδεικνύναι. [2]

σεπτὸν ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα καὶ ἔνδοξον τὸ Χριστοῦ ὄνομα πρῶτος αὐτὸς γνωρίσας Μωυσῆς τύπους οὐρανίων καὶ σύμβολα μυστηριώδεις τε εἰκόνας ἀκολούθως χρησμῶ φήσαντι αὐτῷ ‘ὄρα, ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει’ παραδούς, ἀρχιερέα θεοῦ, ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα δυνατὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐπιφημίσας, τοῦτον Χριστὸν ἀναγορεύει, καὶ ταύτη γε τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀξία, πᾶσαν ὑπερβαλλούση παρ’ αὐτῷ τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις προεδρίαν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ δόξῃ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ περιτίθησιν ὄνομα: οὕτως ἄρα τὸν Χριστὸν θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ἠπίστατο. [3] ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ προσηγορίαν εὖ μάλα πνεύματι θείῳ προῖδὼν πάλιν τινὸς ἐξαιρέτου προνομίας καὶ ταύτην ἀξιοῖ. οὐποτε γοῦν πρότερον ἐκφωνηθὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, πρὶν ἢ Μωυσεῖ γνωσθῆναι, τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πρόσρημα τούτῳ Μωυσῆς πρῶτῳ καὶ μόνῳ περιτίθησιν, ὃν κατὰ τύπον αὐθις καὶ σύμβολον ἔγνω μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν διαδεξόμενον [4] τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἀρχὴν. οὐ πρότερον γοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ διάδοχον, τῇ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεχρημένον προσηγορίᾳ, ὀνόματι δὲ ἐτέρῳ τῷ Αὐσῇ, ὅπερ οἱ γεννήσαντες αὐτῷ τέθινται, καλούμενον, Ἰησοῦν αὐτὸς ἀναγορεύει, γέρας ὥσπερ τίμιον, παντὸς πολὺ μείζον βασιλικὸν διαδήματος, τοῦνομα αὐτῷ δωρούμενος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὴν εἰκόνα ἔφερεν, τοῦ μόνου μετὰ Μωυσέα καὶ τὸ συμπέρασμα τῆς δι’ ἐκείνου παραδοθείσης συμβολικῆς λατρείας, τῆς ἀληθοῦς καὶ καθαρωτάτης εὐσεβείας τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένου. [5] καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν ταύτη πη δυσι τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λαὸν προφέρουσιν ἀνθρώποις, τῷ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖ, τῷ δὲ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἡγησομένῳ, τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ περιτίθεται: [6] σαφῶς δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα προφητὰ ὀνομαστὶ τὸν Χριστὸν προανεφώνουν, ὁμοῦ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι κατ’ αὐτοῦ συσκευὴν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων λαοῦ, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν δι’ αὐτοῦ κλῆσιν προμαρτυρόμενοι, τοτὲ μὲν ὧδέ πως Ἰερεμίας λέγων ‘πνεῦμα προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς κύριος συνελήφθη ἐν ταῖς διαφθοραῖς αὐτῶν, οὗ εἶπομεν ‘ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ αὐτοῦ ζήσόμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,’ τοτὲ δὲ ἀμιχανῶν Δαυὶδ διὰ τούτων ‘ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ’ : οἷς ἐξῆς ἐπιλέγει ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὴ προσώπου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ‘κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με ‘υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. αἴτησαι παρ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.’ [7] οὐ μόνους δὲ ἄρα τοὺς ἀρχιερωσύνη τετιμημένους,

ἐλαίῳ σκευαστῷ τοῦ συμβόλου χρισμένους ἔνεκα, τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατεκόσμη παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς νεύματι θεῷ προφηται χρίοντες εἰκονικοὺς τινὰς χριστοὺς ἀπειργάζοντο, ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς τοῦ μόνου καὶ ἀληθοῦς Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κατὰ πάντων βασιλεύοντος θεοῦ λόγου, βασιλικῆς καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τοὺς τύπους δι' ἑαυτῶν ἔφερον. [8] ἤδη δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν προφητῶν τινὰς διὰ χρίσματος χριστοὺς ἐν τύπῳ γεγονέναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὥς τούτους ἅπαντας τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ χριστόν, τὸν ἔνθεον καὶ οὐράνιον λόγον, ἀναφορὰν ἔχειν, μόνον ἀρχιέρεια τῶν ὅλων καὶ μόνον ἀπάσης κτίσεως βασιλέα καὶ μόνον προφητῶν ἀρχιπροφήτην τοῦ πατρὸς τυγχάνοντα. [9] τούτου δ' ἀπόδειξις τὸ μηδένα πω τῶν πάλοι διὰ τοῦ συμβόλου κεχρισμένων, μήτε ἱερέων μήτε βασιλέων μήτε μὴν προφητῶν, τοσαύτην ἀρετῆς ἐνθέου δύναμιν κτήσασθαι, ὅσην ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ μόνος καὶ ἀληθινὸς Χριστὸς ἐπιδέδεικται. [10] οὐδεὶς γέ τοι ἐκείνων, καίπερ ἀξιώματι καὶ τιμῇ ἐπὶ πλείσταις ὅσαις γενεαῖς παρὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις διαλαμπάντων, τοὺς ὑπηκόους πώποτε ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς εἰκονικῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσρήσεως Χριστιανοὺς ἐπεφήμισεν: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σεβάσμιός τινι τούτων πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων ὑπῆρξε τιμή: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοσαύτη διάθεσις, ὥς καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν ἐτοιμῶς ἔχειν τοῦ τιμωμένου: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντων τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν περὶ τινὰ τῶν τότε τοσαύτη γέγονε κίνησις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τοσοῦτον ἐν ἐκείνοις ἢ τοῦ συμβόλου δύναμις οἷα τε ἦν ἐνεργεῖν, ὅσον ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας παράστασις διὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐνδεικνυμένη: [11] ὃς οὔτε σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀρχιερωσύνης παρὰ τοῦ λαβόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ γένος τὸ περὶ σῶμα ἐξ ἱερωμένων κατάγων, οὐδ' ἀνδρῶν δορυφορίαις ἐπὶ βασιλείαν προαχθεὶς οὐδὲ μὴν προφήτης ὁμοίως τοῖς πάλοι γενόμενος, οὐδ' ἀξίας ὅλως ἢ τινος παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τυχῶν προεδρίας, ὅμως τοῖς πᾶσιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς συμβόλοις, ἀλλ' [12] αὐτῇ γε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κεκόσμητο, οὐχ ὁμοίων δ' οὖν οἷς προειρήκαμεν, τυχόν, πάντων ἐκείνων καὶ Χριστὸς μᾶλλον ἀνηγόρευται, καὶ ὥς ἂν μόνος καὶ ἀληθὴς αὐτὸς ὢν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, Χριστιανῶν τὸν πάντα κόσμον, τῆς ὄντως σεμνῆς καὶ ἱερᾶς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας, κατέπλησεν, οὐκέτι τύπους οὐδὲ εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς γυμνάς ἀρετὰς καὶ βίον οὐράνιον αὐτοῖς ἀληθείας δόγμασιν τοῖς θιασώταις παραδούς, [13] τό τε χρῖσμα, οὐ τὸ διὰ σωμάτων σκευαστόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ πνεύματι θεῷ τὸ θεοπρεπές, μετοχῇ τῆς ἀγεννήτου καὶ πατρικῆς θεότητος ἀπειλήφει: ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας διδάσκει, ὥς ἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ᾧδὲ πως ἀναβοῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ 'πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με:

εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέν με, κηρῦξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεςιν καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνάβλεψιν.’ [14] καὶ οὐ μόνος γε Ἡσαΐας, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δαυὶδ εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ἀναφωνεῖ λέγων ‘ὁ θρόνος σου, ὁ θεός, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος: ῥάβδος ἐυθύτητος ἢ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου. ἡγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν: διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως παρὰ τοὺς μετόχους σου’ : ἐν οἷς ὁ λόγος ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ στίχῳ θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιφημίζει, ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ σκήπτρῳ βασιλικῷ τιμᾷ, [15] εἶθ’ ἐξῆς ὑποβάς μετὰ τὴν ἔνθεον καὶ βασιλικὴν δύναμιν τρίτῃ τάξει Χριστὸν αὐτὸν γεγονότα, ἐλαίῳ οὐ τῷ ἐξ ὕλης σωμαίων, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐνθέῳ τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως ἡλειμμένον, παρίστησιν: παρ’ ὃ καὶ τὸ ἐξαίρετον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολὺ κρεῖττον καὶ διάφορον τῶν πάλοι διὰ τῶν εἰκόνων [16] σωματικώτερον κεχρισμένων ὑποσημαίνει. καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὥδέ πως τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ λέγων ‘εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου: ‘κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου,’ καὶ ‘ἐκ γαστροῦ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. ὤμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται: σὺ εἶ [17] ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.’ οὗτος δὲ εἰσάγεται ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ὁ Μελχισεδέκ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, οὐκ ἐν σκευαστῶ τινι χρίσματι ἀναδεδειγμένος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ διαδοχῇ γένους προσήκων τῇ καθ’ Ἑβραίους ἱερωσύνῃ: δι’ ὃ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων σύμβολα καὶ τύπους ἀνελιφότων Χριστὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς μεθ’ ὅρκου παραλήψεως [18] ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἀνηγόρευται: ὅθεν οὐδὲ σωματικῶς παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις χρισθέντα αὐτὸν ἡ ἱστορία παραδίδωσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἐκ φυλῆς τῶν ἱερωμένων γενόμενον, ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ θεοῦ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου μὲν, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως, οὐσιωμένον, ἀθάνατον δὲ καὶ ἀγήρω τὴν ἱερωσύνην εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα διακατέχοντα. [19] τῆς δ’ εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένης ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἐνθέου χρίσεως μέγα καὶ ἐναργὲς τεκμήριον τὸ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν πώποτε εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καθ’ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου Χριστὸν ἐπιφημίζεσθαι ὁμολογεῖσθαι τε καὶ μαρτυρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ παρὰ τε Ἑλλήσι καὶ βαρβάροις μνημονεύεσθαι, καὶ εἰς ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτοῦ θιασώταις τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς βασιλέα, θαυμάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ προφήτην, δοξάζεσθαι τε ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον θεοῦ ἀρχιερέα, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις, οἷα θεοῦ λόγον προόντα καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων ἀπάντων οὐσιωμένον τὴν τε σεβάσμιον τιμὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπειληφότα, καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὡς θεόν: [20] τό γε μὴν πάντων παραδοξότατον, ὅτι μὴ φωναῖς αὐτὸ μόνον καὶ ῥημάτων ψόφοις αὐτὸν γεραίρομεν οἱ καθωσιωμένοι

αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάση διαθέσει ψυχῆς, ὥς καὶ αὐτῆς προτιμᾶν τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν μαρτυρίαν.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαίως πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐνταυθὰ μοι κείσθω, ὥς ἂν μὴ νεώτερόν τις εἶναι νομίσειεν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν διὰ τοὺς τῆς ἐνσάρκου πολιτείας αὐτοῦ χρόνους. ἵνα δὲ μηδὲ τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῦ νέαν εἶναι καὶ ξένην, ὥς ἂν ὑπὸ νέου καὶ μηδὲν τοὺς λοιποὺς διαφέροντος ἀνθρώπους συστάσαν, ὑπονοήσκειν τις, φέρε, βραχεία καὶ περὶ τούτου διαλάβωμεν. [2] τῆς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας νεωστὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλαμψάσης, νέον ὁμολογουμένως ἔθνος, οὐ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἀσθενὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ γωνίας ποι γῆς ἰδρυμένον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυανθρωπότατόν τε καὶ θεοσεβέστατον ταύτῃ τε ἀνῶλεθρον καὶ ἀήτητον, ἥ καὶ εἰς αἰὲ τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ βοηθείας τυγχάνει, χρόνων προθεσμίαις ἀρρήτοις ἀθρόως οὕτως ἀναπέρηνεν, τὸ παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσηγορίᾳ τετιμημένον. [3] τοῦτο καὶ προφητῶν κατεπλάγη τις, θείου πνεύματος ὀφθαλμῷ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προθεωρήσας, ὥς καὶ τάδε ἀναφθέγγασθαι ‘ τίς ἤκουσεν τοιαῦτα, καὶ τις ἐλάλησεν οὕτως; εἰ ὧδινεν γῆ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ εἰ ἐτέχθη ἔθνος εἰς ἅπαξ.’ ὑποσημαίνει δὲ πως καὶ τὴν μέλλουσιν ὁ αὐτὸς προσηγορίαν, λέγων ‘τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσίν μοι κληθήσεται ὄνομα καινόν, ὃ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.’ [4] ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ νέοι σαφῶς ἡμεῖς καὶ τοῦτο καινὸν ὄντως ὄνομα τὸ Χριστιανῶν ἀρτίως παρὰ πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν γνωρίζεται, ὁ βίος δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῖς εὐσεβείας δόγμασιν ὅτι μὴ ἑναγχος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐπιπέπλαστοι, ἐκ πρώτης δ' ὥς εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωπογονίας φυσικαῖς ἐννοίαις τῶν πάλαι θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν [5] κατωρθοῦτο, ὧδέ πως ἐπιδείξομεν. οὐ νέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχαιότητι τετιμημένον ἔθνος, τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ αὐτὸ γνώριμον, τὸ Ἑβραίων τυγχάνει. λόγοι δὲ παρὰ τούτῳ καὶ γράμματα παλαιοὺς ἄνδρας περιέχουσιν, σπανίους μὲν καὶ ἀριθμῷ βραχεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅμως εὐσεβεῖα καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λουπῇ διενεγκόντας ἀρετῇ, πρὸ μὲν γε τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ διαφόρους, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἐτέρους, τῶν τε τοῦ Νῶε παίδων καὶ ἀπογόνων ἀτὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ, ὃν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ προπάτορα [6] σφῶν αὐτῶν παῖδες Ἑβραίων αὐχοῦσι. πάντας δὲ ἐκείνους ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μεμαρτυρημένους, ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἀνιοῦσιν ἄνθρωπον, ἔργῳ Χριστιανούς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι, προσειπὼν τις οὐκ ἂν ἐκτὸς βάλοι τῆς ἀληθείας. [7] ὁ γάρ τοι δηλοῦν ἐθέλοι τοῦνομα, τὸν Χριστιανὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνώσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καρτερίᾳ

τε βίου καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀνδρεία εὐσεβείας τε ὁμολογία ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ διαπρέπειν, τοῦτο πᾶν ἐκείνοις οὐ χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἐσπουδάζετο. [8] οὐτ' οὖν σώματος αὐτοῖς περιτομῆς ἔμελεν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῖν, οὐ σαββάτων ἐπιτηρήσεως, ὅτι μηδὲ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν τοιῶνδε τροφῶν παραφυλακῆς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαστολῆς, ὅσα τοῖς μετέπειτα πρῶτος ἀπάντων Μωυσῆς ἀρξάμενος ἐν συμβόλοις τελεῖσθαι παραδέδωκεν, ὅτι μηδὲ νῦν Χριστιανῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα: ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸν ἤδεσαν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἴ γε ὦφθαι μὲν τῷ Ἀβραάμ, χρηματίσαι δὲ τῷ Ἰσαάκ, λελαληκέναι δὲ τῷ Ἰσραήλ, Μωυσεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα προφήταις ὠμιληκέναι προδεδείκται: [9] ἔνθεν αὐτοὺς δὴ τοὺς θεοφιλεῖς ἐκείνους εὖροις ἂν καὶ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηξιωμένους ἐπωνυμίας, κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν περὶ αὐτῶν φωνήν 'μὴ ἄψησθε τῶν Χριστῶν μου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύεσθε' : [10] ὥστε σαφῶς πρώτην ἡγεῖσθαι δεῖν καὶ πάντων παλαιολατρίαν τε καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτην θεοσεβείας εὑρεσιν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ θεοφιλῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀρτίως διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν κατηγγελέμενην. [11] εἰ δὲ δὴ μακροῦ ποθ' ὕστερον περιτομῆς φασὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἐντολὴν εἰληφέναι, ἀλλὰ πρό γε ταύτης δικαιοσύνην διὰ πίστεως μαρτυρηθεὶς ἀνείρηται, ὥδὲ πως τοῦ θείου φάσκοντος λόγου 'ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραάμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.' [12] καὶ δὴ τοιοῦτῳ πρὸ τῆς περιτομῆς γεγονότι χρησμός ὑπὸ τοῦ φήναντος ἑαυτὸν αὐτῷ θεοῦ 'οὗτος δ' ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος' περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετέπειτα χρόνοις τὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ δικαιοῦσθαι τρόπον μελλόντων ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς προεπηγγέλται λέγων 'καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς,' καὶ ὡς ὅτι 'ἔσται εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.' τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκπεπληρωμένῳ πάρεστιν. [13] πίστει μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῇ εἰς τὸν ὁφθέντα αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον τὸν Χριστὸν δεδικαίωτο, πατρώας μὲν ἀποστάς δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ πλάνης βίου προτέρας, ἓνα δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμολογήσας θεὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἔργοις ἀρετῆς οὐχὶ δὲ θρησκείᾳ νόμου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Μωυσέως θεραπεύσας, τοιοῦτῳ τε ὄντι εἴρητο ὅτι δὴ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν αὐτῷ εὐλογηθήσεται: [14] ἔργοις δὲ λόγων ἐναργεστέροις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος παρὰ μόνους Χριστιανοὺς καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀσκούμενος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τῆς θεοσεβείας τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἀναπέφηνε τρόπος. [15] τί δὴ οὖν λοιπὸν ἐμποδὼν ἂν εἴη, μὴ οὐχὶ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν βίον τε καὶ τρόπον εὐσεβείας ἡμῖν τε τοῖς ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῖς πρόπαλαι θεοφιλέσιν ὁμολογεῖν; ὥστε μὴ νέαν καὶ ξένην,

ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ φάναι ἀληθεύοντα, πρώτην ὑπάρχειν καὶ μόνην καὶ ἀληθῆ κατόρθωσιν εὐσεβείας τὴν διὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἀποδείκνυσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχέτω.

Φέρε δὲ ἤδη, μετὰ τὴν δέουσαν προκατασκευὴν τῆς προτεθείσης ἡμῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἤδη λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας οἷά τινος ὁδοιπορίας ἐφαψώμεθα, τὸν τοῦ λόγου πατέρα θεὸν καὶ τὸν δηλούμενον αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν οὐράνιον τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, βοηθὸν ἡμῖν καὶ συνεργὸν τῆς κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἀληθείας ἐπικαλεσάμενοι [2] ἦν δὴ οὖν τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλείας, Αἰγύπτου δ' ὑποταγῆς καὶ τελευτῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εἰς ἣν ὑστάτην ἢ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν Πτολεμαίων κατέλξε, ληξε δυναστεία, ὄγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστόν, ὁπνῆκα ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τῆς τότε πρώτης ἀπογραφῆς, ἡγεμονεύοντος Κυρινίου τῆς Συρίας, ἀκολούθως ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητεῖαις ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται τῆς Ἰουδαίας. [3] ταύτης δὲ τῆς κατὰ Κυρίνιον ἀπογραφῆς καὶ ὁ τῶν παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἐπισημότατος ἱστορικῶν Φλάνιος υἱὸς Ἰώσηπος μνημονεύει, καὶ ἄλλην ἐπισυνάπτων ἱστορίαν περὶ τῆς τῶν Γαλιλαίων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπιφυσίσης χρόνους αἰρέσεως, ἥς καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν μνήμην ὧδέ πως λέγων πεποιήται 'μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ: κάκεῖνος ἀπώλετο, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπέισθησαν αὐτῷ, διεσκορπίσθησαν.' [4] τούτοις δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ δεδηλωμένος ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας συνᾶδων ταῦτα παρατίθεται κατὰ λέξιν: 'Κυρίνιος δὲ τῶν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συναγομένων, ἀνὴρ τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἐπιτετελεκὼς καὶ διὰ πασῶν ὁδεύσας ὕπατος γενέσθαι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀξιώματι μέγας, σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος.' [5] καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν: 'Ἰούδας δέ, Γαυλανίτης ἀνὴρ ἐκ πόλεως ὄνομα Γαμαλά, Σάδδοκον Φαρισαῖον προσλαβόμενος, ἠπειγέτο ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἄντικρυς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος.' [6] καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα γράφει: 'ἐπὶ τούτου τις ἀνὴρ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ὄνομα εἰς ἀποστασίαν ἐνήγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίζων εἰ φόρον τε Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομενουσιν καὶ μετὰ τὸν θεὸν οἴσουσι θνητοὺς δεσπότης.' ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος.

Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους Ἡρώδου πρώτου τὸ γένος

ἀλλοφύλου διειληφότος τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ διὰ Μωυσέως περιγραφὴν ἐλάμβανεν προφητεία ‘οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχοντα ἐξ Ἰούδα οὐδὲ ἡγούμενον ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ’ φήσαο, ‘ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται,’ ὃν καὶ ἀποφαίνει προσδοκίαν ἔσεσθαι ἔθνων. [2] ἀτελῇ γέ τοι τὰ τῆς προρρήσεως.” ἦν καθ’ ὃν ὑπὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχουσι διάγειν αὐτοῖς ἐξῆν χρόνον, ἄνωθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Μωυσέως καταρξαμένοις καὶ εἰς τὴν Αὐγούστου βασιλείαν διαρκέσασιν, καθ’ ὃν πρῶτος ἀλλόφυλος Ἡρώδης τὴν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτρέπεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ὡς μὲν Ἰώσηπος παραδίδωσιν, Ἰδομαῖος ὢν κατὰ πατέρα τὸ γένος Ἀράβιος δὲ κατὰ μητέρα, ὡς δ’ Ἀφρικανός ‘οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν δὲ καὶ οὗτος γέγονε συγγραφεὺς’, φασὶν οἱ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀκριβοῦντες Ἀντίπατρον ‘τοῦτον δ’ εἶναι αὐτῷ πατέρᾳ Ἡρώδου τινὸς Ἀσκαλωνίτου τῶν περὶ τὸν νεῶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροδούλων καλουμένων γεγονέναι: [3] ὃς Ἀντίπατρος ὑπὸ Ἰδομαίων ληστῶν παιδίον αἰχμαλωτισθεὶς σὺν ἐκείνοις ἦν, διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν πατέρα πτωχὸν ὄντα καταθέσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, ἐντραφεὶς δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔθεσιν ὕστερον Ὑρκανῷ τῷ Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερεῖ φιλοῦται. [4] τούτου γίνεται ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἡρώδης. εἰς δὴ οὖν τὸν τοιοῦτον τῆς Ἰουδαίων περιελθούσης βασιλείας, ἐπὶ θύραις ἤδη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἔθνων ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητεῖᾳ προσδοκία παρῆν, ἅτε διαλελοιπότων ἐξ ἐκείνου τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ Μωυσέως [5] κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀρξάντων τε καὶ ἡγησαμένων. πρὸ μὲν γε τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μεταναστάσεως ἐβασιλεύοντο, ἀπὸ Σαοὺλ πρώτου καὶ Δαυὶδ ἀρξάμενοι: πρὸ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς διεῖπον, οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι κριταί, ἄρξαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ Μωυσέα καὶ τὸν τούτου διάδοχον Ἰησοῦν: [6] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον οὐ διέλιπον πολιτεία χρώμενοι ἀριστοκρατικῇ μετὰ ὀλιγαρχίας ‘οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς. προεστήκεσαν τῶν πραγμάτων’, ἄχρι οὗ Πομπήιος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐπιστὰς τὴν μὲν Ἰερουσαλὴμ πολιορκεῖ κατὰ κράτος μιαίνει τε τὰ ἅγια μέχρι τῶν ἀδύτων τοῦ ἱεροῦ προελθόν, τὸν δ’ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ διαρκέσαντα βασιλέα τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέα, Ἀριστόβουλος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, δέσμιον ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς ἅμα τέκνοις ἐκπέμψας, Ὑρκανῷ μὲν τῷ τούτου ἀδελφῷ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπόφορον [7] κατεστήσατο. αὐτίκα γοῦν καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, εἰς ὃν ὕστατον τὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχιερέων περιέστη διαδοχῆς, ὑπὸ Πάρθων αἰχμαλώτου ληφθέντος, πρῶτος, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, ἀλλόφυλος Ἡρώδης ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου Ῥωμαίων Αὐγούστου τε βασιλέως τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐγχειρίζεται, καθ’ ὃν ἐναργῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας

ἐνστάσης, [8] καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ προσδοκωμένη σωτηρία τε καὶ κλήσις ἀκολούθως τῇ προφητείᾳ παρηκολούθησεν: ἐξ οὗ δὴ χρόνου τῶν ἀπὸ Ἰούδα ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἡγουμένων, λέγω δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, διαλαλοιπύτων, εἰκότως αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκ προγόνων εὐσταθῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα διαδόχους κατὰ γενεὰν προϊούσης ἀρχιερωσύνης παραχρῆμα συγγεῖται. [9] ἔχεις καὶ τούτων ἀξιώχρεων τὸν Ἰώσηπον μάρτυρα, δηλοῦντα ὡς τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτραπείς Ἡρώδης οὐκέτι τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχαίου γένους καθίστησιν ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τισιν ἀσήμοις τὴν τιμὴν ἀπένεμεν: τὰ ὅμοια δὲ πρᾶξι τῷ Ἡρώδῃ περὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῶν ἱερέων Ἀρχέλαόν τε τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥωμαίους, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρειληφότας. [10] ὁ δ' αὐτὸς δηλοῖ ὡς ἄρα καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν στολὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρῶτος Ἡρώδης ἀποκλείσας ὑπὸ ἰδίαν σφραγίδα πεποίηται, μηκέτ' αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἔχειν ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέψας: ταῦτόν δὲ καὶ τὸν μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀρχέλαον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ῥωμαίους διαπράξασθαι. [11] καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω εἰς ἐτέρας ἀποδείξιν προφητείας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπερασμένης. σαφέστατα γοῦν ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ ἐβδομάδων τινῶν ἀριθμὸν ὀνομαστὶ ἕως Χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου περιλαβὼν ὁ λόγος, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἐτέροις διειλήφαμεν, μετὰ τὸ τούτων συμπέρασμα ἐξολοθρευθήσεσθαι τὸ παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις χρῆσμα προφητεύει: καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σαφῶς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γενέσεως ἀποδείκνυται συμπεπληρωμένον. ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως εἰς παράστασιν τῆς τῶν χρόνων ἀληθείας προτετηρήσθω.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογίαν διαφόρως ἡμῖν ὁ τε Ματθαῖος καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμενοι παραδεδώκασι διαφωνεῖν τε νομίζονται τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν τε πιστῶν ἕκαστος ἀγνοίᾳ τάληθους εὐρησιλογεῖν εἰς τοὺς τόπους πεφιλοτίμηται, φέρε, καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτων κατελθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἱστορίαν παραθώμεθα, ἣν δι' ἐπιστολῆς Ἀριστείδῃ γράφων περὶ συμφωνίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις γενεαλογίας ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δηλωθεὶς Ἀφρικανὸς ἐμνημόνευσεν, τὰς μὲν δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν δόξας ὡς ἂν βιαίους καὶ διεψευσμένας ἀπελέγξας, ἣν δ' αὐτὸς παρεῖληφεν ἱστορίαν τούτοις αὐτοῖς ἐκτιθέμενος τοῖς ῥήμασιν: Ἐπειδὴ [2] γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γενῶν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἠριθμεῖτο ἢ φύσει ἢ νόμῳ, φύσει μὲν, γνησίου σπέρματος διαδοχῇ, νόμῳ δέ, ἐτέρου παιδοποιουμένου εἰς ὄνομα τελευτήσαντος ἀδελφοῦ ἀτέκνου ὅτι γὰρ οὐδέπω δέδοτο ἐλπίς ἀναστάσεως σαφῆς, τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀναστάσει ἐμιμοῦντο θνητῇ, ἵνα ἀνέκλειπτον τὸ [3] ὄνομα μείνῃ τοῦ

μετηλλαχότος· ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ τῇ γενεαλογίᾳ ταύτῃ ἐμφερόμενοι, οἱ μὲν διεδέξαντο παῖς πατέρα γνησίως, οἱ δὲ ἐτέροις μὲν ἐγεννήθησαν, ἐτέροις δὲ προσετέθησαν κλήσει, ἀμφοτέρων γέγονεν ἡ μνήμη, καὶ τῶν γεγεννηκότων καὶ τῶν ὡς γεγεννηκότων. οὕτως οὐδέτερον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ψεύδεται, [4] καὶ φύσιν ἀριθμοῦν καὶ νόμον. ἐπεπλάκη γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ γένη, τὸ τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομῶνος καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ναθάν, ἀναστάσεσιν ἀτέκνων καὶ δευτερογαμίαις καὶ ἀναστάσει σπερμάτων, ὡς δικαίως τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄλλοτε ἄλλων νομίζεσθαι, τῶν μὲν δοκούντων πατέρων, τῶν δὲ ὑπαρχόντων· ὡς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διηγήσεις κυρίως ἀληθεῖς οὖσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ πολυπλόκως μὲν, ἀλλ' [5] ἀκριβῶς κατελθεῖν. ἵνα δὲ σαφὲς ᾖ τὸ λεγόμενον, τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν τῶν γενῶν διηγῆσομαι. ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυὶδ διὰ Σολομῶνος τὰς γενεὰς καταριθμουμένοις τρίτος ἀπὸ τέλους εὐρίσκεται Ματθάν, ὃς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸν πατέρα· ἀπὸ δὲ Ναθάν τοῦ Δαυὶδ κατὰ Λουκᾶν ὁμοίως τρίτος ἀπὸ τέλους Μελχί· Ἰωσήφ γὰρ υἱὸς Ἦλι τοῦ Μελχί. σκοποῦ τοίνυν ἡμῖν κειμένου τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, [6] ἀποδεικτέον πῶς ἐκάτερος αὐτοῦ πατὴρ ἱστορεῖται, ὃ τε Ἰακώβ ὁ ἀπὸ Σολομῶνος καὶ Ἦλὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ναθάν ἐκάτερος κατάγοντες γένος, ὅπως τε πρότερον οὗτοι δῆ, ὃ τε Ἰακώβ καὶ ὁ Ἦλὶ, δύο ἀδελφοί, καὶ πρό γε, πῶς οἱ τούτων πατέρες, Ματθάν καὶ Μελχί, διαφόρων ὄντες γενῶν, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀναφαίνονται πάπποι. [7] καὶ δὴ οὖν ὃ τε Ματθάν καὶ ὁ Μελχί, ἐν μέρει τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγαγόμενοι γυναῖκα, ὁμομητρίους ἀδελφοὺς ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, τοῦ νόμου μὴ κωλύοντος χηρεύουσιν, ἥτοι ἀπολελυμένην ἢ καὶ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἄλλω γαμεῖσθαι· [8] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑσθᾶ 'τοῦτο γὰρ καλεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα παραδέδοται πρῶτος Ματθάν, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σολομῶνος τὸ γένος κατάγων, τὸν Ἰακώβ γεννᾷ, καὶ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ματθάν Μελχί, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν Ναθάν κατὰ γένος ἀναφερόμενος, χηρεύουσιν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς, ἐξ ἄλλου δὲ γένους ὢν, ὡς προεῖπον, ἀγαγόμενος αὐτὴν, ἔσχεν υἱὸν τὸν Ἦλὶ. [9] οὕτω δὲ διαφόρων δύο γενῶν εὐρήσομεν τὸν τε Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἦλὶ ὁμομητρίους ἀδελφοὺς, ὢν ὁ ἕτερος, Ἰακώβ, ἀτέκνου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτήσαντος Ἦλὶ, τὴν γυναῖκα παραλαβὼν, ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τρίτον τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ 'καὶ κατὰ λόγον, διὸ ὁ γέγραπται Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τοῦ Ἦλὶ υἱὸς ᾗν· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ὁ Ἰακώβ, ἀδελφὸς ὢν, ἀνέστησεν σπέρμα. [10] διὸ ὅπερ οὐκ ἀκυρωθήσεται καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν γενεαλογία· ἦν Ματθαῖος μὲν ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐξαριθμούμενος Ἰακώβ δὲ φησὶν 'ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ,' ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀνάπαλιν 'ὃς ᾗν, ὡς ἐνομίζετο 'καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προστίθῃσιν' τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἦλὶ τοῦ Μελχί.' τὴν γὰρ κατὰ

νόμον γένεσιν ἐπισημότερον οὐκ ἦν ἐξειπεῖν, καὶ τὸ 'ἐγέννησεν' ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης παιδοποιίας ἄχρι τέλους ἐσιώπησεν, τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιησάμενος ἕως 'τοῦ Ἀδάμ τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' ἀνάλυσιν. οὐδὲ μὴν ἀναπόδεικτον ἢ ἐσχεδιασμένον ἐστὶν τοῦτο. [11] τοῦ γοῦν σωτήρος οἱ κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς, εἴτ' οὖν φανητιῶντες εἴθ' ἀπλῶς ἐκδιδάσκοντες, πάντως δὲ ἀληθεύοντες, παρέδωκαν καὶ ταῦτα: ὡς Ἰδουμαῖοι λησταὶ Ἀσκάλῳ πόλει τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐπελθόντες, ἐξ εἰδωλείου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἴδρυτο, Ἀντίπατρον Ἡρώδου τινὸς ἱεροδούλου παῖδα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις σύλοις αἰχμάλωτον ἀπῆγον, τῷ δὲ λύτρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ καταθέσθαι μὴ δύνασθαι τὸν ἱερέα ὁ Ἀντίπατρος τοῖς τῶν Ἰδουμαίων ἔθεσιν ἐντραφεῖς, ὕστερον Ὑρκανῶ φιλοῦται τῷ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχιερεῖ: [12] πρεσβεύσας δὲ πρὸς Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὑρκανοῦ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλευθερώσας αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ περικοπτομένην, αὐτὸς ἠτύχησεν, ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς Παλαιστίνης χρηματίσας: διαδέχεται δὲ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, φθόνῳ τῆς πολλῆς εὐτυχίας δολοφονηθέντα, υἱὸς Ἡρώδης, ὃς ὕστερον ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ συγκλήτου δόγματι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκρίθη βασιλεύειν: οὗ παῖδες Ἡρώδης οἱ τ' ἄλλοι τετράρχαι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ καὶ ταῖς Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίαις: [13] ἀναγράφων δὲ εἰς τότε ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις ὄντων τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν γενῶν καὶ τῶν ἄχρι προσηλύτων ἀναφερομένων, ὡς Ἀχιὼρ τοῦ Ἀμμανίτου καὶ Ρουθ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος, τῶν τε ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου συνεκπεσόντων ἐπιμίκτων, ὁ Ἡρώδης, οὐδέν τι συμβαλλομένου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένους αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ συνειδῶτι τῆς δυσγενείας κρουόμενος, ἐνέπρησεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τῶν γενῶν, οἰόμενος εὐγενὴς ἀναφανεῖσθαι τῷ μηδ' ἄλλον ἔχειν ἐκ δημοσίου συγγραφῆς τὸ γένος ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας ἢ προσηλύτους τοὺς τε καλουμένους γειώρας, τοὺς ἐπιμίκτους. [14] ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν ἐπιμελῶν, ἰδιωτικὰς ἑαυτοῖς ἀπογραφὰς ἢ μνημονεύσαντες τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ ἄλλως ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀντιγράφων, ἐναβρύνονται σφωζόμενη τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς εὐγενείας: ὧν ἐτύγχανον οἱ προειρημένοι, δεσπόσυνοι καλούμενοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον γένος συνάφειαν ἀπὸ τε Ναζάρων καὶ Κωχαβα κωμῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν τῇ λοιπῇ γῇ ἐπιφοιτήσαντες καὶ τὴν προκειμένην γενεαλογίαν ἐκ τε τῆς Βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐς ὅσον ἐξικνοῦντο, ἐξηγησάμενοι. [15] εἴτ' οὖν οὕτως εἴτ' ἄλλως ἔχοντες, σαφεστέραν ἐξηγήσιν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις ἄλλος ἐξευρεῖν, ὡς ἔγωγε νομίζω πᾶς τε ὃς εὐγνώμων τυγχάνει, καὶ ἡμῖν αὕτη μελέτω, εἰ καὶ ἀμάρτυρός ἐστιν, τῷ μὴ κρείττονα ἢ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν: τό γέ τοι εὐαγγέλιον πάντως ἀληθεύει.'

[16] καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιστολῆς προστίθῃσι ταῦτα: 'Ματθᾶν ὁ ἀπὸ

Σολομῶντος ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. Ματθὰν ἀποθανόντος, Μελχι ὁ ἀπὸ Ναθὰν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γυναικὸς ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἡλί. ὁμομήτριοι ἄρα ἀδελφοὶ Ἡλί καὶ Ἰακώβ. Ἡλί ἀτέκνου ἀποθανόντος ὁ Ἰακώβ ἀνέστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, γεννήσας τὸν Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, κατὰ νόμον δὲ τῷ Ἡλί. οὕτως ἀμφοτέρων ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Ἰωσήφ.’ [17] Τοσαῦτα ὁ Ἀφρικανός. καὶ δὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὧδέ πως γενεαλογουμένου, δυνάμει καὶ ἡ Μαρία σὺν αὐτῷ πέφηνεν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς οὕσα φυλῆς, εἴ γε κατὰ τὸν Μωυσέως νόμον οὐκ ἐξῆν ἐτέραις ἐπιμίγνυσθαι φυλαῖς· ἐνὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δήμου καὶ πατριᾶς τῆς αὐτῆς ζεύγνυσθαι πρὸς γάμον παρακελεύεται, ὥς ἂν μὴ περιστρέφοιτο τοῦ γένους ὁ κλῆρος ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἐπὶ φυλὴν. ὧδὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐχέτω.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεννηθέντος ταῖς προφητείαις ἀκολούθως ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους χρόνους, Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς μάγων ἀνερωτήσῃ ὅπῃ εἴη διαπνυθανομένων ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐορακέναι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα καὶ τῆς τοσησδε πορείας τοῦτ’ αἴτιον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι, οἷα θεῶ προσκυνῆσαι τῷ τεχθέντι διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιημένοις, οὐ σμικρῶς ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι, ἅτε κινδυνευούσης, ὥς γε δὴ ᾤετο, αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς, διακινηθεῖς, πυθόμενος τῶν παρὰ τῷ ἔθνει νομοδιδασκάλων ποῦ τὸν Χριστὸν γεννηθήσεσθαι προσδοκῶεν, ὥς ἔγνω τὴν Μιχαίου προφητείαν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ προαναφωνοῦσαν, ἐνὶ προστάγματι τοὺς ὑπομαζίους ἐν τε τῇ Βηθλεὲμ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω παῖδας, κατὰ τὸν ἀπκριβωμένον αὐτῷ χρόνον παρὰ τῶν μάγων, ἀναιρεθῆναι προστάττει, πάντως που καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὥς γε ἦν εἰκός, τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς ὁμήλιξι συναπολαῦσαι συμφορᾶς οἰόμενος. [2] φθάνει γε μὴν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον διακομισθεὶς ὁ παῖς, δι’ ἐπιφανείας ἀγγέλου τὸ μέλλον προμεμαθηκότων αὐτοῦ τῶν γονέων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διδάσκει γραφή· [3] ἄξιον δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνιδεῖν τὰπίχειρα τῆς Ἡρώδου κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁμηλικῶν αὐτῷ τόλμης, ὥς παραυτίκα, μηδὲ σμικρᾶς ἀναβολῆς γεγεννημένης, ἡ θεία δίκη περιόντα ἔτ’ αὐτὸν τῷ βίῳ μετελήλυθεν, τὰ τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγὴν [4] διαδεξομένων αὐτὸν ἐπιδεικνῦσα προοίμια. ὥς μὲν οὖν τὰς κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ νομισθείσας εὐπραγίας ταῖς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἐπαλλήλοις ἡμαῦρωσεν συμφοραῖς, γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μάλιστα πρὸς γένους ἀναγκαιοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων μαιφονίαις, οὐδὲ οἷόν τε νῦν καταλέγειν, τραγικὴν ἅπασαν δραματουργίαν ἐπισκιαζούσης τῆς περὶ τούτων ὑποθέσεως, ἦν εἰς πλάτος ἐν ταῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἱστορίαις ὁ Ἰώσηπος διελήλυθεν· [5] ὥς δ’ ἅμα τῇ κατὰ τοῦ

σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νηπιῶν ἐπιβουλῇ θεήλατος αὐτὸν καταλαβοῦσα μάστιξ εἰς θάνατον συνήλασεν, οὐ χειρὸν καὶ τῶν φωνῶν τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπακοῦσαι, κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τὴν καταστροφὴν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου τοῦτον γράφωντος τὸν τρόπον: 'Ἡρώδης δὲ μειζόνως ἢ νόσος ἐνεπικραίνετο, δίκην ὧν παρηνόμηνεν [6] ἐκπρασσομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. πῦρ μὲν γὰρ μαλακὸν ἦν, οὐχ ὥδε πολλὴν ἀποσημαῖνον τοῖς ἐπαφωμένοις τὴν φλόγῳσιν, ὅσην τοῖς ἐντὸς προσετίθει τὴν κάκῳσιν, ἐπιθυμία δὲ δεινὴ τοῦ δέξασθαι τι, οὐδὲ ἦν μὴ οὐχ ὑπουργεῖν, καὶ ἔλκῳσις τῶν τε ἐντέρων καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ κόλου δεινὰ ἀλγηδόνες καὶ φλέγμα ὕγρον περὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ διανυγές: [7] παραπλησία δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον κάκῳσις ἦν, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ αἰδοίου σῆψις, σκώληκας ἐμποιοῦσα, πνεύματός τε ὀρθία ἔντασις, καὶ αὐτὴ λίαν ἀηδὴς ἀχθηδόνι τε τῆς ἀποφορᾶς καὶ τῷ πυκνῷ τοῦ ἄσθματος, ἐσπασμένος τε περὶ πᾶν ἦν μέρος, ἰσχὺν οὐχ ὑπομενητὴν προστιθέμενος. [8] ἐλέγετο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειαζόντων καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προαποφθέγγεσθαι σοφία πρόκειται, ποινὴν τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ δυσσεβοῦς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς εἰσπράττεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.' Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ παρασημαίνεται ὁ προειρημένος: [9] καὶ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὰ παραπλήσια περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραδίδωσιν, ὧδὲ πως γράφων: "Ἐνθεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἢ νόσος διαλαβοῦσα ποικίλοις πάθεσιν ἐμέριζεν. πυρετὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν χλιαρὸς, κνησμὸς δ' ἀφόρητος τῆς ἐπιφανείας ὅλης καὶ κόλου συνεχεῖς ἀλγηδόνες περὶ τε τοὺς πόδας ὡς ὑδρωπιῶντος οἰδήματα τοῦ τε ἦτρου φλεγμονὴ καὶ δι' αἰδοίου σηπεδῶν σκώληκα γεννῶσα, πρὸς τούτοις ὀρθόπνοια καὶ δύσπνοια καὶ σπασμοὶ πάντων τῶν μελῶν, [10] ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιθειάζοντας ποινὴν εἶναι τὰ νοσήματα λέγειν. ὁ δὲ παλαίων τοσοῦτοις πάθεσιν ὅμως τοῦ ζῆν ἀντείχετο, σωτηρίαν τε ἠλπίζεν, καὶ θεραπείας ἐπενόει. διαβὰς γοῦν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατὰ Καλλιρόην θερμοῖς ἐχρήτο: ταῦτα δὲ ἔξεισιν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γλυκύτητος δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ πότιμα. [11] δόξαν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἐλαίῳ θερμῷ πᾶν ἀναθάλλαι τὸ σῶμα χαλασθὲν εἰς ἐλαίου πλήρη πύελον, ἐκλύει καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὡς ἐκλυθεὶς ἀνέστρεψεν. θορύβου δὲ τῶν θεραπόντων γενομένου, πρὸς μὲν τὴν πληγὴν ἀνήνεγκεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπογνοὺς τὴν σωτηρίαν, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἀνὰ δραχμὰς πεντήκοντα ἐκέλευσεν διανεῖμαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ τοῖς φίλοις. [12] αὐτὸς δ' ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἱερικοῦντα παραγίνεται, μελαγχολῶν ἤδη καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἀπειλῶν αὐτῷ τι τῷ θανάτῳ: προέκοπεν δ' εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀθεμίτου πράξεως. τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκάστης κόμης ἐπισήμους ἄνδρας

ἐξ ὅλης Ἰουδαίας συναγαγὼν εἰς τὸν καλούμενον ἱππόδρομον ἐκέλευσεν συγκλείσαι, [13] προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ Σαλώμην τὴν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτης Ἀλεξᾶν ὁ οἷδ' ἔφη Ἰουδαίους τὸν ἑμὸν ἑορτάσοντας θάνατον, δύναμαι δὲ πενθεῖσθαι δι' ἐτέρων καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπιτάφιον σχεῖν, ἂν ὑμεῖς θελήσητε ταῖς ἑμαῖς ἐντολαῖς ὑπουργῆσαι. τοῦσδε τοὺς φρουρουμένους ἄνδρας, ἐπειδὴν ἐκπνεύσω, τάχιστα κτείνετε περιστήσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἵνα πᾶσα Ἰουδαία καὶ πᾶς οἶκος καὶ ἅκων ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δακρύσῃ.' [14] καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν ἄθις δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐνδεία τροφῆς καὶ βηχὶ σπασμῶδει διετείνεται, τῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἡσθεὶς φθάσαι τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπεβάλλετο: λαβὼν δὲ μῆλον, ἤτησε καὶ μαχαίριον: εἰώθει γὰρ ἀποτέμνων ἐσθίειν: ἔπειτα περιαθρήσας μή τις ὁ κωλύσων αὐτὸν εἴη, ἐπῆρεν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς πλήξων ἑαυτόν.' [15] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ συγγραφεὺς ἕτερον αὐτοῦ γνήσιον παῖδα πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, τρίτον ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἤδη προανηρημένοις, δι' ἐπιτάξεως ἀνελόντα, παραχρῆμα τὴν ζωὴν οὐ μετὰ σμικρῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἀπορρῆξαι. [16] καὶ τοιοῦτο μὲν τὸ πέρας τῆς Ἡρώδου γέγονεν τελευτῆς, ποινὴν δικαίαν ἐκτίσαντος ὧν ἀμφὶ τὴν Βηθλεὲμ ἀνείλεν παῖδων τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλῆς ἕνεκα: μεθ' ἣν ἄγγελος ὄναρ ἐπιστὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατρίβοντι τῷ Ἰωσήφ ἀπᾶραι ἅμα τῷ παιδί καὶ τῇ τούτου μητρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρακελεύεται, τεθνηκέναι δηλῶν τοὺς ἀναζητοῦντας τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παιδίου. τούτοις δ' ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐπιφέρει λέγων ἄκουσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει ἀντὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν: χρηματισθεὶς δὲ κατ' ὄναρ ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας.'

Τῇ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ τὸν Ἡρώδην τοῦ Ἀρχελάου καταστάσει συνάδει καὶ ὁ προειρημένος ἱστορικός, τὸν τε τρόπον ἀναγράφων, καθ' ὃν ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικρίσεως τε Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου τὴν κατὰ Ἰουδαίαν βασιλείαν διεδέξατο, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ δεκαέτη χρόνον ἀποπεσόντος οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Φίλιππος τε καὶ ὁ νέος Ἡρώδης ἅμα Λυσανία τὰς ἑαυτῶν διεῖπον τετραρχίας. [2] Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας 'τοῦτον γὰρ τὴν καθ' ὅλων ἀρχὴν διαδέξασθαι ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπικρατήσαντος Αὐγούστου Πόντιον Πιλάτον τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιτραπῆναι δηλοῖ, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν δέκα σχεδὸν εἰς αὐτὴν παραμεῖναι τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτήν. [3] οὐκοῦν σαφῶς ἀπελήλεγκται τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθὲς καὶ πρῶην διαδεδοκότων, ἐν οἷς πρῶτος αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς παρασημειώσεως χρόνος τῶν πεπλακότων ἀπελέγχει τὸ ψεῦδος. [4] ἐπὶ τῆς

τετάρτης δ' οὖν ὑπατείας Τιβερίου, ἣ γέγονεν ἔτους ἐβδόμου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ περὶ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος αὐτοῖς τολμηθέντα περιέχει, καθ' ὃν δαίκενται χρόνον μὴδ' ἐπιστάς πω τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλάτος, εἴ γε τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι δέον, σαφῶς οὕτως σημαίνοντι κατὰ τὴν δηλωθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ὅτι δὴ δωδεκάτῃ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας ἐπίτροπος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου καθίσταται Πιλάτος.

78 Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ οὖν, κατὰ τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν ἔτος πεντεκαίδεκατον Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἄγοντος τέταρτον δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τῆς τε λοιπῆς Ἰουδαίας τετραρχούντων Ἡρώδου καὶ Λυσανίου καὶ Φιλίππου, ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀρχόμενος ὥς εἰ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα παραγίνεται, καταρχὴν τε ποιεῖται τηνικαῦτα τοῦ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κηρύγματος. [2] Φησὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ θεία γραφὴ τὸν πάντα τῆς διδασκαλίας διατελέσαι χρόνον ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, δηλοῦσα ὅτι δὴ ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τῆς τούτων ἔτεσιν λειτουργίας ὁ πᾶς τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτῷ συνεπεράνθη χρόνος. ἀρξαμένου μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἄννα ἀρχιερωσύνην, μέχρι δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Καϊάφα παραμείναντος οὐδ' ὅλος ὁ μεταξὺ τετραέτης παρίσταται χρόνος. [3] τῶν γάρ τοι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἤδη πως καθαιρουμένων ἐξ ἐκείνου θεσμῶν, λέλυτο μὲν ᾧ διὰ βίου καὶ ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς τὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείας προσήκοντα ἦν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, οὐ πλεῖον ἔτους ἐνὸς ἐπὶ ταύτης διετέλουν. [4] ἱστορεῖ δ' οὖν ὁ Ἰώσηπος τέσσαρας κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἐπὶ Καϊάφαν ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τὸν Ἄνναν διαγενέσθαι, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας γραφὴν ὧδε πως λέγων 'Ουαλέριος Γράτος, παύσας ἱεραῖσθαι Ἄνανον, Ἰσμάηλον ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει τὸν τοῦ Φαβι, καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺν μεταστήσας, Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀνάνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν [5] ἀρχιερέα. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ διαγενομένου καὶ τόνδε παύσας, Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν. οὐ πλεόν δὲ καὶ τῷδε ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ Ἰώσηπος, ὁ καὶ Καϊάφας, διάδοχος ἦν αὐτῷ.' [6] οὐκοῦν ὁ σύμπας οὐδ' ὅλος τετραέτης ἀποδείκνυται τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας χρόνος, τεσσάρων ἐπὶ τέσσαρσιν ἔτεσιν ἀρχιερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄννα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Καϊάφα κατάστασιν ἐνιαύσιον λειτουργίαν ἐκτετελεκότων. τὸν γέ τοι Καϊάφαν ἀρχιερέα εἰκότως τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, καθ' ὃν τὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐπετελεῖτο, ἢ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου παρεσημῆνατο γραφὴ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀπάδων τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιτηρήσεως ὁ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἀποδείκνυται χρόνος. [7] ἀλλὰ

γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν οὐ μετὰ πλεῖστον τῆς καταρχῆς τοῦ κηρύγματος τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους ἀνακαλεῖται, οὓς καὶ μόνους τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν κατὰ τι γέρας ἐξαίρετον ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν, καὶ αὐθις ἀναδείκνυσιν ἑτέρους ἐβδομήκοντα, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλεν ἀνὰ δύο δύο πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν οὗ ἤμελλεν αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι.

89 Οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου ὑπὸ τοῦ νέου Ἡρώδου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντος μνημονεύει μὲν καὶ ἡ θεία τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφή, συνιστορεῖ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ὀνομαστὶ τῆς τε Ἡρωδιάδος μνήμην πεποιημένος καὶ ὡς ἀδελφοῦ γυναικα οὗσαν αὐτὴν ἠγάγετο πρὸς γάμον Ἡρώδης, ἀθετήσας μὲν τὴν προτέραν αὐτῷ κατὰ νόμους γεγαμημένην Ἀρέτα δὲ ἦν αὕτη τοῦ Πετραίων βασιλέως θυγάτηρ, τὴν δὲ Ἡρωδιάδα ζῶντος διαστήσας τοῦ ἀνδρός· [2] διὴν καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀνελὼν πόλεμον αἵρεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀρέταν, ὡς ἂν ἡτιμασμένης αὐτῷ τῆς θυγατρὸς, ἐν ᾧ πολέμῳ μάχης γενομένης πάντα φησὶν τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν διαφθαρῆναι καὶ ταῦτα πεπονθέναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς [3] ἕνεκεν τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου γεγενημένης. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Ἰώσηπος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δικαιοτάτον καὶ βαπτιστὴν ὁμολογῶν γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Ἰωάννην, τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν ἀναγεγραμμένοις συμμαρτυρεῖ, ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην τῆς βασιλείας ἀποπεπτωκέναι διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Ἡρωδιάδα, μεθ' ἧς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἀπεληλάσθαι, [4] Βιένναν τῆς Γαλλίας πόλιν οἰκεῖν καταδικασθέντα. καὶ ταῦτά γε αὐτῷ ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας δεδήλωται, ἔνθα συλλαβαῖς αὐταῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ταῦτα γράφει 'Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δικαίως τιννυμένον κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ καλουμένου βαπτιστοῦ. [5] κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσιν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβεία χρωμένους βαπτισμῷ συνέναι: οὕτω γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινων ἀμαρτάδων παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνη προεκκεκαθαρμένης. [6] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων 'καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων, δείσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσόνδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι 'πάντα γὰρ εἰκόεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες', πολὺν κρεῖττον ἠγεῖται, πρὶν τι νεώτερον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῆς γενομένης εἰς πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν

ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεῖς, τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτίννεται.’ [7] Ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου διελθὼν, καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος ἱστορίαν ὧδε πως μέμνηται ‘Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἰ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή. ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῇ δεχομένων, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. [8] ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες· ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.’ [9] Ταῦτα τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἑβραίων συγγραφέως ἀνέκαθεν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γραφῇ περὶ τε τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παραδεδωκότος, τίς ἂν ἔτι λείποιτο ἀποφυγῇ τοῦ μὴ ἀναισχύντους ἀπελέγχεσθαι τοὺς τὰ κατ’ αὐτῶν πλασαμένους ὑπομνήματα; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐχέτω ταύτη.

Τῶν γε μὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀποστόλων παντὶ τῷ σαφῆς ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἡ πρόσρησις· τῶν δὲ ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῇ φέρεται, λέγεται γε μὴν εἰς αὐτῶν Βαρναβᾶς γεγονέναι, οὗ διαφόρως μὲν καὶ αἱ Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμνημόνευσαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις γράφων. τούτων δ’ εἶναι φασὶ καὶ Σωσθένην τὸν ἅμα Παύλῳ Κορινθίους ἐπιστεῖλанта· [2] ἡ δ’ ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων· ἐν ἧ καὶ Κηφᾶν, περὶ οὗ φησιν ὁ Παῦλος ‘ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην,’ ἓνα φησὶ γεγονέναι τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, [3] ὁμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. καὶ Ματθίαν δὲ τὸν ἀντὶ Ἰούδα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλεγέντα τὸν τε σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ ψήφῳ τιμηθέντα τῆς αὐτῆς τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα κλήσεως ἡξιῶσθαι κατέχει λόγος. καὶ Θαδδαῖον δὲ ἓνα τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι φασὶ, περὶ οὗ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἐλθοῦσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκθήσομαι. [4] καὶ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ πλείους τοῦ σωτῆρος πεφηνέναι μαθητὰς εὖροις ἂν ἐπιτηρήσας, μάρτυρι χρώμενος τῷ Παύλῳ, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἔγερσιν ὦφθαι αὐτὸν φήσαντι πρῶτον μὲν Κηφᾶ, ἔπειτα τοῖς δώδεκα, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπάνω πεντακοσίους ἀδελφοὺς ἐφάπαξ, ὧν τινὰς μὲν ἔφασκεν κεκοιμηθῆναι, τοὺς πλείους δ’ ἔτι τῷ βίῳ, καθ’ ὃν καιρὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα συνετάττετο, περιμένειν· [5] ἔπειτα δ’ ὦφθαι αὐτὸν Ἰακώβῳ φησὶν· εἷς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν

φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀδελφῶν ἦν: εἴθ' ὥς παρὰ τούτους κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείστον ὅσων ὑπαρξάντων ἀποστόλων, οἷος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος ἦν, προστίθῃσι λέγων 'ἔπειτα ὤφθη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν.' ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶνδε.

Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἱστορίας τοιοῦτος γέγονεν ὁ τρόπος. ἡ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θειότης, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς παραδοξοποιῶ δυνάμεως ἔνεκεν βοωμένη, μυρίους ὅσους καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ἀλλοδαπῆς πορρωτάτῳ ὄντων τῆς Ἰουδαίας νόσων καὶ παντοίων παθῶν ἐλπίδι θεραπείας [2] ἐπήγετο. ταύτῃ τοι βασιλεὺς Ἀβγαρος, τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην ἐθνῶν ἐπισημότατα δυναστεύων, πάθει τὸ σῶμα δεινῷ καὶ οὐ θεραπευτῷ ὅσον ἐπὶ ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει καταφθειρόμενος, ὥς καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πολὺ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις συμφώνως πρὸς ἀπάντων μαρτυρουμένης ἐπύθετο, ἰκέτης αὐτοῦ πέμψας δι' ἐπιστοληφόρου γίνεται, τῆς νόσου τυχεῖν ἀπαλλαγῆς ἀξίων. [3] ὁ δὲ μὴ τότε καλοῦντι ὑπακούσας, ἐπιστολῆς γοῦν αὐτὸν ἰδίας καταξιῶ, ἕνα τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ θεραπεία τῆς νόσου ὁμοῦ τε αὐτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων ἀπάντων ὑπισχνούμενος. [4] οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ ἄρα αὐτῷ ἐπληροῦτο τὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἄνοδον Θωμᾶς, τῶν ἀποστόλων εἷς τῶν δώδεκα, Θαδδαῖον, ἐν ἀριθμῷ καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν κατελεγμένον, κινήσει θειοτέρα ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑδεσσα κήρυκα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκπέμπει, πάντα τε δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τέλος ἐλάμβανεν ἐπαγγελίας. [5] ἔχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραφτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἑδεσσαν τὸ τηνικάδε βασιλευομένην πόλιν γραμματοφυλακείων ληφθεῖσαν: ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτόθι δημοσίοις χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβγαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὔρηται, οὐδὲν δὲ οἷον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεῖσων καὶ τόνδε αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεῖσων τὸν τρόπον: ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΣΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΑΒΓΑΡΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΩΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΜΦΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΔΙ' ΑΝΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ ' [6] Ἀβγαρος Οὐχάμα τοπάρχης Ἰησοῦ σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ ἀναφανέντι ἐν τόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων χαίρειν. ἤκουσταί μοι τὰ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἱαμάτων, ὥς ἄνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γινομένων. ὥς γὰρ λόγος, τυφλοὺς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεῖς, χωλοὺς περιπατεῖν, καὶ λεπροὺς καθαρίζεις, καὶ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας ἐκβάλλεις, καὶ

τοὺς ἐν μακρονοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύεις, καὶ νεκροὺς ἐγείρεις. [7] καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀκούσας περὶ σοῦ, κατὰ νοῦν ἐθέμην τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο, ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιεῖς ταῦτα, ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ ποιῶν ταῦτα. [8] διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν γράψας ἐδεήθην σου σκυλῆναι πρὸς με καὶ τὸ πάθος, ὃ ἔχω, θεραπεῦσαι. [9] καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσί σου καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαί σε. πόλις δὲ μικροτάτη μοί ἐστι καὶ σεμνή, ἣτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροις.’ ΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΕΝΤΑ ΥΗΘ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΑΝΑΝΙΟΥ ΤΑΧΥΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΗ ΑΒΓΑΡΩΙ [10] ‘Μακάριος εἶ πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοί, μὴ ἑορακῶς με. γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἑορακότας με μὴ πιστεύειν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ ἵνα οἱ μὴ ἑορακότες με αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσονται. περὶ δὲ οὗ ἔγραψάς μοι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ, δέον ἐστὶ πάντα δι’ ἃ ἀπεστάλην ἐνταῦθα, πληρῶσαι καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι οὕτως ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀποστειλαντά με. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ἵνα ἰάσηταί σου τὸ πάθος καὶ ζωήν σοι καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοὶ παράσχηται.’ [11] Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα συνήπτο τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ: ‘Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναληφθῆναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ Ἰούδας, ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς, Θαδδαῖον ἀπόστολον, ἓνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα: ὃς ἐλθὼν κατέμενε πρὸς Τωβίαν τὸν τοῦ Τωβία. ὥς δὲ ἠκούσθη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐμηνύθη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ὅτι ἐλήλυθεν ἀπόστολος ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καθὰ ἐπέστειλέν σοι. [12] ἤρξατο οὖν ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν, ὥστε πάντας θαυμάζειν: ὥς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἀβγαρος τὰ μεγαλεῖα καὶ τὰ θαυμάσια ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ ὥς ἐθεράπευεν, ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γέγονεν ὥς ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν περὶ οὗ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπέστειλεν λέγων ‘ἐπειδὴ ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὃς τὸ πάθος σου ἰάσεται.’ [13] μετακαλεσάμενος οὖν τὸν Τωβίαν, παρ’ ᾧ κατέμενε, εἶπεν ‘ἤκουσα ὅτι ἀνὴρ τις δυνάστης ἐλθὼν κατέμεινε ἐν τῇ σῇ οἰκίᾳ: ἀνάγαγε αὐτὸν πρὸς με.’ ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Τωβίας παρὰ Θαδδαῖω, εἶπεν αὐτῷ ‘ὁ τοπάρχης Ἀβγαρος μετακαλεσάμενός με εἶπεν ἀναγαγεῖν σε παρ’ αὐτῷ, ἵνα θεραπεύσης αὐτόν.’ καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος, ‘ἀναβαίνω,’ ἔφη, ‘ἐπειδὴ περ δυνάμει παρ’ αὐτῷ ἀπέσταλμα.’ [14] ὀρθρίσας οὖν ὁ Τωβίας τῇ ἐξῆς καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν Ἀβγαρον. ὥς δὲ ἀνέβη, παρόντων καὶ ἐστώτων τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ, παραχρῆμα ἐν τῷ εἰσιέναι αὐτὸν ὄραμα μέγα ἐφάνη τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Θαδδαίου: ὅπερ ἰδὼν Ἀβγαρος προσεκύνησεν τῷ Θαδδαῖῳ, θαυμά τε ἔσχεν πάντας τοὺς περιεστώτας: αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἑοράκασιν τὸ ὄραμα, ὃ μόνω τῷ Ἀβγάρῳ ἐφάνη: [15] ὃς καὶ τὸν Θαδδαῖον ἤρετο εἰ ‘ἐπὶ ἀληθείας μαθητὴς εἶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς

εἰρήκει πρὸς με ‘ ἀποστελῶ σοὶ τινα τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ὅστις ἰάσεται σε καὶ
ζωήν σοι παρέξει.’ ’ καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος ἔφη ‘ἐπεὶ μεγάλως πεπίστευκας εἰς τὸν
ἀποστείλαντά με, διὰ τοῦτο ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σέ. καὶ πάλιν, ἐὰν πιστεύσης ἐν
αὐτῷ, ὡς ἂν πιστεύσης ἔσται σοι τὰ αἰτήματα τῆς καρδίας σου.’ [16] καὶ ὁ
Ἀβγαρος πρὸς αὐτόν ‘οὕτως ἐπίστευσα,’ φησίν, ‘ἐν αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τοὺς
Ἰουδαίους τοὺς σταυρώσαντας αὐτὸν βουληθῆναι δύναμιν παραλαβὼν
κατακόψαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀνεκόπην τούτου.’ καὶ ὁ
Θαδδαῖος εἶπεν ‘ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπλήρωκεν καὶ
πληρώσας ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. [17] λέγει αὐτῷ Ἀβγαρος ‘κἀγὼ
πεπίστευκα εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.’ καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος ‘διὰ τοῦτο,’
φησί, ‘τίθημι τὴν χειρά μου ἐπὶ σέ ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ.’ καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντος,
παραχρῆμα ἐθεραπεύθη τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πάθους οὗ εἶχεν. [18] ἐθαύμασέν τε
ὁ Ἀβγαρος ὅτι καθὼς ἤκουσται αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, οὕτως τοῖς ἔργοις
παρέλαβεν διὰ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ Θαδδαίου, ὃς αὐτὸν ἄνευ φαρμακείας καὶ
βοτανῶν ἐθεράπευσεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀβδὸν τὸν τοῦ Ἀβδου,
ποδάγραν ἔχοντα: ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν,
εὐχάς τε διὰ χειρὸς λαβὼν ἐθεραπεύθη, πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους συμπολίτας αὐτῶν
ὁ αὐτὸς ἰάσατο, θαυμαστὰ καὶ μεγάλα ποιῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸν λόγον τοῦ
θεοῦ. [19] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀβγαρος ‘σὺ Θαδδαῖε,’ ἔφη, ‘σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ θεοῦ
ταῦτα ποιεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐθαυμάσαμεν: ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις δέομαί σου,
διήγησαί μοι περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πῶς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς
δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίει ἅτινα ἤκουσταί μοι.’ [20]
καὶ ὁ Θαδδαῖος ‘νῦν μὲν σιωπήσομαι,’ ἔφη, ‘ἐπεὶ δὲ κηρύξαι τὸν λόγον
ἀπεστάλην, αὐριον ἐκκλησιάσόν μοι τοὺς πολίτας σου πάντας, καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν
κηρύξω καὶ σπερῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, περὶ τε τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ
Ἰησοῦ καθὼς ἐγένετο, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔνεκα τίνος
ἀπεστάλη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ
μυστηρίων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ποίᾳ δυνάμει ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ περὶ
τῆς καινῆς αὐτοῦ κηρύξεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς μικρότητος καὶ περὶ τῆς
ταπεινώσεως, καὶ πῶς ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐσμίκρυνεν αὐτοῦ
τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν Ἄϊδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν
τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀνήγειρεν νεκροὺς καὶ κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη
δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ.’ [21] ἐκέλευσεν οὖν ὁ Ἀβγαρος
τῇ ἑωθεν συνάζει τοὺς πολίτας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τὴν κήρυξιν Θαδδαίου, καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα προσέταξεν δοθῆναι αὐτῷ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄσημον. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξατο,

εἰπὼν 'εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα;' [22]
ἐπράχθη ταῦτα τεσσαρακοστῷ καὶ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει.' Ἄ καὶ οὐκ εἰς
ἄχρηστον πρὸς λέξιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων μεταβληθέντα φωνῆς ἐνταῦθά μοι κατὰ
καιρὸν κείσθω.

BOOK II.

Τάδε καὶ ἡ βιβλίος περιέχει τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Περί τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαγωγῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Β Ὅπως Τιβέριος ὑπὸ Πιλάτου τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχθεὶς ἐκινήθη.

Γ Ὅπως εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ διέδραμεν ὁ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος.

Δ Ὡς μετὰ Τιβέριον Γάϊος Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα καθίστησιν Ἀγρίππαν, τὸν Ἡρώδην αἰδῶ ζημιώσας φυγῇ.

Ε Ὡς Φίλων ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων πρεσβείαν ἐστείλατο πρὸς Γάϊον.

Σ Ὅσα Ἰουδαίοις συνερρῆ κακὰ μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόλμαν.

Ζ Ὡς καὶ Πιλάτος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

Η Περί τοῦ κατὰ Κλαύδιον λιμοῦ.

Θ Μαρτύριον Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

Ι Ὡς Ἀγρίππας ὁ καὶ Ἡρώδης τοὺς ἀποστόλους διώξας τῆς θείας παραυτίκα δίκης ἤσθετο.

ΙΑ Περί Θευδᾶ τοῦ γόητος.

ΙΒ Περί Ἑλένης τῆς τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν βασιλίδος.

ΙΓ Περί Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου.

ΙΔ Περί τοῦ κατὰ Ῥώμην κηρύγματος Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

ΙΕ Περί τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου.

Ις Ὡς πρῶτος Μάρκος τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν γνῶσιν ἐκήρυξεν.

ΙΖ Οἷα περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀσκητῶν ὁ Φίλων ἱστορεῖ.

ΙΗ Ὅσα τοῦ Φίλωνος εἰς ἡμᾶς περιῆλθεν συγγράμματα.

ΙΘ Οἷα τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαίους συμφορὰ μετῆλθεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ.

Κ Οἷα καὶ κατὰ Νέρωνα ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπράχθη.

ΚΑ Περί τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, οὗ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ Πράξεις ἐμνημόνευσαν.

ΚΒ Ὡς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην δέσμιος ἀναπεμφθεὶς Παῦλος ἀπολογησάμενος πάσης ἀπελύθη αἰτίας.

ΚΓ Ὡς ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ κυρίου χρηματίσας ἀδελφός.

ΚΔ Ὡς μετὰ Μάρκον πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας Ἀννιανὸς κατέστη.

ΚΕ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Νέρωνα διωγμοῦ, καθ' ὃν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος τοῖς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας μαρτυρίαις κατεκοσμήθησαν.

Κς Ὡς μυρίαις κακοῖς περιηλάθησαν Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ὡς τὸν ὑστατον πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἤραντο πόλεμον. Συνῆκται ἡμῖν ἡ βίβλος ἀπὸ τῶν Κλήμεντος Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ἰωσήπου Φίλωνος.

Ὅσα μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἐχρῆν ὡς ἐν προοιμίῳ διαστείλασθαι τῆς τε θεολογίας περὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου λόγου καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας τῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας διδασκαλίας δογμάτων ἀρχαιότητός τε τῆς κατὰ Χριστιανούς εὐαγγελικῆς πολιτείας, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῆς γενομένης ἐναγχος ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ, τὰ τε πρὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκλογῆς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τούτου, συντεμόντες τὰς ἀποδείξεις, διειλήφαμεν: [2] φέρε δ', ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἤδη καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτοῦ διασκεπώμεθα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων παρασημαινόμενοι γραμμάτων, τὰ δ' ἔξωθεν προσιστοροῦντες ἐξ ὧν κατὰ καιρὸν μνημονεύσομεν ὑπομνημάτων.

Πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν εἰς τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα κληροῦται Ματθίας, εἷς καὶ αὐτός, ὡς δεδήλωται, τῶν τοῦ κυρίου γενόμενος μαθητῶν. καθίστανται δὲ δι' εὐχῆς καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς διακονίαν ὑπηρεσίας ἔνεκα τοῦ κοινῷ ἄνδρες δεδοκιμασμένοι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ, οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Στέφανον. ὃς καὶ πρῶτος μετὰ τὸν κύριον ἅμα τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προαχθεὶς, λίθοις εἰς θάνατον πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων βάλλεται, καὶ ταύτῃ πρῶτος τὸν αὐτῷ φερώνυμον τῶν ἀξιονίκων τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων ἀποφέρεται στέφανον. [2] Τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἰάκωβον, τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενον ἀδελφόν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὠνόμαστο παῖς, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα ἡ παρθένος, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὡς ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων διδάσκει γραφή: τοῦτον δὴ οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὃν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπὶ κλην οἱ πάλαι δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκάλουν προτερήματα, πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας [3] τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον: Κλήμης ἐν ἑκτῷ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων γράφων ὧδε παρίστησιν Ἰάκωβον γάρ φησιν καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ

σωτήρος προτετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλέσθαι.’ [4] ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐβδόμῃ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ἔτι καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ‘Ἰακώβω τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκεν τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ κύριος, οὗτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις παρέδωκαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα: ὧν εἷς ἦν καὶ Βαρναβᾶς. [5] δύο δὲ γεγόνασιν Ἰάκωβοι, εἷς ὁ δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τοῦ περυγίου βληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ γναφέως ξύλῳ πληγείς εἰς θάνατον, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ κατατομηθεὶς.’ Αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων ‘ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν [6] τοῦ κυρίου.’ Ἐν τούτοις καὶ τὰ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸν τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλέα τέλος ἐλάμβανεν ὑποσχέσεως. ὁ γοῦν Θωμᾶς τὸν Θαδδαῖον κινήσει θειοτέρα ἐπὶ τὰ Ἑδεσση κήρυκα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐκπέμπει, ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐρεθείσης αὐτόθι γραφῆς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν: [7] ὁ δὲ τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστάς, τὸν τε Ἀβγαρον ἰᾶται τῷ Χριστοῦ λόγῳ καὶ τοὺς αὐτόθι πάντας τοῖς τῶν θαυμάτων παραδόξοις ἐκπλήττει, ἱκανῶς τε αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἔργοις διαθεὶς καὶ ἐπὶ σέβας ἀγαγὼν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως, μαθητὰς τῆς σωτηρίου διδασκαλίας κατεστήσατο, εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ πᾶσα τῶν Ἑδεσσηνῶν πόλις τῇ Χριστοῦ προσανάκειται προσηγορία, οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἐπιφερομένη δεῖγμα τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίας. [8] καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ὥς ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἱστορίας εἰρήσθω: μετίωμεν δ’ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θεῖαν γραφὴν. Γενομένου δὴτα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Στεφάνου μαρτυρίᾳ πρώτου καὶ μεγίστου πρὸς αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας διωγμοῦ πάντων τε τῶν μαθητῶν πλὴν ὅτι μόνων τῶν δώδεκα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Σαμάρειαν διασπαρέντων, τινὲς, ἧ φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή, διελθόντες ἕως Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιοχείας οὕπῳ μὲν ἔθνεσιν οἰοί τε ἦσαν τοῦ τῆς πίστεως μεταδιδόναι λόγου τολμᾶν, μόνοις δὲ τοῦτον Ἰουδαίοις κατήγγελλον. [9] τῇ καὶ Παῦλος ἐλυμαίνεται εἰς ἔτι τότε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατ’ οἴκους τῶν πιστῶν εἰσπορευόμενος σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν παραδιδούς. [10] ἀλλὰ καὶ Φίλιππος, εἷς τῶν ἅμα Στεφάνῳ προχειρισθέντων εἰς τὴν διακονίαν, ἐν τοῖς διασπαρεῖσιν γενόμενος, κάτεισιν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν, θείας τε ἔμπλεως δυνάμεως κηρύττει πρῶτος τοῖς αὐτόθι τὸν λόγον, τοσαύτη δ’ αὐτῷ θεία συνήργει χάρις, ὥς καὶ Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον μετὰ πλείστων ὅσων τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις ἐλχθῆναι. [11] ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δ’ ὁ Σίμων βεβοημένος κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῶν ἡπατημένων ἐκράτει γοητεία, ὥς τὴν μεγάλην αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι

εἶναι δύνάμιν τοῦ θεοῦ. τότε δ' οὖν καὶ οὗτος τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου δυνάμει
θείᾳ τελουμένας καταπλαγεῖς παραδοξοποιίας, ὑποδύεται καὶ μέχρι λουτροῦ
τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καθυποκρίνεται: [12] ὁ καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον εἰς δεῦρο
γινόμενον πρὸς τῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου μιαιωτάτην μετιόντων
αἵρεσιν, οἱ τῇ τοῦ σφῶν προπάτορος μεθόδῳ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λοιμώδους καὶ
ψωραλέας νόσου δίκην ὑποδιδόμενοι, τὰ μέγιστα λυμαίνονται τοὺς οἷς
ἐναπομάζασθαι οἰοί τε ἂν εἶεν τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον δυσαλλή καὶ
χαλεπὸν ἰόν. ἤδη γέ τοι πλείους τούτων ἀπεώσθησαν, ὅποιοί τινες εἶεν τὴν
μοχθηρίαν ἀλόντες, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ Σίμων αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ Πέτρου
καταφωραθεὶς ὃς ἦν, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔτισεν τιμωρίαν. [13] ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς
αὕξιν ὀσημέραι προϊόντος τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος, οἰκονομία τις ἤγεν ἀπὸ
τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν γῆς τῆς αὐτόθι βασιλίδος, κατὰ τι πάτριον ἔθος ὑπὸ γυναικὸς
τοῦ ἔθνους εἰς ἔτι νῦν βασιλευομένου, δυνάστην: ὃν πρῶτον ἐξ ἔθνῶν πρὸς
τοῦ Φιλίππου δι' ἐπιφανείας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ὄργια μετασχόντα τῶν τε ἀνὰ
τὴν οἰκουμένην πιστῶν ἀπαρχὴν γενόμενον, πρῶτον κατέχει λόγος ἐπὶ τὴν
πάτριον παλινοστήσαντα γῆν εὐαγγελίσασθαι τὴν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ γνῶσιν
καὶ τὴν ζωοποιὸν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιδημίαν, ἔργῳ
πληρωθείσης δι' αὐτοῦ τῆς 'Αἰθιοπία προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ'
περιεχούσης [14] προφητείας. ἐπὶ τούτοις Παῦλος, τὸ τῆς ἐκλογῆς σκεῦος, οὐκ
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, δι' ἀποκαλύψεως δ' αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ
θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπόστολος ἀναδεικνυται, δι'
ὀπτασίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν οὐρανίου φωνῆς ἀξιωθείς τῆς
κλήσεως.

Καὶ δὴ τῆς παραδόξου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεώς τε καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸς
ἀναλήψεως τοῖς πλείστοις ἤδη περιβοήτου καθεστώσης, παλαιοῦ
κεκρατηκότος ἔθνους τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν καινοτομούμενα
τῷ τὴν βασιλείον ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατοῦντι σημαίνειν, ὥς ἂν μηδὲν αὐτὸν
διαδιδράσκει τῶν γινομένων, τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως τοῦ
σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ εἰς πάντας ἤδη καθ' ὅλης Παλαιστίνης βεβοημένα
Πιλᾶτος Τιβερίῳ βασιλεῖ κοινοῦται, τὰς τε ἄλλας αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος τεραστίας
καὶ ὥς ὅτι μετὰ θάνατον ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστὰς ἤδη θεὸς εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς
πεπίστευτο. [2] τὸν δὲ Τιβέριον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐκείνην τ'
ἀπάσασθαι φασὶ τὸν λόγον, τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν, ὅτι μὴ πρότερον αὐτὴ τοῦτο
δοκιμάσασα ἦν, παλαιοῦ νόμου κεκρατηκότος μὴ ἄλλως τινὰ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις
θεοποιεῖσθαι μὴ οὐχὶ ψήφῳ καὶ δόγματι συγκλήτου, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ

τῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐπικρίσεως τε καὶ συστάσεως ἢ σωτήριος τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος ἐδεῖτο διδασκαλία: ταύτη δ' οὖν ἀπωσαμένης τὸν προσαγγελθέντα περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν λόγον τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς, [3] τὸν Τιβέριον ἦν καὶ πρότερον εἶχεν γνώμην τηρήσαντα, μηδὲν ἄτοπον κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπινοῆσαι. [4] Ταῦτα Τερτυλλιανὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβωκώς, ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἔνδοξος καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ῥώμης λαμπρῶν, ἐν τῇ γραφείῃ μὲν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ, μεταβληθείσῃ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἀπολογία τίθησιν, κατὰ λέξιν τοῦτον ἱστορῶν τὸν τρόπον [5] 'ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως διαλεχθῶμεν τῶν τοιούτων νόμων, παλαιὸν ἦν δόγμα μηδένα θεὸν ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθιεροῦσθαι, πρὶν ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δοκιμασθῆναι. Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος οὕτως περὶ τινος εἰδώλου πεποιήκεν Ἀλβούρνου. καὶ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμῶν λόγου πεποιήται, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνθρωπεῖα δοκιμῇ ἢ θεότης δίδοται. ἐὰν μὴ ἀνθρώπῳ θεὸς ἀρέσῃ, θεὸς οὐ γίνεται: [6] οὕτως κατὰ γε τοῦτο ἄνθρωπον θεῷ ἴλεω εἶναι προσῆκεν. Τιβέριος οὖν, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄνομα εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσελήλυθεν, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ Παλαιστίνης τοῦ δόγματος τούτου, ἔνθα πρῶτον ἤρξατο, τῇ συγκλήτῳ ἀνεκοινώσατο, δῆλος ὢν ἐκείνοις ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀρέσκεται. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ αὕτη δεδοκιμάκει, ἀπώσατο: ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποφάσει ἔμεινεν, ἀπειλήσας θάνατον τοῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν κατηγόροις.' Τῆς οὐρανίου προνοίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν τοῦτ' αὐτῷ πρὸς νοῦν βαλλομένης, ὡς ἂν ἀπαραποδίστως ἀρχὰς ἔχων ὁ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγος πανταχόσε γῆς διαδράμοι.

Οὕτω δῆτα οὐρανίῳ δυνάμει καὶ συνεργίᾳ ἀθρόως οἶά τις ἡλίου βολὴ τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκουμένην ὁ σωτήριος κατηύγαξε λόγος. αὐτίκα ταῖς θεαῖς ἐπομένως γραφαῖς ἐπὶ 'πᾶσαν' προῆει 'τὴν γῆν ὁ φθόγγος' τῶν θεσπεσίων εὐαγγελιστῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων, 'καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.' [2] καὶ δῆτα ἀνὰ πάσας πόλεις τε καὶ κώμας, πληθυσούσης ἁλωνος δίκην, μυριάνδρου καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἀθρόως ἐκκλησίαι συνεστήκεσαν, οἱ τε ἐκ προγόνων διαδοχῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν πλάνης παλαιᾶ νόσφ' δεισιδαιμονίας εἰδώλων τὰς ψυχὰς πεπεδημένοι, πρὸς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως διὰ τῆς τῶν φοιτητῶν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας τε ὁμοῦ καὶ παραδοξοποιίας ὥσπερ δεινῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰργμῶν τε χαλεπωτάτων λύσιν εὐράμενοι, πάσης μὲν δαιμονικῆς κατέπτυνον πολυθεΐας, ἓνα δὲ μόνον εἶναι θεὸν ὡμολόγουν, τὸν τῶν συμπάντων δημιουργόν, τοῦτόν τε αὐτὸν θεσμοῖς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας δι' ἐνθέου καὶ σώφρονος θρησκείας τῆς

ὕπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ κατασπαρείσης ἐγέραιρον. [3] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῆς χάριτος ἤδη τῆς θείας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χεομένης ἔθνη καὶ πρώτου μὲν κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνων Καισάρειαν Κορνηλίου σὺν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ δι' ἐπιφανείας θειοτέρας ὑπουργίας τε Πέτρου τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν καταδεξαμένου πλείστον τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλλήνων, οἷς οἱ κατὰ τὸν Στεφάνου διωγμὸν διασπαρέντες ἐκήρυξαν, ἀνθούσης ἄρτι καὶ πληθουσίης τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῦτῳ τε ἐπιπαρόντων πλείστον ὅσων τῶν τε ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων προφητῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Παύλου ἐτέρου τε πλήθους ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀδελφῶν, ἢ Χριστιανῶν προσηγορία τότε πρώτον αὐτόθι ὥσπερ ἀπ' εὐθαλοῦς καὶ γονίμου πηγῆς ἀναδίδεται. [4] καὶ Ἄγαθος μὲν, εἷς τῶν συνόντων αὐτοῖς προφητῶν, περὶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἔσσεσθαι λιμὸν προθεσπίζει, Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς ἐξυπηρετησόμενοι τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παραπέμπονται διακονίᾳ.

23 Τιβέριος μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι βασιλεύσας ἔτη τελευτᾷ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Γάϊος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβὼν, αὐτίκα τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχῆς Ἀγρίππα τὸ διάδημα περιτίθῃσιν, βασιλέα καταστήσας αὐτὸν τῆς τε Φιλίππου καὶ τῆς Λυσανίου τετραρχίας, πρὸς αἷς μετ' οὐ πολὺν αὐτῷ χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου τετραρχίαν παραδίδωσιν, ἀδίδῳ φυγῇ τὸν Ἡρώδην· οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ κατὰ τὸ πάθος τοῦ σωτῆρος· σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ἡρωδιάδι πλείστον ἔνεκα ζημιώσας αἰτιῶν. μάρτυς Ἰώσηπος καὶ τούτων. [2] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον Φίλων ἐγνωρίζετο πλείστοις, ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξωθεν ὀρμωμένων παιδείας ἐπισημότατος. τὸ μὲν οὖν γένος ἀνέκαθεν Ἑβραῖος ἦν, τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐν τέλει διαφανῶν οὐδενὸς χείρων, [3] περὶ δὲ τὰ θεῖα καὶ πάτρια μαθήματα ὅσον τε καὶ ὀπηλίκον εἰσενήνεκται πόνον, ἔργῳ πᾶσι δῆλος, καὶ περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα δὲ καὶ ἐλευθέρια τῆς ἔξωθεν παιδείας οἷός τις ἦν, οὐδὲν δεῖ λέγειν, ὅτε μάλιστα τὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἐξηλωκὼς ἀγωγὴν, διενεγκεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἰστορεῖται.

καὶ δὴ τὰ κατὰ Γάϊον οὗτος Ἰουδαίοις συμβάντα πέντε βιβλίους παραδίδωσιν, ὁμοῦ τὴν Γαῖου διεξιὼν φρενοβλάβειαν, ὡς θεὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀναγορεύσαντος καὶ μυρία περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνυβρικότος, τάς τε κατ' αὐτὸν Ἰουδαίων ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς στειλάμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν ὁμοεθνῶν ἐποίησατο πρεσβείαν, ὅπως τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Γαῖου καταστὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων νόμων, οὐδέν τι πλέον γέλωτος καὶ διασυρμῶν ἀπηνέγκατο, μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς ζωῆς ἀνατλὰς κίνδυνον.

[2] Μέμνηται καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ἐν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα γράφων ‘καὶ δὴ στάσεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γενομένης Ἰουδαίων τε οἱ ἐνοικοῦσι, καὶ Ἑλλήνων, τρεῖς ἀφ’ ἐκατέρας τῆς στάσεως πρεσβευταὶ αἰρεθέντες παρῆσαν πρὸς τὸν Γαῖον. [3] καὶ ἦν γὰρ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πρέσβων εἰς Ἀπίων, ὃς πολλὰ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐβλασφήμησεν, ἄλλα τε λέγων καὶ ὡς τῶν Καίσαρος τιμῶν περιορῶεν: πάντων γοῦν, ὅσοι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ὑποτελεῖς εἶεν, βωμοὺς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ ναοὺς ἰδρυμένων τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων, μόνους τούσδε ἄδοξον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνδριᾶσι τιμᾶν καὶ ὄρκιον αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ποιεῖσθαι: [4] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ Ἀπίωνος εἰρηκότος, ὅφ’ ὢν ἀρθῆναι ἤλπιζεν τὸν Γαῖον καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, Φίλων ὁ προεστὼς τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῆς πρεσβείας, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἐνδοξος Ἀλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ ἀλαβάρχου ἀδελφὸς ὢν καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄπειρος, οἷός τε ἦν ἐπ’ ἀπολογία χωρεῖν τῶν κατηγορημένων, [5] διακλείει δ’ αὐτὸν Γαῖος, κελεύσας ἐκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν, περιοργῆς τε ὢν φανερὸς ἦν ἐργασόμενός τι δεινὸν αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Φίλων ἔξεισι περιωρισμένος, καὶ φησιν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦσαν, ὡς χρή θαρρεῖν, Γαῖου μὲν αὐτοῖς ὠργισμένου, ἔργῳ δὲ ἤδη τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπαρεξάγοντος.’ [6] Ταῦτα ὁ Ἰώσηπος. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Φίλων ἐν ἧ συνέγραψεν Πρεσβείᾳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβῶς τῶν τότεπραχθέντων αὐτῷ δηλοῖ, ὢν τὰ πλεῖστα παρεῖς, ἐκεῖνα μόνᾳ παραθήσομαι, δι’ ὧν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι προφανὴς γενήσεται δῆλῳσις τῶν ἅμα τε καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμημένων ἔνεκεν Ἰουδαίοις συμβεβηκότων. [7] πρῶτον δὴ οὖν κατὰ Τιβέριον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἱστορεῖ Σηιανόν, τῶν τότε παρὰ βασιλεῖ πολλὰ δυνάμενον, ἄρδην τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἀπολέσθαι σπουδὴν εἰσαγοχένοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας Πιλάτον, καθ’ ὃν τὰ περὶ τὸν σωτήρα τετόλμητο, περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔτι τότε συνεστὸς ἱερὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντά τι παρὰ τὸ Ἰουδαίοις ἐξόν, τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῦς ἀναταράξαι,

μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τιβερίου τελευτὴν Γαῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότα, πολλὰ μὲν εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ἐνυβρίσαι, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος οὐ σμικρὰ καταβλάψαι: ἃ καὶ ἐν βραχεὶ πάρεστιν διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καταμαθεῖν φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα γράφει [2] ‘Τοσαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἡ τοῦ Γαῖου περὶ τὸ ἦθος ἦν ἀνωμαλία πρὸς ἅπαντας, διαφερόντως δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ᾧ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχθανόμενος τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν προσευχάς, ἀπὸ τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξανδρείαν ἀρξάμενος, σφετερίζεται, καταπλήσας εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς ὃ γὰρ ἐτέρων ἀνατιθέντων ἐφιεῖς, αὐτὸς

ἰδρύετο δυνάμει, τὸν δ' ἐν τῇ ἱεροπόλει νεών, ὃς λοιπὸς ἦν ἄψανστος, ἀσυλίας ἡξιωμένος τῆς πάσης, μεθρημόζετο καὶ μετεσχημάτιζεν εἰς οἰκεῖον ἱερόν, ἵνα Διὸς Ἐπιφανοῦς Νέου χρηματίζη Γαΐου.' [3] Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἄλλα δεινὰ καὶ πέρα πάσης διηγήσεως ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμβεβηκότα Ἰουδαίοις ἐπὶ τοῦ δηλουμένου ἐν δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ᾧ ἐπέγραψεν 'Περὶ ἀρετῶν' ἱστορεῖ: συνάδει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηπος, ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῶν Πιλάτου χρόνων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος τετολμημένων τὰς κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἐνάρξασθαι σημαίνων συμφοράς. [4] ἄκουε δ' οὖν οἷα καὶ οὗτος ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς δηλοῖ λέγων 'Πεμφθεὶς δὲ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπίτροπος ὑπὸ Τιβερίου Πιλάτος νύκτωρ κεκαλυμμένης εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεισκομίζει τὰς Καίσαρος εἰκόνας: σημαῖαι καλοῦνται. τοῦτο μεθ' ἡμέραν μεγίστην ταραχὴν ἡγείρεν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. οἳ τε γὰρ ἐγγὺς πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐξεπλάγησαν, ὡς πεπατημένων αὐτοῖς τῶν νόμων: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄξιουσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεικνὸν τίθεσθαι.' [5] Ταῦτα δὲ συγκρίνας τῇ τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφῇ, εἴση ὡς οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν αὐτοὺς μετῆλθεν ἦν ἔρρηξαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πιλάτου φωνήν, δι' ἧς οὐκ ἄλλον ἢ μόνον ἔχειν ἐπεβόων Καίσαρα βασιλέα. [6] εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἐξῆς ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ μετελθεῖν αὐτοὺς συμφορὰν ἐν τούτοις 'μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταραχὴν ἐτέραν ἐκίνει, τὸν ἱερόν θησαυρόν, καλεῖται δὲ κορβανας, εἰς καταγωγὴν ὑδάτων ἐξαναλίσκων: κατῆει δὲ ἀπὸ τριακοσίων σταδίων. πρὸς τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἀγανάκτησις ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου παρόντος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, [7] περιστάντες ἅμα κατεβόων. ὁ δὲ προήδει γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνόπλους, ἐσθήσεσιν ἰδιωτικαῖς κεκαλυμμένους, ἐγκαταμίξας καὶ ξίφει μὲν χρῆσασθαι κωλύσας, ξύλοις δὲ παῖειν τοὺς κεκραγότες ἐγκελευσάμενος, σύνθημα δίδωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. τυπτόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ καταπατηθέντες ἀπώλοντο, πρὸς δὲ τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀνηρημένων καταπλαγὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἐσιώπησεν.' [8] Ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρίας ἄλλας ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις κεκινήσθαι νεωτεροποιίας ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμφαίνει, παριστὰς ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἐξ ἐκείνου διέλιπον τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἅπασαν στάσεις καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ κακῶν ἐπάλληλοι μηχαναί, εἰς ὅτε τὸ πανύστατον ἢ κατὰ Οὐεσπασιανὸν αὐτοὺς μετῆλθεν πολιορκία. Ἰουδαίους μὲν οὖν ὧν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμήκασιν, ταύτην πη τὰ ἐκ τῆς θείας μετῆει δίκης.

Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν δὲ ἄξιον ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Πιλάτον κατὰ Γαῖον, οὗ τοὺς χρόνους διέξιμεν, τοσαύταις περιπεσεῖν κατέχει λόγος

συμφοραῖς, ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτοφονευτὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τιμωρὸν αὐτόχειρα γενέσθαι, τῆς θείας, ὡς ἔοικεν, δίκης οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν αὐτὸν μετελθούσης. ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἅμα τοῖς κατὰ χρόνους πεπραγμένοις ἀναγράψαντες.

31 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Γάϊον οὐδ' ὅλοις τέτταρσιν ἔτεσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα Κλαύδιος αὐτοκράτωρ διαδέχεται: καθ' ὃν λιμοῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην πῖσαντος 'τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ πόρρω τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις παρέδосαν, ἢ κατὰ τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀγάβου προφήτου περὶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἔσσεσθαι λιμὸν ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην πέρας ἐλάμβανεν πρόρρησις. [2] τὸν δὲ κατὰ Κλαύδιον λιμὸν ἐπισημηνάμενος ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἱστορήσας τε ὡς ἄρα διὰ Παύλου καὶ Βαρναβᾶ οἱ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστος ἠὐπόρει διαπεμφάμενοι εἶψαν, ἐπιφέρει λέγων:

‘κατ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν, δῆλον δ' ὅτι τὸν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας κακῶσαί τινας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνεῖλεν δὲ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου [2] μαχαίρα.’ περὶ τούτου δ' ὁ Κλήμης τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ ἱστορίαν μνήμης ἀξίαν ἐν τῇ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων ἐβδόμῃ παρατίθεται ὡς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ φάσκων ὅτι δὴ ὁ εἰσαγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς δικαστήριον, μαρτυρήσαντα αὐτὸν ἰδὼν κινηθεὶς, ὡμολόγησεν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανόν. ‘συναπήχθησαν [3] οὖν ἅμφω,’ φησὶν, ‘καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἠξίωσεν ἀφεθῆναι αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰακώβου: ὁ δὲ ὀλίγον σκεψάμενος, ‘εἰρήνη σοὶ εἶπεν καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν. καὶ οὕτως ἀμφοτέρω ὁμοῦ ἐκαρτομήθησαν.’ [4] Τότε δὴτα, ὡς φησιν ἡ θεία γραφή, ἰδὼν Ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἀναιρέσει πρὸς ἡδονῆς γεγονὸς τὸ πραχθὲν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ Πέτρῳ, δεσμοῖς τε αὐτὸν παραδούς, ὅσον οὕτω καὶ τὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ φόνον ἐνήργησεν ἂν, εἰ μὴ διὰ θείας ἐπιφανείας, ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ νύκτωρ ἀγγέλου, παραδόξως τῶν εἰργμῶν ἀπαλλαγείς, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀφεῖται διακονίαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πέτρον οὕτως εἶχεν οἰκονομίας.

Τὰ δὲ γε τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρήσεως τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκέτ' ἀναβολῆς εἶχετο, ἅμα γέ τοι αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς θείας δίκης τιμωρὸς διάκονος μετῆι, παραυτίκα μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιβουλήν, ὡς ἡ τῶν Πράξεων ἱστορεῖ γραφή, ὁρμήσαντα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν, ἐν ἐπισήμῳ δ' ἐνταῦθα ἐορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ λαμπρᾷ καὶ βασιλικῇ κοσμησάμενον ἐσθῆτι ὑψηλὸν τε πρὸ βήματος δημηγορήσαντα: τοῦ γάρ τοι δήμου παντὸς ἐπευφημήσαντος ἐπὶ τῇ

δημηγορία ὡς ἐπὶ θεοῦ φωνῇ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου, παραχρῆμα τὸ λόγιον πατάξει αὐτὸν ἄγγελον κυρίου ἱστορεῖ, γενόμενόν τε σκωληκόβρωτον ἐκψῦζει. [2] θαυμάσαι δ' ἄξιον τῆς περὶ τὴν θεῖαν γραφὴν καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ παραδόξῳ συμφωνίας τὴν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ἱστορίαν, καθ' ἣν ἐπιμαρτυρῶν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δηλὸς ἐστίν, ἐν τόμῳ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ, ἔνθα αὐτοῖς γράμμασιν ὧδέ πως τὸ θαῦμα διηγεῖται. [3] 'Τρίτον δ' ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο, καὶ παρὴν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν, ἣ τὸ πρότερον Στράτωνος πύργος ἐκαλεῖτο. συνετέλει δ' ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐορτὴν τινα ταύτην ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἡθροιστο τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει καὶ προβεβηκότων εἰς ἀξίαν πλῆθος. [4] δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν, ὡς θαυμάσιον ὑφ' ἑῖναι, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. ἔνθα ταῖς πρώταις τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἐπιβολαῖς ὁ ἀργυρος καταυγασθεὶς, θαυμασίως ἀπέστιλβεν, μαρμαίρων [5] τι φοβερὸν καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίζουσι φρικῶδες. εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακες τὰς οὐδὲν ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν φωνὰς ἀνεβόων, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες 'εὐμενής' τε 'εἷς' ἐπιλέγοντες, 'εἰ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐφοβήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦντεῦθεν κρεῖττονά σε θνητῆς φύσεως ὁμολογοῦμεν.' [6] οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κολακείαν ἀσεβοῦσαν ἀπετρίψατο. ἀνακύψας δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς ὑπερκαθεζόμενον εἶδεν ἄγγελον. τοῦτον εὐθὺς ἐνόησεν κακῶν εἶναι αἴτιον, τὸν καὶ ποτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενόμενον, καὶ διακάρδιον ἔσχεν ὀδύνην, [7] ἄθρουν δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κοιλίας προσέφυσεν ἄλγημα, μετὰ σφοδρότητος ἀρξάμενον. ἀναθεωρῶν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, 'ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἐγώ,' φησὶν, 'ἤδη καταστρέφειν ἐπιτάττομαι τὸν βίον, παραχρῆμα τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὰς ἄρτι μου κατεψευσμένας φωνὰς ἐλεγχούσης. ὁ κληθεὶς ἀθάνατος ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἤδη θανεῖν ἀπάγομαι. δεκτέον δὲ τὴν πεπρωμένην, ἣ θεὸς βεβούληται. καὶ γὰρ βεβιώκαμεν οὐδαμῇ φαύλως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς μακαριζομένης μακρότητος.' ταῦτα δὲ λέγων ἐπιτάσει [8] τῆς ὀδύνης κατεπονεῖτο: μετὰ σπουδῆς οὖν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἐκομίσθη, καὶ διῆξε λόγος εἰς πάντας ὡς ἔχει τοῦ τεθνάναι παντάπασιν μετ' ὀλίγον. ἡ πληθὺς δ' αὐτίκα σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐπὶ σάκκον καθεσθεῖσα τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἰμωγῆς τε πάντ' ἦν ἀνάπλεα καὶ θρήνων. ἐν ὑψηλῷ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς δωματίῳ κατακείμενος καὶ κάτω βλέπων αὐτοὺς πρηνεῖς προπίπτοντας, ἄδακρυς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἔμενεν. [9] συνεχεῖς δ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε τῷ τῆς γαστρὸς ἀλγίματι

διεργασθεῖς, τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἑβδομον. τέσσαρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαῖου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἑνιαυτούς, τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς, τρεῖς δ' ἐπιλαβὼν τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας.¹ [10] ταῦτα τὸν Ἰώσηπον μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ταῖς θείαις συναληθεύοντα γραφαῖς ἀποθαυμάζω: εἰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως προσηγορίαν δόξειέν τισιν διαφωνεῖν, ἀλλ' ὃ γε χρόνος καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα δείκνυσιν, ἥτοι κατὰ τι σφάλμα γραφικὸν ἐνηλλαγμένου τοῦ ὀνόματος ἢ καὶ διωνυμίας περὶ τὸν αὐτόν, οἷα καὶ περὶ πολλοῦς, γεγεννημένης.

39 Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν εἰσάγει τὸν Γαμαλιήλ ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων σκέψει λέγοντα ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον ἀνέστη Θεοδᾶς λέγων ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τινά, ὃς κατελύθη, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπέισθησαν αὐτῷ, διελύθησαν: φέρε, καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου παραθώμεθα τοῦ Ἰωσήπου γραφήν. [2] ἱστορεῖ τοίνυν αὖτις κατὰ τὸν ἀρτίως δεδηλωμένον αὐτοῦ λόγον αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν, 'Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος, γόης τις ἀνὴρ, Θεοδᾶς ὀνόματι, πείθει τὸν πλείστον ὄχλον ἀναλαβόντα τὰς κτήσεις ἔπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ: προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας δίοδον ἔφη παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ῥάδιαν, καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησεν. [3] οὐ μὴν εἶασεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὀνάσθαι Φάδος, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμψεν ἵλην ἱππέων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἣτις ἐπιπεσοῦσα ἀπροσδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνέϊλεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, αὐτόν τε τὸν Θεοδᾶν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσιν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.' Τούτοις ἐξῆς καὶ τοῦ κατὰ Κλαυδίου γενομένου λιμοῦ μνημονεύει ὧδέ πως:

'ἐπὶ τούτοις γε καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι, καθ' ὃν καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἑλένη πολλῶν χρημάτων ὠνησαμένη σῖτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, διένειμεν τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις.'² [2] σύμφωνα δ' ἂν εὖροις καὶ ταῦτα τῇ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῇ, περιεχούσῃ ὡς ἄρα τῶν κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν μαθητῶν καθὼς ἠμπορεῖτό τις, ὥρισαν ἕκαστος εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ: ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν, ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Παύλου. [3] τῆς γέ τοι Ἑλένης, ἥς δὴ καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐποίησατο μνήμην, εἰς ἔτι νῦν στήλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας: τοῦ δὲ Ἀδιαβηνῶν ἔθνους αὕτη βασιλεῦσαι ἐλέγετο.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς πάντας

ἀνθρώπους ἤδη διαδιδομένης πίστεως, ὁ τῆς ἀνθρώπων πολέμιος σωτηρίας τὴν βασιλεύουσαν προαρπάσασθαι πόλιν μηχανώμενος, ἐνταῦθα Σίμωνα τὸν πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἄγει, καὶ δὴ ταῖς ἐντέχνοις τάνδρὸς συναιρόμενος γοητείαις πλείους τῶν τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκούντων ἐπὶ τὴν πλάνην σφετερίζεται. [2] δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαπρέψας λόγῳ Ἰουστίνος, περὶ οὗ τὰ προσήκοντα κατὰ καιρὸν παραθήσομαι: ὅς δὴ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρὸς Ἀντωνίνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία γράφων ὧδέ φησιν: [3] ‘Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ κυρίου εἰς οὐρανὸν προεβάλλοντο οἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους τινὰς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεοὺς, οἳ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐδιώχθησαν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἡξιώθησαν: Σίμωνα μὲν τινα Σαμαρέα, τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης λεγομένης Γίθων, ὃς ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις μαγικὰς ποιήσας ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν τῇ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ θεὸς ἐνομίσθη καὶ ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὑμῶν ὡς θεὸς τετίμηται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ταύτην: σιμονι [4] δεο σανξτο,’ ὅπερ ἐστὶν Σίμωνι θεῷ ἀγίῳ. ‘καὶ σχεδὸν μὲν πάντες Σαμαρεῖς, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ὡς τὸν πρῶτον θεὸν ἐκεῖνον ὁμολογοῦντες προσκυνοῦσιν. καὶ Ἑλένην τινά, τὴν συμπερινοστήσασαν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ, πρότερον ἐπὶ τέγους σταθεῖσαν’ ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς Φοινίκης, ‘τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρώτην ἔννοιαν λέγουσιν.’ [5] Ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος: συνάδει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Εἰρηναῖος, ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις ὁμοῦ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ἀνοσίαν καὶ μιὰν αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ὑπογράφων, ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος περιττὸν ἂν εἴη καταλέγειν, παρὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν κατὰ μέρος αἵρεσιάρχων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τοὺς βίους καὶ τῶν ψευδῶν δογμάτων τὰς ὑποθέσεις τά τε πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτετηδευμένα διαγνῶναι, οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ τοῦ Εἰρηναίου παραδεδομένα βίβλῳ. [6] πάσης μὲν οὖν ἀρχηγὸν αἱρέσεως πρῶτον γενέσθαι τὸν Σίμωνα παρελήφαμεν: ἐξ οὗ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο οἱ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν μετιόντες αἵρεσιν τὴν σώφρονα καὶ διὰ καθαρότητα βίου παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν βεβοημένην Χριστιανῶν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποκρινόμενοι, ἧς μὲν ἔδοξαν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα δεισδιαιμονίας οὐδὲν ἤττον αὐθις ἐπιλαμβάνονται, καταπίπτοντες ἐπὶ γραφὰς καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Σίμωνος καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ δηλωθείσης Ἑλένης θυμιάμασιν τε καὶ θυσίαις καὶ σπονδαῖς τούτους θρησκεύειν ἐγχειροῦντες, [7] τὰ δὲ τούτων αὐτοῖς ἀπορρητότερα, ὧν φασι τὸν πρῶτον ἐπακούσαντα ἐκπλαγήσεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τι παρ' αὐτοῖς λόγιον ἔγγραφον θαμβωθήσεσθαι, θάμβους ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ φρενῶν ἐκστάσεως καὶ μανίας ἔμπλεα τυγχάνει, τοιαῦτα ὄντα, ὡς μὴ μόνον

μή δυνατὰ εἶναι παραδοθῆναι γραφῇ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χεῖλεσιν αὐτὸ μόνον δι' ὑπερβολὴν αἰσχροουργίας τε καὶ ἀρρητοποιίας ἀνδράσι σώφροσι λαληθῆναι. [8] ὃ τι ποτὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπινοηθεῖη παντὸς αἰσχροῦ μιαιώτερον, τοῦτο πᾶν ὑπερηκόντισεν ἢ τῶνδε μυσσαρωτάτη αἵρεσις, ταῖς ἀθλίαις καὶ παντοίων ὡς ἀληθῶς κακῶν σεσωρευμέναις γυναιξὶν ἐγκαταπαίζόντων.

τοιούτων κακῶν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τὸν Σίμωνα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ὥσπερ εἰ μέγαν καὶ μεγάλων ἀντίπαλον τῶν θεσπεσίων τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ μισόκαλος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας πονηρὰ δύναμις προστήσατο. [2] ὅμως δ' οὖν ἡ θεία καὶ ὑπερουράνιος χάρις τοῖς αὐτῆς συναιρομένη διακόνοις, δι' ἐπιφανείας αὐτῶν καὶ παρουσίας ἀναπτομένην τοῦ πονηροῦ τὴν φλόγα ἢ τάχος ἐσβέννυ, ταπεινοῦσα δι' αὐτῶν καὶ καθαιροῦσα πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ. [3] διὸ δὴ οὔτε Σίμωνος οὔτ' ἄλλου του τῶν τότε φυέντων συγκρότημά τι κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀποστολικοὺς ὑπέστη χρόνους. ὑπερενίκα γάρ τοι καὶ ὑπερίσχυεν ἅπαντα τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φέγγος ὃ τε λόγος αὐτὸς ὁ θεῖος ἄρτι θεόθεν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλάμπας ἐπὶ γῆς τε ἀκμάζων καὶ τοῖς ἰδίῳ ἀποστόλοις ἐμπολιτευόμενος. [4] αὐτίκα ὁ δηλωθεὶς γόνος ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θείας καὶ παραδόξου μαρμαρυγῆς τὰ τῆς διανοίας πληγεῖς ὄμματα ὅτε πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐφ' οἷς ἐπονηρεύσατο πρὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου κατεφωράθη, μεγίστην καὶ ὑπερπόντιον ἀπάρας πορείαν τὴν ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμὰς ὄχκετο φεύγων, μόνως ταύτῃ βιωτὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ γνώμην εἶναι οἰόμενος· [5] ἐπιβὰς δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, συναιρομένης αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα τῆς ἐφεδρευούσης ἐνταῦθα δυνάμεως, ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοσοῦτον τὰ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως ἦνυστο, ὡς καὶ ἀνδριάντος ἀναθέσει πρὸς τῶν τῆδε οἷα θεὸν τιμηθῆναι. οὐ μὴν εἰς μακρὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα προυχώρει. [6] παρὰ πόδας γοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας ἢ πανάγαθος καὶ φιланθρωποτάτη τῶν ὄλων πρόνοια τὸν καρτερόν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προήγορον, Πέτρον, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἐπὶ τηλικούτον λυμεῶνα βίου χειραγωγεῖ· ὃς οἷα τις γενναῖος θεοῦ στρατηγὸς τοῖς θεοῖς ὅπλοις φραζάμενος, τὴν πολυτίμητον ἐμπορίαν τοῦ νοητοῦ φωτὸς ἐξ ἀνατολῶν τοῖς κατὰ δύσιν ἐκόμιζεν, φῶς αὐτὸ καὶ λόγον ψυχῶν σωτήριον, τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, εὐαγγελιζόμενος.

οὕτω δὴ οὖν ἐπιδημήσαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θείου λόγου, ἡ μὲν τοῦ Σίμωνος ἀπέσβη καὶ παραχρῆμα σὺν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καταλέλυτο δύναμις. Τοσοῦτον δ' ἐπέλαμψεν ταῖς τῶν ἀκροατῶν τοῦ Πέτρου διανοίαις εὐσεβείας φέγγος, ὡς μὴ

τῇ εἰς ἅπαξ ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἀρκεῖσθαι ἀκοῇ μὴδὲ τῇ ἀγράφῳ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος διδασκαλίᾳ, παρακλήσεσιν δὲ παντοίαις Μάρκον, οὗ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον φέρεται, ἀκόλουθον ὄντα Πέτρου, λιπαρῆσαι ὥς ἂν καὶ διὰ γραφῆς ὑπόμνημα τῆς διὰ λόγου παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς καταλείψοι διδασκαλίας, μὴ πρότερόν τε ἀνεῖναι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ταύτη αἰτίους γενέσθαι τῆς τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου [2] γραφῆς. γνόντα δὲ τὸ πραχθέν φασὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἀποκαλύψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ κυρῶσαί τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Κλήμης ἐν ἔκτῳ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων παρατίθεται τὴν ἱστορίαν, συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος ὀνόματι Παπίας, τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ: ἦν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτόν, τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα διὰ τούτων 'ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου.'

Τοῦτον δὲ Μάρκον πρῶτόν φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στείλαμενον, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ δὴ καὶ συνεγράψατο, κηρῦξαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι. [2] τοσαύτη δ' ἄρα τῶν αὐτόθι πεπιστευκότων πληθὺς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιβολῆς συνέστη δι' ἀσκήσεως φιλοσοφώτατης τε καὶ σφοδροτάτης, ὥς καὶ γραφῆς αὐτῶν ἀξιῶσαι τὰς διατριβὰς καὶ τὰς συνηλύσεις τὰ τε συμπόσια καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου ἀγωγὴν τὸν Φίλωνα:

ὃν καὶ λόγος ἔχει κατὰ Κλαύδιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν Πέτρῳ, τοῖς ἐκεῖσε τότε κηρύττοντι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὃ φάμεν αὐτὸ σύγγραμμα, εἰς ὕστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνους αὐτῷ πεπονημένον, σαφῶς τοὺς εἰς ἔτι νῦν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς πεφυλαγμένους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέχει κανόνας: [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βίον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσκητῶν ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἀκριβέστατα ἱστορῶν, γένοιτ' ἂν ἑκδηλος οὐκ εἰδὼς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδεχόμενος ἐκθειάζων τε καὶ σεμνύνων τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποστολικούς ἄνδρας, ἐξ Ἑβραίων, ὥς ἔοικε, γεγονότας ταύτη τε ἰουδαϊκώτερον τῶν παλαιῶν ἔτι τὰ πλεῖστα διατηροῦντας ἐθῶν. [3] πρῶτόν γέ τοι τὸ μὴτὲν πέρα τῆς ἀληθείας οἰκοθεῖν καὶ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ προσθήσειν οἷς ἱστορήσειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπισχυρισάμενος ἐν ᾧ ἐπέγραψεν λόγῳ Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, θεραπευτὰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς σὺν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκας θεραπευτρίδας ἀποκαλεῖσθαι φησιν, τὰς αἰτίας ἐπειπὼν τῆς τοιαύτης προσρήσεως, ἥτοι παρὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν προσιόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ κακίας παθῶν ἱατρῶν δίκην ἀπαλλάττοντας

ἀκείσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἢ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον καθαρᾶς καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς
θεραπείας τε καὶ θρησκείας ἕνεκα. [4] εἴτ' οὖν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ταύτην αὐτοῖς
ἐπιτέθειται τὴν προσηγορίαν, οἰκείως ἐπιγράψας τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
τοῦνομα, εἴτε καὶ ὄντως τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν κατ' ἀρχὰς οἱ πρῶτοι, μηδαμῶς
τῆς Χριστιανῶν πῶ προσηρῆσεως ἀνὰ πάντα τόπον ἐπιπεφημισμένης, [5] οὐ τί
πῶ διατείνεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον· ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἀπόταξιν αὐτοῖς τῆς
οὐσίας μαρτυρεῖ, φάσκων ἀρχομένους φιλοσοφεῖν ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς
προσῆκουσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἔπειτα πάσαις ἀποταξαμένους ταῖς τοῦ βίου
φροντίσιν, ἔξω τειχῶν προελθόντας, ἐν μοναγρίοις καὶ κήποις τὰς διατριβάς
ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνομοίων ἐπιμιξίας ἀλυσιτελεῖς καὶ βλαβερὰς εὖ
εἰδότας, τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τοῦθ', ὡς εἰκός, ἐπιτελούντων, ἐκθύμῳ καὶ
θερμοτάτῃ πίσκει τὸν προφητικὸν ζηλοῦν ἀσκούντων βίον. [6] καὶ γὰρ οὖν κἀν
ταῖς ὁμολογουμέναις τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν ἐμφέρεται ὅτι δὴ πάντες οἱ
τῶν ἀποστόλων γνώριμοι τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις διαπιπράσκοντες
ἐμέριζον ἅπασιν καθ' ὃ ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν, ὡς μηδὲ εἶναι τινα ἐνδεῆ παρ'
αὐτοῖς· ὅσοι γοῦν κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν ὑπῆρχον, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησὶν,
πωλοῦντες ἔφερον τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πιπρασκομένων, ἐτίθεσάν τε παρὰ τοῦς
πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὥστε διαδίδοσθαι ἐκάστῳ καθ' ὅτι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν.
[7] Τὰ παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις μαρτυρήσας τοῖς δηλουμένοις ὁ Φίλων
συλλαβαῖς αὐταῖς ἐπιφέρει λέγων· 'πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστὶν τὸ
γένος· ἔδει γὰρ ἀγαθοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν βάρβαρον·
πλεονάζει δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων νομῶν καὶ μάλιστα
περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. [8] οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν ἄριστοι, καθάπερ εἰς πατρίδα
θεραπευτῶν, ἀποικίαν στέλλονται πρὸς τι χωρίον ἐπιτηδεύοις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν
ὑπὲρ λίμνης Μαρείας κείμενον ἐπὶ γεωλόφου χθαμαλωτέρου, σφόδρα
εὐκαίρως ἀσφαλείας τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἀέρος εὐκρασίας.' εἴθ' ἐξῆς τὰς οἰκήσεις
αὐτῶν ὅποιαί τινες ἦσαν διαγράψας, περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἐκκλησιῶν ταυτὰ
φησιν· 'ἐν [9] ἐκάστῃ δὲ οἰκία ἐστὶν οἴκημα ἱερὸν ὃ καλεῖται σεμνεῖον καὶ
μοναστήριον, ἐν ᾧ μονούμενοι τὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ βίου μυστήρια τελοῦνται,
μηδὲν εἰσκομίζοντες, μὴ ποτόν, μὴ σιτίον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα πρὸς τὰς
τοῦ σώματος χρεῖας ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ νόμους καὶ λόγια θεσπισθέντα διὰ
προφητῶν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ τᾶλλα οἷς ἐπιστήμη καὶ εὐσέβεια συναύξονται καὶ
τελειοῦνται.' Καὶ μεθ' ἑτερά φησιν· [10] 'Τὸ δ' ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ μέχρι ἐσπέρας
διάστημα σύμπαν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἄσκησις. ἐντυγχάνοντες γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς
γράμμασιν φιλοσοφοῦσιν τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν ἀλληγοροῦντες, ἐπειδὴ

σύμβολα τὰ τῆς ῥητῆς ἐρμηνείας νομίζουσιν ἀποκεκρυμμένης φύσεως, ἐν ὑπονοίαις δηλουμένης. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ συγγράμματα ^[11] παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν ἀρχηγέται γενόμενοι, πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀλληγορουμένοις ιδέας ἀπέλιπον, οἷς καθάπερ τισὶν ἀρχετύποις χρώμενοι μιμοῦνται τῆς προαιρέσεως τὸν τρόπον.' ^[12] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔοικεν εἰρησθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰς ἱεράς ἐξηγουμένων αὐτῶν ἐπακροασαμένῳ γραφάς, τάχα δ' εἰκός, ἃ φησιν ἀρχαίων παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι συγγράμματα, εὐαγγέλια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφὰς διηγῆσαις τέ τινας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς τῶν πάλαι προφητῶν ἐρμηνευτικὰς, ὁποίας ἢ τε πρὸς Ἑβραίους καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους τοῦ Παύλου περιέχουσιν ἐπιστολαί, ταῦτ' ^[13] εἶναι. εἴτα πάλιν ἐξῆς περὶ τοῦ νέους αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ψαλμοὺς οὕτως γράφει: 'ὥστ' οὐ θεωροῦσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιοῦσιν ᾠσματα καὶ ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν διὰ παντοίων μέτρων καὶ μελῶν ἀριθμοῖς σεμνοτέροις ἀναγκαίως χαράσσοντες.' ^[14] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ἐν ταύτῳ διέξειςιν, ἐκεῖνα δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἐφάνη δεῖν ἀναλέξασθαι, δι' ὧν τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ^[15] τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀγωγῆς ὑποτίθεται. εἰ δέ τῳ μὴ δοκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα ἴδια εἶναι τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις παρὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ἀρμόττειν, πειθέσθω κἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξῆς αὐτοῦ φωνῶν, ἐν αἷς ἀναμφήριστον, εἰ εὐγνωμονοίῃ, κομίζεται τὴν περὶ τοῦδε μαρτυρίαν. γράφει γὰρ ὧδε: 'ἐγκράτειαν ^[16] δ' ὥσπερ τινὰ θεμέλιον προκαταβαλλόμενοι τῇ ψυχῇ, τὰς ἄλλας ἐποικοδομοῦσιν ἀρετάς. σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτῶν προσενέγκαιτο πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν φιλοσοφεῖν ἄξιον φωτὸς κρίνουσιν εἶναι, σκότους δὲ τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγκας: ὅθεν τῷ μὲν ἡμέραν, ταῖς δὲ νυκτὸς βραχὺ τι μέρος ἔνειμαν. ^[17] ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὑπομιμνήσκονται τροφῆς, οἷς πλείων ὁ πόθος ἐπιστήμης ἐνίδρυνται, τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἐνευφραίνονται καὶ τρυφῶσιν ὑπὸ σοφίας ἐστιώμενοι πλουσίως καὶ ἀφθόνως τὰ δόγματα χορηγούσης, ὥς καὶ πρὸς διπλασίονα χρόνον ἀντέχειν καὶ μόγις δι' ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἀπογεύεσθαι τροφῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἐθισθέντες.' Ταῦτας τοῦ Φίλωνος σαφεῖς καὶ ἀναντιρρήτους περὶ τῶν καθ' ^[18] ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἡγούμεθα λέξεις. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀντιλέγων τις ἔτι σκληρύνοιτο, καὶ οὗτος ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δυσπιστίας, ἐναργεστέραις πειθαρῶν ἀποδείξουσιν, ἃς οὐ παρά τισιν ἢ μόνη τῇ Χριστιανῶν εὐρεῖν ἔνεστιν κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον θρησκεία. ^[19] φησὶν γὰρ τοῖς περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος καὶ γυναικας συνεῖναι, ὧν αἱ πλείεσται γηραλέαι παρθένοι τυγχάνουσιν, τὴν ἀγνείαν οὐκ ἀνάγκη, καθάπερ εἶναι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἱερείων, φυλάξασαι μᾶλλον ἢ καθ' ἐκούσιον γνώμην,

διὰ ζῆλον καὶ πόθον σοφίας, ἥ συμβιοῦν σπουδάσασαι τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν ἡλόγησαν, οὐ θνητῶν ἐκγόνων, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ὀρεχθεῖσαι, ἃ μόνη τίκτειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς οἷα τέ ἐστίν ἡ θεοφιλῆς ψυχὴ. [20] εἴθ' ὑποκαταβάς, ἐμφαντικώτερον ἐκτίθεται ταῦτα: 'αἱ δ' ἐξηγήσεις τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων γίνονται αὐτοῖς δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐν ἀλληγορίαις. ἅπαντα γὰρ ἡ νομοθεσία δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις εὐοικεῖναι ζῶν καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχειν τὰς ῥητὰς διατάξεις, ψυχὴν δὲ τὸν ἐναποκείμενον ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀόρατον νοῦν, ὃν ἥρξαστο διαφερόντως ἡ οἰκία αὕτη θεωρεῖν, ὡς διὰ κατόπτρου τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξαίσια κάλλη νοημάτων ἐμφαινόμενα κατιδοῦσα.' [21] Τί δεῖ τούτοις ἐπιλέγειν τὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτόν συνόδους καὶ τὰς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ταυτῷ διατριβᾷ καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους ἔτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελουμένας ἀσκήσεις, αἷς διαφερόντως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἑορτὴν ἐν ἀσιτίαις καὶ διανυκτερεύσεσιν προσοχαῖς τε τῶν θείων λόγων ἐκτελεῖν εἰώθαμεν, [22] ἅπερ ἐπ' ἀκριβέστερον αὐτὸν ὃν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο τετήρηται παρὰ μόνοις ἡμῖν τρόπον ἐπισημηνάμενος ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ τῇ ἰδίᾳ παρέδωκεν γραφῇ, τὰς τῆς μεγάλης ἑορτῆς παννυχίδας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταύταις ἀσκήσεις τοὺς τε λέγεσθαι εἰωθότας πρὸς ἡμῶν ὕμνους ἱστορῶν, καὶ ὡς ἐνὸς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ κοσμίως ἐπιψάλλοντος οἱ λοιποὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀκροώμενοι τῶν ὕμνων τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια συνεξηχοῦσιν, ὅπως τε κατὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας ἡμέρας ἐπὶ στιβάδων χαμευνοῦντες οἴνου μὲν τὸ παράπαν, ὡς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἀνέγραψεν, οὐδ' ἀπογεύονται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐναίμων τινός, ὕδωρ δὲ μόνον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ ποτόν, καὶ προσόψημα μετ' ἄρτου ἄλεις καὶ ὕσσωπον. [23] πρὸς τούτοις γράφει τὸν τῆς προστασίας τρόπον τῶν τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς λειτουργίας ἐγκεχειρισμένων διακονίας τε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνωτάτω τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς προεδρίας. τούτων δ' ὅτῳ πόθος ἔνεστι τῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιστάσεως, μάθοι ἂν ἐκ τῆς δηλωθείσης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστορίας: [24] ὅτι δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους κήρυκας τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας τὰ τε ἀρχῆθεν πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔθῃ παραδεδομένα καταλαβὼν ὁ Φίλων ταῦτ' ἔγραφεν, παντὶ τῷ δήλῳ.

Πολὺς γε μὴν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πλατὺς ταῖς διανοίαις, ὑψηλός τε ὢν καὶ μετέωρος ἐν ταῖς εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς θεωρίαις γεγεννημένος, ποικίλην καὶ πολύτροπον τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων πεποίηται τὴν ὑφήγησιν, τοῦτο μὲν εἰρμῷ καὶ ἀκολουθίᾳ τὴν τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν διεξελθὼν πραγματείαν ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψεν Νόμων ἱερῶν ἀλληγορίας, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέρος διαστολὰς κεφαλαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ζητουμένων ἐπιστάσεις τε καὶ διαλύσεις πεποιημένος ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς καταλλήλως τῶν ἐν Γενέσει καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ ζητημάτων καὶ

λύσεων τέθεται τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. [2] ἔστι δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ ταῦτα προβλημάτων
τινῶν ἰδίως πεπονημένα σπουδάσματα, οἷά ἐστι τὰ Περὶ γεωργίας δύο, καὶ τὰ
Περὶ μέθης τοσαῦτα, καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα διαφόρου καὶ οἰκείας ἐπιγραφῆς
ἠξιωμένα, οἷος ὁ Περὶ ὧν νήσας ὁ νοῦς εὐχεται καὶ καταρᾶται καὶ Περὶ
συγχύσεως τῶν διαλέκτων, καὶ ὁ Περὶ φυγῆς καὶ εὐρέσεως, καὶ ὁ Περὶ τῆς
πρὸς τὰ παιδεύματα συνόδου, Περί τε τοῦ τίς ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ κληρονόμος ἢ
Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἴσα καὶ ἐναντία τομῆς, καὶ ἔτι τὸ Περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρετῶν ἅς
σὺν ἄλλαις ἀνέγραψεν Μωσῆς, [3] πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Περὶ τῶν
μετονομαζομένων καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα μετονομάζονται, ἐν ᾧ φησι συντεταχέναι [4]
καὶ Περὶ διαθηκῶν α β: ἔστιν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀποικίας καὶ βίου σοφοῦ τοῦ
κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τελειωθέντος ἢ νόμων ἀγράφων, καὶ ἔτι Περὶ γιγάντων ἢ
περὶ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, Περὶ τε τοῦ κατὰ Μωσέα θεοπέμπτους εἶναι
τοὺς ὀνειρούς α [5] β γ δ ε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς τὴν
Γένεσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑξοδὸν ἔγνωμεν αὐτοῦ Ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων α β γ δ ε,
καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, τό τε Περὶ τῶν δέκα λογίων, καὶ τὰ Περὶ τῶν
ἀναφερομένων ἐν εἵδει νόμων εἰς τὰ συντείνοντα κεφάλαια τῶν δέκα λόγων α
β γ δ, καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῶν εἰς τὰς ἱερουργίας ζώων καὶ τίνα τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν εἶδη,
καὶ τὸ Περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἄθλων, τοῖς δὲ
πονηροῖς ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἁρῶν. [6] πρὸς τούτοις ἅπασιν καὶ μονόβιβλα αὐτοῦ
φέρεται ὡς τὸ Περὶ προνοίας, καὶ ὁ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων αὐτῷ συνταχθεὶς λόγος,
καὶ ὁ Πολιτικός, ἔτι τε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἢ περὶ τοῦ λόγον ἔχειν τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα,
ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Περὶ τοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι πάντα φαῦλον, ᾧ ἐξῆς ἐστὶν ὁ Περὶ τοῦ
πάντα σπουδαῖον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι: [7] μεθ' οὗς συντέτακται αὐτῷ ὁ Περὶ βίου
θεωρητικοῦ ἢ ἱκετῶν, ἐξ οὗ τὰ περὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἀνδρῶν
διεληλύθαμεν, καὶ τῶν ἐν νόμῳ δὲ καὶ προφήταις Ἑβραϊκῶν ὀνομάτων αἱ
ἐρμηνεῖαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπουδὴ εἶναι λέγονται. [8] οὗτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Γάϊον ἐπὶ
τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφικόμενος, τὰ περὶ τῆς Γαΐου θεοστυγίας αὐτῷ γραφέντα, ἃ μετὰ
ἡθους καὶ εἰρωνείας Περὶ ἀρετῶν ἐπέγραψεν, ἐπὶ πάσης λέγεται τῆς Ῥωμαίων
συγκλήτου κατὰ Κλαύδιον διελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐν βιβλιοθήκαις ἀναθέσεως
θαυμασθέντας αὐτοῦ καταξιοθῆναι τοὺς λόγους. [9] Κατὰ δὲ τούσδε τοὺς
χρόνους Παύλου τὴν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ πορείαν μέχρι τοῦ
Ἰλλυρικοῦ διανύοντος, Ἰουδαίους Ῥώμης ἀπελαύνει Κλαύδιος, ὃ τε Ἀκύλας
καὶ Πρίσκιλλα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀσίαν καταίρουσιν, ἐνταυθὰ τε Παύλῳ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ συνδιατρίβουσιν, τοὺς
αὐτόθι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρτι πρὸς αὐτοῦ καταβληθέντας θεμελίους

ἐπιστηρίζοντι. διδάσκαλος καὶ τούτων ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν Πράξεων γραφή.

74 Ἐπὶ δὲ Κλαυδίου τὰ τῆς βασιλείας διέποντος, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἑορτὴν τοσαύτην ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι συνέβη, ὥς μόνων τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους τοῦ ἱεροῦ βία συνωθουμένων τρεῖς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων ἀποθανεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλων καταπατηθέντων, γενέσθαι τε τὴν ἑορτὴν πένθος μὲν ὄλω τῷ ἔθνει, θρῆνον δὲ καθ' [2] ἑκάστην οἰκίαν. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰώσηπος. Κλαύδιος δὲ Ἀγρίππαν, Ἀγρίππου παῖδα, Ἰουδαίων καθίστησι βασιλέα, Φήλικα τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ προσέτι τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης Περαιᾶς ἐπίτροπον ἐκπέμψας, διοικήσας δὲ αὐτὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτεσιν τρισὶν καὶ δέκα πρὸς μῆσιν ὀκτώ, Νέρωνα τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταλιπών, τελευτᾷ.

Κατὰ δὲ Νέρωνα, Φήλικος τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος, αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν αὐθις ὁ Ἰώσηπος τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἱερέων στάσιν ὧδέ πως ἐν εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας γράφει: [2] 'Ἐξάπτεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι στάσις πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἕκαστός τε αὐτῶν στίφος ἀνθρώπων τῶν θραυστάτων καὶ νεωτεριστῶν ἐαυτῷ ποιήσας, ἡγεμῶν ἦν, καὶ συρράσσοντες ἐκακολόγουν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ λίθοις ἔβαλλον: ὁ δ' ἐπιπλήξων ἦν οὐδὲ εἷς, ἀλλ' [3] ὥς ἐν ἀπροστατήτῳ πόλει ταῦτ' ἐπράσσετο μετ' ἐξουσίας. τοσαύτη δὲ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς κατέλαβεν ἀναίδεια καὶ τόλμα, ὥστε ἐκπέμπειν δούλους ἐτόλμων ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλωνας τοὺς ληψομένους τὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὀφειλομένας δεκάτας. καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀπορουμένους τῶν ἱερέων ὑπ' ἐνδεείας ἀπολλυμένους θεωρεῖν: οὕτως ἐκράτει τοῦ δικαίου παντὸς ἡ τῶν στασιαζόντων βία.' [4] Πάλιν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑποφυῆναι ληστῶν τι εἶδος ἱστορεῖ, οἱ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὥς φησιν, καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἐφόνευον τοὺς συναντῶντας. [5] μάλιστα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μιγνυμένους τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἐσθήσεσιν ὑποκρύπτοντας μικρὰ ξιφίδια, τούτοις νύττειν τοὺς διαφόρους: ἔπειτα πεσόντων, μέρος γίνεσθαι τῶν ἐπαγανακτούντων αὐτοὺς τοὺς πεφονευκότας: διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ὑπ' ἀξιοπιστίας ἀνευρέτους γενέσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰωνάθην τὸν ἀρχιερέα κατασφαγῆναι, μετὰ δ' αὐτὸν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναιρεῖσθαι πολλούς, καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν τὸν φόβον εἶναι χαλεπώτερον, [6] ἑκάστου καθάπερ ἐν πολέμῳ καθ' ὥραν τὸν θάνατον προσδεχομένου.

Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ' ἕτερα λέγων: 'μερίζοντι δὲ τούτων πληγῇ Ἰουδαίους ἐκάκωσεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ψευδοπροφήτης. παραγενόμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἄνθρωπος γόης καὶ προφήτου πίστιν ἐπιθείς ἑαυτῷ, περὶ τρισμυρίου

μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἡπατημένων, περιαγαγὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἑλαιῶν καλούμενον ὄρος, ἐκεῖθεν οἷός τε ἦν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρελθεῖν βιάζεσθαι καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τυραννικῶς χρώμενος τοῖς συνεισπεσοῦσιν δορυφόροις. φθάνει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν Φήλιξ, ὑπαντίσας [2] μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ πᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνεφύηματο τῆς ἀμύνης, ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.' [3] Ταῦτα ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὁ Ἰώσηπος· ἐπιστῆσαι δὲ ἄξιον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα κατὰ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον δεδηλωμένοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἔνθα κατὰ Φήλικα πρὸς τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις χιλιάρχου εἴρηται τῷ Παύλῳ, ὀπηνίκα κατεστασίαζεν αὐτοῦ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πλῆθος· 'οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων;' ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Φήλικα τοιαῦτα.

80Τούτου δὲ Φῆστος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος διάδοχος πέμπεται, καθ' ὃν δικαιολογησάμενος ὁ Παῦλος δέσμιος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἄγεται· Ἀρίσταρχος αὐτῷ συνῆν, ὃν καὶ εἰκότως συναιχμάλωτόν που τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀποκαλεῖ. καὶ Λουκάς, ὁ καὶ τὰς πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφῇ παραδούς, ἐν τούτοις κατέλυσε τὴν ἱστορίαν, διετίαν ὅλην ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν Παῦλον ἄνετον διατρίψαι καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἀκωλύτως κηρῦξαι ἐπισημνύμενος. [2] τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει στείλασθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον, δεύτερον δ' ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ· ἐν ᾧ δεσμοῖς ἐχόμενος, τὴν πρὸς Τιμόθεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὁμοῦ σημαίνων τὴν τε προτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν καὶ τὴν παρὰ πόδας τελείωσιν. [3] δέχου δὴ καὶ τούτων τὰς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίας· 'ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μου,' φησίν, 'ἀπολογία οὐδείς μοι παρεγένετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον 'μὴ αὐτοῖς λογισθεῖν, ὁ δὲ κύριός μοι παρέστη καὶ ἐνεδυνάμωσέν με, ἵνα δι' ἐμοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα πληροφορηθῇ καὶ ἀκούσωσι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ ἐρρῡσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος.' [4] σαφῶς δὴ παρίστησιν διὰ τούτων ὅτι δὴ τὸ πρότερον, ὡς ἂν τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ δι' αὐτοῦ πληρωθεῖν, ἐρρῡσθη ἐκ στόματος λέοντος, τὸν Νέρωνα ταύτῃ, ὡς ἔοικεν, διὰ τὸ ὠμόθυμον προσειπών. οὐκ οὖν ἐξῆς προστέθεικεν παραπλήσιόν τι τῷ 'ρύσεταιί με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος·' ἑώρα γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τὴν ὅσον οὕτω μέλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τελευτῆν, διὸ φησιν ἐπιλέγων τῷ 'καὶ [5] ἐρρῡσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος' τὸ 'ρύσεταιί με ὁ κύριος ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον,' σημαίνων τὸ παραντίκα μαρτύριον· ὁ

καὶ σαφέστερον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ προλέγει γραφῇ, φάσκων ‘ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκεν.’ [6] νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἐπιστολῆς τῶν πρὸς Τιμόθεον τὸν Λουκᾶν μόνον γράφοντι αὐτῷ συνεῖναι δηλοῖ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν προτέραν ἀπολογίαν οὐδὲ τοῦτον: ὅθεν εἰκότως τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεις ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνον ὁ Λουκᾶς περιέγραψε τὸν χρόνον, τὴν μέχρις ὅτε τῷ Παύλῳ συνῆν ἱστορίαν ὑφηγησάμενος. ταῦτα [7] δ’ ἡμῖν εἴρηται παρισταμένοις ὅτι μὴ καθ’ ἣν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ Παύλου τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτῷ συνεπεράνθη: [8] εἰκὸς γέ τοι κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἡπιώτερον τοῦ Νέρωνος διακειμένου, ῥᾶον τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ Παύλου καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν, προελθόντος δ’ εἰς ἀθεμίτους τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρηθῆναι.

87 Ἰουδαῖοί γε μὴν τοῦ Παύλου Καίσαρα ἐπικαλεσαμένου ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Φήστου παραπεμφθέντος, τῆς ἐλπίδος καθ’ ἣν ἐξήρτυον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀποπεσόντες, ἐπὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ κυρίου τρέπονται ἀδελφόν, ὃ πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγκεχρίστο θρόνος. [2] τοιαῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοῦτου τολμᾶται. εἰς μέσον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες ἄρνησιν τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ παντός ἐξήτουν τοῦ λαοῦ: τοῦ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων γνώμην ἐλευθέρᾳ φωνῇ καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ προσεδόκησαν ἐπὶ τῆς πληθύος ἀπάσης παρρησιασασμένου καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος υἱὸν εἶναι θεοῦ τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, μηκέθ’ οἰοί τε τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μαρτυρίαν φέρειν τῷ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν δι’ ἀκρότητα ἧς μετῆι κατὰ τὸν βίον φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ θεοσεβείας πιστεῦεσθαι, κτείνουσι, καιρὸν εἰς ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες τὴν ἀναρχίαν, ὅτι δὴ τοῦ Φήστου κατ’ αὐτὸ τοῦ καιροῦ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας τελευτήσαντος, ἄναρχα καὶ ἀνεπιτρόπευτα τὰ τῆς αὐτόθι διοικήσεως καθειστήκει. [3] τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου τελευτῆς τρόπον ἤδη μὲν πρότερον αἱ παρατεθεῖσαι τοῦ Κλήμεντος φωναὶ δεδηλώκασιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερυγίου βεβλήσθαι ξύλῳ τε τὴν πρὸς θάνατον πεπλήχθαι αὐτὸν ἱστορηκότος: ἀκριβέστατά γε μὴν τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἠγήσιππος, ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήματι τοῦτον λέγων ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον: ‘Διαδέχεται [4] τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο, οὗτος δὲ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἅγιος ἦν, οἶνον καὶ σίκερα οὐκ ἔπιεν οὐδὲ ἔμψυχον ἔφαγεν, [5] ξυρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἔλαιον οὐκ ἠλείψατο, καὶ βαλανεῖον οὐκ ἐχρήσατο. [6] τούτω

μόνω ἐξῆν εἰς τὰ ἅγια εἰσέναι: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔρεοῦν ἐφόρει, ἀλλὰ σινδόνας. καὶ
μόνος εἰσῆρχετο εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἠϋρίσκετό τε κείμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν καὶ
αἰτούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφεσιν, ὡς ἀπεσκληκέναι τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ δίκην
καμήλου, διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κάμπτειν ἐπὶ γόνυ προσκυνοῦντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι
ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ. [7] διὰ γέ τοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ
δίκαιος καὶ ὠβλίας, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἑλληνιστὶ περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ δικαιοσύνη, ὡς
οἱ προφητὰι δηλοῦσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ. [8] τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπτά αἱρέσεων τῶν ἐν τῷ
λαῷ, τῶν προγεγραμμένων μοι ἑν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτοῦ τίς
ἢ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγεν τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν σωτῆρα: [9] ἐξ ὧν τινες
ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. αἱ δὲ αἱρέσεις αἱ προειρημέναι οὐκ
ἐπίστευον οὔτε ἀνάστασιν οὔτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα
αὐτοῦ: [10] ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ Ἰακώβον. πολλῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν
ἀρχόντων πιστευόντων, ἦν θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ
Φαρισαίων λεγόντων ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν
προσδοκᾶν. ἔλεγον οὖν συνελθόντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ: ἑκκατακαλοῦμέν σε, ἐπίσχες
τὸν λαόν, ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
παρακαλοῦμέν σε πείσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα
περὶ Ἰησοῦ: σοὶ γὰρ πάντες πειθόμεθα. ἡμεῖς γὰρ μαρτυροῦμέν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ
λαὸς ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ καὶ ὅτι πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις. [11] πείσον οὖν σὺ τὸν
ὄχλον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι: καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ πάντες πειθόμεθά
σοι. στήθι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἵνα ἄνωθεν ἦς ἐπιφανὴς καὶ ἡ
εὐάκουστά σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνεληλύθασι
πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν.’ [12] ἔστησαν οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι
γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἰακώβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ, καὶ
ἔκραξαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν ὅτι δίκαιε, ὃ πάντες πείθεσθαι ὀφείλομεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς
πλανᾶται ὀπίσω Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, [13] ἀπάγγειλον ἡμῖν τίς ἢ θύρα τοῦ
Ἰησοῦ.’ καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὅτι με ἐπερωτᾶτε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου, καὶ αὐτὸς κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης
δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;’ [14] καὶ πολλῶν
πληροφορηθέντων καὶ δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ
λεγόντων ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυὶδ,’ τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ
Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ὅτι κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν
παρασχόντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ: ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες καταβάλωμεν αὐτόν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες
μὴ πιστεῦσωσιν αὐτῷ.’ [15] καὶ ἔκραξαν λέγοντες ὦ ὦ, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος
ἐπλανήθη, ’ καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν γραφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἠσαΐᾳ γεγραμμένην

ἄρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν· τοίνυν τὰ γενήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται.’ ἀναβάντες οὖν κατέβαλον τὸν δίκαιον. [16] καὶ ἔλεγον ἀλλήλοις ‘λιθάσωμεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον,’ καὶ ἤρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν· ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων ‘παρακαλῶ, κύριε θεέ πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν.’ οὕτως δὲ καταλιθοβολούντων αὐτόν, [17] εἷς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν υἱῶν Ῥηχάβ υἱοῦ Ῥαχαβεὶμ, τῶν μαρτυρουμένων ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου, ἔκραζεν λέγων ‘παύσασθε· τί ποιεῖτε; εὐχεται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ δίκαιος.’ [18] καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, εἷς τῶν γναφέων, τὸ ξύλον, ἐν ᾧ ἀποπιέζει τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκεν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν. καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτόν ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ παρὰ τῷ ναῷ, καὶ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἡ στήλη μένει παρὰ τῷ ναῷ. μάρτυς οὗτος ἀληθῆς Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλήσιν γεγένηται ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστίν. καὶ εὐθὺς Οὐεσπασιανὸς πολιορκεῖ αὐτούς.’ [19] Ταῦτα διὰ πλάτους, συνωδὰ γέ τοι τῷ Κλήμεντι καὶ ὁ Ἡγήσιππος. οὕτω δὲ ἄρα θαυμάσιός τις ἦν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ βεβόητο ὁ Ἰάκωβος, ὥς καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίων ἔμφρονας δοξάζειν ταύτην εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸ μαρτύριον αὐτοῦ πολιορκίας τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣν δι’ οὐδὲν ἕτερον αὐτοῖς συμβῆναι ἢ διὰ τὸ κατ’ αὐτοῦ τολμηθὲν [20] ἄγος. Ἀμέλει γέ τοι ὁ Ἰώσηπος οὐκ ἀπώκνησεν καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι δι’ ὧν φησιν λέξεων ‘ταῦτα δὲ συμβέβηκεν Ἰουδαίοις κατ’ ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ περ δικαιοτάτον αὐτόν ὄντα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν.’ [21] Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰκοστῷ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων· ‘πέμπει δὲ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἑπαρχον, Φῆστου τὴν τελευτὴν πυθόμενος. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἄνανος, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην εἶπαμεν παρεληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητῆς διαφερόντως, αἴρεσιν δὲ μετῆι τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὅμοιοι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς [22] Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. ἄτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἄνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβῖνον δ’ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν, καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ λεγομένου, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ τινες ἐτέρους, ὥς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρέδωκεν λευσθησομένους. [23] ὅσοι δὲ ἐδόκου ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς, βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα, παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Ἀνάνῳ μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πράσσειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς

αὐτὸν πεποικέναι. τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὑπαντιάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα, καὶ διδάσκουσιν ὥς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν Ἀνάνφ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ γνώμης καθίσαι συνέδριον. Ἀλβῖνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις, [24] γράφει μετ' ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάνφ, λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπειλῶν, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτοῦ ἄρξαντος μῆνας τρεῖς, Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμμαίου κατέστησεν.' Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται: [25] ἰστέον δὲ ὥς νοθεύεται μὲν, οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὥς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν: ὅμως δ' ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις.

Νέρωνος δὲ ὄγδοον ἄγοντος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας Ἀννιανὸς τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.

Κραταιουμένης δ' ἤδη τῷ Νέρωνι τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰς ἀνοσίους ὀκείλας ἐπιτηδεύσεις, κατ' αὐτῆς ὥπλιζέτο τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εὐσεβείας. γράφειν μὲν οὖν οἷός τις οὗτος γεγένηται τὴν μοχθηρίαν, οὐ τῆς παρούσης γένοιτ' ἂν σχολῆς: πολλῶν γε μὴν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀκριβεστάταις παραδεδωκότων διηγήσεσιν, [2] πάρεστιν ὅτῳ φίλον, ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν σκαϊότητα τῆς τάνδρὸς ἐκτόπου καταθεωρῆσαι μανίας, καθ' ἣν οὐ μετὰ λογισμοῦ μυρίων ὄσων ἀπωλείας διεξελθὼν, ἐπὶ τοσαύτην ἤλασε μαιφονίαν, ὥς μηδὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων τε καὶ φιλτάτων ἐπισχεῖν, μητέρα δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ γυναῖκα σὺν καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίοις τῷ γένει προσήκουσιν τρόπον ἐχθρῶν καὶ πολεμίων ποικίλαις θανάτων [3] ιδέαις διαχρήσασθαι. ἐνέδει δ' ἄρα τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιγραφῆναι αὐτῷ, ὥς ἂν πρῶτος αὐτοκρατόρων τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας πολέμιος ἀναδειχθεῖ. [4] τοῦτου πάλιν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Τερτυλλιανὸς ὧδέ πως λέγων μνημονεύει 'ἐντύχετε τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ εὐρήσετε πρῶτον Νέρωνα τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα, ἥνικα μάλιστα ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τὴν ἀνατολὴν πᾶσαν ὑποτάξας, ὠμὸς ἦν εἰς πάντας, διώξαντα. τοιοῦτῳ τῆς κολάσεως ἡμῶν ἀρχηγῷ καυχώμεθα. ὁ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐκεῖνον νοῆσαι δύναται ὥς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὴ μέγα τι ἀγαθὸν ἦν, ὑπὸ Νέρωνος κατακριθῆναι.' [5] Ταύτῃ γοῦν οὗτος, θεομάχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήρθη σφαγὰς. Παῦλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι καὶ Πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦνται, καὶ πιστοῦνται γε τὴν ἱστορίαν ἢ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσασα ἐπὶ τῶν

αὐτόθι κοιμητηρίων πρόσρησις, [6] οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἀνὴρ, Γάϊος ὄνομα, κατὰ Ζεφυρῖνον Ῥωμαίων γεγρονῶς ἐπίσκοπον: ὃς δὴ Πρόκλῳ τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας προΐσταμένῳ γνώμης ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα περὶ τῶν τόπων, ἔνθα τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποστόλων τὰ ἱερὰ σκηνώματα κατατέθεται, φησὶν: ‘ἐγὼ [7] δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσης ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βασικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ἰωστίαν, εὐρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἰδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.’ [8] Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄμφω καιρὸν ἐμαρτύρησαν, Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἐγγράφως Ῥωμαίοις ὁμιλῶν, ὧδε παρίστησιν ‘ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νοθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτεῖαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδασκαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν.’ καὶ ταῦτα δέ, ὡς ἂν ἔτι μᾶλλον πιστωθεῖται τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας.

104 Αὐθις δ’ ὁ Ἰώσηπος πλεῖστα ὅσα περὶ τῆς τὸ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος καταλαβούσης διελθὼν συμφορᾶς, δηλοῖ κατὰ λέξιν ἐπὶ πλείστοις ἄλλοις μυρίους ὅσους τῶν παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τετιμημένων μάστιξιν αἰκισθέντας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀνασταυρωθῆναι ὑπὸ Φλώρου: τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπον, ὁπνίκα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναρριπισθῆναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, συνέβη. [2] εἴτα δὲ καὶ καθ’ ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσει δεινὴν φησι κατελιφέναι ταραχὴν, πανταχόσε τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους πρὸς τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐνοίκων ὡς ἂν πολεμίων ἀνηλεῶς πορθουμένων, ὥστε ὅρᾳν τὰς πόλεις μεστὰς ἀτάφων σωμάτων καὶ νεκρῶν ἅμα νηπίοις γέροντας ἐρριμμένους γύναιά τε μηδὲ τῆς ἐπ’ αἰδῶ σκέπης μετελιφότα, καὶ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν μεστὴν ἀδιηγῆτων συμφορῶν, μεῖζονα δὲ τῶν ἐκάστοτε τολμωμένων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπειλουμένοις ἀνάτασιν. ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ὁ Ἰώσηπος. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

BOOK III.

Τάδε καὶ ἡ γ περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

A Ὅποιο γῆς ἐκήρυξαν τὸν Χριστὸν οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

B Τίς πρῶτος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας προέστη.

Γ Περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.

Δ Περὶ τῆς πρώτης τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς.

E Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑστάτης Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας.

Σ Περὶ τοῦ πῆσαντος αὐτοὺς λιμοῦ.

Z Περὶ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ προρρήσεων.

H Περὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου σημείων.

Θ Περὶ Ἰωσήπου καὶ ὧν κατέλιπεν συγγραμμάτων.

I Ὅπως τῶν θείων μνημονεύει βιβλίων.

ΙΑ Ὡς μετὰ Ἰάκωβον ἡγεῖται Συμεὼν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας.

ΙΒ Ὡς Οὐεσπασιανὸς τοὺς ἐκ Δαυιδ ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάττει.

ΙΓ Ὡς δεύτερος Ἀλεξανδρέων ἡγεῖται Ἀβίλιος.

ΙΔ Ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαίων δεύτερος Ἀνέγκλητος ἐπισκοπεῖ.

ΙΕ Ὡς τρίτος μετ' αὐτὸν Κλήμης.

Ις Περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολῆς.

ΙΖ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Δομετιανὸν διωγμοῦ.

ΙΗ Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως.

ΙΘ Ὡς Δομετιανὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαυιδ ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάττει.

K Περὶ τῶν πρὸς γένους τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

ΚΑ Ὡς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας τρίτος ἡγεῖται Κέρδων.

ΚΒ Ὡς τῆς Ἀντιοχείων δεύτερος Ἰγνάτιος.

ΚΓ Ἱστορία περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου.

ΚΔ Περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων.

ΚΕ Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων θείων γραφῶν καὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων.

Κς Περὶ Μενάνδρου τοῦ γόητος.

ΚΖ Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑβιωναίων αἵρέσεως.

ΚΗ Περὶ Κηρίνου αἵρεσιάρχου.

ΚΘ Περὶ Νικολάου καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κεκλημένων.

Λ Περὶ τῶν ἐν συζυγίαις ἐξετασθέντων ἀποστόλων.

ΛΑ Περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου καὶ Φιλίππου τελευτῆς.

ΛΒ Ὅπως Συμεὼν ὁ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπίσκοπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

ΛΓ Ὅπως Τραϊανὸς ζητεῖσθαι Χριστιανοὺς ἐκώλυσεν.

ΛΔ Ὡς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τέταρτος Εὐάρεστος ἡγεῖται.

ΛΕ Ὡς τρίτος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰούστος.

Λς Περὶ Ἰγνατίου καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ.

ΛΖ Περὶ τῶν εἰς ἔτι τότε διαπρεπόντων εὐαγγελιστῶν.

ΛΗ Περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν ψευδῶς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων.

ΛΘ Περὶ τῶν Παπία συγγραμμάτων.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν τούτοις ἦν: τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων τε καὶ μαθητῶν ἐφ' ἅπασαν κατασπαρέντων τὴν οἰκουμένην, Θωμᾶς μὲν, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις περιέχει, τὴν Παρθίαν εἴληχεν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν, Ἰωάννης τὴν Ἀσίαν, πρὸς οὓς καὶ διατρίψας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτᾷ, Πέτρος ^[2] δ' ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βιθυνίᾳ Καππαδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Ἀσία κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐκ διασπορᾶς Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν: ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος, ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ^[3] οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιῶσας παθεῖν. τί δεῖ περὶ Παύλου λέγειν, ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος

τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὕστερον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος μεμαρτυρηκότος; ταῦτα Ὁριγένης κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τρίτῳ τόμῳ τῶν εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ἐξηγητικῶν εἴρηται.

Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου μαρτυρίαν πρῶτος κληροῦται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Λίνος, μνημονεύει τούτου Τιμοθέῳ γράφων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ὁ Παῦλος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρόσρησιν.

Πέτρου μὲν οὖν ἐπιστολὴ μία, ἡ λεγομένη αὐτοῦ προτέρα, ἀνωμολόγηται, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ οἱ πάλοι πρεσβύτεροι ὡς ἀναμφιλέκτῳ ἐν τοῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν κατακέχρηνται συγγράμμασιν: τὴν δὲ φερομένην δευτέραν οὐκ ἐνδιάθηκον μὲν εἶναι παρειλήφαμεν, ὅμως δὲ πολλοῖς χρήσιμος φανεῖσα, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γραφῶν. [2] τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτοῦ Πράξεων καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὀνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον τό τε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ Κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα, ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε μὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο [3] μαρτυρίαις. προΐούσης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας πούργου ποιήσομαι σὺν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς ὑποσημήνασθαι τίνες τῶν κατὰ χρόνους ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων ὁποῖαις κέχρηται τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων, τίνα τε περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων καὶ ὁμολογουμένων γραφῶν [4] καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων αὐτοῖς εἴρηται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὀνομαζόμενα Πέτρου, ὧν μόνην μίαν γνησίαν ἔγνων ἐπιστολὴν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πάλοι πρεσβυτέροις ὁμολογουμένην, τοσαῦτα: [5] τοῦ δὲ Παύλου πρόδηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς αἱ δεκατέσσαρες: ὅτι γε μὴν τινες ἠθετήκασιν τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους, πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ὡς μὴ Παύλου οὕσαν αὐτὴν ἀντιλέγεσθαι φήσαντες, οὐ δίκαιον ἀγνοεῖν: καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτης δὲ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν εἰρημένα κατὰ καιρὸν παραθήσομαι. οὐδὲ μὴν τὰς λεγομένας αὐτοῦ Πράξεις ἐν ἀναμφιλέκτοις παρείληφα. [6] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει προσήρσεσιν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μνήμην πεποιήται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Ἑρμᾶ, οὗ φασιν ὑπάρχειν τὸ τοῦ Ποιμένος βιβλίον, ἰστέον ὡς καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς μὲν τινων ἀντιλέλεκται, δι' οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις τεθεῖη, ὑφ' ἐτέρων δὲ ἀναγκαιότατον οἷς μάλιστα δεῖ στοιχειώσεως εἰσαγωγικῆς, κέκριται: ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ δεδημοσιευμένον, καὶ τῶν παλαιτάτων δὲ συγγραφέων κεκρημένους τινὰς αὐτῷ κατείληφα. [7] ταῦτα εἰς παράστασιν τῶν τε ἀναντιρρήτων καὶ τῶν μὴ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογουμένων θείων γραμμάτων εἰρήσθω.

5 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν κηρύσσωσιν ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καταβέβλητο θεμελίους,

δηλον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ γένοιτ' ἂν φωνῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν
ιστόρησεν: καὶ ἐκ τῶν [2] Πέτρου δὲ λέξεων ἐν ὁπόσαις καὶ οὗτος ἐπαρχίας
τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς τὸν Χριστὸν εὐαγγελιζόμενος τὸν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης
παρεδίδου λόγον, σαφὲς ἂν εἴη ἀφ' ἧς εἰρήκαμεν ὁμολογουμένης αὐτοῦ
ἐπιστολῆς, ἐν ἣ τοῖς ἐξ Ἑβραίων οὖσιν ἐν διασπορᾷ Πόντου καὶ Γαλατίας
Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας γράφει. [3] ὅσοι δὲ τούτων καὶ τίνες
γνήσιοι ζηλωταὶ γεγονότες τὰς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἰδρυθείσας ἱκανοὶ ποιμαίνειν
ἐδοκιμάσθησαν ἐκκλησίας, οὐ ῥᾶδιον εἰπεῖν, μὴ ὅτι γε ὅσους ἂν τις ἐκ τῶν
Παύλου φωνῶν ἀναλέξοιτο: [4] τούτου γὰρ οὖν μυριοὶ συνεργοὶ καί, ὡς αὐτὸς
ὠνόμασεν, συστρατιῶται γεγονασιν, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἀλήστου πρὸς αὐτοῦ
μνήμης ἡξίωνται, διηνεκῇ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μαρτυρίαν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιστολαῖς
ἐγκαταλέξαντος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν τοὺς γνωρίμους
αὐτοῦ καταλέγων [5] ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν μνημονεύει. Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν
Ἐφέσῃ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχέναι, [6] ὡς καὶ Τίτος
τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν. Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὧν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας,
τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ ἱατρός, τὰ πλεῖστα συγγεγονῶς τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων ὠμιληκῶς, ἧς ἀπὸ τούτων προσεκτήσατο
ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς ἐν δυσὶν ἡμῖν ὑποδείγματα θεοπνεύστοις κατέλιπεν
βιβλίοις, τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, ὃ καὶ χαράζαι μαρτύρεται καθ' ἃ παρέδοσαν αὐτῷ
οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρεταὶ γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, οἷς καὶ φησιν ἔτι
ἄνωθεν ἅπασι παρηκολουθηκέναι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων Πράξεσιν, ἃς
οὐκέτι δι' ἀκοῆς, ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ παραλαβὼν συνετάξατο. [7] φασὶν δ' ὡς ἄρα τοῦ
κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύειν ὁ Παῦλος εἶωθεν, ὁπνίκα ὡς περὶ ἰδίου
τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἔλεγεν 'κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου.' [8] τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν
ἀκολουθῶν τοῦ Παύλου Κρήσκης μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Γαλλίας στείλαμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
μαρτυρεῖται, Λίνος δὲ, οὗ μέμνηται συνόντος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν
δευτέραν πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολήν, πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων
ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἥδη πρότερον κληρωθεὶς δεδήλωται: [9] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ
Κλήμης, τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας τρίτος ἐπίσκοπος καταστάς,
Παύλου συνεργὸς καὶ συναθλητὴς [10] γεγονέναι πρὸς αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεῖται. ἐπὶ
τούτοις καὶ τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην ἐκεῖνον, Διονύσιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὃν ἐν ταῖς
Πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους Παύλου δημηγορίαν
πρῶτον πιστεῦσαι ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Λουκᾶς, τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον
ἐπίσκοπον ἀρχαίων τις ἕτερος Διονύσιος, τῆς Κορινθίων παροικίας ποιμὴν,
γεγονέναι ἱστορεῖ. [11] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁδῷ προβαίνουσιν, ἐπὶ καιροῦ τὰ τῆς κατὰ

χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχῆς ἡμῖν εἰρήσεται· νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἴωμεν τῆς ἱστορίας.

16 Μετὰ Νέρωνα δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατήσαντα τῶν ἀμφὶ Γάλβαν καὶ Ὅθωνα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ μῆσιν ἕξ διαγενομένων, Οὐεσπασιανός, ταῖς κατὰ Ἰουδαίων παρατάξεσιν λαμπρυνόμενος, βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀναδείκνυται τῆς Ἰουδαίας, αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτόθι στρατοπέδων ἀναγορευθεὶς. τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης οὖν αὐτίκα στείλαμενος, Τίτῳ τῷ παιδί τὸν κατὰ Ἰουδαίων [2] ἐγχειρίζει πόλεμον. μετὰ γε μὴν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν Ἰουδαίων πρὸς τῷ κατ' αὐτοῦ τολμήματι ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ πλείστας ὅσας ἐπιβουλὰς μεμηχανημένων, πρώτου τε Στεφάνου λίθοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνηρημένου, εἴτα δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰακώβου, ὃς ἦν Ζεβεδαίου μὲν παῖς, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰωάννου, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντος, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τε Ἰακώβου, τοῦ τὸν αὐτόθι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς θρόνον πρώτου μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν κεκληρωμένου, τὸν προδηλωθέντα τρόπον μεταλλάξαντος, τῶν τε λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων μυρία εἰς θάνατον ἐπιβεβουλευμένων καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίας γῆς ἀπεληλαμένων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ κηρύγματος διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν εἰς σύμπαντα τὰ ἔθνη στείλαμένων πορείαν σὺν δυνάμει τοῦ Χριστοῦ, φήσαντος αὐτοῖς ‘πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί [3] μου,’ οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τινα χρησμὸν τοῖς αὐτόθι δοκίμοις δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ἐκδοθέντα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου μεταναστῆναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τινα τῆς Περαιᾶς πόλιν οἰκεῖν κεκελευσμένου, Πέλλαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν ἣ τῶν εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετῳκισμένων, ὡς ἂν παντελῶς ἐπιλελοιπότων ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν αὐτὴν τε τὴν Ἰουδαίων βασιλικὴν μητρόπολιν καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν, ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ δίκη λοιπὸν αὐτοὺς ἅτε τοσαῦτα εἰς τε τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους αὐτοῦ παρηνομηκότας μετῇ, τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἄρδην τὴν γενεὰν αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζουσα. [4] ὅσα μὲν οὖν τῇκαδὲ κατὰ πάντα τόπον ὄλῳ τῷ ἔθνει συνερρῦη κακά, ὅπως τε μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Ἰουδαίας οἰκήτορες εἰς ἔσχατα περιηλάθησαν συμφορῶν, ὅποσαι τε μυριάδες ἡβηδὸν γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ παισὶ ξίφει καὶ λιμῷ καὶ μυρίοις ἄλλοις εἶδεσι περιπεπτώκασιν θανάτου, πόλεων τε Ἰουδαϊκῶν ὅσαι τε καὶ οἶαι γεγόνασιν πολιορκίαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποσα οἱ ἐπ' αὐτὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ μητρόπολιν ὀχυρωτάτην καταπεφευγότες δεινὰ καὶ πέρα δεινῶν ἐόρακας, τοῦ τε παντὸς πολέμου τὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γεγενημένων ἐν μέρει ἕκαστα, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τέλει τὸ πρὸς τῶν προφητῶν ἀνηγορευμένον βδέλυγμα τῆς

ἐρημώσεως ἐν αὐτῷ κατέστη τῷ πάλαι τοῦ θεοῦ περιβοήτῳ νεῷ, παντελῆ φθορὰν καὶ ἀφανισμόν ἔσχατον τὸν διὰ πυρὸς ὑπομείναντι, πάρεστιν ὅτω φίλον, ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς ἐκ τῆς τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ γραφείσης ἀναλέξασθαι ἱστορίας: [5] ὡς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος τῶν ἀθροισθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπάσης ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτῆς ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ ρήμασιν αὐτοῖς ἀποκλεισθῆναι εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀμφὶ τριακοσίας μυριάδας τὸ πλῆθος ἱστορεῖ, ἀναγκαῖον ὑποσημάνασθαι. [6] χρῆν δ' οὖν ἐν αἷς ἡμέραις τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην Χριστόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὸ πάθος διατέθινται, ταῖς αὐταῖς ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρκτῇ κατακλεισθέντας τὸν μετελθόντα αὐτοὺς ὄλεθρον πρὸς τῆς θείας δίκης καταδέξασθαι. [7] Παρελθὼν δὴ τὰ τῶν ἐν μέρει συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ὅσα διὰ ξίφους καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκεχειρήται, μόνας τὰς διὰ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι συμφορὰς παραθέσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἐκ μέρους ἔχουσιν οἱ τῇδε τῇ γραφῇ ἐντυγχάνοντες εἰδέναι ὅπως αὐτοὺς τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν ἢ ἐκ θεοῦ μετῴληεν τιμωρία.

φέρει δὴ οὖν, τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὴν πέμπτην τοῦ Ἰωσήπου μετὰ χειρας αὐθις ἀναλαβὼν, τῶν τότε πραχθέντων δίελθε τὴν τραγωδίαν: 'τοῖς γε μὴν εὐπόροις' φησί ' καὶ τὸ μένειν πρὸς ἀπωλείας ἴσον ἦν: προφάσει γὰρ αὐτομολίας ἀνηρεῖτό τις διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν. τῷ λιμῷ δ' ἡ ἀπόνοια τῶν στασιαστῶν συνήκμαζεν, καὶ καθ' [2] ἡμέραν ἀμφοτέρω προσεξεκάετο τὰ δεινά. φανερὸς μὲν γε οὐδαμοῦ σῖτος ἦν, ἐπεισπηδῶντες δὲ διηρεύνων τὰς οἰκίας, ἔπειθ' εὐρόντες μὲν ὡς ἀρνησαμένους ἠκίζοντο, μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ ὡς ἐπιμελέστερον κρύψαντας ἐβασάνιζον. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ τ' ἔχειν καὶ μή, τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀθλίων: ὧν οἱ μὲν ἔτι συνεστῶτες εὐπορεῖν τροφῆς ἐδόκουν, οἱ τηκόμενοι δὲ ἤδη παρωδεύοντο, καὶ κτείνειν ἄλογον ἐδόκει τοὺς ὑπ' ἐνδείας τεθνηξομένους αὐτίκα. [3] πολλοὶ δὲ λάθρα τὰς κτήσεις ἐνὸς ἀντικατηλλάξαντο μέτρου, πυρῶν μὲν, εἰ πλουσιώτεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πενέστεροι κριθῆς: ἔπειτα κατακλείοντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ μυχαίτατα τῶν οἰκιῶν, τινὲς μὲν ὑπ' ἄκρας ἐνδείας ἀνέργαστον τὸν σῖτον ἡσθιον, οἱ δ' ἔπεσπον ὡς ἢ τε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ δέος παρήνει, [4] καὶ τράπεζα μὲν οὐδαμοῦ παρετίθετο, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ὑφέλκοντες ἔτ' ὠμὰ τὰ σιτία διήρπαζον. ἐλεεινὴ δ' ἦν ἡ τροφή καὶ δακρύων ἄξιος ἡ θέα, τῶν μὲν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτούντων, τῶν δὲ ἀσθενῶν ὀδυρομένων. [5] πάντων μὲν δὴ παθῶν ὑπερίσταται λιμός, οὐδὲν δ' οὕτως ἀπόλλυσιν ὡς αἰδῶ: τὸ γὰρ ἄλλως ἐντροπῆς ἄξιον ἐν τούτῳ καταφρονεῖται. γυναῖκες γοῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παῖδες πατέρων καί. τὸ οἰκτρότατον, μητέρες νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφάς,

καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἐν χερσὶ μαραινομένων οὐκ ἦν φριδὼ τοὺς τοῦ ζῆν ἀφελέσθαι σταλαγμούς. [6] τοιαῦτα δ' ἐσθίοντες, ὅμως οὐ διελάνθανον, πανταχοῦ δ' ἐφίσταντο οἱ στασιασταὶ καὶ τούτων ταῖς ἀρπαγαῖς. ὁπότε γὰρ κατίδοιεν ἀποκεκλεισμένην οἰκίαν, σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο τοῦ ζῆνδον προσφέρεσθαι τροφήν, εὐθέως δ' ἐξαράζαντες τὰς θύρας εἰσεπήδων, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν φαρυγγῶν ἀναθλίβοντες τὰς ἀκόλους ἀνέφερον. [7] ἐτύπτοντο δὲ γέροντες ἀντεχόμενοι τῶν σιτίων, καὶ κόμης ἐσπαράσσοντο γυναῖκες συγκαλύπτουσαι τὰ ἐν χερσίν, οὐδέ τις ἦν οἶκτος πολιᾶς ἢ νηπίων, ἀλλὰ συνεπαίροντες τὰ παῖδια τῶν ψωμῶν ἐκκρεμάμενα κατέσειον εἰς ἔδαφος. [8] τοῖς δὲ φθάσασι τὴν εἰσδρομὴν αὐτῶν καὶ προκαταπιοῦσιν τὸ ἀρπαγῆσόμενον ὡς ἀδικηθέντες ἦσαν ὠμότεροι, δεινὰς δὲ βασάνων ὁδοὺς ἐπενόουν πρὸς ἔρευναν τροφῆς, ὁρόβοις μὲν ἐμφράττοντες τοῖς ἀθλίοις τοὺς τῶν αἰδοίων πόρους, ῥάβδοις δ' ὀξεῖαις ἀναπείροντες τὰς ἔδρας: τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκοαῖς ἔπασché τις εἰς ἐξομολόγησιν ἐνὸς ἄρτου καὶ ἵνα μηνύσῃ δράκα μίαν κεκρυμμένων ἀλφίτων. [9] οἱ βασανισταὶ δ' οὐδ' ἐπείνων 'καὶ γὰρ ἦττον ἂν ὠμὸν ἦν τὸ μετὰ ἀνάγκης', γυμνάζοντες δὲ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ προπαρασκευάζοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰς τὰς ἐξῆς ἡμέρας [10] ἐφόδια. τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φρουρὰν νύκτωρ ἐξεργύσασιν ἐπὶ λαχάνων συλλογὴν ἀγρίων καὶ πόας ὑπαντῶντες, ὅτ' ἤδη διαπεφευγῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκουν, ἀφήρπαζον τὰ κομισθέντα, καὶ πολλάκις ἰκετευόντων καὶ τὸ φρικτότατον ἐπικαλουμένων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μεταδοῦναί τι μέρος αὐτοῖς ὧν κινδυνεύσαντες ἦνεγκαν, οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν μετέδωκαν, ἀγαπητὸν δ' ἦν τὸ μὴ καὶ προσαπολέσθαι σεσυλημένον.' [11] Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'Ἰουδαίοις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐξόδων ἀπεκόπη πᾶσα σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, καὶ βαθύνας ἑαυτὸν ὁ λιμὸς κατ' οἴκους καὶ γενεὰς τὸν δῆμον ἐπεβόσκετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν τέγη πεπλήρωτο γυναικῶν καὶ βρεφῶν λελυμένων, [12] οἱ στενωποὶ δὲ γερόντων νεκρῶν, παῖδες δὲ καὶ νεανῖαι διοιδοῦντες ὥσπερ εἰδῶλα κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἀνειλοῦντο καὶ κατέπιπτον ὅπη τινὰ τὸ πάθος καταλαμβάνοι. θάπτειν δὲ τοὺς προσήκοντας οὔτε ἴσχυον οἱ κάμνοντες καὶ τὸ διευτονοῦν ὥκνει διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς ἄδηλον: πολλοὶ γοῦν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν θαπτομένοις ἐπαπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας, πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸ χρεών, [13] προῆλθον. οὔτε δὲ θρῆνος ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς οὔτε ὀλοφυρμὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὁ λιμὸς ἤλεγχε τὰ πάθη, ξηροῖς δὲ τοῖς ὄμμασιν οἱ δυσθανατοῦντες ἐθεώρουν τοὺς φθάσαντας ἀναπαύσασθαι, βαθεῖα δὲ τὴν πόλιν περιεῖχεν σιγὴ καὶ νῦξ θανάτου γέμουσα. [14] καὶ τούτων οἱ ληστὰι χαλεπώτεροι. τυμβωρυχοῦντες γοῦν τὰς οἰκίας, ἐσύλων τοὺς

νεκρούς, καὶ τὰ καλύμματα τῶν σωμάτων περισπῶντες, μετὰ γέλωτος ἐξήεσαν, τὰς τε ἀκμὰς τῶν ξιφῶν ἐδοκίμαζον ἐν τοῖς πτώμασιν, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐρριμμένων ἔτι ζῶντας διήλαινον ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῦ σιδήρου, τοὺς δ' ἰκετεύοντας χρῆσαι σφίσιν δεξιὰν καὶ ξίφος, τῷ λιμῷ κατέλιπον ὑπερηφανοῦντες, καὶ τῶν ἐκπνεόντων ἕκαστος ἀτενὲς εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀφεώρα, [15] τοὺς στασιαστὰς ζῶντας ἀπολιπών. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου θησαυροῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν ἐκέλευον, τὴν ὁσμὴν οὐ φέροντες: ἔπειθ' ὥς οὐ διήρκουν, ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐρρίπτουν εἰς τὰς φάραγγας. περιὼν δὲ ταύτας ὁ Τίτος ὡς ἐθεάσατο πεπλησμένας τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ βαθὺν ἰχῶρα μυδώντων τὸν ὑπορρέοντα τῶν σωμάτων, ἐστέναξεν τε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας κατεμαρτύρατο τὸν θεόν, ὡς οὐκ εἴη τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ.' [16] Τούτοις ἐπιπῶν τινα μεταξὺ ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'οὐκ ἂν ὑποστελαιίμην εἰπεῖν ἅ μοι κελεύει τὸ πάθος: οἶμαι Ῥωμαίων βραδυνάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους, ἢ καταποθῆναι ἂν ὑπὸ χάσματος ἢ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοὺς τῆς Σοδομηνῆς μεταλαβεῖν κεραυνούς: πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ταῦτα παθόντων ἦνεγκεν γενεὰν ἀθεωτέραν: τῇ γοῦν τούτων ἀπονοίᾳ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς συναπόλετο.' 26

[17] καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔκτῳ δὲ βιβλίῳ οὕτως γράφει. ' τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄπειρον μὲν ἔπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος, ἀδιήγητα δὲ συνέβαιναν τὰ πάθη. καθ' ἑκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εἴ που τροφῆς παραφανείη σκιά, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἐχώρουν οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια, πίστις δ' ἀπορίας οὐδὲ τοῖς θνήσκουσιν ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμπνέοντας οἱ λησταὶ διηρεύων, [18] μὴ τις ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔχων τροφήν, σκῆπτοιο τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἐνδείας κεχηγότες ὥσπερ λυσσῶντες κύνες ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ παρεφέροντο ταῖς τε θύραις ἐνσειόμενοι μεθυόντων τρόπον καὶ ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴκους εἰσεπήδων δις ἢ τρίς ὥρα μιᾶ. πάντα δ' ὑπ' ὀδόντας ἦγεν ἡ ἀνάγκη, καὶ τὰ [19] μὴδὲ τοῖς ῥυπαρωτάτοις τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων πρόσφορα συλλέγοντες ἐσθίειν ὑπέφερον. ζωστήρων γοῦν καὶ ὑποδημάτων τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ ἀπέσχοντο καὶ τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποδέροντες ἐμασῶντο, τροφή δ' ἦν καὶ χόρτου τισὶν παλαιοῦ σπαράγματα: τὰς γὰρ ἵνας ἔνιοι συλλέγοντες, ἐλάχιστον σταθμὸν ἐπώλουν [20] Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων.

καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν ἐπ' ἀψύχους ἀναίδειαν τοῦ λιμοῦ λέγειν; εἴμι γὰρ αὐτοῦ δηλώσω ἔργον ὅποιον μήτε παρ' Ἑλλήσιν μήτε παρὰ βαρβάρους ἰστόρηται, φρικτὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἄπιστον δ' ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ ἔγωγε, μὴ δόξαιμι τερατεύεσθαι τοῖς αὐθις ἀνθρώποις, κἂν παρέλιπον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡδέως, εἰ μὴ τῶν κατ'

ἐμαυτὸν εἶχον ἀπείρους μάρτυρας: ἄλλως τε καὶ ψυχρὰν ἂν καταθείμην τῇ πατρίδι χάριν, καθυφέμενος τὸν λόγον ὧν πέπονθε τὰ ἔργα. [21] γυνὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἰορδάνην κατοικούντων, Μαρία τοῦνομα, πατὴρ Ἐλεαζάρου, κόμης Βαθεζώρ ὁ σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο οἶκος ὑσώπου, διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταφυγοῦσα συνεπολιορκεῖτο. [22] ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν, ὅσῃν ἐκ τῆς Περσίας ἀνασκευασαμένη μετήνεγκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ λείψανα τῶν κειμηλίων καὶ εἴ τι τροφῆς ἐπινοηθεῖη καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσπηδῶντες ἥρπαζον οἱ δορυφόροι. δεινὴ δὲ τὸ γύναιον ἀγανάκτησις εἰσῆει, καὶ πολλάκις λοιδοροῦσα καὶ καταρωμένη τοὺς ἄρπαγας ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν ἠρέθιζεν. [23] ὥς δ' οὔτε παροξυνόμενος τις οὐτ' ἐλεῶν αὐτὴν ἀνῆρει καὶ τὸ μὲν εὐρεῖν τι σιτίον ἄλλοις ἐκοπία, πανταχόθεν δ' ἄπορον ἦν ἤδη καὶ τὸ εὐρεῖν, ὁ λιμὸς δὲ διὰ σπλάγχχνων καὶ μυελῶν ἐχώρει καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἐξέκαιον οἱ θυμοί, σύμβουλον λαβοῦσα τὴν ὀργὴν μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐχώρει, καὶ τὸ τέκνον, ἣν δ' αὐτῇ παῖς ὑπομάστιος, ἄρπασαμένη, 'βρέφος,' εἶπεν, 'ἄθλιον, ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ στάσει, τίني σε τηρῶ; [24] τὰ μὲν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δουλεία κἂν ζήσωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, φθάνει δὲ καὶ δουλείαν ὁ λιμὸς, οἱ στασιασταὶ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων χαλεπώτεροι. ἴθι, γενοῦ μοι τροφὴ καὶ τοῖς στασιασταῖς ἐρινὺς καὶ τῷ βίῳ μῦθος, ὁ μόνος ἐλλείπων ταῖς Ἰουδαίων συμφοραῖς.' [25] καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγουσα κτείνει τὸν υἱόν, ἔπειτ' ὀπτήσασα, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατακαλύψασα ἐφύλαττεν. εὐθέως δ' οἱ στασιασταὶ παρῆσαν καὶ τῆς ἀθεμίτου κνίσσης σπᾶσαντες, ἠπειλοῦν, εἰ μὴ δεῖξειεν τὸ παρασκευασθέν, ἀποσφάζειν αὐτὴν εὐθέως: ἡ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν αὐτοῖς εἰποῦσα καλὴν τετηρηκέναι, τὰ λείψανα τοῦ τέκνου διεκάλυψεν. [26] τοὺς δ' εὐθέως φρίκη καὶ φρενῶν ἔκστασις ἦρει, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἐπεπήγεσαν. ἡ δ', 'ἐμόν,' ἔφη, 'τοῦτο τὸ τέκνον γνήσιον, καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐμόν. φάγετε, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βέβρωκα: μὴ γέννησθε μήτε μαλακώτεροι γυναικὸς μήτε συμπαθέστεροι μητρός. εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποστρέφεσθε θυσίαν, ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν βέβρωκα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δ' ἐμοὶ μεινάτω.' [27] μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν τρέμοντες ἐξῆεσαν, πρὸς ἐν τοῦτο δειλοὶ καὶ μόλις ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς τῇ μητρὶ παραχωρήσαντες, ἀνεπλήσθη δ' εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσου ἢ πόλιν, καὶ πρὸ ὁμμάτων ἕκαστος τὸ πάθος λαμβάνων ὥς παρ' αὐτῷ τολμηθέν, ἔφριττεν. [28] σπουδὴ δὲ τῶν λιμωττόντων ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἦν καὶ μακαρισμὸς τῶν φθασάντων πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ θεάσασθαι κακὰ τηλικαῦτα.

Τοιαῦτα τῆς Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρανομίας τε καὶ δυσσεβείας τάπιχαιρα, παραθεῖναι ὃ αὐτοῖς ἄξιον καὶ τὴν ἀψευδοῇ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πρόρρησιν, δι' ἧς αὐτὰ ταῦτα δηλοῖ ὧδέ πως προφητεύων ‘οὐαὶ δὲ ταῖς ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχούσαις καὶ ταῖς θηλαζούσαις ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις: προσεύχεσθε δὲ ἵνα μὴ γένηται ὑμῶν ἡ φυγὴ χειμῶνος μηδὲ σαββάτω. ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη, οἷα οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν, οὐδὲ μὴ γένηται.’ [2] συναγαγὼν δὲ πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνηρημένων ἀριθμὸν ὁ συγγραφεὺς λιμῶ καὶ ξίφει μυριάδας ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα διαφθαρῆναί φησιν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς στασιώδεις καὶ ληστρικοὺς, ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐνδεικνυμένους, ἀνηρῆσθαι, τῶν δὲ νέων τοὺς ὑψηλοτάτους καὶ κάλλει σώματος διαφέροντας τετηρῆσθαι θριάμβῳ, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ πλήθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δεσμίους εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἔργα παραπεμφθῆναι, πλείους δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διανενεμῆσθαι φθαρησομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις, τοὺς δ' ἐντὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους ἀχθέντας διαπεπρᾶσθαι, τούτων δὲ μόνων τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς ἑννέα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν συναχθῆναι. [3] Ταῦτα δὲ τοῦτον ἐπράχθη τὸν τρόπον δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐεσπασιανοῦ βασιλείας ἔτει ἀκολούθως ταῖς προγνωστικαῖς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προρρήσεσιν, θεία δυνάμει ὥσπερ ἦδη παρόντα προεορακότος αὐτὰ ἐπιδακρύσαντός τε καὶ ἀποκλαυσαμένου κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν γραφὴν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὰς αὐτοῦ παρατέθενται τὰς λέξεις, τοτὲ μὲν φήσαντος ὡς πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ‘εἰ ἔγνωσ καὶ γε σὺ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην σου: [4] νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου: ὅτι ἤξουσιν ἡμέραι ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ περιβαλοῦσίν σοι οἱ ἐχθροί σου χάρακα, καὶ περικυκλώσουσίν σε, καὶ συνέξουσίν σε πάντοθεν, [5] καὶ ἐδαφιοῦσίν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου,’ τοτὲ δὲ ὡς περὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ‘ ἔσται γὰρ ἀνάγκη μεγάλη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὀργὴ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ: καὶ πεσοῦνται ἐν στόματι μαχαίρας καὶ αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσται πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν, ἄχρις οὗ πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν.’ καὶ πάλιν ‘ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ, τότε γινώτε ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.’ [6] συγκρίνας δὲ τις τὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ συγγραφέως ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀποθαυμάσειεν, θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς παράδοξον τὴν πρόγνωσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ πρόρρησιν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσας; [7] Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκεῖνας ἐν αἷς ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων πληθὺς τὸν μὲν ληστὴν καὶ φονέα τοῦ θανάτου παρήτῃται, τὸν δ' ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἐξ

αὐτῶν ἰκέτευσεν ἀρθῆναι, τῷ παντὶ συμβεβηκότων ἔσθαι, οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐπιλέγειν, ταῦτα δ' ἂν εἴη δίκαιον ἐπιθεῖναι, [8] ἃ γένοιτ' ἂν παραστατικὰ φιλανθρωπίας τῆς παναγάθου προνοίας, τεσσαράκοντα ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόλμαν τὸν κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρον ὑπερθεμένης, ἐν ὅσοις τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν πλείους Ἰάκωβός τε αὐτὸς ὁ τῆδε πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ κυρίου χρηματίζων ἀδελφός, ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιόντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πόλεως τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, ἔρκος ὥσπερ ὀχυρώτατον παρέμενον τῷ τόπῳ, [9] τῆς θείας ἐπισκοπῆς εἰς ἔτι τότε μακροθυμότητος, εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δυνηθεῖεν ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασαν, μετανοήσαντες συγγνώμης καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοσαύτῃ μακροθυμίᾳ παραδόξους θεοσημείας τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς μὴ μετανοήσασι συμβῆσεσθαι παρασχομένης: ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ μνήμης ἡξιωμένα πρὸς τοῦ δεδηλωμένου συγγραφέως οὐδὲν οἶον τοῖς τῆδε προσιοῦσιν τῇ γραφῇ παραθεῖναι.

Καὶ δὴ λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑκτὴν τῶν Ἱστοριῶν αὐτῶν δεδηλωμένα ἐν τούτοις. Ὅσον γοῦν ἄθλιον δῆμον οἱ μὲν ἀπατεῶνες καὶ καταψευδόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ τηνικαῦτα παρέπειθον, τοῖς δ' ἐναργέσι καὶ προσημαίνουσι τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐρημίαν τέρασιν οὔτε προσεῖχον οὔτ' ἐπίστευον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐμβεβροντημένοι καὶ μήτε ὄμματα μήτε ψυχὴν ἔχοντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κηρυγμάτων παρήκουον, [2] τοῦτο μὲν ὅθ' ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη ῥομφαία παραπλήσιον καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης, τοῦτο δ' ἡνίκα πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινήματος, ἀθροιζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων ἐορτὴν, ὀγδόῃ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐνάτην ὥραν, τοσοῦτον φῶς περιέλαμψεν τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναόν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἡμέραν εἶναι λαμπράν, καὶ τοῦτο παρέτεινεν ἐφ' ἡμίσειαν ὥραν: ὁ τοῖς μὲν ἀπείροις ἀγαθὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἱερογραμματεῦσι πρὸ τῶν ἀποβεβηκότων εὐθέως ἐκρίθη. [3] καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐορτὴν βοῦς μὲν ἀχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἔτεκεν ἄρνα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μέσῳ: [4] ἡ δ' ἀνατολικὴ πύλη τοῦ ἐνδοτέρω χαλκῇ μὲν οὔσα καὶ στιβαρωτάτη, κλειομένη δὲ περὶ δειλὴν μόλις ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων εἴκοσι, καὶ μοχλοῖς μὲν ἐπερειδομένη σιδηροδέτοις, καταπῆγας δ' ἔχουσα βαθυτάτους, [5] ὥφθη κατὰ νυκτὸς ὥραν ἑκτὴν αὐτομάτως ἡνοιγμένη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἡμέραις οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός, φάσμα τι δαιμόνιον ὥφθη μεῖζον πίστεως, τέρας δ' ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἰ μὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς θεασαμένοις ἱστόρητο καὶ τὰ ἐπακολουθήσαντα πάθη τῶν σημείων ἦν ἄξια: πρὸ γὰρ ἡλίου δύσεως ὥφθη μετέωρα περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἄρματα καὶ

φάλαγγες ἔνοπλοι διάτπουσαι τῶν νεφῶν καὶ κυκλούμεναι [6] τὰς πόλεις. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἣ πεντηκοστὴ καλεῖται, νύκτωρ οἱ ἱερεῖς παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν, πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἔφασαν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φωνῆς ἀθρόας ‘μεταβαίνομεν ἐντεῦθεν.’ τὸ δὲ τούτων φοβερώτερον, Ἰησοῦς γάρ τις ὄνομα, [7] υἱὸς Ἀνανίου, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἄγροικος, πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου, τὰ μάλιστα τῆς πόλεως εἰρηνευομένης καὶ εὐθηνούσης, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἐπεὶ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάντας ἔθος ἦν τῷ θεῷ, κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν ἐξαπίνης ἀναβοᾶν ἤρξατο ‘φωνὴ ἀπ’ ἀνατολῆς, φωνὴ ἀπὸ δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναόν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν.’ τοῦτο μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ κατὰ πάντας τοὺς στενωποὺς περιήει κεκραγώς. [8] τῶν δ’ ἐπισήμων τινὲς δημοτῶν ἀγανακτήσαντες πρὸς τὸ κακόφημον, συλλαμβάνουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πολλαῖς αἰκίζονται πληγαῖς· ὁ δ’ οὐθ’ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ φθεγξάμενος οὔτε ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, [9] ἅς καὶ πρότερον φωνὰς βοῶν διετέλει. νομίσαντες δ’ οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅπερ ἦν, δαιμονιώτερον εἶναι τὸ κίνημα τάνδρός, ἀνάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἑπαρχόν· ἔνθα μάλιστα μέχρις ὁστέων ξινόμενος οὐθ’ ἰκέτευσεν οὐτ’ ἐδάκρυσεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐνὴν μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ὀλοφυρτικῶς παρεγκλίνων, πρὸς ἐκάστην ἀπεκρίνατο πληγὴν ‘αἱ αἱ Ἱεροσολύμοις.’ [10] Ἅτερον δ’ ἔτι τούτου παραδοξότερον ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, χρησμόν τινα φάσκων ἐν ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν εὐρησθαι περιέχοντα ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὃν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸν πεπληρωσθαι ἐξεύληφεν· [11] ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἀπάσης γε οὗτος ἀλλ’ ἡ μόνης ἤρξεν τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους· δικαιότερον δ’ ἂν ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀναχθεῖν, πρὸς ὃν εἰρητο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ‘αἰτησαι παρ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς,’ οὗ δὴ κατ’ αὐτὸ δὴ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ‘εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος’ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ‘καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν.’

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν ἄξιον μὴδ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰώσηπον, τοσαῦτα τῇ μετὰ χεῖρας συμβεβλημένον ἱστορίᾳ, ὁπόθεν τε καὶ ἀφ’ οἴου γένους ὥρμητο, ἀγνοεῖν. δηλοῖ δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦτο, λέγων ὧδε ‘Ἰώσηπος Ματθίου παῖς, ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἱερεὺς, αὐτός τε Ῥωμαίους πολέμησας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον παρατυχὼν ἐξ ἀνάγκης.’ [2] μάλιστα δὲ τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ Ἰουδαίων οὐ παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς ὁμοεθnéσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις γέγονεν ἀνὴρ ἐπιδοξότατος, ὡς αὐτὸν μὲν ἀναθέσει ἀνδριάντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων

τιμηθῆναι πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ σπουδασθέντας αὐτῷ λόγους βιβλιοθήκης [3] ἀξιοθῆναι. οὗτος δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἐν ὅλοις εἴκοσι κατατέθεται συγγράμμασιν, τὴν δ' ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαικοῦ πολέμου ἐν ἑπτά, ἃ καὶ οὐ μόνον τῇ Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ μαρτυρεῖ, ἅξιός γε ὢν διὰ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεῦσθαι: καὶ ἕτερα δ' αὐτοῦ φέρεται σπουδῆς ἅξια δύο, [4] τὰ Περὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς Ἀπίωνα τὸν γραμματικόν, κατὰ Ἰουδαίων τῆνικάδε συντάξαντα λόγον, πεποιήται καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους, οἱ διαβάλλειν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πάτρια τοῦ Ἰουδαίων [5] ἔθρους ἐπειράθησαν. τούτων ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῆς λεγομένης παλαιᾶς τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων γραφῶν τίθησι, τίνα τὰ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἀναντίρρητα, ὥς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχαίας παραδόσεως αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι διὰ τούτων διδάσκων.

40 'Οὐ μυριάδες οὖν βιβλίων εἰσι παρ' ἡμῖν ἀσυμφώνων καὶ μαχομένων, δύο δὲ μόνα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι βιβλία, τοῦ παντὸς ἔχοντα χρόνου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, τὰ δικαίως θεῖα πεπιστευμένα. [2] καὶ τούτων πέντε μὲν ἐστὶν Μωυσέως, ἃ τοὺς τε νόμους περιέχει καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπογονίας παράδοσιν μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς: [3] οὗτος ὁ χρόνος ἀπολείπει τρισχλίων ὀλίγον ἐτῶν: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωυσέως τελευτῆς μέχρι τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην Περσῶν βασιλέως οἱ μετὰ Μωσὴν προφῆται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πραχθέντα συνέγραψαν ἐν τρισὶν καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις: αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ βίου περιέχουσιν. [4] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστεως δ' οὐχ ὁμοίας ἤξιώται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν. [5] δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ πῶς ἡμεῖς πρόσμιεν τοῖς ἰδίῳις γράμμασιν: τοσούτου γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρῳηκότος οὔτε προσθεῖναι τις οὔτε ἀφελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὔτε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν, πᾶσι δὲ σύμφυτόν ἐστιν εὐθύς ἐκ πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίοις τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐπιμένειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δέοι, θνήσκειν ἡδέως.' [6] καὶ ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ συγγραφέως χρησίμως ὥδε παρατεθείσθω. πεπόνηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπουδασμα τῷ ἀνδρί, Περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὃ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐπέγραψαν τῷ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὕτω καλουμένοις Μακκαβαϊκοῖς συγγράμμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισμένων Ἑβραίων περιέχειν, [7] καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει δὲ τῆς εἰκοστῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας ἐπισημαίνεται ὁ αὐτὸς ὥς ἂν προηρημένος ἐν τέτταρσιν συγγράψαι βιβλίοις κατὰ τὰς πατρίους δόξας τῶν Ἰουδαίων περὶ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν νόμων, διὰ τί κατ'

αὐτοὺς τὰ μὲν ἔξεστι πράττειν, τὰ δὲ κεκώλυται, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ αὐτῷ σπουδασθῆναι ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει λόγοις. [8] πρὸς τοῦτοις εὐλογον καταλέξει καὶ ἅς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας τοῦ τέλους φωνὰς παρατέθεται, εἰς πίστωσιν τῆς τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παραληφθέντων ἡμῖν μαρτυρίας. διαβάλλων δῆτα Ἰουστον Τιβερίεα, ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἱστορῆσαι χρόνους πεπειραμένον, ὡς μὴ τάληθῇ συγγεγραφότα, πολλὰς τε ἄλλας εὐθύνας ἐπαγαγὼν τῷ ἀνδρί, ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπιλέγει 'οὐ [9] μὴν ἐγὼ σοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον περὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γραφῆς ἔδεια, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέδωκα τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία, μόνον οὐ τῶν ἔργων ἤδη βλεπομένων: συνήδην γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ τετηρηκότι τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας παράδοσιν, ἐφ' ἣ μαρτυρίας τεύξεσθαι [10] προσδοκήσας οὐ διήμαρτον. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πολλοῖς ἐπέδωκα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὧν ἔνιοι καὶ παρατετεύχεσαν τῷ πολέμῳ, καθάπερ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας καὶ τινες αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγενῶν. [11] ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος οὕτως ἐκ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐβουλήθη τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παραδοῦναι τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε χαράξας τῇ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσιῶσαι προσέταξεν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ξβ ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς, τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας παραδόσει μαρτυρῶν.' Ἀφ' ὧν καὶ δύο παρατίθησιν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦτον ταύτην πη δεδηλώσθω.

Ἵωμεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. μετὰ τὴν Ἰακώβου μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτίκα γενομένην ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ λόγος κατέχει τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν τοὺς εἰς ἔτι τῷ βίῳ λειπομένους ἐπὶ ταῦτὸν πανταχόθεν συνελθεῖν ἅμα τοῖς πρὸς γένους κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ κυρίου 'πλείους γὰρ καὶ τούτων περιῆσαν εἰς ἔτι τότε τῷ βίῳ, βουλὴν τε ὁμοῦ τοὺς πάντας περὶ τοῦ τίνα χρὴ τῆς Ἰακώβου διαδοχῆς ἐπικρῖναι ἄξιον, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ διὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφῇ, τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, ἀνεψιόν, ὡς γέ φασι, γεγονότα τοῦ σωτῆρος, τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὑπάρχειν Ἠγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ.

καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις Οὐεσπασιανὸν μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἄλωσιν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαυίδ, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθεῖ τις παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς φυλῆς, ἀναζητεῖσθαι προστάξει, μέγιστόν τε Ἰουδαίοις αὐθις ἐκ ταύτης διωγμὸν ἐπαρτηθῆναι τῆς αἰτίας.

Ἐπὶ δέκα δὲ τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν ἔτεσιν βασιλεύσαντα αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται: οὗ κατὰ δεῦτερον ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας Λίνος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας δυοκαίδεκα τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐνιαυτοῖς κατασχών,

Ἀνεγκλήτῳ ταύτην παραδίδωσιν. Τίτον δὲ Δομετιανὸς ἀδελφὸς διαδέχεται, δύο ἔτεσι καὶ μισὶ τοῖς ἵσοις βασιλεύσαντα.

τετάρτῳ μὲν οὖν ἔτει Δομετιανοῦ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀννιανὸς δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι ἀποπλήσας ἔτη, τελευταῖα, διαδέχεται ὁ αὐτὸν δεύτερος Ἀβίλιος.

δωδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Ἀνέγκλητον ἔτεσιν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα δεκαδύο διαδέχεται Κλήμης, ὃν συνεργὸν ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστέλλων ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων ‘μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς.’

Τούτου δὴ οὖν ὁμολογουμένη μία ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία, ἣν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διευτυπώσατο, στάσεως τῆνικάδε κατὰ τὴν Κόρινθον γενομένης. ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔγνωμεν. καὶ ὅτι γε κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον τὰ τῆς Κορινθίων κεκίνητο στάσεως, ἀξιόχρεως μάρτυς ὁ Ἡγήσιππος.

Πολλὴν γε μὴν εἰς πολλοὺς ἐπιδειζάμενος ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὁμότητα οὐκ ὀλίγον τε τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὐπατριδῶν τε καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος οὐ μετ' εὐλόγου κρίσεως κτείνας μυρίους τε ἄλλους ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας ταῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐνορίαν ζημιώσας φυγαῖς καὶ ταῖς τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀποβολαῖς ἀναιτίως, τελευταῶν τῆς Νέρωνος θεοεχθρίας τε καὶ θεομαχίας διάδοχον ἑαυτὸν κατεστήσατο. δεύτερος δὴτα τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεκίνει διωγμὸν, καίπερ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μηδὲν καθ' ἡμῶν ἄτοπον ἐπινοήσαντος.

Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν Ἰωάννην ἔτι τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἔνεκεν μαρτυρίας Πάτμον οἰκεῖν καταδικασθῆναι τὴν νῆσον. [2] γράφων γέ τοι ὁ Εἰρηναῖος περὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀντίχριστον προσηγορίας φερομένης ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου λεγομένη Ἀποκαλύψει, αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς ἐν πέμπτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου φησὶν ‘εἰ [3] δὲ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑορακότος. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.’ [4] Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ ἄρα κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἢ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως διέλαμπεν διδασκαλία, ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἄποθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς μὴ ἀποκνηῖσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις τὸν τε διωγμὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μαρτύρια παραδοῦναι, οἳ γε καὶ τὸν

καιρὸν ἐπὶ ἀκριβὲς ἐπεσημνήναντο, ἐν ἔτει πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ Δομετιανοῦ μετὰ πλείστων ἐτέρων καὶ Φλαυίαν Δομέτιλλαν ἱστορήσαντες, ἐξ ἀδελφῆς γεγονοῦσαν Φλαυίου Κλήμεντος, ἐνὸς τῶν τηνικάδε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ὑπάτων, τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν εἰς νῆσον Ποντίαν κατὰ τιμωρίαν δεδóσθαι.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους Δαυὶδ ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάξαντος, παλαιὸς κατέχει λόγος τῶν αἵρετικῶν τινὰς κατηγορῆσαι τῶν ἀπογόνων Ἰούδα 'τοῦτον δ' εἶναι ἀδελφὸν κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ σωτῆρος' ὡς ἀπὸ γένους τυγχανόντων Δαυὶδ καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ συγγένειαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ φερόντων. ταῦτα δὲ δηλοῖ κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγων ὁ Ἡγήσιππος.

‘ἔτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου υἱῶνοι Ἰούδα τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ: οὓς ἐδηλατόρευσαν ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας Δαυίδ. τούτους ὁ ἡουοκᾶτος ἤγαγεν πρὸς Δομετιανὸν Καίσαρα. ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς εἰ ἐκ Δαυίδ εἰσιν, καὶ ὡμολόγησαν. [2] τότε ἠρώτησεν αὐτοὺς πόσας κτήσεις ἔχουσιν ἢ πόσων χρημάτων κυριεύουσιν. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ἀμφοτέροις ἐννακισχίλια δηνάρια ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς μόνα, ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντος τοῦ ἡμίσεος, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν ἀργυρίοις ἔφασκον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐν διατιμῇσει γῆς πλῆθρων λθ' μόνων, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀναφέρειν καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτουργοῦντας διατρέφεσθαι.’ [3] εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύναι, μαρτύριον τῆς αὐτουργίας τὴν τοῦ σώματος σκληρίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐργασίας ἐναποτυπωθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων χειρῶν τύλους παριστάντας. ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ὅποια τις εἶη καὶ ποῖ καὶ πότε φανερομένη, [4] λόγον δοῦναι ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνοι, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος γενησομένη, ὀπηνίκα ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ: ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότα τὸν Δομετιανόν, [5] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐτελῶν καταφρονήσαντα, ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖναι, καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν. [6] τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἠγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς ἂν δὴ μάρτυρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ κυρίου, γενομένης τε εἰρήνης [7] μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ παραμεῖναι αὐτοὺς τῷ βίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἡγήσιππος: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Τερτυλλιανὸς τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ τοιαύτην πεποιήται μνήμην ‘πεπειράκει ποτὲ καὶ Δομετιανὸς ταῦτ' οἰεῖν ἐκείνῳ, μέρος ὦν τῆς Νέρωνος ὠμότητος. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ἅτε ἔχων τι συνέσεως, τάχιστα ἐπαύσατο, ἀνακαλεσάμενος καὶ οὓς ἐξηλάκει.’ [8] Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Δομετιανὸν πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν κρατήσαντα Νερούα τὴν ἀρχὴν

διαδεξαμένον, καθαιρεθῆναι μὲν τὰς Δομετιανοῦ τιμὰς, ἐπανελθεῖν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς ἀδίκως ἐξεληλαμένους ἢ Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος βουλὴ ψηφίζεται: ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ γραφῇ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους παραδόντες. [9] τότε δὴ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου διατριβὴν ἀπειληφέναι ὁ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος.

Μικρῷ δὲ πλέον ἐνιαυτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα Νερούαν διαδέχεται Τραϊανός: οὗ δὴ πρῶτον ἔτος ἦν ἐν ᾧ τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξανδρεῖαν παροικίας Ἀβίλιον δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἡγησάμενον διαδέχεται Κέρδων: τρίτος οὗτος τῶν αὐτόθι μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀννιανὸν προέστη. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἔτι Κλήμης ἡγήτο, τρίτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχων τῶν τῆδε μετὰ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Πέτρον ἐπισκοπευσάντων βαθμόν: Λίνος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἦν καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐδοκίου πρώτου καταστάντος δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο. Συμεὼν ὁμοίως δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τούτους τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔτι τῷ βίῳ περιλειπόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃν ἡγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἀπόστολος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐαγγελιστῆς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν Δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. [2] ὅτι δὲ εἰς τούτους τῷ βίῳ περιῆν, ἀπόχρη διὰ δύο πιστώσασθαι τὸν λόγον μαρτύρων, πιστοὶ δ' ἂν εἶεν οὗτοι, τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πρεσβεύσαντες ὀρθοδοξίας, εἰ δὴ τοιοῦτοι Εἰρηναῖος καὶ Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς: [3] ὣν ὁ μὲν πρότερος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις ᾧδὲ πως γράφει κατὰ λέξιν: 'καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰωάννην. παρέμεινεν γὰρ αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων.' [4] καὶ ἐν τρίτῳ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως ταὐτὸ τοῦτο δηλοῖ διὰ τούτων: 'ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν θεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως.' [5] Ὁ δὲ Κλήμης ὁμοῦ τὸν χρόνον ἐπισημηνάμενος, καὶ ἱστορίαν ἀναγκαιοτάτην οἷς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἐπωφελῆ φίλον ἀκούειν, προστίθησιν ἐν ᾧ ' Τίς ὁ σφζόμενος πλούσιος' ἐπέγραψεν αὐτοῦ συγγράμματι: λαβὼν δὲ ἀνάγνωθι ᾧδὲ πως ἔχουσιν καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν γραφὴν: 'ἄκουσον [6] μῦθον οὐ μῦθον ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδωμένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου

τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἀπῆει παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κληρὸν ἓνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σηματομενῶν. [7] ἐλθὼν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τινα τῶν οὐ μακρὰν πόλεων, ἧς καὶ τοῦνομα λέγουσιν ἔνιοι, καὶ τᾶλλα ἀναπαύσας τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῷ καθεστῶτι προσβλέψας ἐπισκόπῳ, νεανίσκον ἱκανὸν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀστείον καὶ θερμὸν τὴν ψυχὴν ἰδὼν, 'τοῦτον' ἔφη 'σοὶ παρακατατίθεμαι μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρος.' τοῦ δὲ δεχομένου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπὸσχονομένου, καὶ πάλιν τὰ αὐτὰ διελέγετο καὶ διεμαρτύρετο. [8] εἴτα ὁ μὲν ἀπῆρεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἀναλαβὼν οἴκαδε τὸν παραδοθέντα νεανίσκον ἔτρεφεν, συνείχεν, ἔθαλπεν, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐφώτισεν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑψήκεν τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὥς τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ φυλακῆριον ἐπιστήσας [9] τὴν σφραγίδα κυρίου. τῷ δὲ ἀνέσεως πρὸ ὥρας λαβομένῳ προσφθείρονται τινες ἡλικίες ἀργοὶ καὶ ἀπερρωγότες, ἐθάδες κακῶν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν δι' ἐστιάσεων πολυτελῶν αὐτὸν ἐπάγονται, εἴτα πού καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπὶ λωποδυσίαν ἐξίοντες συνεπάγονται, [10] εἴτα τι καὶ μείζον συμπράττειν ἡξίου: ὁ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον προσειθίζετο, καὶ διὰ μέγεθος φύσεως ἐκστάς ὥσπερ ἄστομος καὶ εὐρωστος ἵππος ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ἐνδακῶν, μειζόνως κατὰ τῶν βαράθρων ἐφέρετο, [11] ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τελέως τὴν ἐν θεῷ σωτηρίαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι μικρὸν διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ μέγα τι πράξας, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ἀπολώλει, ἴσα τοῖς ἄλλοις παθεῖν ἡξίου. αὐτοὺς δὴ τούτους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ληστήριον συγκροτήσας, ἔτοιμος λήσταρχος ἦν, βιαιότατος μαιφονώτατος χαλεπώτατος. [12] χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τινος ἐπιπεσοῦσης χρείας ἀνακαλοῦσι τὸν Ἰωάννην. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὧν χάριν ἦκεν κατεστήσατο, 'ἄγε δὴ ἔφη 'ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, τὴν παραθήκην ἀπόδος ἡμῖν, ἣν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς σοὶ παρακατέθεμεθα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἧς προκαθέζη, μάρτυρος.' [13] ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγη, χρήματα οἰόμενος, ἅπερ οὐκ ἔλαβεν, συκοφαντεῖσθαι, καὶ οὔτε πιστεῦειν εἶχεν ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ εἶχεν, οὔτε ἀπιστεῖν Ἰωάννη: ὥς δὲ 'τὸν νεανίσκον' εἶπεν 'ἀπαιτῶ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ,' στενάξας κάτωθεν ὁ πρεσβύτης καὶ τι καὶ ἐπιδακρύσας, 'ἐκεῖνος' ἔφη 'τέθνηκεν.' 'πῶς καὶ τίνα θάνατον;' 'θεῷ τέθνηκεν' εἶπεν: 'ἀπέβη γὰρ πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξώλης καί, τὸ κεφάλαιον, ληστής, καὶ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ὄρος κατεῖληφεν μεθ' ὁμοίου στρατιωτικοῦ.' [14] καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα τα ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης οἰμωγῆς πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν, 'καλὸν γέ ἔφη 'φύλακα τῆς τᾶδελφοῦ ψυχῆς

κατέλιπον. ἀλλ' ἵππος ἤδη μοι παρέστω, καὶ ἡγεμὼν γενέσθω μοί τις τῆς ὁδοῦ.' ἤλαυνεν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, [15] αὐτόθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὑπὸ τῆς προφυλακῆς τῶν ληστῶν ἀλίσκεται, μήτε φεύγων μήτε παραιτούμενος, ἀλλὰ βοῶν 'ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑμῶν ἀγάγετέ με:' [16] ὃς τέως, ὥσπερ ὥπλιστο, ἀνέμενεν, ὡς δὲ προσιόντα ἐγνώρισε τὸν Ἰωάννην, εἰς φυγὴν αἰδεσθεῖς ἐτράπετο. [17] ὁ δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, κεκραγώς 'τί με φεύγεις, τέκνον, τὸν σαυτοῦ πατέρα, τὸν γυμνόν, τὸν γέροντα; ἐλέησόν με, τέκνον, μὴ φοβοῦ: ἔχεις ἔτι ζωῆς ἐλπίδας. ἐγὼ Χριστῷ λόγον δώσω ὑπὲρ σοῦ: ἂν δέῃ, τὸν σὸν θάνατον ἐκὼν ὑπομενῶ, ὡς ὁ κύριος τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν: ὑπὲρ σοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀντιδώσω τὴν ἐμήν. στήθι, πίστευσον: [18] Χριστός με ἀπέστειλεν.' ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, πρῶτον ἔστη μὲν κάτω βλέπων, εἶτα ἔρριπεν τὰ ὄπλα, εἶτα τρέμων ἔκλαιεν πικρῶς: προσελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν, ἀπολογούμενος ταῖς οἰμωγαῖς ὡς ἐδύνατο καὶ τοῖς δάκρυσιν βαπτιζόμενος ἐκ δευτέρου, [19] μόνῃν ἀποκρύπτων τὴν δεξιάν: ὁ δ' ἐγγυώμενος, ἐπομνύμενος ὡς ἄφесιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἠΰρηται, δεόμενος, γονυπετῶν, αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιάν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοίας κεκαθαρμένην καταφιλῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανήγαγεν, καὶ δαψιλέσι μὲν εὐχαῖς ἐξαιτούμενος, συνεχέσι δὲ νηστεῖαις συναγωνιζόμενος, ποικίλαις δὲ σειρῆσι λόγων κατεπάδων αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς φασιν, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐπιστῆσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διδοὺς μέγα παράδειγμα μετανοίας ἀληθινῆς καὶ μέγα γνῶρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρόπαιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης.' ταῦτα τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἱστορίας ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφελείας τῆς τῶν ἐντευξομένων ἔνεκεν, ἐνταυθα μοι κείσθω.

Φέρε δέ, καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰς ἀναντιρρήτους ἐπισημινώμεθα [2] γραφάς. καὶ δὴ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν διεγνωσμένον ἐκκλησίαις, πρῶτον ἀνωμολογήσθω: ὅτι γε μὴν εὐλόγως πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐν τετάρτῃ μοίρᾳ τῶν [3] ἄλλων τριῶν κατεῖλεται, ταύτῃ ἂν γένοιτο δῆλον. οἱ θεσπέσιοι καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θεοπρεπεῖς, φημί δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, τὸν βίον ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένοι καὶ ἀρετῇ πάσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς κεκοσμημένοι, τὴν δὲ γλῶτταν ιδιωτεύοντες, τῇ γε μὴν πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος αὐτοῖς δεδωρημένη θείᾳ καὶ παραδοξοποιῷ δυνάμει θαρσοῦντες, τὸ μὲν ἐν πειθοῖ καὶ τέχνῃ λόγων τὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου μαθήματα πρεσβεύειν οὔτε ἥδεσαν οὔτε ἐνεχείρουν, τῇ δὲ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος τοῦ συνεργοῦντος αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξει καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτῶν συντελουμένῃ θαυματουργῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμει μόνῃ χρώμενοι, τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας τὴν γνῶσιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν κατήγγελλον τὴν οἰκουμένην,

σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὸ λογογραφεῖν μικρὰν ποιούμενοι φροντίδα. [4] καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπραττον ἅτε μείζονι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐξυπηρετούμενοι διακονία. ὁ γοῦν Παῦλος πάντων ἐν παρασκευῇ λόγων δυνατώτατος νοήμασιν τε ἱκανώτατος γεγωνώς, οὐ πλέον τῶν βραχυτάτων ἐπιστολῶν γραφῇ παραδédωκεν, καίτοι μυρία γε καὶ ἀπόρρητα λέγειν ἔχων, ἅτε τῶν μέχρις οὐρανοῦ τρίτου θεωρημάτων ἐπιψαύσας ἐπ' αὐτόν τε τὸν θεοπρεπῆ παράδεισον ἀναρπασθεῖς καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ῥημάτων [5] ἁρρήτων ἀξιωθείς ἐπακοῦσαι. οὐκ ἄπειροι μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχον τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν φοιτηταί, δώδεκα μὲν ἀπόστολοι, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ μαθηταί, ἄλλοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις μυριοί· ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν τοῦ κυρίου διατριβῶν ὑπομνήματα Ματθαῖος ἡμῖν καὶ Ἰωάννης μόνοι καταλελοίπασιν· [6] οὓς καὶ ἐπάναγκες ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἔλθειν κατέχει λόγος. Ματθαῖός τε γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἡμελλεν καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἰέναι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδοὺς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λείπον τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ τούτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, [7] διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου· ἥδη δὲ Μάρκου καὶ Λουκᾶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελίων τὴν ἔκδοσιν πεποιημένων, Ἰωάννην φασὶ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀγράφῳ κεχρημένον κηρύγματι, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἔλθειν τοιαύδε χάριν αἰτίας. τῶν προαναγραφέντων τριῶν εἰς πάντας ἥδη καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν διαδεδομένων, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν φασιν, ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντα, μόνην δὲ ἄρα λείπεσθαι τῇ γραφῇ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κηρύγματος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πεπραγμένων [8] διήγησιν. καὶ ἀληθὴς γε ὁ λόγος. τοὺς τρεῖς γοῦν εὐαγγελιστὰς συνιδεῖν ἀρεστίην μόναν τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ κάθειρξιν ἐφ' ἓνα ἐνιαυτὸν πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι συγγεγραφότας αὐτό τε τοῦτ' ἐπισημναμένους κατ' [9] ἀρχὰς τῆς αὐτῶν ἱστορίας· μετὰ γοῦν τὴν τεσσαρακονταήμερον νηστείαν καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πειρασμὸν τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἰδίας γραφῆς ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος δηλοῖ λέγων 'ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρεδόθη, ἀνεχώρησεν' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας 'εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν,' [10] ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ὡσαύτως 'μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι' φησὶν 'Ἰωάννην ἦλθεν Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν,' καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς δὲ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πράξεων, παραπλησίως ἐπιτηρεῖ, φάσκων ὡς ἄρα προσθεῖς Ἡρώδης οἷς διεπράξατο πονηροῖς, 'κατέκλεισε τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ.' [11] παρακληθέντα δὴ οὖν τούτων ἕνεκά φασι τὸν ἀπόστολον Ἰωάννην τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προτέρων εὐαγγελιστῶν παρασιωπηθέντα χρόνον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοῦτον πεπραγμένα τῷ σωτῆρι 'ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ καθεύξεως' τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίῳ παραδοῦναι, αὐτό τε τοῦτ' ἐπισημῆνασθαι, τοτὲ μὲν

φήσαντα 'ταύτην ἀρχὴν ἐποίησεν τῶν παραδόξων ὁ Ἰησοῦς,' τότε δὲ μνημονεύσαντα τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μεταξύ τῶν Ἰησοῦ πράξεων ὡς ἔτι τότε βαπτίζοντος ἐν Αἰνῶν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Σαλείμ, σαφῶς τε τοῦτο δηλοῦν ἐν τῷ λέγειν 'οὕτω γὰρ ἦν Ἰωάννης βεβλημένος εἰς φυλακὴν,' [12] οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης τῇ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου γραφῇ τὰ μηδέπω τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ εἰς φυλακὴν βεβλημένου πρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ πραχθέντα παραδίδωσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τρεῖς εὐαγγελισταὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον κάθειρξιν τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ μνημονεύουσιν: [13] οἷς καὶ ἐπιστήσαντι οὐκέτ' ἂν δόξαι διαφωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῷ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἰωάννην τὰ πρῶτα τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πράξεων περιέχειν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ χρόνου αὐτῷ γεγεννημένην ἱστορίαν: εἰκότως ὃ οὖν τὴν μὲν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενεαλογίαν ἄτε Ματθαίῳ καὶ Λουκᾷ προγραφεῖσιν ἀποσιωπῆσαι τὸν Ἰωάννην, τῆς δὲ θεολογίας ἀπάρξασθαι ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ θείου πνεύματος [14] οἷα κρείττονι παραπεφυλαγμένης. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου γραφῆς εἰρήσθω, καὶ τῆς κατὰ Μάρκον δὲ ἡ γενομένη αἰτία ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωται: [15] ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἀρχόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν συγγράμματος τὴν αἰτίαν προῦθηκεν δι' ἣν πεποιήται τὴν σύνταξιν, δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προπετέστερον ἐπιτετηδευκότων διήγησιν ποιήσασθαι ὧν αὐτὸς πεπληροφόρητο λόγων, ἀναγκαίως ἀπαλλάττων ἡμᾶς τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφορίστου ὑπολήψεως, τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λόγον ὧν αὐτὸς ἱκανῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κατειλήφει ἐκ τῆς ἅμα Παύλῳ συνουσίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλίας ὠφελημένος, διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου παρέδωκεν εὐαγγέλιον. [16] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτων: οἰκειότερον δὲ κατὰ καιρὸν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων παραθέσεως τὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρημένα πειρασόμεθα δηλῶσαι. [17] Τῶν δὲ Ἰωάννου γραμμάτων πρὸς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ ἡ προτέρα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν παρὰ τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔτ' ἀρχαίοις ἀναμφίλεκτος [18] ὁμολόγηται, ἀντιλέγονται δὲ αἱ λοιπαὶ δύο, τῆς δ' Ἀποκαλύψεως εἰς ἑκάτερον ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς περιέλεται ἡ δόξα: ὁμοίως γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας ἐν οἰκείῳ καιρῷ τὴν ἐπίκρισιν δέξεται καὶ αὕτη.

Εὐλογον ὃ ἐνταῦθα γενομένους ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς. καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἀγίαν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, οἷς ἔπεται ἡ τῶν Πράξεων [2] τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφή: μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον ἐπιστολάς, αἷς ἐξῆς τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν: ἐπὶ τούτοις

τακτέον, εἴ γε φανείη, τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν Ἰωάννου, περὶ ἧς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα. [3] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις: τῶν δ' ἀντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται καὶ ἡ Ἰουδα ἢ τε Πέτρου δευτέρα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου, εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι εἴτε καὶ ἐτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνῳ. [4] ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου Πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρναβᾶ ἐπιστολὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι Διδαχαὶ ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη: ἦν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσιν τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. [5] ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσιν. [6] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἂν εἶη, ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα, διακρίνοντες τάς τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάστους καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας γραφὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλως παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγόμενας, ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινωσκομένας, ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προφερομένας ἥτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ καὶ Ματθία ἢ καὶ τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας ἢ ὡς Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις: ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἠξίωσεν, [7] πόρρω δέ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἦθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ, ἢ τε γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα, ὅτι δὴ αἰρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς παρίστησιν: ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντα καὶ δυσσεβεῖ παραιτητέον.

65 Ἵωμεν δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξῆς ἱστορίαν. Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον Μένανδρος διαδεξάμενος, ὅπλον δεύτερον οὐ χεῖρον τοῦ προτέρου τῆς διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδείκνυται τὸν τρόπον. ἦν καὶ οὗτος Σαμαρεὺς, εἰς ἄκρον δὲ γοητείας οὐκ ἔλαττον τοῦ διδασκάλου προελθὼν, μείζοσιν ἐπιδαψιλεύεται τερατολογίαις, ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὡς ἄρα εἶη, λέγων, ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄνωθ' ἐποθεν ἐξ ἀοράτων αἰώνων ἀπεσταλμένος σωτηρία, [2] διδάσκων δὲ μὴ ἄλλως δύνασθαι τινα καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων περιγενήσεσθαι, μὴ πρότερον διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ παραδιδομένης μαγικῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀχθέντα καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεταδιδομένου πρὸς αὐτοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὗ

τοὺς καταξιουμένους ἀθανασίαν ἄϊδιον ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ μεθέξειν τῷ βίῳ, μηκέτι θνήσκοντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ παραμένοντας εἰς τὸ αἰεὶ ἀγήρως τινὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἐσομένους. [3] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου διαγινῶναι ῥᾶδιον· καὶ ὁ Ἰουστίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ Σίμωνος μνημονεύσας, καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου διήγησιν ἐπιφέρει, λέγων: ‘Μένανδρον δὲ τινα καὶ αὐτὸν Σαμαρέα, τὸν ἀπὸ κώμης Καπαρατταίας, γενόμενον μαθητὴν τοῦ Σίμωνος, οἰστηθέντα καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καὶ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γενόμενον, πολλοὺς ἐξαπατῆσαι διὰ μαγικῆς τέχνης οἶδαμεν: ὃς καὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους ὥς μὴ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἔπεισεν, καὶ νῦν τινὲς εἰσιν, ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦτο ὁμολογοῦντες.’ [4] Ἦν ὁ ἄρα διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας διὰ τοιῶνδε γοήτων τὴν Χριστιανῶν προσηγορίαν ὑποδυομένων τὸ μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας μυστήριον ἐπὶ μαγείᾳ σπουδάσαι διαβαλεῖν διασῦραί τε δι’ αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀθανασίας καὶ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐκκλησιαστικὰ δόγματα. ἀλλ’ οὗτοι μὲν τούτους σωτήρας ἐπιγραφάμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀποπεπτώκασιν ἐλπίδος:

ἄλλους δ’ ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων, τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσαι, θατεραλήπτους εὐρὼν ἐσφετερίζετο: Ἐβιωναίους τούτους οἰκείως ἐπεφήμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς [2] καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντας. λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἡθους αὐτὸ μόνον ἄνθρωπον δεδικαιωμένον ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοινωνίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον: δεῖν δὲ πάντως αὐτοῖς τῆς νομικῆς θρησκείας ὥς μὴ ἂν διὰ μόνης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὴν βίου σωτηριομένοις. [3] ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τούτους τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντες προσηγορίας, τὴν μὲν τῶν εἰρημένων ἔκτοπον διεδίδρασκον ἀτοπίαν, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνούμενοι γεγονέναι τὸν κύριον, οὐ μὴν ἔθ’ ὁμοίως καὶ οὗτοι προϋπάρχειν αὐτὸν θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ὁμολογοῦντες, τῇ τῶν προτέρων περιετρέποντο δυσσεβείᾳ, μάλιστα ὅτε καὶ τὴν σωματικὴν περὶ τὸν νόμον λατρείαν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις περιέπειν ἐσπούδαζον. [4] οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου πάμπαν τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀρνητέας ἡγοῦντο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου, εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ’ Ἑβραίους λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον: [5] καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἀγωγὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις παρεφύλαττον, ταῖς δ’ αὖ κυριακαῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῖν τὰ παραπλήσια εἰς μνήμην τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπετέλουν: ὅθεν παρὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐγγχείρησιν τῆς τοιαύστες λελόγγασιν προσηγορίας, [6] τοῦ Ἐβιωναίων ὀνόματος τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος: ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπὶ κλὴν ὁ πτωχὸς παρ’ Ἑβραίοις

ονομάζεται.

Κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους χρόνους ἐτέρας αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι Κήρινθον παρειλήφαμεν: Γάϊος, οὗ φωνὰς ἤδη πρότερον παρατέθειμαι, ἐν τῇ φερομένη αὐτοῦ ζητήσῃ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει: [2] ‘Ἀλλὰ καὶ Κήρινθος ὁ δι’ ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ἡμῖν ὡς δι’ ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος ἐπεισάγει, λέγων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐπίγειον εἶναι τὸ βασιλεῖον τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν σάρκα πολιτευομένην δουλεύειν. καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀριθμὸν χιλιονταετίας ἐν γάμῳ ἑορτῆς, θέλων πλανᾶν, λέγει γίνεσθαι.’ [3] Καὶ Διονύσιος δέ, ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικίας καθ’ ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν εἰληχῶς, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἐπαγγελιῶν περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως εἰπὼν τινα ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν παραδόσεως, τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέμνηται ἀνδρὸς τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν: ‘Κήρινθον [4] δέ, τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηρινθιανὴν αἵρεσιν συστησάμενον, ἀξιόπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ [5] πλάσματι ὄνομα. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὣν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὢν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός, ἐν τούτοις ὄνειροπολεῖν ἔσσεσθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ σιτίοις καὶ πότοις καὶ γάμοις καὶ δι’ ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα ᾤθηται ποριεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς.’ [6] Ταῦτα Διονύσιος: ὁ δὲ Εἰρηναῖος ἀπορρητοτέρας δὴ τινὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ψευδοδοξίας ἐν πρώτῳ συγγράμματι τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις προθεῖς, ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἱστορίαν οὐκ ἀξίαν λήθης τῇ γραφῇ παραδédωκεν, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως Πολυκάρπου φάσκων Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπόστολον εἰσελθεῖν ποτε ἐν βαλανεῖῳ, ὥστε λούσασθαι, γνόντα δὲ ἔνδον ὄντα τὸν Κήρινθον, ἀποπηδῆσαί τε τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἐκφυγεῖν θύραζε, μηδ’ ὑπομείναντα τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ ὑποδῦναι στέγην, ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ παραινέσαι, φήσαντα ‘φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ.’

Ἐπὶ τούτων δῆτα καὶ ἡ λεγομένη τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν αἵρεσις ἐπὶ σμικρότατον συνέστη χρόνον, ἧς δὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις μνημονεύει: οὗτοι Νικόλαον ἕνα τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Στέφανον διακόνων πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐνδεῶν θεραπείᾳ προκεχειρισμένων ἠῦχουν. ὁ γε μὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεὺς Κλήμης ἐν τρίτῳ Στρωματῇ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λέξιν ἱστορεῖ: [2] ‘Ὠραίαν, φασί, γυναῖκα ἔχων οὗτος, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὀνειδισθεὶς ζηλοτυπίαν, εἰς μέσον ἀγαγὼν τὴν γυναῖκα γῆμαι τῷ

βουλομένῳ ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀκόλουθον γὰρ εἶναι φασι τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην ἐκεῖνη τῇ φωνῇ τῇ ὅτι ‘παραχρᾶσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ δεῖ,’ καὶ δὴ κατακολουθήσαντες τῷ γεγεννημένῳ τῷ τε εἰρημένῳ ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀβασανίστως, ἀνέδην ἐκπορνεύουσιν οἱ τὴν αἴρεσιν αὐτοῦ μετιόντες. [3] πυνθάνομαι δ’ ἐγὼ τὸν Νικόλαον μηδεμιᾶ ἑτέρα παρ’ ἣν ἔγχευε κεχρηῆσθαι γυναικί, τῶν τε ἐκεῖνου τέκνων τὰς μὲν θηλείας καταγερᾶσαι παρθένους, ἄφθορον δὲ διαμεῖναι τὸν υἱόν: ὧν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἀποβολὴ πάθους ἦν ἢ εἰς μέσον τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς ζηλοτυπουμένης ἐκκύκλησις γυναικός, καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια τῶν περισπουδάστων ἡδονῶν τὸ ‘παραχρᾶσθαι τῇ σαρκὶ ἐδίδασκεν. οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, ἐβούλετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐντολὴν ‘δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν,’ ἡδονῇ καὶ κυρίῳ. [4] λέγουσι δ’ οὖν καὶ τὸν Ματθίαν οὕτω διδάξαι, σαρκὶ μὲν μάχεσθαι καὶ παραχρᾶσθαι μηδὲν αὐτῇ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐνδιδόντα, ψυχὴν δὲ αὖξιν διὰ πίστεως καὶ γνώσεως.’ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους χρόνους παραβραβεῦσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐγκεχειρηκότων, λόγου γε μὴν θάπτον εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεσβηκότων εἰρήσθω.

Ὁ μέντοι Κλήμης, οὗ τὰς φωνὰς ἀρτίως ἀνέγνωμεν, τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐξῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀθετοῦντας τὸν γάμον τοὺς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξετασθέντας ἐν συζυγίαις καταλέγει, φάσκων: ‘ἡ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀποδοκιμάσουσιν; Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, Φίλιππος δὲ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξέδωκεν, καὶ ὁ γε Παῦλος οὐκ ὀκνεῖ ἐν τινὶ ἐπιστολῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαγορεῦσαι σύζυγον, ἣν οὐ περιεκόμιζεν διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας εὐσταλές.’ [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐ λυπεῖ καὶ ἄλλην ἀξιοδιήγητον ἱστορίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι, ἣν ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ Στρωματεῖ τοῦτον ἱστορῶν ἀνέγραψεν τὸν τρόπον: ‘φασὶ γοῦν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον θεασάμενον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὰ ἀπαγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἡσθῆναι μὲν τῆς κλήσεως χάριν καὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς, ἐπιφωνῆσαι δὲ εὖ μάλα προτρεπτικῶς καὶ παρακλητικῶς, ἐξ ὀνόματος προσειπόντα ‘μέμνησο, ὃ αὕτη, τοῦ κυρίου.’ τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ τῶν μακαρίων γάμος καὶ ἡ τῶν φιλάτων τελεία διάθεσις.’ καὶ ταῦτα δ’, οἰκεῖα ὄντα τῇ μετὰ χειρὸς ὑποθέσει, ἐνταῦθά μοι κατὰ καιρὸν κείσθω.

Παύλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Πέτρου τῆς τελευτῆς ὁ τε χρόνος καὶ ὁ τρόπος καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ βίου τῶν σκηνωμάτων αὐτῶν καταθέσεως ὁ χῶρος ἤδη πρότερον ἡμῖν δεδήλωται: τοῦ δὲ Ἰωάννου τὰ μὲν τοῦ χρόνου ἤδη πῶς εἴρηται, [2] τὸ δέ γε τοῦ σκηνώματος αὐτοῦ χωρίον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς Πολυκράτους ‘τῆς δ’ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος οὗτος ἦν’

ἐπιδείκνυται, ἣν Οὐίκτορι Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ γράφων, ὁμοῦ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ Φιλίππου μνημονεύει τοῦ ἀποστόλου τῶν τε τούτου θυγατέρων ὧδε πως: ‘καὶ [3] γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται: ἅτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀναζητήσῃ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται: ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται.’ [4] ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶνδε τελευτῆς: καὶ ἐν τῷ Γαῖου δέ, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθημεν, διαλόγῳ Πρόκλος, πρὸς ὃν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ζήτησιν, περὶ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς, συνάδων τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν, οὕτω φησίν: ‘μετὰ τοῦτον προφητίδες τέσσαρες αἱ Φιλίππου γεγένηνται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν: ὁ τάφος αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.’ [5] ταῦτα μὲν οὗτος: ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν Φιλίππου θυγατέρων ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ τότε διατριβουσῶν προφητικοῦ τε χαρίσματος ἡζιωμένων μνημονεύει, κατὰ λέξιν ὧδε πως λέγων: ‘ἦλθομεν εἰς Καισάρειαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά, ἐμείναμεν παρ’ αὐτῷ. τοῦτ’ δὲ [6] ἦσαν παρθένοι θυγατέρες τέσσαρες προφητεύουσαι.’ Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γινῶσιν περὶ τε τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν χρόνων ὧν τε καταλελοιπάσιν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων μὲν, ὅμως δ’ ἐν πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις παρὰ πολλοῖς δεδημοσιευμένων τῶν τε παντελῶς νόθων καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀλλοτριῶν ἐν τούτοις διεληφότες, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐξῆς προΐωμεν ἱστορίαν.

Μετὰ Νέρωνα καὶ Δομετιανὸν κατὰ τοῦτον οὗ νῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐξετάζομεν, μερικῶς καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξ ἐπαναστάσεως δήμων τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν κατέχει λόγος ἀνακινήθῃναι διωγμὸν: ἐν ᾧ Συμεῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὃν δεύτερον καταστῆναι τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον ἐδηλώσαμεν, μαρτυρίῳ τὸν βίον ἀναλῦσαι παρειλήφαμεν. [2] καὶ τούτου μάρτυς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος, οὗ διαφοροὶς ἤδη πρότερον ἐχρησάμεθα φωναῖς, Ἡγήσιππος: ὃς δὴ περὶ τινων αἵρετικῶν ἱστορῶν, ἐπιφέρει δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα ὑπὸ τούτων κατὰ τόνδε τὸν χρόνον ὑπομείνας κατηγορίαν, πολυτρόπως ὁ δηλούμενος ὡς ἂν Χριστιανὸς ἐπὶ πλείσταις αἰκισθεὶς ἡμέραις αὐτόν τε τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτόν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα καταπλήξας, τῷ τοῦ κυρίου πάθει παραπλήσιον

τέλος ἀπηνέγκατο: [3] οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον καὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως ἐπακοῦσαι, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως ἱστοροῦντος ‘ἀπὸ τούτων δηλαδὴ τῶν αἰρετικῶν κατηγοροῦσί τινες Σίμωνος τοῦ Κλωπᾶ ὡς ὄντος ἀπὸ Δαυὶδ καὶ Χριστιανοῦ, καὶ οὕτως μαρτυρεῖ ἐτῶν ὧν ρκ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπατικοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.’ [4] φησὶν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἄρα καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροὺς αὐτοῦ, ζητουμένων τότε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς Ἰουδαίων φυλῆς, ὡς ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὄντας ἀλῶναι συνέβη. λογισμῷ δ’ ἂν καὶ τὸν Συμεῶνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκόων εἴποι ἂν τις γεγονέναι τοῦ κυρίου, τεκμηρίῳ τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς χρώμενος καὶ τῷ μνημονεύειν τὴν τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν Μαρίας τῆς τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ γεγονέναι αὐτὸν καὶ πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσεν. [5] Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς καὶ ἑτέρους ἀπογόνους ἐνὸς τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος, ὃ ὄνομα Ἰούδας, φησὶν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιβιβῶναι βασιλείαν μετὰ τὴν ἤδη πρότερον ἱστορηθεῖσαν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ μαρτυρίαν, γράφει δὲ οὕτως: ‘ἔρχονται [6] οὖν καὶ προηγούμενοι πάσης ἐκκλησίας ὡς μάρτυρες καὶ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης βαθείας ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, μένουσι μέχρι Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, μέχρις οὗ ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ προειρημένος Σίμων υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ, συκοφαντηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων ὡσαύτως κατηγορήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ Ἀττικοῦ τοῦ ὑπατικοῦ. καὶ ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις αἰκιζόμενος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ὡς πάντας ὑπερθουμάζειν καὶ τὸν ὑπατικὸν πῶς ρκ τυγχάνων ἐτῶν ὑπέμεινεν, καὶ ἐκελεύσθη σταυρωθῆναι.’ [7] Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ διηγούμενος τὰ κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους, ἐπιλέγει ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει ὡς εἰ φωλευόντων εἰς ἔτι τότε τῶν, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιῆ κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος: [8] ὡς δ’ ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἱ καὶ ἅτε μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνῇ λοιπὸν ἤδη κεφαλῇ τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχείρουν.

Τοσοῦτός γε μὴν ἐν πλείοσι τόποις ὁ καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπετάθη τότε διωγμός, ὡς Πλίνιον Σεκοῦνδον, ἐπισημότατον ἡγεμόνων, ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαρτύρων κινηθέντα, βασιλεῖ κοινώσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀναιρουμένων, ἅμα δ’ ἐν ταῦτῳ μηνῦσαι μηδὲν ἀνόσιον μηδὲ παρὰ τοὺς

νόμους πράττειν αὐτοὺς κατελιφέναι, πλὴν τό γε ἅμα τῇ ἔφ διεγειρομένουσ
τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν, τὸ δὲ μοιχεύειν καὶ φονεύειν καὶ τὰ συγγενῇ
τούτοις ἀθέμιτα πλημμελήματα καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπαγορεύειν πάντα τε πράττειν
ἀκολούθως τοῖς νόμοις: [2] πρὸς ἃ τὸν Τραϊανὸν δόγμα τοιόνδε θετικέαι, τὸ
Χριστιανῶν φύλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ κολάζεσθαι: διὸ οὗ ποσῶς
μὲν τοῦ διωγμοῦ σβεσθῆναι τὴν ἀπειλὴν σφοδρότατα ἐγκειμένην, οὐ χεῖρόν
γε μὴν τοῖς κακουργεῖν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐθέλουσιν λείπεσθαι προφάσεις, ἔσθ ὅπῃ
μὲν τῶν δῆμων, ἔσθ ὅπῃ δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ χώρας ἀρχόντων τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν
συσκευαζομένων ἐπιβουλὰς, ὥς καὶ ἄνευ προφανῶν διωγμῶν μερικὸς κατ'
ἐπαρχίαν ἐξάπτεσθαι πλείους τε τῶν πιστῶν διαφόροις ἐναγωνίζεσθαι
μαρτυρίοις. [3] εἰληπταὶ δ' ἡ ἱστορία ἐξ ἧς ἀνώτερον δεδηλώκαμεν τοῦ
Τερτυλλιανοῦ Ῥωμαικῆς ἀπολογίας, ἧς ἡ ἐρμηνεία τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον
'καίτοι εὐρήκαμεν καὶ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιζήτησιν κεκωλυμένην. Πλίνιος γὰρ
Σεκουῖνδος ἡγούμενος ἐπαρχίου κατακρίνας Χριστιανούς τινας καὶ τῆς ἀξίας
ἐκβαλὼν, ταραχθεὶς τῷ πλήθει, διὰ ἡγνόει τί αὐτῷ λοιπὸν εἶη πρακτέον,
Τραϊανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνεκοινώσατο λέγων ἔξω τοῦ μὴ βούλεσθαι αὐτοὺς
εἰδωλολατρεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνόσιον ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρηκέαι: ἐμήνυνε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο,
ἀνίστασθαι ἔωθεν τοὺς Χριστιανούς καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν θεοῦ δίκην ὑμνεῖν καὶ
πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην αὐτῶν διαφυλάσσειν κωλύεσθαι φονεύειν, μοιχεύειν,
πλεονεκτεῖν, ἀποστερεῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντέγραψεν
Τραϊανὸς τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν φύλον μὴ ἐκζητεῖσθαι μέν, ἐμπεσὸν δὲ
κολάζεσθαι.' καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

Τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς ἐπισκόπων ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως
ἀρχῆς Κλήμης Εὐαρέστῳ παραδοὺς τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀναλύει τὸν βίον, τὰ
πάντα προστάς ἔτεσιν ἐννέα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου διδασκαλίας.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συμεῶνος τὸν δηλωθέντα τελειωθέντος τρόπον, τῆς ἐν
Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν θρόνον Ἰουδαῖός τις ὄνομα Ἰοῦστος, μυρίων
ὄσων ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τηνικαῦτα πεπιστευκότων εἷς καὶ αὐτὸς
ὢν, διαδέχεται.

Διέπρεπέν γε μὴν κατὰ τούτους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητῆς
Πολύκαρπος, τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν
τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος: [2] καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο Παπίας, τῆς
ἐν Ἱεραιόλει παροικίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος, ὃ τε παρὰ πλείστοις εἰς ἔτι νῦν
διαβόητος Ἰγνάτιος, τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεῦτερος τὴν
ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος. [3] λόγος δ' ἔχει τοῦτον ἀπὸ Συρίας. ἐπὶ τὴν

Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἀναπεμφθέντα, θηρίων γενέσθαι βορὰν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίας ἔνεκεν: [4] καὶ δὴ τὴν δι' Ἀσίας ἀνακομιδὴν μετ' ἐπιμελεστάτης φρουρῶν φυλακῆς ποιούμενος, τὰς κατὰ πόλιν αἷς ἐπεδήμει, παροικίας ταῖς διὰ λόγων ὁμιλίαις τε καὶ προτροπαῖς ἐπιρρωννύς, ἐν πρώτοις μάλιστα προφυλάττεσθαι τὰς αἱρέσεις ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον ἐπιπολαζούσας παρῆναι προύτρεπέν τε ἀπρὶξ ἔχεσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἐγγράφως ἤδη μαρτυρόμενος [5] διατυποῦσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖτο. οὕτω δὴτα ἐν Σμύρνῃ γενόμενος, ἔνθα ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἦν, μίαν μὲν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἑφεσον ἐπιστολὴν ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ποιμένος αὐτῆς μνημονεύων Ὀνησίμου, ἐτέραν δὲ τῇ ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ, ἔνθα πάλιν ἐπισκόπου Δαμᾶ μνήμην πεποιήται, καὶ τῇ ἐν Τράλλεσι [6] δὲ ἄλλην, ἣς ἄρχοντα τότε ὄντα Πολύβιον ἱστορεῖ. πρὸς ταύταις καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ γράφει, ἣ καὶ παράκλησιν προτείνει ὥς μὴ παραιτησάμενοι τοῦ μαρτυρίου τῆς ποθουμένης αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσαιεν ἐλπίδος: ἐξ ὧν καὶ βραχύτατα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν εἰρημένων παραθέσθαι ἄξιον. γράφει δὴ οὕν κατὰ λέξιν: 'ἀπὸ [7] Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις, ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα, οἳ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χεῖρονες γίνονται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι: ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. [8] ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἐτοίμων, ἃ καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομά μοι εὐρεθῆναι: ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἦψαντο, κἂν αὐτὰ δὲ ἄκοντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ προσβιάσομαι. [9] συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε: τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ γινώσκω, νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι. μηδὲν με ζηλώσαι τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω: πῦρ καὶ σταυρὸς θηρίων τε συστάσεις, σκορπισμοὶ ὁστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, κολάσεις τοῦ διαβόλου εἰς ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν, μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.' [10] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς δηλωθείσης πόλεως ταῖς καταλεχθείσαις ἐκκλησίαις διευτυπώσατο: ἤδη δ' ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σμύρνῃς γενόμενος, ἀπὸ Τρωάδος τοῖς τε ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ αὐθις διὰ γραφῆς ὁμιλεῖ καὶ τῇ Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἰδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ: ὃν οἶα δὴ ἀποστολικὸν ἄνδρα εὖ μάλα γνωρίζων, τὴν κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν αὐτῷ ποιήσας οἶα γνήσιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς ποιμὴν παρατίθεται, τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς φροντίδα διὰ σπουδῆς [11] ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Σμυρναίοις γράφων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ῥητοῖς συγκέχρηται, τοιαυτὰ τινα περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διεξιὼν: 'ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ

Πέτρον ἐλήλυθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς: 'λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον:' καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν.' [12] Οἶδεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ μαρτύριον καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει, λέγων οὕτως: 'ὥς εἶπέν τις τῶν ἡμετέρων, διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν μαρτυρίαν κατακριθεὶς πρὸς θηρία, ὅτι 'σῖτός εἰμι θεοῦ καὶ δι' ὁδόντων θηρίων ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος εὔρεθῶ.' [13] Καὶ ὁ Πολύκαρπος δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν μέμνηται ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολῇ φάσκων αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν: 'παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν εἶδετε κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ρούφῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις, πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶν παρὰ κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἡγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.' καὶ ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει: 'ἐγράψατέ [14] μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος, ἵν' ἐάν τις ἀπέρχηται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀποκομίσῃ γράμματα: ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν λάβω καιρὸν εὐθετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμπω πρεσβεύοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν. [15] τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε: αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμένοι εἰσὶν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ: ἐξ ᾧν μεγάλα ὠφεληθῆναι δυνήσεσθε. περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονήν καὶ πᾶσαν οἰκοδομήν τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν.' καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰγνάτιον τοιαῦτα: διαδέχεται δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκοπὴν Ἡρώς.

Τῶν δὲ κατὰ τούτους διαλαμψάντων καὶ Κοδρᾶτος ἦν, ὃν ἅμα ταῖς Φιλίππου θυγατράσιν προφητικῷ χαρίσματι λόγος ἔχει διαπρέψαι, καὶ ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πλείους ἐγνωρίζοντο κατὰ τούσδε, τὴν πρώτην τάξιν τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπέχοντες διαδοχῆς: οἱ καί, ἅτε τηλικῶνδε ὄντες θεοπρεπεῖς μαθηταί, τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προκαταβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων θεμελίους ἐπωκοδόμουν, αὐξοντες εἰς πλεόν τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια σπέρματα τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν εἰς πλάτος ἐπισπεύροντες τὴν οἰκουμένην. [2] καὶ γὰρ δὴ πλείστοι τῶν τότε μαθητῶν σφοδρότερον φιλοσοφίας ἔρωτι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν ψυχὴν πληττόμενοι, τὴν σωτήριον πρότερον ἀπεπλήρουν παρακάλειυσιν, ἐνδεέσιν νέμοντες τὰς οὐσίας, εἴτα δὲ ἀποδημίας στελλόμενοι ἔργον ἐπετέλουν εὐαγγελιστῶν, τοῖς ἔτι ἀάμπαν ἀνηκόοις τοῦ τῆς πίστεως λόγου κηρύττειν φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ τὴν

τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων παραδίδόμην γραφήν. [3] οὗτοι δὲ θεμελίους τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ ξένοις τισὶ τόποις αὐτὸ μόνον καταβαλλόμενοι ποιμένας τε καθιστάντες ἐτέρους τούτοις τε αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίζοντες τὴν τῶν ἀρτίως εἰσαχθέντων γεωργίαν, ἐτέρας αὐτοὶ πάλιν χώρας τε καὶ ἔθνη μετήρσαν σὺν τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ συνεργίᾳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς ἔτι τότε δι' αὐτῶν πλείσται παράδοξοι δυνάμεις ἐνήργουντο, ὥστε ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀκροάσεως ἀθρόως αὐτανδρὰ πλήθῃ προθύμως τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν εὐσέβειαν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς καταδέχεσθαι. [4] Ἀδυνάτου δ' ὄντος ἡμῖν ἅπαντας ἐξ ὀνόματος ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι ὅσοι ποτὲ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις γεγόνασιν ποιμένες ἢ καὶ εὐαγγελισταί, τούτων εἰκότως ἐξ ὀνόματος γραφῇ μόνων τὴν μνήμην κατατεθείμεθα, ὧν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἰς ἡμᾶς δι' ὑπομνημάτων τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας ἡ παράδοσις φέρεται.

ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοῦ Ἰγνατίου ἐν αἷς κατελέξαμεν ἐπιστολαῖς, καὶ τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν τῇ ἀνωμολογημένῃ παρὰ πᾶσιν, ἣν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο: ἐν ἧ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους πολλὰ νοήματα παραθεῖς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ αὐτολεξεῖ ρητοῖς τισιν ἐξ αὐτῆς χρησάμενος, σαφέστατα παρίστησιν ὅτι μὴ νέον ὑπάρχει τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὅθεν δὴ καὶ εἰκότως ἔδοξεν αὐτὸ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐγκαταλεχθῆναι γράμμασι τοῦ ἀποστόλου. [2] Ἑβραίοις γὰρ διὰ τῆς πατρίου γλώττης ἐγγράφως ὠμιληκὸς τοῦ Παύλου, οἱ μὲν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν Λουκᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Κλήμεντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι λέγουσι τὴν γραφήν: [3] ὁ καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἴη ἀληθὲς τῷ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς φράσεως χαρακτῆρα τὴν τε τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἀποσφῶζειν καὶ τῷ μὴ πόρρω τὰ ἐν ἑκατέροις τοῖς συγγράμμασι νοήματα καθεστάναι. [4] Ἰστέον δ' ὡς καὶ δευτέρα τις εἶναι λέγεται τοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολή, οὐ μὴν ἔθ' ὁμοίως τῇ προτέρᾳ καὶ ταύτην γνώριμον ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι μὴδὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους αὐτῇ κεχρημένους ἴσμεν. [5] ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολυεπὴ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ χθὲς καὶ πρόην τινὲς προήγαγον, Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα: ὧν οὐδ' ὅλως μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀποσφῶζει τὸν χαρακτῆρα.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη γραφὴ πρόδηλος, εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἰγνατίου καὶ Πολυκάρπου: τοῦ δὲ Παπῖα συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημονεύει, ὧδέ πως λέγων: ‘ταῦτα δὲ

καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγωνός, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.’ [2] καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα: αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρεληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει δι’ ὧν φησιν λέξεων: ‘οὐκ [3] ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθ’ διδάσκουσιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς παραγινομένας τῆς ἀληθείας: [4] εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης, τοῦ κυρίου μαθηταί, λέγουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.’ [5] Ἐνθα καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον δις καθαρθμιοῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν, τὸν δ’ ἕτερον Ἰωάννην, διαστείλας τὸν λόγον, ἑτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα, σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει: [6] ὥς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμία κεχρηῆσθαι εἰρηκότων δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μήματα καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι: οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δευτέρον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον, τὴν ἐπ’ ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψιν ἐορακέσαι. [7] καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκόντων ὁμολογεῖ παρεληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γενέσθαι: ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασιν τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις. [8] καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθω: ἄξιον δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάψαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι’ ὧν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα ὥς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα. [9] τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατρᾶσιν

διατρίψαι διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδῆλωται: ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας
γενόμενος, διήγησιν παρεληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου
θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον: νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν
γεγονυῖαν ἱστορεῖ καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἕτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰουστον τὸν
ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαβᾶν γεγονός, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ
μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος. [10] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν
Ἰουστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους μετὰ
Ματθία στήσαι τε καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον
τῆς ἀναπληρώσεως τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ ἢ τῶν Πράξεων ὧδέπως ἱστορεῖ
γραφῇ: 'καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαβᾶν, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη
Ἰουστος, καὶ Ματθίαν: καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπαν.' [11] καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς
ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα παρατίθεται ξένας τέ τινας
παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινὰ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα:
[12] ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν,
σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησί τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης: ἃ καὶ
ἠγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγῆσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν
ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα [13] μὴ συνεορακότα. σφόδρα γάρ
τοι μικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμενον εἰπεῖν,
φαίνεται, πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς
ὁμοίας αὐτῷ δόξης παραίτιος γέγονεν τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τάνδρὸς
προβεβλημένοις, ὥσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναῖω καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τὰ ὅμοια φρονῶν
ἀναπέφηνεν. [14] Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ
πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγῆσεις καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου
Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις: ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν
προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν ἣν περὶ Μάρκου
τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθεται διὰ τούτων: 'καὶ [15] τοῦθ' ὁ
πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν: Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα
ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἢ
λεχθέντα ἢπραχθέντα. οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ κυρίου οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν
αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ: ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς
διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων,
ὥστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν Μάρκος οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς
γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι
ἐν αὐτοῖς.' [16] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου: περὶ δὲ
τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται: 'Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραῖδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια

συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.' [17] Κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως, ἐκτέθεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, ἣν τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει. καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τοῖς ἐκτεθεῖσιν ἐπιτετηρήσθω.

BOOK IV.

Τάδε καὶ ἡ τετάρτη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι.

Β Ὅποια Ἰουδαῖοι κατ' αὐτὸν πεπόνθασιν.

Γ Οἱ κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογησάμενοι.

Δ Οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοποι.

Ε Οἱ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δηλουμένους Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι.

Σ Ἡ κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν ὑστάτη Ἰουδαίων πολιρκία.

Ζ Τίνες κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ γεγόνασιν ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως ἀρχηγοί.

Η Τίνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ συγγραφεῖς.

Θ Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀδριανοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἀκρίτως ἡμᾶς ἐλαύνειν.

Ι Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίνου βασιλείας ἐπίσκοποι Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων γεγόνασιν.

ΙΑ Περὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς αἵρεσιάρχων.

ΙΒ Περὶ τῆς Ἰουστίνου πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον ἀπολογίας.

ΙΓ Ἀντωνίνου πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου.

ΙΔ Τὰ περὶ Πολυκάρπου τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων γνωρίμου μνημονευόμενα.

ΙΕ Ὅπως κατὰ Οὐῆρον ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἅμ' ἐτέροις ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐπὶ τῆς Σμυρναίων πόλεως.

Ις Ὅπως Ἰουστῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως πρεσβεύων ἐμαρτύρησεν.

ΙΖ Περὶ ὧν Ἰουστῖνος ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι μνημονεύει μαρτύρων.

ΙΗ Τίνες εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦλθον τῶν Ἰουστίνου λόγων.

ΙΘ Τίνες ἐπὶ τῆς Οὐῆρου βασιλείας τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας προέστησαν.

Κ Τίνες οἱ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων.

ΚΑ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τούτους διαλαμψάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων.

ΚΒ Περί Ἡγησίππου καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς μνημονεύει.

ΚΓ Περί Διονυσίου Κορινθίων ἐπισκόπου καὶ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολῶν.

ΚΔ Περί Θεοφίλου Ἀντιοχείων ἐπισκόπου.

ΚΕ Περί Φιλίππου καὶ Μοδέστου.

Κς Περί Μελίτωνος καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐμνημόνευσεν.

ΚΖ Περί Ἀπολιναρίου.

ΚΗ Περί Μουσανοῦ.

ΚΘ Περί τῆς κατὰ Τατιανὸν αἵρέσεως.

Α Περί Βαρδησάνου τοῦ Σύρου καὶ τῶν φερομένων αὐτοῦ λόγων.

Ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος τῆς Τραϊανοῦ βασιλείας ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας δηλωθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ζωὴν μεταλλάττει, τέταρτος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτόθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρῖμος. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ὄγδοον ἔτος ἀποπλήσαντος Εὐαρέστου, πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχὴν, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑπολαμβάνει.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας τε καὶ ἐκκλησίας ὁσημέραι ἀνθοῦντα ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἐχώρει προκοπῆς, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίων συμφορᾶς κακοῖς ἐπαλλήλοις ἥκμαζεν. ἤδη γοῦν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἐλαύνοντος, αὐθις Ἰουδαίων κίνησις ἐπαναστάσα πάμπολυ πλῆθος αὐτῶν διαφθείρει. [2] ἐν τε γὰρ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ προσέτι κατὰ Κυρήνην, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος δεινοῦ τινος καὶ στασιώδους ἀναρριπισθέντες, ὥρμηντο πρὸς τοὺς συνοίκους Ἕλληνας στασιάζειν, αὐξήσαντές τε εἰς μέγα τὴν στάσιν, τῷ ἐπιόντι ἐνιαυτῷ πόλεμον οὐ σμικρὸν συνῆψαν, ἡγουμένου τῆνικαῦτα [3] Λούπου τῆς ἀπάσης Αἰγύπτου. καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ ἐπικρατῆσαι αὐτοὺς συνέβη τῶν Ἑλλήνων: οἱ καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαίους ἐξώγησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τούτων συμμαχίας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην τὴν χώραν τῆς Αἰγύπτου λεηλατοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ νομοὺς φθείροντες διετέλουν, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Λουκούα: ἐφ' οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔπεμψεν Μάρκιον Τούρβωνα σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ τε καὶ ναυτικῇ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱππικῇ. [4] ὁ δὲ πολλὰς μάχαις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ τε χρόνῳ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπονήσας πόλεμον,

πολλὰς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀπὸ Κυρήνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου συναιρομένων Λουκούα [5] τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ἀναιρεῖ. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑποπτεύσας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ἐπιθήσεσθαι τοῖς αὐτόθι, Λουσίῳ Κυήτῳ προσέταξεν ἐκκαθᾶραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτούς: ὃς καὶ παραταξάμενος, πάμπλου πλῆθος τῶν αὐτόθι φονεῦει, ἐφ' ᾧ κατορθώματι Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀνεδείχθη. ταῦτα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ παραδόντες αὐτοῖς ἱστορήσαν ῥήμασιν.

Τραϊανοῦ δὲ ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν ἀρχὴν μῆσιν ἕξ δέουσιν κρατήσαντος, Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. τούτῳ Κοδράτος λόγον προσφωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαν συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείας, ὅτι δὴ τινες πονηροὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπειρῶντο: εἰς ἔτι δὲ φέρεται παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἀτὰρ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ σύγγραμμα: ἐξ οὗ κατιδεῖν ἔστιν λαμπρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας [2] καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὀρθοτομίας. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρχαιότητα παραφαίνει δι' ὧν ἱστορεῖ ταῦτα ἰδίαις φωναῖς: 'τοῦ δὲ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τὰ ἔργα ἀεὶ παρὴν ἀληθῆ γὰρ ἦν, οἱ θεραπευθέντες, οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ νεκρῶν, οἱ οὐκ ὤφθησαν μόνον θεραπευόμενοι καὶ ἀνιστάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ παρόντες, οὐδὲ ἐπιδημοῦντος μόνον τοῦ σωτῆρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπαλλαγέντος ἦσαν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἰκανόν, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο.' [3] τοιοῦτος μὲν οὗτος: καὶ Ἀριστείδης δέ, πιστὸς ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ὀρμώμενος εὐσεβείας, τῷ Κοδράτῳ παραπλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ καταλέλοιπεν: σφύζεται δέ γε εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ πλείστοις καὶ ἡ τούτου γραφή.

Ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡγεμονίας Ἀλέξανδρος Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος τελευτᾷ, δέκατον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀποπλήσας ἔτος: Ξύστος ἦν τούτῳ διάδοχος. καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων δὲ παροικίας ἀμφὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Πρίμων μεταλλάξαντα δωδεκάτῳ τῆς προστασίας ἔτει διαδέχεται Ἰούστος.

Τῶν γε μὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων τοὺς χρόνους γραφῇ σφριζομένους οὐδαμῶς εὐρών 'κομιδῇ γὰρ οὖν βραχυβίους αὐτοὺς [2] λόγος κατέχει γενέσθαι, τοσοῦτον ἐξ ἐγγράφων παρείληφα, ὥς μέχρι τῆς κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν Ἰουδαίων πολιορκίας πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτόθι γεγόνασιν ἐπισκόπων διαδοχαί, οὓς πάντας Ἑβραίους φασὶν ὄντας ἀνέκαθεν, τὴν γνῶσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γνησίως καταδέξασθαι, ὥστ' ἤδη πρὸς τῶν τὰ τοιάδε ἐπικρίνειν δυνατῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων λειτουργίας ἀξίους δοκιμασθῆναι: συνεστάναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τότε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ Ἑβραίων πιστῶν ἀπὸ

τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ εἰς τὴν τότε διαρκεσάντων πολιορκίαν, καθ' ἣν Ἰουδαῖοι Ῥωμαίων αὐθις ἀποστάντες, οὐ μικροῖς πολέμοις ἤλωσαν. [3] διαλελοιπότες οὖν τῆνικαὶ τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπων, τοὺς ἀπὸ πρώτου νῦν ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἶη καταλέξει. πρῶτος τοιγαροῦν Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενος ἀδελφὸς ἦν· μεθ' ὃν δεύτερος Συμεὼν· τρίτος Ἰούστος· Ζακχαῖος τέταρτος· πέμπτος Τωβίας· ἕκτος Βενιαμίν· Ἰωάννης ἑβδομος· ὀγδοὺς Ματθαῖος· ἕνατος Φίλιππος· δέκατος Ζενέκας· ἐνδέκατος Ἰούστος· Λευὶς δωδέκατος· Ἐφρῆς τρισκαίδεκατος· τεσσαρεσκαίδεκατος Ἰωσήφ· ἐπὶ πᾶσι πεντεκαίδεκατος Ἰούδας. [4] τοσοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων πόλεως ἐπίσκοποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον διαγενόμενοι χρόνον, οἱ πάντες ἐκ περιτομῆς. [5] ἤδη δὲ δωδέκατον ἔχουσης ἔτος τῆς ἡγεμονίας, Εὐστον δεκαέτη χρόνον ἀποπλήσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ἑβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδέχεται Τελεσφόρος· ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ μεταξὺ καὶ μηνῶν διαγενομένου, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παροικίας τὴν προστασίαν Εὐμένης ἕκτῳ κλήρῳ διαδέχεται, τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἔτεσιν ἑνδεκα διαρκέσαντος.

Καὶ δῆτα τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστασίας αὐθις εἰς μέγα καὶ πολὺ προελθούσης, Ροῦφος ἐπάρχων τῆς Ἰουδαίας, στρατιωτικῆς αὐτῷ συμμαχίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως πεμφθείσης, ταῖς ἀπονοίαις αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς χρώμενος ἐπεξήει, μυριάδας ἀθρόως ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν διαφθείρων πολέμου τε νόμῳ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος. [2] ἐστρατήγει δὲ τότε Ἰουδαίῳ Βαρχωχεβας ὄνομα, ὃ δὴ ἀστέρα δηλοῖ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φονικὸς καὶ ληστρικὸς τις ἀνὴρ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ, οἷα ἐπ' ἀνδραπόδων, ὥς δὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φωστὴρ αὐτοῖς κατεληλυθὼς [3] κακουμένοις τε ἐπιλάμψαι τερατευόμενος. ἀκμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατὰ Βηθθηρα πολίχνη τις ἦν ὀχυρωτάτη, τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων οὐ σφόδρα πόρρω διεστῶσά τῆς τε ἑξωθεν πολιορκίας χρονίου γενομένης λιμῷ τε καὶ δίψει τῶν νεωτεροποιῶν εἰς ἔσχατον ὀλέθρου περιελαθέντων καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀπονοίας αὐτοῖς αἰτίου τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκτίσαντος δίκην, τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πάμπαν ἐπιβαίνειν εἴργεται νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ, ὥς ἂν μὴδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσαμένου· Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖος ἱστορεῖ. [4] οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἐρημίαν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους παντελεῖ τε φθορὰν τῶν πάλαι οἰκητόρων ἐλθούσης ἐξ ἀλλοφύλου τε γένους συνοικισθείσης, ἢ μετέπειτα συστᾶσα Ῥωμαϊκὴ πόλις τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀμείψασα, εἰς τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ τιμὴν Αἰλία προσαγορεύεται. καὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας ἐξ ἐθνῶν

συγκροτηθείσης, πρῶτος μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς ἐπισκόπους τὴν τῶν ἐκείσε λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται Μάρκος.

Ἦδη δὲ λαμπροτάτων δίκην φωστήρων τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀποστιλβουσῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀκμαζούσης τε εἰς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστεως, ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων οἷα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ἀεὶ τυγχάνων πολεμιώτατος, πάσας στρέφων κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηχανάς, πάλαι μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν διωγμοῖς κατ' αὐτῆς ὠπλίζετο, [2] τότε γε μὴν τούτων ἀποκεκλεισμένους, πονηροῖς καὶ γόησιν ἀνδράσιν ὥσπερ τισὶν ὀλεθρίοις ψυχῶν ὀργάνοις διακόνους τε ἀπωλείας χρώμενος, ἐτέραις κατεστρατήγει μεθόδοις, πάντα πόρον ἐπινοῶν, ὥς ἂν ὑποδύντες γόητες καὶ ἀπατηλοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ δόγματος ἡμῖν προσηγορίαν, ὁμοῦ μὲν τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀλίσκομένους εἰς βυθὸν ἀπωλείας ἄγοιεν, ὁμοῦ δὲ τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ἀγνῶτας δι' ὧν αὐτοὶ δρῶντες ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἀποτρέποιντο τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήριον λόγον παρόδου. [3] ἀπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μενάνδρου, ὃν διάδοχον τοῦ Σίμωνος ἤδη πρότερον παραδεδώκαμεν, ἀμφίστομος ὥσπερ καὶ δικέφαλος ὀφιώδης τις προελθοῦσα δύναμις δυεῖν αἱρέσεων διαφόρων ἀρχηγοὺς κατεστήσατο, Σατορνῖνον τε Ἀντιοχέα τὸ γένος καὶ Βασιλείδην Ἀλεξανδρέα: ὧν ὁ μὲν κατὰ Συρίαν, ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἴγυπτον συνεστήσαντο θεομισῶν αἱρέσεων διδασκαλεῖα. [4] τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τὸν Σατορνῖνον τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ ψευδολογήσαι ὁ Εἰρηναῖος δηλοῖ, προσχήματι δὲ ἀπορρητοτέρων τὸν Βασιλείδην εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον τεῖναι τὰς ἐπινοίας, δυσσεβοῦς αἱρέσεως ἑαυτῷ τερατώδεις ἀναπλάσαντα μυθοποιίας. [5] πλείστων οὖν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπεραγωνιζομένων λογικώτερόν τε τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς δόξης ὑπερμαχούντων, ἤδη τινὲς καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοῖς μετέπειτα προφυλακτικὰς αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων τῶν δηλωθεῖσων αἱρέσεων παρεῖχον ἐφόδους: [6] ὧν εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήλθεν ἐν τοῖς τότε γνωριμωτάτου συγγραφέως Ἀγρίππα Καστοροῦ ἰκανώτατος κατὰ Βασιλείδου ἔλεγχος, τὴν δεινότητα τῆς τάνδρὸς ἀποκαλύπτων γοητείας. [7] ἐκφαίνων δ' οὖν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπόρρητα, φησὶν αὐτὸν εἰς μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι συντάξαι βιβλία, προφήτας δὲ ἑαυτῷ ὀνομάσαι Βαρκαββαν καὶ Βαρκωφ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνυπάρκτους τινὰς ἑαυτῷ συστησάμενον, βαρβάρους τε αὐτοῖς εἰς κατάπληξιν τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα τεθηπότην ἐπιφημίσαι προσηγορίας, διδάσκειν τε ἀδιαφορεῖν εἰδωλοθύτων ἀπογευομένους καὶ ἐξομνυμένους ἀπαραφυλάκτως τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν

διωγμῶν καιρῶν, Πυθαγορικῶς τε τοῖς προσιοῦσιν αὐτῷ πενταέτη σιωπῇν παρακελεύεσθαι: [8] καὶ ἕτερα δὲ τούτοις παραπλήσια ἀμφὶ τοῦ Βασιλείδου καταλέξας ὁ εἰρημένος οὐκ ἀγεννῶς τῆς δηλωθείσης αἰρέσεως εἰς προὔπτον ἐφώρασε τὴν πλάνην. [9] γράφει δὲ καὶ Εἰρηναῖος συγχρονίσαι τούτοις Καρποκράτην, ἐτέρας αἰρέσεως τῆς τῶν Γνωστικῶν ἐπικληθείσης πατέρα: οἱ καὶ τοῦ Σίμωνος οὐχ ὥς ἐκεῖνος κρύβδην, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ εἰς φανερόν τὰς μαγείας παραδιδόναι ἤξουσιν, ὥς ἐπὶ μεγάλοις δὴ, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ σεμνυνόμενοι τοῖς κατὰ περιεργίαν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιτελουμένοις φίλτροις ὄνειροπομποῖς τε καὶ παρέδροις τισὶ δαίμοσιν καὶ ἄλλαις ὁμοιοτρόποις τισὶν ἀγωγαῖς: τούτοις τε ἀκολούθως πάντα δρᾶν χρῆναι διδάσκειν τὰ αἰσχροurgerότατα τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς τὸ τέλειον τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς μυσταγωγίας ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον μυσαιοποιίας ἐλεύσεσθαι, ὥς μὴ ἂν ἄλλως ἐκφευζομένους τοὺς κοσμικοὺς, ὥς ἂν ἐκεῖνοι φαῖεν, ἄρχοντας, μὴ οὐχὶ πᾶσιν τὰ δι' ἀρηαιοποιίας ἀπονείμαντας [10] χρέα. τούτοις δὴτα συνέβαιεν διακόνους χρώμενον τὸν ἐπιχαιρεσῖκακον δαίμονα τοὺς μὲν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπατωμένους οἰκτρῶς οὕτως εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἀπίστοις ἔθνεσιν πολλὴν παρέχειν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου δυσφημίας περιουσίαν, τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν φήμης εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς Χριστιανῶν ἔθλους διαβολὴν καταχεομένης. [11] ταύτῃ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον συνέβαιεν τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν παρὰ τοῖς τότε ἀπίστοις ὑπόνοϊαν δυσσεβῆ καὶ ἀτοπωτάτην διαδίδοσθαι, ὥς δὴ ἀθεμίτοις πρὸς μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφὰς μίξεσιν ἀνοσίαις τε τροφαῖς χρωμένων. [12] οὐκ εἰς μακρόν γε μὴν αὐτῷ ταῦτα προυχῶρει, τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτῆς ἐαυτὴν συνιστώσης ἐπὶ μέγα τε φῶς κατὰ τὸν προϊόντα χρόνον [13] διαλαμπύσης. ἔσβεστο μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα πρὸς αὐτῆς ἐνεργείας ἀπελεγχόμενα τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιτεχνήματα, ἄλλων ἐπὶ ἄλλαις αἰρέσεων καινοτομουμένων ὑπορρεουσῶν ἀεὶ τῶν προτέρων καὶ εἰς πολυτρόπους καὶ πολυμόρφους ἰδέας ἄλλοτε ἄλλως φθειρομένων: προῆει δ' εἰς αὖξιν καὶ μέγεθος, ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσα, ἢ τῆς καθόλου καὶ μόνης ἀληθοῦς ἐκκλησίας λαμπρότης, τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ εἰλικρινὲς καὶ ἐλευθέριον τό τε σῶφρον καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς ἐνθέου πολιτείας τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰς ἅπαν γένος Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων ἀποστίλβουσα. [14] συναπέσβη δ' οὖν ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ἡ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ δόγματος διαβολή, ἔμενεν δὲ ἄρα μόνῃ παρὰ πᾶσι κρατοῦσα καὶ ἀνομολογουμένη τὰ μάλιστα διαπρέπειν ἐπὶ σεμνότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ θείοις τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις δόγμασιν ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλία, ὥς μηδένα τῶν εἰς νῦν αἰσχρὰν ἐπιφέρειν τολμᾶν κατὰ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν δυσφημίαν μηδέ τινα τοιαύτην διαβολὴν οἷαις πάλαι

πρότερον φίλον ἢν χρησθαι τοῖς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπισυνισταμένοις. [15] Ὅμως δ' οὖν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους αὐθις παρήγεν εἰς μέσον ἡ ἀλήθεια πλείους ἑαυτῆς ὑπερμάχους, οὐ δι' ἀγράφων αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλέγχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐγγράφων ἀποδείξεν κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων αἰρέσεων στρατευομένους:

ἐν τούτοις ἐγνωρίζετο Ἡγήσιππος, οὗ πλείσταις ἤδη πρότερον κεκρήμεθα φωναῖς, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδόσεως τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους παραθέμενοι. [2] ἐν πέντε δ' οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὗτος τὴν ἀπλανῆ παράδοσιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτη συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος, καθ' ὃν ἐγνωρίζετο σημαίνει χρόνον, περὶ τῶν ἀρχῆθεν ἰδρυσάντων τὰ εἰδῶλα οὕτω πως γράφων: 'οἷς κενοτάφια καὶ ναοὺς ἐποίησαν ὡς μέχρι νῦν: ὧν ἐστὶν καὶ Ἀντίνοος, δοῦλος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος, οὗ καὶ ἀγὼν ἄγεται Ἀντινόειος, ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενος. καὶ γὰρ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπώνυμον Ἀντινόου καὶ προφήτας.' [3] κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ Ἰουστίνος, γήσιος τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας ἐραστῆς, ἔτι τοῖς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀσκούμενος ἐνδιέτριβεν λόγοις: σημαίνει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τουτονὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀτωνῖνον ἀπολογίᾳ ὧδε γράφων: 'οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐν τούτοις ἡγούμεθα καὶ Ἀντινόου τοῦ νῦν γενομένου, ὃν καὶ ἅπαντες ὡς θεὸν διὰ φόβον σέβειν ὥρμητο, ἐπιστάμενοι τίς τε ἦν καὶ πόθεν ὑπῆρχεν.' [4] Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ τότε κατὰ Ἰουδαίων πολέμου μνημονεύων ταῦτα παρατίθεται: 'καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ Βαρχωχεβας, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανούς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινάς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκέλευεν ἄγεσθαι.' [5] Ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν μεταβολὴν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μὴ ἀλόγως, μετὰ κρίσεως δὲ αὐτῷ γέγονει, δηλῶν, ταῦτα γράφει: 'καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, τοῖς Πλάτωνος χαίρων διδάγμασι, διαβαλλομένους ἀκούων Χριστιανούς, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ ἀφόβους πρὸς θάνατον καὶ πάντα τὰ νομιζόμενα φοβερά, ἐνενόουν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἐν κακίᾳ καὶ φιληδονίᾳ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς: τίς γὰρ φιλήδονος ἢ ἀκρατὴς καὶ ἀνθρωπεύων σαρκῶν βορὰν ἡγούμενος ἀγαθόν, δύναιτ' ἂν θάνατον ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὅπως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στερηθεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς ζῆν αἰετὴν ἐνθάδε βιοτὴν καὶ λανθάνειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπειρᾶτο, οὐχ ὅτι ἑαυτὸν κατήγγελλεν φονευθησόμενον;' [6] Ἔτι δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ δεξάμενον τὸν Ἀδριανὸν παρὰ Σερεννίου Γρανιανοῦ, λαμπροτάτου ἡγούμενου, γράμματα ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν περιέχοντα ὡς οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι ἐπὶ μηδενὶ ἐγκλήματι βοαῖς δήμου χαριζομένους ἀκρίτως κτείνειν αὐτούς, ἀντιγράψαι Μινουκίῳ Φουνδανῷ, ἀνθυπάτῳ τῆς

Ἀσίας, προστάττοντα μηδένα κρίνειν ἄνευ ἐγκλήματος καὶ εὐλόγου κατηγορίας· [7] καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δὲ ἀντίγραφον παρατέθεται, τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν φωνήν, ὡς εἶχεν, διαφυλάξας, προλέγει δ' αὐτῆς ταῦτα: ‘καὶ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἀπαιτεῖν ὑμᾶς, καθὰ ἡξιώσαμεν, κελεῦσαι τὰς κρίσεις γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ κελευσθέν μᾶλλον ἡξιώσαμεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι δικαίαν ἀξιοῦν τὴν προσφώνησιν. ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς Ἀδριανοῦ τὸ ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθεύειν ἡμᾶς γνωρίζητε, καὶ ἔστιν τόδε.’ [8] Τούτοις ὁ μὲν δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ αὐτὴν παρατέθεται τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀντιγραφὴν, ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτὴν μετειλήφαμεν, ἔχουσιν ὧδε:

8 ‘Μινουκίῳ Φουνδανῶ. ἐπιστολὴν ἐδεξάμην γραφεῖσάν μοι ἀπὸ Σερεννίου Γρανιανοῦ, λαμπροτάτου ἀνδρός, ὄντινα σὺ διεδέξω. οὐ δοκεῖ μοι οὖν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀζήτητον καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μήτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ταραττῶνται καὶ τοῖς συκοφάνταις χορηγία κακουργίας παρασχεθῇ. [2] εἰ οὖν σαφῶς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀξίωσιν οἱ ἐπαρχιώται δύνανται δυσχυρίζεσθαι κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὡς καὶ πρὸ βήματος ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον τραπῶσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀξιώσεσιν οὐδὲ μόναις βοαῖς. πολλῶ γὰρ μᾶλλον προσῆκεν, εἴ τις κατηγορεῖν βούλοιτο, τοῦτό σε διαγινώσκειν. [3] εἴ τις οὖν κατηγορεῖ καὶ δείκνυσίν τι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους πράττοντας, οὕτως ὀρίζει κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος: ὡς μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἴ τις συκοφαντίας χάριν τοῦτο προτείνει, διαλάμβανε ὑπὲρ τῆς δεινότητος καὶ φρόντιζε ὅπως ἂν ἐκδικήσεις.’ καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀδριανοῦ ἀντιγραφῆς τοιαῦτα.

Τούτου δὲ τὸ χρεὼν μετὰ πρῶτον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐκτίσαντος, Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ κληθεὶς Εὐσεβῆς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τούτου δὲ ἐν ἔτει πρώτῳ Τελεσφόρου τὸν βίον ἐνδεκάτῳ τῆς λειτουργίας ἐνιαυτῷ μεταλλάξαντος, Ὑγῖνος τὸν κληρὸν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς παραλαμβάνει. ἱστορεῖ γε μὴν ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τὸν Τελεσφόρον μαρτυρίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν διαπρέψαι, δηλῶν ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Ὑγῖνον Οὐαλεντῖνον ἰδίας αἰρέσεως εἰσηγητὴν καὶ Κέρδωνα τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης ἀρχηγὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄμφω γνωρίζεσθαι, γράφει δὲ οὕτως:

10 ‘Οὐαλεντῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ἤκμασεν δὲ ἐπὶ Πίου, καὶ παρέμεινεν ἕως Ἀνικήτου: Κέρδων δ’ ὁ πρὸ Μαρκίωνος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου, ὃς ἦν ἑνατος ἐπίσκοπος, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος, οὕτως διετέλεσεν, ποτὲ μὲν λαθροδιδασκαλῶν, ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐξομολογούμενος, ποτὲ δὲ ἐλεγχόμενος ἐφ’ οἷς ἐδίδασκεν κακῶς, καὶ

ἀπιστάμενος τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνοδίας.’ [2] ταῦτα δὲ φησιν ἐν τρίτῳ τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις: ἐν γε μὴν τῷ πρώτῳ αὐθις περὶ τοῦ Κέρδωνος ταῦτα διέξεισιν: ‘Κέρδων δέ τις ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίμονα τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιδημήσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ὑγίνου ἕνατον κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντας, ἐδίδαξεν τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον θεὸν μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἀγνωτὰ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν. διαδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν Μαρκίων ὁ Ποντικός ἠΐξησεν τὸ διδασκαλεῖον, ἀπηρυθριασμένως βλασφημῶν.’ [3] Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς Εἰρηναῖος τὸν ἄπειρον βυθὸν τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου πολυπλανοῦς ὕλης εὐτονώτατα διαπλώσας, ἐρπετοῦ δίκην φωλεῦοντος ἀπόκρυφον οὔσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λεληθυῖαν ἀπογυμνοῖ τὴν κακίαν: [4] πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλον τινά, Μάρκος αὐτῷ ὄνομα, κατ’ αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι λέγει μαγικῆς κυβείας ἐμπειρότατον, γράφει δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀτελέστους αὐτῶν τελετὰς μυσεράς τε μυσταγωγίας ἐκφαίνων αὐτοῖς δὴ τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασιν: ‘οἱ [5] μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν νυμφῶνα κατασκευάζουσιν καὶ μυσταγωγίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν μετ’ ἐπιρρήσεών τινων τοῖς τελουμένοις καὶ πνευματικὸν γάμον φάσκουσιν εἶναι τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν γινόμενον κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄνω συζυγιῶν, οἱ δὲ ἄγουσιν ἐφ’ ὕδωρ καὶ βαπτίζοντες οὕτως ἐπιλέγουσιν: ‘εἰς ὄνομα ἀγνώστου πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων, εἰς ἀλήθειαν μητέρα τῶν πάντων, εἰς τὸν κατελθόντα εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.’ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἑβραϊκὰ ὀνόματα ἐπιλέγουσιν πρὸς τὸ μᾶλλον καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς τελουμένους.’ [6] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τέταρτον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἔτος Ὑγίνου τελευτήσαντος, Πίος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἐγχειρίζεται τὴν λειτουργίαν: κατὰ γε μὴν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Μάρκος ἀναδείκνυται ποιμὴν Εὐμένους ἔτη τὰ πάντα δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἐκπλήσαντος, τοῦ τε Μάρκου ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη τῆς λειτουργίας ἀναπαυσασμένου, Κελαδίων τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας τὴν λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει. [7] καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δὲ πόλιν πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Πίου μεταλλάξαντος, Ἀνίκητος τῶν ἐκεῖσε προΐσταται: καθ’ ὃν Ἠγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδημήσαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραμεῖναι τε αὐτόθι μέχρι τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς Ἐλευθέρου. μάλιστα δ’ ἤκμαζεν ἐπὶ τῶνδε Ἰουστίνος, [8] ἐν φιλοσόφου σχήματι πρεσβεύων τὸν θεῖον λόγον καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐναγωνιζόμενος συγγράμμασιν: ὃς δὴ καὶ γράψας κατὰ Μαρκίωνος σύγγραμμα, μνημονεύει ὡς καθ’ ὃν συνέταττε καιρὸν γνωριζομένου τῷ βίῳ τάνδρος, φησὶν δὲ οὕτως: [9] ‘Μαρκίωνα δὲ τινα Ποντικόν, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶν διδάσκων τοὺς πειθομένους ἄλλον τινὰ νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ

θεόν: ὃς καὶ κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων συλλήψεως πολλοὺς πεποίηκε βλάσφημα λέγειν καὶ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν ποιητὴν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄλλον δὲ τινα ὡς ὄντα μείζονα παρὰ τοῦτον ὁμολογεῖν πεποιηκέναι. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων ὠρμημένοι, ὡς ἔφαμεν, Χριστιανοὶ καλοῦνται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ οὐ κοινῶν ὄντων δογμάτων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὸ ἐπικαλούμενον ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινόν ἐστιν:’ τούτοις ἐπιφέρει λέγων ‘ἐστὶν ^[10] δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν γεγενημένων αἱρέσεων, ᾧ εἰ βούλεσθε ἐντυχεῖν, δώσομεν.’ ^[11] Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἰουστῖνος καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἱκανώτατα πονήσας, καὶ ἐτέρους λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογίαν ἔχοντας βασιλεῖ Ἀντωνίνῳ τῷ δὴ ἐπικληθέντι Εὐσεβεῖ καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ προσφωνεῖ: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο. ἐμφαίνει δ’ ἑαυτὸν ὅστις καὶ πόθεν ἦν, διὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐν τούτοις:

‘Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ Οὐρηρσισίμῳ υἱῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ Λουκίῳ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος φύσει υἱῷ καὶ Εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητῷ, ἐραστῇ παιδείας, ἱερᾷ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ παντὶ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισουμένων καὶ ἐπηρεαζομένων Ἰουστῖνος Πρίσκου τοῦ Βακχείου τῶν ἀπὸ Φλαβίας Νέας πόλεως τῆς Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, εἷς αὐτῶν, τὴν προσφώνησιν καὶ ἔντευξιν πεποίημαι.’ Ἐντευχθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀδελφῶν παντοίαις ὕβρεσιν πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων δήμων καταπονουμένων, τοιαύτης ἡξίωσεν τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας διατάξεως:

‘Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστός, Ἀρμένιος, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον, ὕπατος τὸ τρίτον, τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν. ^[2] ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδ’ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελές ἐστι μὴ λανθάνειν τοὺς τοιούτους: πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι κολάσαιεν ἂν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοῖς προσκυνεῖν ἢ ὑμεῖς. ^[3] οὓς εἰς ταραχὴν ἐμβάλλετε, βεβαιοῦντες τὴν γνώμην αὐτῶν ἥπερ ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἀθέων κατηγοροῦντες: εἴη δ’ ἂν κακείνοις αἰρετὸν τῷ δοκεῖν κατηγορουμένους τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου θεοῦ: ὅθεν καὶ νικῶσι, προῖεμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς ἥπερ πειθόμενοι ^[4] οἷς ἀξιοῦτε πράττειν αὐτούς. περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων, οὐκ ἄτοπον ὑμᾶς ὑπομῆσαι ἀθυμοῦντας μὲν ὅταν περ ὧσιν, παραβάλλοντας δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων. ^[5] οἱ μὲν οὖν εὐπαρρησιαστότεροι γίνονται πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον καθ’ ὃν ἀγνοεῖν δοκεῖτε, τῶν τε θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων

ἀμελεῖτε καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀθάνατον· ὃν δὴ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐλαύνετε καὶ διώκετε ἕως θανάτου. [6] ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἤδη καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῷ θειοτάτῳ ἡμῶν ἔγραψαν πατρί, οἷς καὶ ἀντέγραψεν μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ μὴ ἐμφαίνοντό τι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειροῦντες. καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν· [7] οἷς δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα κατακολουθῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιμένει τινὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς πράγματα φέρων ὡς δὴ τοιοῦτον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ ἐὰν φαίνεται τοιοῦτος ὢν, ὁ δὲ καταφέρων ἔνοχος ἔσται δίκης. προετέθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.’ Τούτοις οὕτω χωρήσασιν ἐπιμαρτυρῶν Μελίτων, τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος κατ’ αὐτὸ γνωρίζομενος τοῦ χρόνου, δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτῷ ἐν ᾗ πεποιήται πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα Οὐῆρον ὑπὲρ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς δόγματος ἀπολογία.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δηλουμένων, Ἀνικήτου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου, Πολύκαρπον ἔτι περιόντα τῷ βίῳ γενέσθαι τε ἐπὶ Ῥώμης καὶ εἰς ὁμιλίαν τῷ Ἀνικήτῳ ἐλθεῖν διὰ τι ζήτημα περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡμέρας Εἰρηναῖος ἱστορεῖ. [2] καὶ ἄλλην δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου παραδίδωσιν διήγησιν, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ δηλουμένοις ἐπισυνάψαι, οὕτως ἔχουσιν: ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΡΕΣΕΙΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΥ [3] ‘Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν κύριον ἐορακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐοράκαμεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ [4] ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ ἔπι πολὺ γὰρ παρέμεινεν καὶ πάνυ γηραλέος ἐνδόξως καὶ ἐπιφανέστατα μαρτυρήσας ἐξῆλθεν τοῦ βίου, ταῦτα διδάζας αἰεὶ ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν, ἃ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία παραδίδωσιν, ἃ καὶ μόνα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ. [5] μαρτυροῦσι τούτοις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι καὶ οἱ μέχρι νῦν διαδεδεγμένοι τὸν Πολύκαρπον, πολλῷ ἀξιοπιστότερον καὶ βεβαιότερον ἀληθείας μάρτυρα ὄντα Οὐαλεντίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακογνωμόνων· ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου ἐπιδημήσας τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων αἵρετικῶν ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, μίαν καὶ μόνην ταύτην ἀλήθειαν κηρύζας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρειληφέναι τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένην. [6] καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητὴς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐπειπὼν ὅτι φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς

ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ. [7] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος Μαρκίῳνι ποτε εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ ἐλθόντι καὶ φήσαντι 'ἐπὶγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς' ἀπεκρίθη 'ἐπὶγίνωσκω: ἐπὶγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ σατανᾶ.' τοσαύτην οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτῶν ἔσχον εὐλάβειαν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ μέχρι λόγου κοινωνεῖν τινὶ τῶν παραχαρασσόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὥς καὶ Παῦλος ἔφησεν 'αἰρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἁμαρτάνει ὧν αὐτοκατάκριτος.' [8] ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους γεγραμμένη ἱκανωτάτῃ, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας οἱ βουλόμενοι καὶ φροντίζοντες τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας δύνανται μαθεῖν.' [9] ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος: ὁ γέ τοι Πολύκαρπος ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους αὐτοῦ γραφῇ, φερομένη εἰς δεῦρο, κέχρηται τισιν μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς. [10] Ἀντωνῖνον μὲν δὴ τὸν Εὐσεβῆ κληθέντα, εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς διανύσαντα, Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος, ὁ καὶ Ἀντωνῖνος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, σὺν καὶ Λουκίῳ ἀδελφῷ διαδέχεται.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος μεγίστων τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀναθορυβησάντων διωγμῶν μαρτυρίῳ τελειοῦται, ἀναγκαιότατον δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος ἐγγράφως ἔτι φερόμενον ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν μνήμη τῆσδε τῆς ἱστορίας καταθέσθαι. [2] ἔστιν δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ἐκ προσώπου ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖτο, ταῖς κατὰ τόπον παροικίαις τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποσημαίνουσα διὰ τούτων: 'Ἡ [3] ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Σμύρναν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις ἔλεος εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη. ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὅστις ὥσπερ ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμόν.' [4] Τούτοις ἐξῆς πρὸ τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου διηγέσεως τὰ κατὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνιστοροῦσι μάρτυρας, οἷας ἐνστάσεις πρὸς τὰς ἀλγυδόνας ἐνεδείξαντο, διαγράφοντες. καταπληῖξαι γάρ φασι τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ περιεστῶτας, θεωμένους τοτὲ μὲν μάστιγι μέχρι καὶ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν καταξαινομένους, ὥς ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀπόρρητα τοῦ σώματος σπλάγχνα τε αὐτῶν καὶ μέλη κατοπτρεύεσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας καὶ τινὰς ὀξεῖς ὀβελίσκους ὑποστρωννυμένους, καὶ διὰ παντὸς εἶδους κολάσεων καὶ βασάνων προϊόντας καὶ τέλος θηρσιν εἰς βορὰν παραδιδόμενους. [5] μάλιστα δὲ ἱστοροῦσιν διαπρέψαι τὸν γενναιότατον Γερμανικόν, ὑπορρωννύντα σὺν θεῷ χάριτι τὴν ἔμφυτον περὶ τὸν θάνατον

τοῦ σώματος δειλίαν. βουλομένου γέ τοι τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν
προβαλλομένου τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀντιβολούντος κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ
ἄκμαϊον οἶκτον ἑαυτοῦ λαβεῖν, μὴ μελλῆσαι, προθύμως δ' ἐπισπάσασθαι εἰς
ἑαυτὸν τὸ θηρίον, μόνον οὐχὶ βιασάμενον καὶ παροξύναντα, ὥς ἂν τάχιον τοῦ
ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγεῖν. [6] τούτου δ' ἐπὶ τῷ διαπρεπεῖ
θανάτῳ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἀποθανυμάσαν τῆς ἀνδρείας τὸν θεοφιλῆ μάρτυρα καὶ
τὴν καθόλου τοῦ γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀρετὴν, ἀθρόως ἐπιβοᾶν ἄρξασθαι ‘
αἶρε τοὺς [7] ἀθέους· ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.’ καὶ δὴ πλείστης ἐπὶ ταῖς βοαῖς
γενομένης ταραχῆς, Φρύγα τινὰ τὸ γένος, Κόϊντον τοῦνομα, νεωστὶ ἐκ τῆς
Φρυγίας ἐπιστάντα, ἰδόντα τοὺς θῆρας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπειλάς,
καταπτῆξαι τὴν ψυχὴν μαλακισθέντα καὶ τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐνδοῦναι. [8]
ἐδήλου δὲ τοῦτον ὁ τῆς προειρημένης γραφῆς λόγος προπετέστερον ἄλλ' οὐ
κατ' εὐλάβειαν ἐπιτηδῆσαι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σὺν ἑτέροις, ἀλόντα δ' οὖν ὁμως
καταφανὲς ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς πᾶσιν παρασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ δέοι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις
ρίψκοινδύνως καὶ ἀνευλαβῶς ἐπιτολμᾶν. ἀλλὰ ταύτη μὲν εἶχεν πέρας τὰ κατὰ
τούτους· [9] τὸν γε μὴν θαυμασιώτατον Πολύκαρπον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τούτων
ἀκούσαντα ἀτάραχον μεῖναι, εὐσταθεῶς τὸ ἥθος καὶ ἀκίνητον φυλάζαντα,
βούλεσθαι τε αὐτοῦ κατὰ πόλιν περιμένειν· πεισθέντα γε μὴν ἀντιβολοῦσι
τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὥς ἂν ὑπεξέλθοι παρακαλοῦσι, προελθεῖν εἰς οὐ πόρρω
διεστῶτα τῆς πόλεως ἀγρὸν διατρίβειν τε σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐνταῦθα, νύκτωρ καὶ
μεθ' ἡμέραν οὕτι ἕτερον πράττοντα ἢ ταῖς πρὸς τὸν κύριον διακαρτεροῦντα
εὐχαῖς· δι' ὧν δεῖσθαι καὶ ἰκετεύειν εἰρήνην ἐξαιτούμενον ταῖς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῷ σύνηθες. [10]
καὶ δὴ εὐχόμενον, ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ τριῶν πρότερον ἡμερῶν τῆς συλλήψεως
νύκτωρ ἰδεῖν τὸ ὑπὸ κεφαλῆς αὐτῷ στρῶμα ἀθρόως οὕτως ὑπὸ πυρὸς φλεχθὲν
δεδαπανῆσθαι, ἔξυπνον δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενόμενον, εὐθὺς ὑπερμηνεῦσαι τοῖς
παροῦσι τὸ φανέν, μόνον οὐχὶ τὸ μέλλον προθεσπίσαντα σαφῶς τε ἀνειπόντα
τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὅτι δέοι αὐτὸν διὰ Χριστὸν πυρὶ τὴν ζωὴν μεταλλάξαι. [11]
ἐπικειμένων δὴ οὖν σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ τῶν ἀναζητούντων αὐτόν, αὐθις ὑπὸ
τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαθέσεως καὶ στοργῆς ἐκβεβιασμένον μεταβῆναι φασιν ἐφ'
ἕτερον ἀγρόν· ἔνθα μετ' οὐ πλείστον τοὺς συνελαύνοντας ἐπελθεῖν, δύο δὲ τῶν
αὐτόθι συλλαβεῖν παίδων· ὧν θάτερον αἰκισαμένους ἐπιστῆναι δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ
τοῦ Πολυκάρπου καταγωγῇ, [12] ὧπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὥρας ἐπελθόντας, αὐτὸν μὲν
εὐρεῖν ἐν ὑπερώῳ κατακείμενον, ὅθεν δυνατόν ὃν αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἑτέραν μεταστῆναι
οἰκίαν, μὴ βεβουλῆσθαι, εἰπόντα ‘τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ γινέσθω.’ [13] καὶ δὴ

μαθὼν παρόντας, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησί, καταβάς αὐτοῖς διελέξατο εὖ μάλα φαιδρῶ
καὶ πραοτάτῳ προσώπῳ, ὡς καὶ θαῦμα δοκεῖν ὄρᾶν τοὺς πάλαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἀγνώτας, ἐναποβλέποντας τῷ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ παλαιῷ καὶ τῷ σεμνῷ καὶ
εὐσταθεῖ τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ εἰ τοσαύτη γένοιτο σπουδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοιοῦτον
συλληφθῆναι πρεσβύτην. [14] ὁ δ' οὐ μελλήσας εὐθέως τράπεζαν αὐτοῖς
παρατεθῆναι προστάττει, εἴτα τροφῆς ἀφθόνου μεταλαβεῖν ἀξιοῖ, μίαν τε
ῥαν, ὡς ἂν προσεῦξοιτο ἀδεῶς, παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖται: ἐπιτρεψάντων δὲ
ἀναστὰς ἤρχετο, ἔμπλεως τῆς χάριτος ὢν τοῦ κυρίου, ὡς ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς
παρόντας εὐχομένου αὐτοῦ ἀκρωμένους πολλοὺς τε αὐτῶν μετανοεῖν ἤδη
ἐπὶ τῷ τοιοῦτον ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέλλειν σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πρεσβύτην. [15] Ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφὴ κατὰ λέξιν ὧδε πως τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχει: 'ἐπεὶ
δέ ποτε κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχὴν μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν
πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ
ἀδόξων, καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ῥας
ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἐξιέναι, ὄνῳ καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὄντος
σαββάτου μεγάλου. καὶ ὑπήντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατὴρ
αὐτοῦ Νικήτης: οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄχημα, ἔπειθον
παρακαθεζόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες 'τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, κύριος Καῖσαρ, καὶ
θῦσαι καὶ διασφύζεσθαι;' ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ
αὐτῶν, ἔφη 'οὐ [16] μέλλω πράττειν ὁ συμβουλευέτέ μοι.' οἱ δὲ ἀποτυχόντες
τοῦ πείσαι αὐτόν, δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν, ὡς
κατιόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχήματος ἀποσῦραι τὸ ἀντικνήμιον: ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ
ἐπιστραφεῖς, οἷα μηδὲν πεπονθώς, προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπορεύετο, [17]
ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον. θορύβου δὲ τηλικούτου ὄντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ, ὡς μηδὲ
πολλοῖς ἀκουσθῆναι, τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
γέγονεν 'ἴσχυε, Πολύκαρπε, καὶ ἀνδρίζου.' καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν,
[18] τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν. προσαχθέντος οὖν αὐτοῦ,
θόρυβος ἦν μέγας ἀκουσάντων ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται. λοιπὸν οὖν
προσελθόντα ἀνθρώπα ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἰ αὐτὸς εἶη Πολύκαρπος, καὶ
ὁμολογήσαντος, ἔπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι, λέγων 'αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν ἡλικίαν' καὶ
ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ἃ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ λέγειν, 'ὅμοσον τὴν Καῖσαρος
τύχην, [19] μετανόησον, εἰπόν, αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους.' ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ
τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐμβλέψας, ἐπισείσας
αὐτοῖς τὴν χεῖρα στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἶπεν 'αἶρε [20]
τοὺς ἀθέους.' ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ ἡγουμένου καὶ λέγοντος 'ὅμοσον, καὶ

ἀπολύσω σε, λοιδορήσον τὸν Χριστόν,' ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος ὁδοῦντα καὶ ἐξ ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν: καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σῶσαντά με;' [21] ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος ὁμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην,' ὁ Πολύκαρπος 'εἰ κενοδοξεῖς,' φησίν, 'ἵνα ὁμῶσω τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ὡς λέγεις προσποιούμενος ἀγνοεῖν ὅστις εἰμί, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουε: Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἄκουσον.' [22] ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος 'πεῖσον τὸν δῆμον.' Πολύκαρπος ἔφη, 'σὲ μὲν καὶ λόγου ἡξίωκα, δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς ἀπονέμειν: ἐκείνους δὲ οὐκ ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.' [23] ὁ δ' ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν 'θηρία ἔχω: τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης.' ὁ δὲ εἶπεν 'κάλει: ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μετάνοια, καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια.' [24] ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν 'πυρί σε ποιήσω δαμασθῆναι, ἐὰν τῶν θηρίων καταφρονῇς, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης.' Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν 'πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς πρὸς ὥραν καιόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεννύμενον: ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ αἰωνίου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. [25] ἀλλὰ τί βραδύνεις; φέρε ὁ βούλει.' ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα λέγων, θάρσους καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπληροῦτο, ὥστε μὴ μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν ταραχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστήναι πέμψαι τε τὸν κήρυκα καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ κηρῦξαι 'τρεῖς Πολύκαρπος ὁμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι.' τούτου λεχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, [26] πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἔθνων τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων τῶν τὴν Σμύρναν κατοικούντων ἀκατασχέτω θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ἐβόα 'οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν.' [27] ταῦτα λέγοντες, ἐπεβόων καὶ ἡρώτων τὸν ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυκάρῳ λέοντα: ὁ δὲ ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια. τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιβοῆσαι ὥστε ζῶντα τὸν Πολύκαρπον [28] κατακαῦσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ὀπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἰδὼν αὐτὸ καιόμενον προσευχόμενος, εἶπεν ἐπιστραφεὶς τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς 'δεῖ με ζῶντα καῖναι.' ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσοῦτου τάχους ἐγένετο θάπτον ἢ ἐλέγετο, [29] τῶν ὄχλων παραχρῆμα συναγόντων ἐκ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς

ἔθος αὐτοῖς, [30] εἰς ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων. ἀλλ' ὅτε ἡ πυρὰ ἡτοιμάσθη, ἀποθέμενος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν ζώνην, ἐπειράτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν, μὴ πρότερον τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπουδάζειν ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἐφάψηται: ἐν παντὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς ἐκεκόσμητο. [31] εὐθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἡρμοσμένα ὄργανα: μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν αὐτόν, εἶπεν ἄφετέ με οὕτως: ὁ γὰρ διδοὺς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἡλίων ἀσφαλείας ἀσχύλτως ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ πυρᾷ.' [32] οἱ δὲ οὐ κατήλωσαν, προσέδησαν δὲ αὐτόν. ὁ δ' ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας καὶ προσδεθείς ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος, [33] ἀναφερόμενος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου ὀλοκαύτωμα δεκτὸν θεῷ παντοκράτορι, εἶπεν ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατήρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σὲ ἐπίγνωσιν εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ θεὸς ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἡξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς [34] ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ πνεύματος ἁγίου: ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας, προφανερῶσας καὶ πληρώσας ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεός. [35] διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.' [36] ἀναπέμψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμήν καὶ πληρώσαντος τὴν προσευχήν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι ἐξῆψαν τὸ πῦρ, μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογὸς θαῦμα εἶδομεν οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη, οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθησαν εἰς τὸ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς [37] τὰ γενόμενα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμάρας εἶδος ποιῆσαν ὥσπερ ὀθόνης πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύματος πληρουμένης, κύκλῳ περιετείχισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ ἦν μέσον οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ' ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρούμενος: καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἁρωμάτων. [38] πέρας γοῶν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι μὴ δυνάμενον τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξίφος, [39] καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθεν πλῆθος αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν: ὧν εἷς καὶ οὗτος γέγονεν ὁ θαυμασιώτατος ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν

Σμύρνη καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας: πᾶν γὰρ ῥῆμα ὃ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελειώθη καὶ τελειωθήσεται.

ὁ [40] δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος πονηρός, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπενηνεγμένον, ἐπετήδευσεν ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σῶμάτιον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθεῖν, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ὑπέβαλον γοῦν τινες Νικήτην, τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, [41] ἀδελφὸν δ' Ἄλκης, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, 'μή,' φησὶν, 'ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβειν.' καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὑποβαλόντων καὶ ἐνισχυσάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων: οἱ καὶ ἐτήρησαν μελλόντων ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σφζομένων σωτηρίας παθόντα, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα [42] σέβειν. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκα εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον: ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς [43] γενέσθαι. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ ἑκατοντάρχης τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θεὶς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, ἔκαυσεν, οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ὅστᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀπαθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν. [44] ἔνθα, ὡς δυνατόν, ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον εἰς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκῶν μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησιν τε καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν. [45] τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον: σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας δωδέκᾶτου ἐν Σμύρνη μαρτυρήσαντος, ὃς μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων μᾶλλον μνημονεύεται, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι.

‘ [46]

Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν θαυμασίον καὶ ἀποστολικὸν Πολύκαρπον τοιοῦτον κατηξίωτο τέλους, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμυρναίων ἐκκλησίαν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ἧ δεδηλώκαμεν αὐτῶν ἐπιστολῇ κατατεθειμένων: ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῇ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια συνῆπτο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν Σμύρναν πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου τῆς τοῦ Πολυκάρπου μαρτυρίας, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Μητροδωρος τῆς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα πλάνης πρεσβύτερος δὴ εἶναι δοκῶν πυρὶ παραδοθεὶς ἀνήρηται. τῶν γε μὴν τότε περιβόητος μάρτυς εἷς τις ἐγνωρίζετο

Πιόνιος: [47] οὗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ὁμολογίας τὴν τε τοῦ λόγου παρρησίαν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀπολογία διδασκαλικὰς τε δημηγορίας καὶ ἔτι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπεπτωκότας τῷ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν πειρασμῷ δεξιώσεις παραμυθίας τε ἃς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτικῆς τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσαφικνουμένοις ἀδελφοῖς παρετίθετο, ἃς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπέμεινεν βασάνους, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀληθδόνως καθηλώσεις τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς καρτερίαν τὴν τε ἐφ' ἅπασιν τοῖς παραδόξοις αὐτοῦ τελευτήν πληρέστατα τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς περιεχούσης, τοὺς οἷς φίλον ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀναπέμψομεν τοῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων συναχθεῖσιν ἡμῖν μαρτυρίοις ἐντεταγμένην. [48] ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐν Περγάμῳ πόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπομνήματα μεμαρτυρηκότων φέρεται, Κάρπου καὶ Παπύλου καὶ γυναικὸς Ἀγαθονίκης, μετὰ πλείστας καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ὁμολογίας ἐπιδόξως τετελειωμένων.

Κατὰ τούτους δὲ καὶ ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δηλωθεὶς Ἰουστίνος δεύτερον ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων βιβλίον ἀναδούς τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις ἄρχουσιν, θείῳ κατακοσμεῖται μαρτυρίῳ, φιλοσόφου Κρήσκεντος 'τὸν φερώνυμον δ' οὗτος τῇ Κυνικῇ προσηγορίᾳ βίον τε καὶ τρόπον ἐξήλου τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ κατῴσαντος, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάκις ἐν διαλόγοις ἀκροατῶν παρόντων εὐθύνας αὐτόν, τὰ νικητήρια τελευτῶν ἧς ἐπρέσβευεν ἀληθείας διὰ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνεδίησατο. [2] Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ταῖς ἀληθείαις φιλοσοφώτατος ἐν τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ ἀπολογίᾳ σαφῶς οὕτως, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔμελλεν ὅσον οὕτω περὶ αὐτὸν συμβήσεσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀποσημαίνει τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν: 'κἀγὼ [3] οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ὀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι καὶ ξύλῳ ἐντιναγῆναι ἢ κἂν ὑπὸ Κρήσκεντος τοῦ ἀφιλοσόφου καὶ φιλοκόμπου: οὐ γὰρ φιλόσοφον εἶπεῖν ἄξιον τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅς γε περὶ ὧν μὴ ἐπίσταται, δημοσίᾳ καταμαρτυρεῖ ὡς ἀθέων καὶ ἀσεβῶν Χριστιανῶν ὄντων, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡσωνίην τῶν πολλῶν τῶν πεπλανημένων τοῦτο πράττων. [4] εἴτε γὰρ μὴ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγμασιν κατατρέχει ἡμῶν, παμπόνηρός ἐστιν καὶ ιδιωτῶν πολὺ χεῖρων, οἱ φυλάττονται πολλάκις περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἐπίστανται, διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν: καὶ εἰ ἐντυχὼν μὴ συνῆκεν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς μεγαλεῖον ἢ συνεῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποπτευθῆναι τοιοῦτος ταῦτα ποιεῖ, πολὺ μάλλον ἀγεννὴς καὶ παμπόνηρος, [5] ιδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀλόγου δόξης καὶ φόβου ἐλάττων ὢν. καὶ γὰρ προθέντα με καὶ ἐρωτήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσεις τινὰς τοιαύτας, μαθεῖν καὶ ἐλέγχειν ὅτι ἀληθῶς μηδὲν ἐπίσταται, εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι, καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, εἰ μὴ ἀνηνέχθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ κοινωναί τῶν λόγων, ἔτοιμος καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῶν κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐρωτήσεων ἄλιν: [6] βασιλικὸν δ'

ἀν καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον εἶη. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγνώσθησαν ὑμῖν αἱ ἐρωτήσεις μου καὶ αἱ ἐκείνου ἀποκρίσεις, φανερόν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπίσταται: ἢ εἰ ἐπίσταται, διὰ τοὺς ἀκούοντας δὲ οὐ τολμᾷ λέγειν, ὡς πρότερον ἔφην, οὐ φιλόσοφος, ἀλλὰ φιλόδοξος ἀνὴρ δείκνυται, ὅς γε μὴδὲ τὸ Σωκρατικόν, ἀξίεραστον ὄν, τιμᾷ.’ [7] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἰουστῖνος: ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόρρησιν πρὸς τοῦ Κρήσκεντος συσκευασθεὶς ἐτελειώθη, Τατιανός, ἀνὴρ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοῦ βίον σοφιστεύσας ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήνων μαθήμασι καὶ δόξαν οὐ σμικρὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπενηνεγμένος πλεῖστά τε ἐν συγγράμμασιν αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν μνημεῖα, ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἱστορεῖ, λέγων ὧδε: ‘καὶ ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστῖνος ὀρθῶς ἐξεφώνησεν εἰκέναι τοὺς προειρημένους λησταῖς.’ [8] εἴτ’ ἐπειπὼν τινα περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα: ‘Κρήσκης γοῦν ὁ ἐννεοττεύσας τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει παιδευαστῖα μὲν πάντας ὑπερήνεγκεν, φιλαργυρία δὲ πάννυ προσεχὴς ἦν: [9] θανάτου δὲ ὁ καταφρονεῖν συμβουλευὼν οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐδεδίει τὸν θάνατον, ὡς καὶ Ἰουστῖνον, καθάπερ μεγάλῳ κακῷ, τῷ θανάτῳ περιβαλεῖν πραγματεύεσθαι, διότι κηρύττων τὴν ἀλήθειαν λίχνους τοὺς φιλοσόφους καὶ ἀπατεῶνας συνήλεγχεν.’ καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουστῖνον μαρτύριον τοιαύτην εἴληχεν αἰτίαν.

Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ πρὸ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνος ἐτέρων πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρησάντων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μνημονεύει ἀπολογία, [2] χρησίμως τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ ταῦτα ἱστορῶν: γράφει δὲ ὧδε: ‘γυνὴ τις συνεβίου ἀνδρὶ ἀκολασταίνοντι, ἀκολασταίνουσα καὶ αὐτὴ πρότερον: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάγματα ἔγνω, ἐσωφρονίσθη, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμοίως σωφρονεῖν πείθειν ἐπειράτο, τὰ διδάγματα ἀναφέρουσα τὴν τε μέλλουσαν τοῖς. οὐ σωφρόνως καὶ μετὰ λόγου ὀρθοῦ βιοῦσιν ἔσσεσθαι ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ κόλασιν ἀπαγγέλλουσα. [3] ὁ δὲ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀσελγείαις ἐπιμένων, ἀλλοτριὰν διὰ τῶν πράξεων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν γαμετὴν: ἀσεβὲς γὰρ ἡγουμένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ γυνὴ συγκατακλίνεσθαι ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πόρους ἡδονῆς ἐκ παντὸς πειρωμένῳ ποιεῖσθαι, τῆς συζυγίας χωρισθῆναι ἐβουλήθη. [4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξεδυσωπεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς, ἔτι προσμένειν συμβουλευόντων ὡς εἰς ἐλπίδα μεταβολῆς ἤξοντός ποτε τοῦ ἀνδρός, βιαζομένη ἑαυτὴν ἐπέμενε: [5] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πορευθεὶς, χαλεπώτερα πράττειν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὅπως μὴ κοινωνὸς τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ἀσεβημάτων γένηται μένουσα ἐν τῇ συζυγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοδίαιτος καὶ ὁμόκοιτος γινομένη, τὸ λεγόμενον παρ’ ὑμῖν ῥεπούδιον [6] δοῦσα ἐχωρίσθη. ὁ δὲ καλὸς καγαθὸς ταύτης ἀνὴρ, δεόν αὐτὸν χαίρειν ὅτι ἂν πάλοι μετὰ τῶν

ὕπηρετῶν καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων εὐχερῶς ἔπραττεν μέθαις χαίρουσα καὶ κακία πάσῃ, τούτων μὲν τῶν πράξεων πέπαυτο καὶ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ παύσασθαι πράττοντα ἐβούλετο, μὴ βουλομένου ἀπαλλαγείσης, κατηγορίαν πεποιήται, λέγων αὐτὴν Χριστιανὴν εἶναι. [7] καὶ ἡ μὲν βιβλιδίον σοι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἀνέδωκεν, πρότερον συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῇ διοικήσασθαι τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀξιοῦσα, ἔπειτα ἀπολογήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ κατηγορήματος μετὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς διοίκησιν, [8] καὶ συνεχώρησας τοῦτο: ὁ δὲ ταύτης ποτὲ ἀνὴρ πρὸς ἐκείνην μὲν μὴ δυνάμενος τὰ νῦν ἔτι λέγειν, πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τινα, ὃν Οὐρβίκιος ἐκολάσατο, διδάσκαλον ἐκείνης τῶν Χριστιανῶν μαθημάτων γενόμενον, ἐτράπετο διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ τρόπου. [9] ἑκατόνταρχον εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβάλλοντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, φίλον αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντα, ἔπεισε λαβέσθαι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ ἀνερωτῆσαι εἰ, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον, Χριστιανὸς ἐστίν. καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, φιλαλήθη ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπατηλὸν οὐδὲ ψευδολόγον τὴν γνώμην ὄντα, ὁμολογήσαντα ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Χριστιανόν, ἐν δεσμοῖς γενέσθαι ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος πεποιήκεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ [10] ἐκολάσατο: τελευταῖον δὲ ὅτε ἐπὶ Οὐρβίκιον ἦχθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁμοίως αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξητάσθη, εἰ εἷη Χριστιανός: καὶ πάλιν, τὰ καλὰ ἑαυτῷ συνεπιστάμενος διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασχὴν, τὸ διδασκαλεῖον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ὡμολόγησεν. [11] ὁ γὰρ ἀρνούμενος ὅτιοῦν ἢ κατεγνωκὼς τοῦ πράγματος ἔξαρνος γίνεται ἢ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάξιον ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ὁμολογίαν φεύγει: ὧν οὐδὲν πρόσεστιν τῷ ἀληθινῷ Χριστιανῷ. [12] καὶ τοῦ Οὐρβικίου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι, Λούκιός τις, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν Χριστιανός, ὁρῶν τὴν ἀλόγως οὕτως γενομένην κρίσιν, πρὸς τὸν Οὐρβίκιον ἔφη 'τίς ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μήτε μοιχὸν μήτε πόρνον μήτε ἀνδροφόνον μήτε λωποδύτην μήτε ἄρπαγα μήτε ἀπλῶς ἀδίκημά τι πράξαντα ἐλεγχόμενον, ὀνόματος δὲ Χριστιανοῦ προσωνυμίαν ὁμολογοῦντα, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἐκολάσω; οὐκ ἔπρεποντα Εὐσεβεῖ αὐτοκράτορι οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ Καίσαρος παιδὶ οὐδὲ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ κρίνεις, ὃ Οὐρβίκιε.' [13] καὶ ὅς, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἀποκρινάμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λούκιον ἔφη 'δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ εἶναι τοιοῦτος,' καὶ τοῦ Λουκίου φήσαντος 'μάλιστα,' πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαχθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν: ὁ δὲ χάριν εἰδέναι ὡμολόγει: πονηρῶν γὰρ δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι ἐπεῖπεν καὶ παρὰ ἀγαθὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τὸν θεὸν πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμήθη.' τούτοις ὁ Ἰουστίνος εἰκότως καὶ ἀκολούθως ὥς προεμνημονεύσαμεν αὐτοῦ φωνὰς ἐπάγει λέγων 'κἀγὼ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ὀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι' καὶ τὰ λοιπά.

Πλεῖστα δὲ οὗτος καταλέλοιπεν ἡμῖν πεπαιδευμένης διανοίας καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακίας ὑπομνήματα, πάσης ὠφελείας ἔμπλεα: ἐφ' ἃ τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψομεν, τὰ εἰς ἡμετέραν [2] γνῶσιν ἐλθόντα χρησίμως παρασημηνάμενοι. ὁ μὲν τίς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος πρὸς Ἀντωνῖνον τὸν Εὐσεβῆ προσαγορευθέντα καὶ τοὺς τούτου παῖδας τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητον προσφωνητικὸς ὑπὲρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς δογμάτων, ὁ δὲ δευτέραν περιέχων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως ἀπολογία, ἣν πεποιήται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ δεδηλωμένου αὐτοκράτορος διάδοχόν τε καὶ ὁμώνυμον Ἀντωνῖνον Οὐῆρον, οὗ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος διέξιμεν: [3] καὶ ἄλλος ὁ πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἐν ᾧ μακρὸν περὶ πλείστων παρ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφοις ζητούμενων κατατείνας λόγον, περὶ τῆς τῶν δαιμόνων διαλαμβάνει φύσεως: ἃ οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπεῖγοι τὰ νῦν παρατίθεσθαι. [4] καὶ αὖθις ἕτερον πρὸς Ἑλληνας εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἑλεγχον, καὶ παρὰ τούτους ἄλλο περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας, ἣν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν γραφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν συνίστησιν βιβλίων: [5] ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπιγεγραμμένον Ψάλτης, καὶ ἄλλο σχολικὸν Περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν ᾧ διαφόρους πεύσεις προτείνας περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν προβλήματος, τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν φιλοσόφων παρατίθεται τὰς δόξας, αἷς καὶ ἀντιλέξειν ὑπισχνεῖται τὴν τε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν ἐτέρῳ παραθήσεσθαι συγγράμματι. [6] καὶ διάλογον δὲ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους συνέταξεν, ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως πρὸς Τρύφωνα τῶν τότε Ἑβραίων ἐπισημότατον πεποιήται: ἐν ᾧ τίνα τρόπον ἡ θεία χάρις αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως παρώρμησε λόγον, δηλοῖ ὅποιαν τε πρότερον περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα σπουδὴν εἰσενήγκεται καὶ ὅσῃν ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἀληθείας [7] ἐκθυμοτάτην ζήτησιν. ἱστορεῖ δ' ἐν ταύτῳ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ὡς κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπιβουλήν συσκευασαμένων, αὐτὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Τρύφωνα ἀποτεινόμενος: 'οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐ μετενοήσατε ἐφ' οἷς ἐπράξατε κακῶς, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας ἐκλεκτοὺς ἐκλεξάμενοι τότε ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐξεπέμψατε εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, λέγοντες αἴρεσιν ἁθελόντων Χριστιανῶν πεφάνθαι καταλέγοντές τε ταῦτα ἅπερ καθ' ἡμῶν οἱ ἀγνοοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντες λέγουσιν, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοῖς ἀδικίας αἵτιοι ὑπάρχετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώποις.' [8] Γράφει δὲ καὶ ὡς ὅτι μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα προφητικὰ διέλαμπεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, μέμνηταί τε τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως, σαφῶς τοῦ ἀποστόλου αὐτὴν εἶναι λέγων: καὶ ῥητῶν δὲ τινων προφητικῶν μνημονεύει, διελέγχων τὸν Τρύφωνα ὡς δὴ περικοψάντων αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς. πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα παρὰ πολλοῖς φέρεται ἀδελφοῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ πόνων, [9] οὕτως δὲ

σπουδῆς εἶναι ἄξιοι καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐδόκουν οἱ τάνδρὸς λόγοι, ὥς τὸν Εἰρηναῖον ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτοῦ φωνάς, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπιλέγοντα: ‘καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματί φησιν ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐπέισθην ἄλλον θεὸν καταγγέλλοντι παρὰ τὸν δημιουργόν,’ τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως διὰ τούτων: ‘καὶ καλῶς ὁ Ἰουστῖνος ἔφη ὅτι πρὸ μὲν τῆς τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίας οὐδέποτε ἐτόλμησεν ὁ σατανᾶς βλασφημῆσαι τὸν θεόν, ἅτε μηδέπω εἰδὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν κατάκρισιν.’ [10] καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγκαιῶς εἰρήσθω εἰς προτροπὴν τοῦ μετὰ σπουδῆς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τοὺς τούτου περιέπειν λόγους. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τόνδε τοιαῦτα ἦν.

Ἦδη δὲ εἰς ὄγδοον ἐλαυνούσης ἔτος τῆς δηλουμένης ἡγεμονίας, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ἀνίκητον ἑνδεκα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔτεσιν διελθόντα Σωτὴρ διαδέχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων παρ οικίας Κελαδίωνος τέτταρσιν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν προστάντος.

τὴν διαδοχὴν Ἀγριππῖνος διαλαμβάνει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων δὲ ἐκκλησίας Θεόφιλος ἔκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγνωρίζετο, τετάρτου μὲν τῶν ἐκεῖσε μετὰ Ἡρώνα καταστάντος Κορινθίου, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν πέμπτῳ βαθμῷ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ἐρωτος διαδεξαμένου.

Ἦκμαζον δ’ ἐν τούτοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἠγήσιππός τε, ὃν ἴσμεν ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, καὶ Διονύσιος Κορινθίων ἐπίσκοπος Πινυτός τε ἄλλος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος Φίλιππός τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Ἀπολινάριος καὶ Μελίτων Μουσανός τε καὶ Μόδεστος καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Εἰρηναῖος, ὧν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως ἢ τῆς ὑγιоῦς πίστεως ἔγγραφος κατῆλθεν ὀρθοδοξία.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἠγήσιππος ἐν πέντε τοῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθοῦσιν ὑπομνήμασιν τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης πληρεστάτην μνήμην καταλέλοιπεν: ἐν οἷς δηλοῖ ὥς πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συμμίξειεν ἀποδημίαν στείλαμενος μέχρι Ῥώμης, καὶ ὥς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν παρὰ πάντων παρείληφεν διδασκαλίαν. ἀκοῦσαί γέ τοι πάρεστιν μετὰ τινα περὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς αὐτῷ εἰρημένα ἐπιλέγοντος ταῦτα: ‘καὶ [2] ἐπέμενεν ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ Κορινθίων ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ μέχρι Πρίμου ἐπισκοπεύοντος ἐν Κορίνθῳ: οἷς συνέμιξα πλέων εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ συνδιέτριψα τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἡμέρας ἱκανάς, [3] ἐν αἷς συνανεπάμην τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ: γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, διαδοχὴν ἐποίησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικήτου: οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος, καὶ παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτὴρ, μεθ’ ὃν Ἐλεύθερος. ἐν ἐκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οὕτως

ἔχει ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ προφηταὶ καὶ ὁ κύριος.’ [4] Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν αἰρέσεων τὰς ἀρχὰς ὑποτίθεται διὰ τούτων: ‘καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, ὡς καὶ ὁ κύριος, ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος, ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεπιτόν τοῦ κυρίου δεύτερον. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκάλουν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρθένον, [5] οὐπω γὰρ ἔφθαρτο ἀκοαῖς ματαίαις: ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ Θεβουθις διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑποφθεῖρειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ αἰρέσεων, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ἀφ’ ὧν Σίμων, ὅθεν Σιμωνιανοί, καὶ Κλεόβιος, ὅθεν Κλεοβιηνοί, καὶ Δοσίθεος, ὅθεν Λοσιθιανοί, καὶ Γορθαῖος, ὅθεν Γοραθηνοί, καὶ Μασβῳθεοὶ. ἀπὸ τούτων Μενανδριανισταὶ καὶ Μαρκιανισταὶ καὶ Καρποκρατιανοὶ καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοὶ καὶ Βασιλειδιανοὶ καὶ Σατορνιλιανοὶ ἕκαστος ἰδίως καὶ ἑτεροίως ἰδίαν δόξαν παρεισηγάγασαν, [6] ἀπὸ τούτων ψευδόχριστοι, ψευδοπροφῆται, ψευδαπόστολοι, οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἑνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.’ [7] Ἔτι δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰς πάλαι γεγενημένας παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις αἰρέσεις ἱστορεῖ λέγων: ‘ἦσαν δὲ γινῶμαι διάφοροι ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλιτῶν κατὰ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐταί: Ἑσσαῖοι Γαλιλαῖοι Ἡμεροβαπτισταὶ Μασβῳθεοὶ Σαμαρεῖται Σαδδουκαῖοι Φαρισαῖοι.’ [8] Καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλεῖστα γράφει, ὧν ἐκ μέρους ἤδη πρότερον ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, οἰκείως τοῖς καιροῖς τὰς ἱστορίας παραθέμενοι, ἕκ τε τοῦ καθ’ Ἑβραίου εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδὸς διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν, ἐμφαίνων ἐξ Ἑβραίων ἑαυτὸν πεπιστευκέναι, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὡς ἐξ Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀγράφου παραδόσεως μνημονεύει. [9] οὐ μόνος δὲ οὗτος, καὶ Εἰρηναῖος δὲ καὶ ὁ πᾶς τῶν ἀρχαίων χορὸς πανάρετον Σοφίαν τὰς Σολομῶνος Παροιμίας ἐκάλουν. καὶ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων δὲ ἀποκρύφων διαλαμβάνων, ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ χρόνων πρὸς τινων αἰρετικῶν ἀναπεπλάσθαι τινὰ τούτων ἱστορεῖ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφ’ ἕτερον ἤδη μεταβατέον.

Καὶ πρῶτον γε περὶ Διονυσίου φατέον ὅτι τε τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παροικίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχειρίστο θρόνον, καὶ ὡς τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοπονίας οὐ μόνους τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀφθόνως ἐκοινώνει, χρησιμώτατον ἅπασιν ἑαυτὸν καθιστὰς ἐν αἷς ὑπετυποῦτο καθολικαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκκλησίας [2] ἐπιστολαῖς: ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ μὲν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὀρθοδοξίας κατηχητικὴ εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἐνώσεως ὑποθετικὴ, ἡ δὲ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους διεγερτικὴ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πολιτείας, ἧς ὀλιγορήσαντας ἐλέγχει ὡς ἂν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀποστάντας τοῦ λόγου ἐξ οὗπερ τὸν προεστῶτα

αὐτῶν Πούπλιον μαρτυρῆσαι κατὰ τοὺς τότε συνέβη διωγμούς. [3] Κοδράτου δὲ μετὰ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα Πούπλιον καταστάντος αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπου μέμνηται, ἐπιμαρτυρῶν ὡς διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἐπισυναχθέντων καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἀναζωπύρησιν εἰληχότων: δηλοῖ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου προτραπείς ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν δεδηλωμένα, πρῶτος τῆς Ἀθήνησι παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχείριστο. [4] ἄλλη δ' ἐπιστολὴ τις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Νικομηδεάς φέρεται, ἐν ἣ τὴν Μαρκίωνος αἵρεσιν πολεμῶν τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας παράσταται κανόνι. [5] καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ παροικουσῇ Γόρτυναν ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίαις ἐπιστείλας, Φίλιππον ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ἀποδέχεται ἅτε δὴ ἐπὶ πλείσταις μαρτυρουμένης ἀνδραγαθίας τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίας, τὴν τε τῶν αἵρετικῶν διαστροφὴν ὑπομιμνήσκει φυλάττεσθαι. [6] καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ τῇ παροικουσῇ Ἀμαστριν ἅμα ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον ἐπιστείλας, Βακχυλίδου μὲν καὶ Ἑλπίστου ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ γράψαι προτρεψάντων μέμνηται, γραφῶν τε θείων ἐξηγήσεις παρατίθεται, ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Πάλμαν ὑποσημαίνων: πολλὰ δὲ περὶ γάμου καὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς αὐτοῖς παραινεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ οἴας δ' οὖν ἀποπτώσεως, εἴτε πλημμελείας εἴτε μὴν αἵρετικῆς πλάνης, ἐπιστρέφοντας δεξιῶσθαι προστάττει. [7] ταύταις ἄλλη ἐγκατεῖλεται πρὸς Κνωσίους ἐπιστολὴ, ἐν ἣ Πινυτὸν τῆς παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον παρακαλεῖ μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἀγνείας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθεῖναι, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καταστοχάζεσθαι ἀσθενείας: [8] πρὸς ἣν ὁ Πινυτὸς ἀντιγράφων, θαυμάζει μὲν καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὸν Διονύσιον, ἀντιπαρακαλεῖ δὲ στερροτέρας ἤδη ποτὲ μεταδιδόναι τροφῆς, τελειοτέροις γράμμασιν εἰς αὐτῆς τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑποθρέψαντα, ὡς μὴ διὰ τέλους τοῖς γαλακτώδεσιν ἐνδιατρίβοντες λόγοις τῇ νηπιῶδει ἀγωγῇ λάθοιεν καταγηράσαντες: δι' ἧς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πινυτοῦ περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὀρθοδοξία τε καὶ φροντίς τῆς τῶν ὑπηκόων ὠφελείας τό τε λόγιον καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰ θεῖα σύνεσις ὡς δι' [9] ἀκριβεστάτης ἀναδείκνυται εἰκόνας. Ἔτι τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, ἐπισκόπων τῷ τότε Σωτῆρι προσφωνοῦσα: ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲν οἶον τὸ καὶ παραθέσθαι λέξεις δι' ὧν τὸ μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ φυλαχθὲν Ῥωμαίων ἔθος ἀποδεχόμενος ταῦτα γράφει: 'ἐξ [10] ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφούς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, ἐν μετάλλοις δὲ ἀδελφοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντας δι' ὧν πέμπετε ἀρχῆθεν ἐφοδίων πατροπαράδοτον ἔθος Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμαῖοι φυλάττοντες, ὃ οὐ μόνον

διατετήρηκεν ὁ μακάριος ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠϋξήκεν, ἐπιχορηγῶν μὲν τὴν διαπεμπομένην δαψίλειαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους, λόγοις δὲ μακαρίοις τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἀδελφούς, ὡς τέκνα πατὴρ φιλόστοργος, παρακαλῶν.’ [11] Ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ τῆς Κλήμεντος πρὸς Κορινθίους μέμνηται ἐπιστολῆς, δηλῶν ἀνέκαθεν ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι: λέγει γοῦν: ‘τὴν σήμερον οὖν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ἣ ἀνέγνωμεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν ἐξομεν ἀεὶ ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.’ [12] Ἐτι δ’ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ῥαδιουργηθεῖσων ταῦτά φησιν: ‘ἐπιστολὰς γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀξιώσαντων με γράψαι ἔγραψα. καὶ ταύτας οἱ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀπόστολοι ζιζανίων γεγέμικαν, ἃ μὲν ἐξαίρουντες, ἃ δὲ προστιθέντες: οἷς τὸ οὐαὶ κεῖται. οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἄρα εἰ καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν ῥαδιουργησαί τις ἐπιβέβληνται γραφῶν, ὅποτε καὶ ταῖς οὐ τοιαύταις ἐπιβεβουλευκάσιν.’ [13] Καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις παρὰ ταύτας ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται Χρυσοφόρῳ πιστοτάτῃ ἀδελφῇ ἐπιστεῖλαντος, ἣ τὰ κατάλληλα γράφων, τῆς προσηκούσης καὶ αὐτῇ μετεδίδου λογικῆς τροφῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Διονυσίου τοσαῦτα.

Τοῦ δὲ Θεοφίλου, ὃν τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον δεδηλώκαμεν, τρία τὰ πρὸς Αὐτόλुकον στοιχειώδη φέρεται συγγράμματα, καὶ ἄλλο Πρὸς τὴν αἴρεσιν Ἑρμογένους τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον, ἐν ᾧ ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίας: καὶ ἕτερα δὲ τινὰ κατηχητικὰ αὐτοῦ φέρεται βιβλία. τῶν γε μὴν αἰρετικῶν οὐ χεῖρον καὶ τότε ζιζανίων δίκην λυμαιομένων τὸν εἰλικρινῇ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διδασκαλίας σπόρον, οἱ πανταχόσε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες, ὥσπερ τινὰς θήρας ἀγρίους τῶν Χριστοῦ προβάτων ἀποσοβοῦντες, αὐτοὺς ἀνείργον τοτὲ μὲν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς νουθεσίαις καὶ παραινέσεσιν, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς γυμνότερον ἀποδύομενοι, ἀγράφοις τε εἰς πρόσωπον ζητήσεσι καὶ ἀνατροπαῖς, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δι’ ἐγγράφων ὑπομνημάτων τὰς δόξας αὐτῶν ἀκριβεστάτοις ἐλέγχοις διευθύνοντες. ὃ γέ τοι Θεόφιλος σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ τούτων στρατευσάμενος δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τινος οὐκ ἀγεννῶς αὐτῷ κατὰ Μαρκίωνος πεπονημένου λόγου, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς μεθ’ ὧν ἄλλων εἰρήκαμεν εἰς ἔτι νῦν διασέσωσται. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἑβδομος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας διαδέχεται Μαξιμῖνος.

Φίλιππος γε μὴν, ὃν ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίου φωνῶν τῆς ἐν Γορτύνῃ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον ἔγνωμεν, πάννυ γε σπουδαιότατον πεποιήται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Μαρκίωνος λόγον, Εἰρηναῖός τε ὡσαύτως καὶ Μόδεστος, ὃς καὶ διαφερόντως

παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἔκδηλον τοῖς πᾶσιν κατεφώρασε πλάνην, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους, ὧν παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἔτι νῦν οἱ πόνοι διαφυλάττονται.

Ἐπὶ τῶνδε καὶ Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν παραιοκίας ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπολινάριος τε τῆς ἐν Ἱεραιπόλει διαπρεπῶς ἤκμαζον, οἱ καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ιδίως ἐκάτερος ἀπολογία προσεφώνησαν. [2] τούτων εἰς ἡμετέραν γνῶσιν ἀφίκται τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα: Μελίτωνος, τὰ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δύο καὶ τὸ Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἐκκλησίας καὶ ὁ Περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος, ἔτι δὲ ὁ Περὶ πίστεως ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὁ Περὶ πλάσεως, καὶ ὁ Περὶ ὑπακοῆς πίστεως καὶ Περὶ αἰσθητηρίων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἡνεοῖς καὶ ὁ Περὶ λουτροῦ καὶ Περὶ ἀληθείας καὶ Περὶ πίστεως καὶ γενέσεως Χριστοῦ καὶ λόγος αὐτοῦ προφητείας καὶ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ ὁ Περὶ φιλοξενίας καὶ ἡ Κλείς καὶ τὰ Περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου καὶ ὁ Περὶ ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι καὶ τὸ Πρὸς Ἀντωνίνων βιβλίδιον. [3] Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα τὸν χρόνον καθ' ὃν συνέταπτεν, ἀρχόμενος σημαίνει ἐν τούτοις: 'ἐπὶ Σερουιλλίου Παύλου ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Ἀσίας, ᾧ Σάγαρις καιρῷ ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἐγένετο ζήτησις πολλὴ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα, ἐμπεσόντος κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ ἐγράφη ταῦτα.' [4] τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου μέμνηται Κλήμης ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ἰδίῳ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα λόγῳ, ὃν ὡς ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς τοῦ Μελίτωνος γραφῆς φησιν ἑαυτὸν συντάξαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα βιβλίῳ τοιαῦτά τινα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι ἱστορεῖ: 'τὸ [5] γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενον, νῦν διώκεται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος καινοῖς ἐλαυνόμενον δόγμασιν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἀναιδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρασταὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἔχοντες ἀφορμὴν, φανερωῶς ληστεύουσι, νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διαρπάζοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας.' [6] καὶ μεθ' ἑτερά φησιν: 'καὶ εἰ μὲν σοῦ κελεύσαντος τοῦτο πράττεται, ἔστω καλῶς γινόμενον: δίκαιος γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἂν ἀδίκως βουλεύσαιτο πώποτε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡδέως φέρομεν τοῦ τοιούτου θανάτου τὸ γέρας: ταύτην δέ σοι μόνην προσφέρομεν δέησιν ἵνα αὐτὸς πρότερον ἐπιγνούς τοὺς τῆς τοιαύτης φιλονεικίας ἐργάτας, δικαίως κρίνειας εἰ ἄξιοι θανάτου καὶ τιμωρίας ἢ σωτηρίας καὶ ἡσυχίας εἰσίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μὴ εἴη ἡ βουλὴ αὕτη καὶ τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο διάταγμα, ὃ μηδὲ κατὰ βαρβάρων πρέπει πολεμίων, πολὺ μᾶλλον δεόμεθά σου μὴ περιδεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοιαύτῃ δημῳδῇ λεηλασίᾳ.' [7] τούτοις αὐθις ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'ἡ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσοφία

πρότερον μὲν ἐν βαρβάροις ἤκμασεν, ἐπανθήσασα δὲ τοῖς σοῖς ἔθνεσιν κατὰ τὴν Αὐγούστου τοῦ σοῦ προγόνου μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἐγενήθη μάλιστα τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ αἴσιον ἀγαθόν. ἔκτοτε γὰρ εἰς μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ Ῥωμαίων ηὔξηθη κράτος· οὗ σὺ διάδοχος εὐκταῖος γέγονάς τε καὶ ἔσῃ μετὰ τοῦ παιδός, φυλάσσων τῆς βασιλείας τὴν σύντροφον καὶ συναρξαμένην Αὐγούστῳ φιλοσοφίαν, ἣν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοί σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκειαῖς ἐτίμησαν, [8] καὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον τεκμήριον τοῦ πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγον συνακμάσαι τῇ καλῶς ἀρξαμένη βασιλείᾳ, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φαῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς Αὐγούστου ἀρχῆς ἀπαντῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ἅπαντα λαμπρὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα κατὰ τὰς πάντων εὐχάς. [9] μόνοι πάντων, ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπὸ τινων βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων, τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἀλόγῳ συνηθείᾳ περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ρύηται συμβέβηκεν [10] ψεῦδος· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἄγνοιαν οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες ἐπληρωθώσαντο, πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπιπλήξαντες ἐγγράφως, ὅσοι περὶ τούτων νεωτερίσαι ἐτόλμησαν· ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἀδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ Φουνδανῷ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἡγουμένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, γράφων φαίνεται, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ σύμπαντα διοικούντος αὐτῷ, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἑλληνας. [11] σὲ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις ἔχοντα γνώμην καὶ πολὺ γε φιланθρωποτέραν καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν, πεπεισμέθα πάντα πράσσειν ὅσα σου δεόμεθα.' [12] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ δηλωθέντι τέθιται λόγῳ· ἐν δὲ ταῖς γραφαῖσιν αὐτῷ Ἐκλογαῖς ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον ἀρχόμενος τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γραφῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον· ὃν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα καταλέξει, γράφει δὲ οὕτως· 'Μελίτων [13] Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις ἠξίωσας, σπουδῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸν λόγον χρώμενος, γενέσθαι σοὶ ἐκλογὰς ἔκ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ πάσης τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐβουλήθης ἀκρίβειαν πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ὁποῖα τὴν τάξιν εἶεν, ἐσπούδασα τὸ τοιοῦτο πράξει, ἐπιστάμενός σου τὸ σπουδαῖον περὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ φιλομαθὲς περὶ τὸν λόγον ὅτι τε μάλιστα πάντων πόθῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ταῦτα προκρίνεις, περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου σωτηρίας ἀγωνιζόμενος. [14] ἀνελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ ἕως τοῦ τόπου γενόμενος ἔνθα ἐκηρύχθη καὶ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία, ὑποτάξας ἔπεμψά σοι· ὧν ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνόματα· Μωυσέως πέντε, Γένεσις Ἑξοδος Ἀριθμοὶ

Λευιτικὸν Δευτερονόμιον, Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ, Κριταί, Ρούθ, Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα, Παραλειπομένων δύο, Ψαλμῶν Δαυίδ, Σολομῶνος Παροιμίαι ἢ καὶ Σοφία, Ἐκκλησιαστής, Ἄισμα Ἀισμάτων, Ἰώβ, Προφητῶν Ἡσαΐου Ἱερεμίου τῶν δώδεκα ἐν μονοβίβλῳ Δανιήλ, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Ἑσδρας· ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐκλογὰς ἐποιήσαμην, εἰς ἕξ βιβλία διελόν.’ καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Μελίτωνος τοσαῦτα.

Τοῦ δ’ Ἀπολιναρίου πολλῶν παρὰ πολλοῖς σφωζομένων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶν τάδε· λόγος ὁ πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα καὶ Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας συγγράμματα πέντε καὶ Περὶ ἀληθείας α β καὶ Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους α β καὶ ἅ μετὰ ταῦτα συνέγραψε κατὰ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἰρέσεως, μετ’ οὐ πολὺν καινοτομηθείσης χρόνον, τότε γε μὴν ὥσπερ ἐκφύειν ἀρχομένης, ἔτι τοῦ Μοντανοῦ ἅμα ταῖς αὐτοῦ ψευδοπροφήτισιν ἀρχὰς τῆς παρεκτροπῆς ποιουμένου.

Καὶ Μουσανοῦ δέ, ὃν ἐν τοῖς φθάσασιν κατελέξαμεν, φέρεται τις ἐπιστρεπτικώτατος λόγος, πρὸς τινὰς αὐτῷ γραφεῖς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκλίναντας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων Ἐγκρατιτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἄρτι τότε φύειν ἀρχομένην ξένην τε καὶ φθοριμαίαν ψευδοδοξίαν εἰσάγουσαν τῷ βίῳ·

ἣς παρεκτροπῆς ἀρχηγὸν καταστῆναι Τατιανὸν λόγος ἔχει, οὗ μικρῷ πρόσθεν τὰς περὶ τοῦ θαυμασίου Ἰουστίνου παρατεθείμεθα λέξεις, μαθητὴν αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦντες τοῦ μάρτυρος. δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο Εἰρηναῖος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς τὰς αἰρέσεις, ὁμοῦ τὰ τε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν αἰρέσεως οὕτω γράφων· [2] ‘ἀπὸ Σατορνίνου καὶ Μαρκίωνος οἱ καλούμενοι Ἐγκρατεῖς ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν, ἀθετοῦντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡρέμα κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ εἰς γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων πεποηκότος, καὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴν εἰσηγήσαντο, ἀχαριστοῦντες τῷ πάντα πεποηκότι θεῷ, ἀντιλέγουσί [3] τε τῇ τοῦ πρωτοπλάστου σωτηρίᾳ. καὶ τοῦτο νῦν ἐξευρέθη παρ’ αὐτοῖς Τατιανοῦ τινος πρώτως ταύτην εἰσενέγκαντος τὴν βλασφημίαν· ὃς Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατὴς γεγονώς, ἐφ’ ὅσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ, οὐδὲν ἐξέφηνεν τοιοῦτον, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οἰήματι διδασκάλου ἐπαρθεὶς καὶ τυφωθεὶς ὡς διαφέρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα διδασκαλείου συνεστήσατο, αἰδωνάς τινὰς ἀοράτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσας γάμον τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίῳνι καὶ Σατορνίνῳ ἀναγορεύσας, τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ σωτηρίᾳ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν ποιησάμενος.’ [4] ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τότε· σμικρῷ δὲ ὕστερον Σευῆρός τις τοῦνομα κρατύνας τὴν προδεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν, αἴτιος τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς ὠρμημένοις τῆς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παρηγγμένης

Σευηριανῶν προσηγορίας [5] γέγονεν. χρῶνται μὲν οὖν οὗτοι νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ εὐαγγελίοις, ἰδίως ἐρμηνεύοντες τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νοήματα γραφῶν: βλασφημοῦντες δὲ Παῦλον τὸν ἀπόστολον, ἀθετοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, μηδὲ τὰς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων καταδεχόμενοι. [6] ὁ μέντοι γε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθείς, Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν, ὃ καὶ παρά τισιν εἰς ἔτι νῦν φέρεται: τοῦ δ' ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμῆσαι τινὰς αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς, ὥς ἐπιδιорθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν. [7] κατατέλειπεν δὲ οὗτος πολὺ τι πλῆθος συγγραμμάτων, ὧν μάλιστα παρὰ πολλοῖς μνημονεύεται διαβόητος αὐτοῦ λόγος ὁ Πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν ἀνέκαθεν χρόνων μνημονεύσας, τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν εὐδοκίμων ἀπάντων προγενέστερον Μωυσέα τε καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίων προφήτας ἀπέφηνεν: ὃς δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τῶν συγγραμμάτων ἀπάντων αὐτοῦ κάλλιστός τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτατος ὑπάρχειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούσδε τοιαῦτα ἦν.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας, πληθυσουσῶν τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπὶ τῆς Μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν, Βαρδησάνης, ἱκανώτατός τις ἀνὴρ ἔν τε τῇ Σύρων φωνῇ διαλεκτικώτατος, πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ Μαρκίωνα καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους διαφόρων προΐσταμένους δογμάτων διαλόγους συστησάμενος τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρέδωκεν γλώττῃ τε καὶ γραφῇ μετὰ καὶ πλείστων ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων: οὓς οἱ γνώριμοι ἡλείστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρισταμένῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρων μεταβεβλήκασιν φωνῆς: [2] ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἀντωνίνον ἱκανώτατος αὐτοῦ Περὶ εἰμαρμένης διάλογος ὅσα τε ἄλλα φασὶν αὐτὸν προφάσει τοῦ τότε διωγμοῦ συγγράψαι. [3] ἦν δ' οὗτος πρότερον τῆς κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνον σχολῆς, καταγνοὺς δὲ ταύτης πλείστα τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον μυθοποιίας ἀπελέγξας, ἐδόκει μὲν πως αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθοτέραν γνῶμην μετατεθεῖσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ παντελῶς γε ἀπερρύψατο τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς αἱρέσεως ῥύπον. Ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτὴρ τελευτᾷ.

BOOK V.

τάδε καὶ ἡ πέμπτη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Ὅσοι καὶ ὅπως κατὰ Οὐῆρον ἐπὶ τῆς Γαλλίας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐσεβείας διεξῆλθον ἀγῶνα.

Β Ὡς οἱ θεοφιλεῖς μάρτυρες τοὺς ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ διαπεπτωκότας ἐθεράπευον δεξιούμενοι.

Γ Ὅποια τῷ μάρτυρι Ἀττάλῳ δι' ὀνείρου γέγονεν ἐπιφάνεια.

Δ Ὅπως οἱ μάρτυρες τὸν Εἰρηναῖον δι' ἐπιστολῆς παρετίθεντο.

Ε Ὡς Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ Καίσαρι ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς οὐρανόθεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούσας ὕσεν.

Σ Τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπευσάντων κατάλογος.

Ζ Ὡς καὶ μέχρι τῶν τότε καιρῶν διὰ τῶν πιστῶν δυνάμεις ἐνηργοῦντο παράδοξοι.

Η Ὅπως ὁ Εἰρηναῖος τῶν θείων μνημονεύει γραφῶν.

Θ Οἱ κατὰ Κόμοδον ἐπισκοπεύσαντες.

Ι Περὶ Πανταίνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου.

ΙΑ Περὶ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως.

ΙΒ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων.

ΙΓ Περὶ Ῥόδωνος καὶ ἧς ἐμνημόνευσεν κατὰ Μαρκίωνα διαφωνίας.

ΙΔ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φρύγας ψευδοπροφητῶν.

ΙΕ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Βλάστον ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ γενομένου σχίσματος.

Ις Ὅσα περὶ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ψευδοπροφητῶν μνημονεύεται.

ΙΖ Περὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ ὧν συνέταξε λόγων.

ΙΗ Ὅσα καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς κατὰ Φρύγας ἀπήλεγξεν καὶ τίνων ἐμνημόνευσεν.

ΙΘ Σεραπίωνος περὶ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἵρέσεως.

Κ Ὅσα Εἰρηναῖος τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ σχισματικοῖς ἐγγράφως διείλεκται.

ΚΑ Ὅπως ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

KB Τίνες κατὰ τούτους ἐπίσκοποι ἐγνωρίζοντο.

ΚΓ Περί τοῦ τότε κινήντος ἀμφὶ τοῦ πάσχα ζητήματος.

ΚΔ Περί τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν διαφωνίας.

ΚΕ Ὅπως τοῖς πᾶσι μία ψῆφος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα συνεφωνήθη.

Κς Ὅσα τῆς Εἰρηναίου φιλοκαλίας καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς κατῆλθεν.

ΚΖ Ὅσα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν τῆνικάδε συνηκμακόντων.

ΚΗ Περί τῶν τὴν Ἀρτέμωνος αἵρεσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προβεβλημένων οἳοί τε τὸν τρόπον γεγόνασιν καὶ ὅπως τὰς ἀγίας γραφὰς διαφθεῖραι τετολμήκασιν.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ ἐπὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος ἡγησάμενος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον· τοῦτον δωδέκατος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων Ἐλεύθερος διαδέχεται, ἔτος δ' ἦν ἑπτακαιδέκατον αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνίνου Οὐήρου· ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τινα μέρη τῆς γῆς σφοδρότερον ἀναρριπισθέντος τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμοῦ, ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν κατὰ πόλεις δήμων μυριάδας μαρτύρων διαπρέψαι στοχασμῷ λαβεῖν ἔνεστιν ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἓν ἔθνος συμβεβηκότων, ἃ καὶ γραφῇ τοῖς μετέπειτα παραδοθῆναι, ἀλήστου μνήμης ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπάξια ὄντα, συμβέβηκεν. [2] τῆς μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων ἐντελεστάτης ὑφηγήσεως τὸ πᾶν σύγγραμμα τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων ἡμῖν κατατέτακται συναγωγῇ, οὐχ ἱστορικὴν αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὴν περιέχον διήγησιν· ὅποσα γέ τοι τῆς παρούσης ἔχοιτο πραγματείας, ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀναλεξάμενος παραθήσομαι. [3] ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἱστορικὰς ποιούμενοι διηγήσεις, πάντως ἂν παρέδωκαν τῇ γραφῇ πολέμων νίκας καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν στρατηγῶν τε ἀριστείας καὶ ὀπλιτῶν ἀνδραγαθίας, αἵματι καὶ μυρίοις φόνοις παίδων καὶ πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἔνεκεν περιουσίας μιανθέντων· [4] ὁ δέ γε τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν πολιτεύματος διηγηματικὸς ἡμῖν λόγος τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν εἰρήνης εἰρηνικωτάτους πολέμους καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ πατρίδος καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἢ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀνδρισμαμένους αἰωνίαις ἀναγράφεται στήλαις, τῶν εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν τὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ τὰς πολυτλήτους ἀνδρείας τρόπαιά τε τὰ κατὰ δαιμόνων καὶ νίκας τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀοράτων ἀντιπάλων καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις στεφάνους εἰς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀνακηρύττων.

Γαλλία μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα ἦν, καθ' ἣν τὸ τῶν δηλουμένων συνεκροτεῖτο στάδιον, ἧς μητροπόλεις ἐπίσημοι καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν αὐτόθι

διαφέρουσai βεβόηνται Λούγδουνος καὶ Βιέννα, δι' ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τὴν ἅπασαν χώραν πολλῶ τῷ ῥεύματι περιρρέων ὁ Ῥοδανὸς ποταμὸς διέξεισιν. [2] τὴν οὖν περὶ τῶν μαρτύρων γραφὴν αἱ τῆδε διαφανέσταται ἐκκλησίαι ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν διαπέμπονται, τὰ παρ' αὐταῖς πραχθέντα τοῦτον ἀνιστοροῦσαι τὸν τρόπον, [3] παραθήσομαι δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν φωνάς: 'οἱ ἐν Βιέννῃ καὶ Λουγδούνῳ τῆς Γαλλίας παροικοῦντες δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως ἡμῖν πίστιν καὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχουσιν ἀδελφοῖς: εἰρήνη καὶ χάρις καὶ δόξα ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.' [4] Εἴτα τούτοις ἐξῆς ἕτερα προοιμιασάμενοι, τὴν τοῦ λόγου καταρχὴν ποιοῦνται ἐν τούτοις: ' τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγεθος τῆς ἐνθάδε θλίψεως καὶ τὴν τοσαύτην τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους ὀργὴν καὶ ὅσα ὑπέμειναν οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες, ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς οὐθ' ἡμεῖς εἰπεῖν ἱκανοὶ οὔτε μὴν γραφῇ περιληφθῆναι δυνατόν. [5] παντὶ γὰρ σθένει ἐνέσκηπεν ὁ ἀντικείμενος, προοιμιαζόμενος ἤδη τὴν ἀδεῶς μέλλουσιν ἔσσεσθαι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ πάντων διῆλθεν, ἐθίζων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προγυμνάζων κατὰ τῶν δούλων τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε μὴ μόνον οἰκῶν καὶ βαλανείων καὶ ἀγορᾶς εἵργεσθαι, [6] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καθόλου φαίνεσθαι ἡμῶν τινα αὐτοῖς ἀπειρησθαι ἐν ὁποίῳ δήποτε τόπῳ. ἀντεστρατήγει δὲ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς ἐρρῦετο, ἀντιπαρέτασσε δὲ στύλους ἐδραίους δυναμένους διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς πᾶσαν τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πονηροῦ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐλκύσαι: οἱ καὶ ὁμόσε ἐχώρουν, πᾶν εἶδος ὀνειδισμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως ἀνεχόμενοι: οἱ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὀλίγα ἡγούμενοι ἔσπευδον πρὸς Χριστόν, ὄντως ἐπιδεικνύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσιν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ [7] πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου πανδημεῖ σωρηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενα γενναίως ὑπέμενον, ἐπιβοήσεις καὶ πληγὰς καὶ συρμούς καὶ διαρπαγὰς καὶ λίθων βολὰς καὶ συγκλείσεις καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἡγριωμένῳ πλήθει ὡς πρὸς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, [8] καὶ δὴ ἀναχθέντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπὸ τε τοῦ χιλιάρχου καὶ τῶν προεστηκότων τῆς πόλεως ἐξουσιῶν ἐπὶ παντός τοῦ πλήθους ἀνακριθέντες καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες, συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἕως τῆς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρουσίας: [9] μετέπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀχθέντων αὐτῶν κάκεινου πάσῃ τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμότητι χρωμένου, Οὐέτιος Ἐπάγαθος, εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, πλήρωμα ἀγάπης τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον κεχωρηκώς, οὗ καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡκρίβωτο ἡ πολιτεία, ὥς καίπερ ὄντα νέον συνεξισοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ: πεπόμενοι γοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαίωμασι τοῦ κυρίου ἄμεμπτος καὶ πάσῃ

τῇ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον λειτουργία ἄκοντος, ζῆλον θεοῦ πολλὸν ἔχων καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι: τοιοῦτος δὴ τις ὢν, τὴν οὕτως καθ' ἡμῶν ἀλόγως γινομένην κρίσιν οὐκ ἐβάστασεν, ἀλλ' ὑπερηγανάκτησεν καὶ ἡξίου καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκουσθῆναι ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὅτι μηδὲν ἄθεον μηδὲ ἀσεβές ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν. [10] τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸ βῆμα καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπίσημος, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος μὴ ἀνασχομένου τῆς οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δικαίας προταθείσης ἀξιώσεως, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦτο πυθομένου εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶη Χριστιανός, τοῦ δὲ λαμπροτάτη φωνῇ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἀνελήφθη καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν κλῆρον τῶν μαρτύρων, παράκλητος Χριστιανῶν χρηματίσας, ἔχων δὲ τὸν παράκλητον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Ζαχαρίου, ὃ διὰ τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἀγάπης ἐνεδειξάτο, εὐδοκήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπολογίας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεῖναι ψυχὴν: ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἔστιν γνήσιος Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς, ἀκολουθῶν τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἂν ὑπάγῃ.

Ἐντεῦθεν [11] δὴ διεκρίνοντο οἱ λοιποί, καὶ φανεροὶ καὶ ἔτοιμοι ἐγίνοντο πρωτομάρτυρες, οἱ καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἀνεπλήρουν τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς μαρτυρίας, ἐφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀνέτοιμοι καὶ ἀγύμναστοι καὶ ἔτι ἀσθενεῖς, ἀγῶνος μεγάλου τόνον ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ δυνάμενοι: ὧν καὶ ἐξέτρωσαν ὡς δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν: οἱ καὶ μεγάλην λύπην καὶ πένθος ἀμέτρητον ἐνεποίησαν ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν μὴ συνειλημμένων ἐνέκοψαν: οἱ καίπερ πάντα τὰ δεινὰ πάσχοντες, ὅμως συμπάρῃσαν τοῖς μάρτυσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο αὐτῶν, [12] τότε δὲ οἱ πάντες μεγάλως ἐπτοίγημεν διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κολάσεις φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἀφορῶντες καὶ τὸ ἀποπεσεῖν τινα δεδιότες. [13] συναλαμβάνοντο μέντοι καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οἱ ἄξιοι τὸν ἐκείνων ἀναπληροῦντες ἀριθμόν, ὥστε συλλεγῆναι ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐκκλησιῶν πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους καὶ δι' ὧν μάλιστα συνεστήκει τὰ ἐνθάδε: [14] συναλαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐθνικοὶ τινες οἰκέται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναζητεῖσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς: οἱ καὶ κατ' ἐνέδραν τοῦ σατανᾶ, φοβηθέντες τὰς βασάνους ἃς τοὺς ἀγίους ἔβλεπον πάσχοντας, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρορμώντων αὐτούς, κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν Θυέστεια δεῖπνα καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις καὶ ὅσα μῆτε λαλεῖν μῆτε νοεῖν θέμις ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἴ τι τοιοῦτο πώποτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο. [15] τούτων δὲ φημισθέντων, πάντες ἀπεθιρώθησαν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὥστε καὶ εἴ τινες τὸ πρότερον δι' οἰκειότητα ἐμετρίαζον, τότε μεγάλως ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ διεπρίοντο ἐφ' ἡμῖν: ἐπληροῦτο δὲ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν εἰρημένον ὅτι ἐλεύσεται καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ὁ ἀποκτείνας ὑμᾶς δόξει λατρεῖν

προσφέρειν τῷ θεῷ. [16] ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἐξηγήσεως ὑπέμενον κολάσεις οἱ ἅγιοι μάρτυρες, φιλοτιμουμένου τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ῥηθῆναι τι τῶν βλασφημίων: [17] ὑπερβεβλημένως δὲ ἐνέσκηψεν ἡ ὀργὴ πᾶσα καὶ ὄχλου καὶ ἡγεμόνος καὶ στρατιωτῶν εἰς Σάγκτον τὸν διάκονον ἀπὸ Βιέννης καὶ εἰς Μάτουρον, νεοφώτιστον μὲν, ἀλλὰ γενναῖον ἀγωνιστὴν, καὶ εἰς Ἀτταλον Περγαμηνὸν τῷ γένει, στῦλον καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀεὶ γεγονότα, καὶ εἰς Βλανδῖναν, δι' ἧς ἐπέδειξεν ὁ Χριστὸς ὅτι τὰ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις εὐτελεῖ καὶ ἀειδῇ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα φαινόμενα μεγάλης καταξιοῦται παρὰ θεῷ δόξης διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην τὴν ἐν δυνάμει δεικνυμένην καὶ μὴ ἐν εἵδει καυχωμένην. [18] ἡμῶν γὰρ πάντων δεδιότων καὶ τῆς σαρκίνης δεσποίνης αὐτῆς, ἥτις ἦν καὶ αὕτη τῶν μαρτύρων μία ἀγωνίστρια, ἀγωνιώσης μὴ οὐδὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν δυνήσεται παρρησιάσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ σώματος, ἡ Βλανδῖνα τοσαύτης ἐπληρώθη δυνάμεως, ὥστε ἐκλυθῆναι καὶ παρεθῆναι τοὺς κατὰ διαδοχὰς παντὶ τρόπῳ βασανίζοντας αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἐσθινῆς ἕως ἐσπέρας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ὅτι νενίκηνται μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηκέτι ὃ ποιήσωσιν αὐτῇ, καὶ θαυμάζουν ἐπὶ τῷ παραμένειν ἔμπνουν αὐτήν, παντὸς τοῦ σώματος περιεργώγτος καὶ ἠνεωγμένου, καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι ἐν εἶδος στρεβλώσεως ἱκανὸν ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ ὅτι γε τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα. [19] ἀλλ' ἡ μακαρία ὡς γενναῖος ἀθλητὴς ἀνενέαζεν ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῆς ἀνάληψις καὶ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἀναλγησία τῶν συμβαινόντων τὸ λέγειν ὅτι 'Χριστιανὴ εἰμι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲν φαῦλον γίνεται.' [20]

Ὁ δὲ Σάγκτος καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερβεβλημένως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἄνθρωπον πάσας τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αἰκίας γενναίως ὑπομένων, τῶν ἀνόμων ἐλπίζόντων διὰ τὴν ἐπιμονὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασάνων ἀκούσεσθαι τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ δεόντων, τοσαύτη ὑποστάσει ἀντιπαρετάξατο αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μήτε τὸ ἴδιον κατεπεῖν ὄνομα μήτε ἔθνος μήτε πόλεως ὅθεν ἦν, μήτε εἰ δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἶη: ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρίνατο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ 'Χριστιανός εἰμι: τοῦτο καὶ ἀντὶ ὀνόματος καὶ ἀντὶ πόλεως καὶ ἀντὶ γένους καὶ ἀντὶ παντὸς ἐπαλλήλως ὡμολόγει, ἄλλην δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη: [21] ὅθεν δὴ καὶ φιλονεικία μεγάλη τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν βασανιστῶν ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε ὅποτε μηκέτι μηδὲν εἶχον ὃ ποιήσωσιν αὐτῷ, τὸ τελευταῖον χαλκᾶς λεπίδας διαπύρους προσεκόλλων τοῖς τρυφερωτάτοις μέλεσι τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ. [22] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκαίετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παρέμενεν ἀνεπικάμπτος καὶ ἀνένδοτος, στερρὸς πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ὑπὸ

τῆς οὐρανίου πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξιόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ Χριστοῦ δροσιζόμενος καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενος· [23] τὸ δὲ σωματίον μάρτυς ἦν τῶν συμβεβηκότων, ὅλον τραῦμα καὶ μώλωψ καὶ συνεσπασμένον καὶ ἀποβεβληκὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπειον ἐξωθεν μορφήν, ἐν ᾧ πάσχωι Χριστὸς μεγάλας ἐπετέλει δόξας, καταργῶν τὸν ἀντικείμενον καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑποτύπωσιν ὑποδεικνύων ὅτι μηδὲν φοβερὸν ὅπου πατρὸς ἀγάπη, μηδὲ ἀλγινὸν ὅπου Χριστοῦ δόξα. [24] τῶν γὰρ ἀνόμων μεθ' ἡμέρας πάλιν στρεβλύνοντων τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ νομιζόντων ὅτι οἰδοῦντων καὶ φλεγμαινόντων τῶν σωμάτων, εἰ τὰ αὐτὰ προσενέγκοιεν κολαστήρια, περιέσονται αὐτοῦ, ὁπότε οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφὴν ἠνείχετο, ἥ ὅτι ἐναποθανὼν ταῖς βασάνοις φόβον ἐμποιήσειεν τοῖς λοιποῖς, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτο συνέβη, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν δόξαν ἀνθρώπων ἀνέκυψεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθη τὸ σωματίον ἐν ταῖς μετέπειτα βασάνοις, καὶ τὴν ιδέαν ἀπέλαβεν τὴν προτέραν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τῶν μελῶν, ὥστε μὴ κόλασιν, ἀλλ' ἴασιν διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν δευτέραν στρέβλωσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι.

Καὶ [25] Βιβλίδα δέ, μίαν τῶν ἡρνημένων, ἤδη δοκῶν ὁ διάβολος καταπεπωκέναι, θελήσας δὲ καὶ διὰ βλασφημίας κατακρῖναι, ἦγεν ἐπὶ κόλασιν, ἀναγκάζων εἰπεῖν τὰ ἄθεα περὶ ἡμῶν, ὡς εὐθραυστον ἤδη καὶ ἄνανδρον· [26] ἥ δὲ ἐν τῇ στρεβλώσει ἀνένηψεν καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου ἀνεγρηγόρησεν, ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαιροῦ τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γεέννῃ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀντεῖπεν τοῖς βλασφήμοις, φήσασα 'πῶς ἂν παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οἷς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν;' καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Χριστιανὴν ἑαυτὴν ὠμολόγει καὶ τῷ κλήρῳ τῶν μαρτύρων προσετέθη.

Καταργηθέντων [27] δὲ τῶν τυραννικῶν κολαστηρίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ὑπομονῆς, ἐτέρας μηχανὰς ὁ διάβολος ἐπενόει, τὰς κατὰ τὴν εἴρκτην ἐν τῷ σκότει καὶ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ χωρίῳ συγκλείσεις καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διατάσεις τῶν ποδῶν, ἐπὶ πέμπτον διατεινομένων τρύπημα, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας εἰώθασιν ὀργιζόμενοι ὑπουργοὶ καὶ ταῦτα διαβόλου πλήρεις διατιθέναι τοὺς ἐγκλεισμένους· ὥστε ἀποπνιγῆναι τοὺς πλείστους ἐν τῇ εἴρκτῃ, ὅσους γε ὁ κύριος οὕτως ἐξελεθῆν ἠθέλησεν, ἐπιδεικνύων τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν. [28] οἱ μὲν γὰρ βασανισθέντες πικρῶς ὥστε δοκεῖν μηδὲ τῆς πάσης θεραπείας τυχόντας ἔτι ζῆσαι δύνασθαι, παρέμενον ἐν τῇ εἴρκτῃ, ἔρημοι μὲν τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελείας, ἀναρρωνύμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενοι καὶ σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς παρορμῶντες καὶ

παραμυθούμενοι: οἱ δὲ νεαροὶ καὶ ἄρτι συνειλημμένοι, ὧν μὴ προκατήκιστο τὰ σώματα, τὸ βάρος οὐκ ἔφερον τῆς συγκλείσεως, ἀλλ' ἔνδον ἐναπέθνησκον.

Ὁ [29] δὲ μακάριος Ποθεινός, ὁ τὴν διακονίαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ πεπιστευμένος, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη τῆς ἡλικίας γεγονὼς καὶ πάνυ ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι, μόλις μὲν ἐμπνέων διὰ τὴν προκειμένην σωματικὴν ἀσθένειαν, ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας πνεύματος ἀναρρωννύμενος διὰ τὴν ἐγκειμένην τῆς μαρτυρίας ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐσύρετο, τοῦ μὲν σώματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου λελυμένου, τηρουμένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν αὐτῷ, ἵνα δι' αὐτῆς Χριστὸς θριαμβεύσῃ: [30] ὃς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα κομισθεὶς, παραπεμπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξουσιῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπιβοήσεις παντοίας ποιουμένων ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀπεδίδου τὴν καλὴν μαρτυρίαν. [31] ἀνεταζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τίς εἴη Χριστιανῶν ὁ θεός, ἔφη ἡς ἄξιος, γνώσῃ: ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἀφειδῶς ἐσύρετο καὶ ποικίλας ἔπασχε πληγὰς, τῶν μὲν σύνεγγυς χερσὶν καὶ ποσὶν ἐνυβριζόντων παντοίως, μηδὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν αἰδουμένων αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ μακράν, ὃ μετὰ χειρὸς ἕκαστος εἶχεν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων, πάντων δὲ ἡγουμένων μεγάλως πλημμελεῖν καὶ ἀσεβεῖν, εἴ τις ἀπολειφθεῖ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀσελείας: καὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν ᾧοντο οὕτως ἐκδικήσειν. καὶ μόγις ἐμπνέων ἐρρίφη ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ καὶ μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας ἀπέψυξεν.

Ἐνταῦθα [32] δὴ μεγάλη τις οἰκονομία θεοῦ ἐγίνετο καὶ ἔλεος ἀμέτρητον ἀνεφαίνετο Ἰησοῦ, σπανίως μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι γεγονός, μὴ ἀπολειπόμενον δὲ τῆς τέχνης Χριστοῦ. [33] οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην σύλληψιν ἔξαρνοι γενόμενοι συνεκλείοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ μετεῖχον τῶν δεινῶν: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ὄφελός τι αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐξάρνησις ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὁμολογοῦντες ὃ καὶ ἦσαν, συνεκλείοντο ὡς Χριστιανοί, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης αἰτίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιφερομένης, οὗτοι δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνδροφόνοι καὶ μιαιοὶ κατεῖχοντο, διπλότερον παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς κολαζόμενοι. [34] ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκούφιζεν ἢ χαρὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπη καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πατρικόν, τούτους δὲ τὸ συνειδὸς μεγάλως ἐτιμωρεῖτο, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν κατὰ τὰς παρόδους διαδήλους τὰς ὥσεις αὐτῶν εἶναι. [35] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱλαροὶ προήεσαν, δόξης καὶ χάριτος πολλῆς ταῖς ὥσεσιν αὐτῶν συγκεκραμένης, ὥστε καὶ τὰ δεσμὰ κόσμον εὐπρεπῇ περικεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς πεποικιλμένοις, τὴν εὐδοκίαν ὁδωδότες ἅμα τὴν Χριστοῦ, ὥστε ἐνίους δόξαι καὶ μύρῳ κοσμικῷ κεχρῖσθαι αὐτούς: οἱ δὲ κατηφεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὶ καὶ

δυσειδεῖς καὶ πάσης ἀσχημοσύνης ἀνάπλεοι, προσέτι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀνειδιζόμενοι ὡς ἀγεννεῖς καὶ ἄνανδροι, ἀνδροφόνων μὲν ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες, ἀπολωλεκότες δὲ τὴν πάντιμον καὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ ζωοποιὸν προσηγορίαν. ταῦτα δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ θεωροῦντες ἐστηρίχθησαν, καὶ οἱ συλλαμβανόμενοι ἀδιστάκτως ὡμολόγουν, μηδὲ ἔννοιαν ἔχοντες διαβολικοῦ λογισμοῦ.

[36] τούτοις μεταξὺ τινὰ ἐπειπόντες, αὐθις ἐπιφέρουσιν: ‘ μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ λοιπὸν εἰς πᾶν εἶδος διηρεῖτο τὰ μαρτύρια τῆς ἐξόδου αὐτῶν. ἐκ διαφόρων γὰρ χρωμάτων καὶ παντοίων ἀνθῶν ἓνα πλέξαντες στέφανον προσήνεγκαν τῷ πατρί: ἐχρῆν δ’ οὖν τοὺς γενναίους ἀθλητὰς ποικίλον ὑπομείναντας ἀγῶνα καὶ μεγάλως νικήσαντας ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν μέγαν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον. [37] ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος καὶ ἡ Βλανδῖνα καὶ Ἀτταλος ἦγοντο ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία εἰς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ εἰς κοινὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας θέαμα, ἐπίτηδες τῆς τῶν θηριομαχίων ἡμέρας διὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους διδομένης. [38] καὶ ὁ μὲν Μάτουρος καὶ ὁ Σάγκτος αὐθις διήεσαν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ διὰ πάσης κολάσεως, ὡς μηδὲν ὅλως προπεπονθότες, μάλλον δ’ ὡς διὰ πλειόνων ἤδη κλήρων ἐκβεβιακότες τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες, ὑπέφερον πάλιν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν μαστίγων τὰς ἐκεῖσε εἰθισμένας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἐλκηθμοὺς καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα μαινόμενος ὁ δῆμος, ἄλλοι ἀλλαχόθεν, ἐπεβόων καὶ ἐπεκελεύοντο, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὴν σιδηρᾶν καθέδραν, ἐφ’ ἧς τηγανιζόμενα τὰ σώματα κνίσσης αὐτοὺς ἐνεφόρει. [39] οἱ δ’ οὐδ’ οὕτως ἔλγον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξεμαίνοντο, βουλόμενοι νικῆσαι τὴν ἐκεῖνων ὑπομονήν, καὶ οὐδ’ ὥς παρὰ Σάγκτου ἕτερόν τι εἰσήκουσαν παρ’ ἣν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς εἴθιστο λέγειν τῆς ὁμολογίας φωνήν. [40]

οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, δι’ ἀγῶνος μεγάλου ἐπὶ πολὺ παραμενούσης αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν, διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἀντὶ πάσης τῆς ἐν τοῖς μονομαχίαις ποικιλίας αὐτοὶ θέαμα γενόμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ: [41] ἡ δὲ Βλανδῖνα ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεῖσα προύκειτο βορὰ τῶν εἰσβαλλομένων θηρίων: ἡ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι σταυροῦ σχήματι κρεμαμένη διὰ τῆς εὐτόνου προσευχῆς πολλὴν προθυμίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις ἐνεποίει, βλέπόντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐσταυρωμένον, ἵνα πείσῃ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Χριστοῦ δόξης παθὼν τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀεὶ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ. [42] καὶ μηδενὸς ἀψαμένου τότε τῶν θηρίων αὐτῆς, καθαιρεθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἀνελήφθη πάλιν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτήν, εἰς ἄλλον ἀγῶνα τηρουμένη, ἵνα διὰ

πλειόνων γυμνασμάτων νικήσασα, τῷ μὲν σκολιῷ ὄφει ἀπαραίτητον ποιήσῃ τὴν καταδίκην, προτρέψῃται δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἢ μικρὰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος μέγαν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἀθλητὴν Χριστὸν ἐνδεδυμένη, διὰ πολλῶν κλήρων ἐκβιάσασα τὸν ἀντικείμενον καὶ δι' ἀγῶνος τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στεψαμένη στέφανον.

Ὁ [43] δὲ Ἀτταλος καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλως ἐξαιτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου 'καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὀνομαστός', ἔτοιμος εἰσῆλθεν ἀγωνιστῆς διὰ τὸ εὐσυνείδητον, ἐπειδὴ γνησίως ἐν τῇ Χριστιανῇ συντάξει γεγυμνασμένος ἦν καὶ αἰεὶ μάρτυς ἐγεγόνει παρ' ἡμῖν ἀληθείας. [44] καὶ περιαχθεὶς κύκλῳ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, πίνακος αὐτὸν προάγοντος ἐν ᾧ ἐγγράπτο 'Ρωμαῖστί 'οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός,' καὶ τοῦ δήμου σφόδρα σφριγῶντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ, μαθὼν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ὅτι 'Ρωμαῖός ἐστιν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναληφθῆναι μετὰ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ ὄντων, περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ περιέμενεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου. [45] 21

Ὁ δὲ διὰ μέσου καιρὸς οὐκ ἀργὸς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ἄκαρπος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς αὐτῶν τὸ ἀμέτρητον ἔλεος ἀνεφαίνετο Χριστοῦ: διὰ γὰρ τῶν ζώντων ἐξωποιοῦντο τὰ νεκρά, καὶ μάρτυρες τοῖς μὴ μάρτυσιν ἐχαρίζοντο, καὶ ἐνεγένετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῇ παρθένῳ μητρί, οὓς ὡς νεκροὺς ἐξέτρωσε, τούτους ζῶντας ἀπολαμβάνουσι. [46] δι' ἐκείνων γὰρ οἱ πλείους τῶν ἡρνημένων ἀνμετροῦντο καὶ ἀνεκυῖσκοντο καὶ ἀνεζωπυροῦντο καὶ ἐμάνθανον ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ζῶντες ἤδη καὶ τετονωμένοι προσήεσαν τῷ βήματι, ἐγγλυκαίνοντος τοῦ τὸν μὲν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μὴ βουλομένου, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν χρηστευομένου θεοῦ, ἵνα καὶ πάλιν ἐπερωτηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. [47] ἐπιστεῖλαντος γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ τινες ἀρνοῖντο, τούτους ἀπολυθῆναι, τῆς ἐνθάδε πανηγύρεως 'ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη πολυάνθρωπος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν συνερχομένων εἰς αὐτήν' ἀρχομένης συνεστάναι, ἀνῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα θεατρίζων τοὺς μακαρίους καὶ ἐμπομπέων τοῖς ὄχλοις: δι' ὃ καὶ πάλιν ἀνῆταζεν, καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐδόκουν πολιτείαν 'Ρωμαίων ἐσχηκέναι, τούτων ἀπέτεμεν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἔπεμπεν εἰς θηρία. [48] ἐδοξάζετο δὲ μεγάλως ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἀρνησαμένοις, τότε παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑπόνοιαν ὁμολογοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἰδίᾳ οὗτοι ἀνητάζοντο ὡς δῆθεν ἀπολυθησόμενοι, καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες προσετίθεντο τῷ τῶν μαρτύρων κλήρῳ: ἔμειναν δὲ ἔξω οἱ μὴδὲ ἴχνος πώποτε πίστεως μὴδὲ αἰσθησιν ἐνδύματος νυμφικοῦ μὴδὲ ἔννοιαν φόβου θεοῦ σχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτῶν βλασφημοῦντες τὴν ὁδόν, τοῦτ'

ἐστὶν οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας, [49] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προστετέθησαν: ὧν καὶ ἀνεταζομένων, Ἀλέξανδρός τις, Φρυγὴ μὲν τὸ γένος, ἰατρός δὲ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐν ταῖς Γαλλίαις διατρίψας καὶ γνωστὸς σχεδὸν πᾶσιν διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ παρρησίαν τοῦ λόγου ἣν γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἄμοιρος ἀποστολικοῦ χαρίσματος, παρεστὼς τῷ βήματι καὶ νεύματι προτρέπων αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν, φανερὸς ἦν τοῖς περιεστηκόσιν τὸ βῆμα ὥσπερ ὠδίνων. [50] ἀγανακτήσαντες δὲ οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πρότερον ἡρνημένους αὐθις ὁμολογεῖν, κατεβόησαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὡς ἐκείνου τοῦτο ποιοῦντος, καὶ ἐπιστήσαντος τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ ἀνετάσαντος αὐτὸν τίς εἶη, τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος κατέκρινεν αὐτὸν πρὸς θηρία. καὶ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆλθεν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἀττάλου, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλὸν τῷ ὄχλῳ χαριζόμενος ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἐξέδωκε πάλιν πρὸς θηρία: [51] οἱ καὶ διὰ πάντων διελθόντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ πρὸς κόλασιν ἐξηυρημένων ὀργάνων καὶ μέγιστον ὑπομείναντες ἀγῶνα, τοῦσχατον ἐτύθησαν καὶ αὐτοί, τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στεναζάντος μήτε γρυζάντος τι ὅλως, ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὁμιλοῦντος τῷ θεῷ, [52] ὁ δὲ Ἀτταλὸς, ὁπότε ἐπὶ τῆς σιδηρᾶς ἐπετέθη καθέδρας καὶ περιεκαίετο, ἡνίκα ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος κνῖσα ἀναφέρετο, ἔφη πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ ἴδου τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν, ὃ ποιεῖτε ὑμεῖς: ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίομεν οὐθ' ἕτερόν τι πονηρὸν πράσσομεν. ἐπερωτώμενος δὲ τί ὄνομα ἔχει ὁ θεός, ἀπεκρίθη ὁ θεὸς ὄνομα οὐκ ἔχει ὡς ἄνθρωπος. [53]

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τῇ ἐσχάτῃ λοιπὸν ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἡ Βλανδῖνα πάλιν εἰσεκομίζετο μετὰ καὶ Ποντικοῦ, παιδαρίου ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν, οἱ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν εἰσῆγοντο πρὸς τὸ βλέπειν τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κόλασιν: καὶ ἡναγκάζοντο ὁμνῦναι κατὰ τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐμμένειν εὐσταθῶς καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡγριώθη πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ παιδὸς οἰκτεῖραι μήτε τὸ γύναιον αἰδεσθῆναι, [54] πρὸς πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινὰ παρέβαλλον αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐν κύκλῳ διῆγον κολάσεως, ἐπαλλήλως ἡναγκάζοντες ὁμόσαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυνάμενοι τοῦτο πρᾶξαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ποντικός ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς παρωρμημένος, ὡς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη βλέπειν ὅτι ἐκείνη ἦν προτρεπομένη καὶ στηρίζουσα αὐτόν, πᾶσαν κόλασιν γενναίως ὑπομείνας ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα: [55] ἡ δὲ μακαρία Βλανδῖνα πάντων ἐσχάτη, καθάπερ μήτηρ εὐγενῆς παρορμήσασα τὰ τέκνα καὶ νικηφόρους προπέμψασα πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα, ἀναμετρομένη καὶ αὐτὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν παίδων ἀγωνίσματα ἔσπευδεν πρὸς αὐτούς, χαίρουσα καὶ ἀγαλλιωμένη ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ, ὡς εἰς

νυμφικὸν δεῖπνον κεκλημένη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς θηρία βεβλημένη: [56] καὶ μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας, μετὰ τὰ θηρία, μετὰ τὸ τήγανον, τοῦσχατον εἰς γυργαθὸν βληθεῖσα ταύρῳ παρεβλήθη, καὶ ἱκανῶς ἀναβληθεῖσα πρὸς τοῦ ζώου μηδὲ αἰσθησιν ἔτι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα καὶ ἐποχὴν τῶν πεπιστευμένων καὶ ὁμιλίαν πρὸς Χριστόν, ἐτύθη καὶ αὐτὴ, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογούντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅτι μηδεπώποτε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυνὴ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν.

Ἀλλ' [57] οὐδ' οὕτως κόρον ἐλάμβανεν αὐτῶν ἡ μανία καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ὁμότης. ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀγρίου θηρὸς ἄγρια καὶ βάρβαρα φῦλα παραχθέντα δυσπαύστως εἶχεν, καὶ ἄλλην ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ ὕβρις αὐτῶν: [58] τὸ γὰρ νενικησθαι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔδυσώπει διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἀνθρώπινον ἐπιλογισμόν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐξέκαιεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν καθάπερ θηρίου, καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὅμοιον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἄδικον ἐπιδεικνυμένων μῖσος, ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ 'ὁ ἄνομος ἀνομησάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι.' [59] καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐναποπνιγέντας τῇ εἰρκτῇ παρέβαλλον κυσίν, ἐπιμελῶς παραφυλάσσοντες νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὴ κηδευθῇ τις ὑφ' ἡμῶν: καὶ τότε δὴ προθέντες τὰ τε τῶν θηρίων τὰ τε τοῦ πυρὸς λείψανα, πῇ μὲν ἐσπαραγμένα, πῇ δὲ ἠνθρακευμένα, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς σὺν τοῖς ἀποτμήμασιν αὐτῶν ὡσαύτως ἀτάφους παρεφύλαττον μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς ἐπιμελείας ἡμέραις συχναῖς. [60] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνεβριμοῦντο καὶ ἔβρυχον τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ζητοῦντές τινα περισσοτέραν ἐκδίκησιν παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἐνεγέλων καὶ ἐπετώθαζον, μεγαλύνοντες ἅμα τὰ εἰδῶλα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκείνοις προσάπτοντες τὴν τούτων τιμωρίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστεροι καὶ κατὰ ποσὸν συμπαθεῖν δοκοῦντες ὠνειδίζον πολὺ, λέγοντες 'ποῦ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ τί αὐτοὺς ὥνησεν ἢ θρησκεία, ἣν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐαυτῶν εἵλαντο ψυχῆς;' [61] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τοιαύτην εἶχε τὴν ποικιλίαν, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καθειστήκει πένθει διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τὰ σώματα κρῦσαι τῇ γῇ: οὔτε γὰρ νυῖς συνεβάλλετο ἡμῖν. πρὸς τοῦτο οὔτε ἀργύρια ἔπειθεν οὔτε λιτανεία ἐδυσώπει, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ παρετήρουν, ὥς μέγα τι κερδανοῦντες, εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν ταφῆς.

‘ [62]

Τούτοις ἐξῆς μεθ' ἑτερά φασιν: 'τὰ οὖν σώματα τῶν μαρτύρων παντοίως παραδειγματισθέντα καὶ αἰθριασθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ, μετέπειτα καέντα καὶ αἰθαλωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνόμων κατεσαρώθη εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν πλησίον παραρρέοντα, ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι. [63] καὶ

ταῦτ' ἐπραττον ὡς δυνάμενοι νικῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν παλιγγενεσίαν, ἵνα, ὡς ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνοι, 'μηδὲ ἐλπίδα σχῶσιν ἀναστάσεως, ἐφ' ἣ πεποιθότες ξένην τινὰ καὶ καινὴν εἰσάγουσιν ἡμῖν θρησκείαν καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τῶν δεινῶν, ἔτοιμοι καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἦκοντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον: νῦν ἴδωμεν εἰ ἀναστήσονται καὶ εἰ δύναται βοηθῆσαι αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν.'"

Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν δεδηλωμένον αὐτοκράτορα ταῖς Χριστοῦ συμβέβηκεν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐπαρχίαις ἐνηργημένα εἰκότι λογισμῷ στοχάζεσθαι πάρεστιν. ἄξιον τούτοις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισυνάψαι γραφῆς λέξεις ἐτέρας, δι' ὧν τὸ ἐπικεκῆς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον τῶν δεδηλωμένων μαρτύρων ἀναγέγραπται τούτοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς ῥήμασιν: 'οἱ [2] καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ζηλωταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ ἐγένοντο, ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ὥστε ἐν τοιαύτῃ δόξῃ ὑπάρχοντες καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δις ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μαρτυρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ θηρίων αὐθις ἀναληφθέντες καὶ τὰ καυτήρια καὶ τοὺς μώλωπας καὶ τὰ τραύματα ἔχοντες περικείμενα, οὗτ' αὐτοὶ μάρτυρας ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεκήρυττον οὔτε μὴν ἡμῖν ἐπέτρεπον τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι προσαγορεύειν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' εἴ ποτέ τις ἡμῶν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἢ διὰ λόγου μάρτυρας αὐτοὺς προσεῖπεν, ἐπέπλησσον πικρῶς. [3] ἡδέως γὰρ παρεχώρουν τὴν τῆς μαρτυρίας προσηγορίαν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ πιστῷ καὶ ἀληθινῷ μάρτυρι καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀρχηγῷ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπεμιμνήσκοντο τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων ἤδη μαρτύρων καὶ ἔλεγον 'ἐκεῖνοι ἤδη μάρτυρες, οὓς ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Χριστοῦς ἠξίωσεν ἀναληφθῆναι, ἐπισφραγισάμενος αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἐξόδου τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁμολογοῖ μέτριοι καὶ ταπεινοί,' καὶ μετὰ δακρύων παρεκάλουν τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δεόμενοι ἵνα ἐκτενεῖς εὐχαὶ γίνωνται πρὸς τὸ τελειωθῆναι αὐτούς. [4] καὶ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν τῆς μαρτυρίας ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυντο, πολλὴν παρηρησίαν ἄγοντες πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ ἀφοβίας καὶ ἀτρομίας φανεράν ἐποίουν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων προσηγορίαν παρητοῦντο, ἐμπεπλησμένοι φόβου θεοῦ.' [5] Καὶ αὐθις μετὰ βραχέα φασίν: 'ἐταπεῖνουν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν κραταιὰν χεῖρα, ὑφ' ἧς ἱκανῶς νῦν εἰσιν ὑψωμένοι. τότε δὲ πᾶσι μὲν ἀπελογοῦντο, κατηγοροῦν δὲ οὐδενός: ἔλυνον ἅπαντας, ἐδέσμευον δὲ οὐδένα: καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰ δεινὰ διατιθέντων ἠῤῃχοντο, καθάπερ Στέφανος ὁ τέλειος μάρτυς κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην.' εἰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν λιθαζόντων ἐδέετο, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν.'

[6] Καὶ αὐθις φασὶ μεθ' ἑτερα: 'οὗτος γὰρ καὶ μέγιστος αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ

πόλεμος ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ γνήσιον τῆς ἀγάπης, ἵνα ἀποπνιχθεῖς ὁ θῆρ οὐς πρότερον ὄρετο καταπεπωκέναι, ζῶντας ἐξεμέσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἔλαβον καύχημα κατὰ τῶν πεπτωκότων, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς ἐπλεόναζον αὐτοί, τοῦτο τοῖς ἐνδεεστέροις ἐπήρκουν μητρικὰ σπλάγχχνα ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκχέοντες δάκρυα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ζῶν ἡτήσαντο, [7] καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς: ἦν καὶ συνεμερίσαντο τοῖς πλῃσιον, κατὰ πάντα νικηφόροι πρὸς θεὸν ἀπελθόντες. εἰρήνην ἀγαπήσαντες αἰεὶ καὶ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν παρεγγυήσαντες, μετ' εἰρήνης ἐχώρησαν πρὸς θεόν, μὴ καταλιπόντες πόνον τῇ μητρὶ μηδὲ στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀλλὰ χαρὰν καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν καὶ ἀγάπην.' [8] ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν μακαρίων ἐκείνων πρὸς τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν στοργῆς ὠφελίμως προκείσθω τῆς ἀπανθρώπου καὶ ἀνῆλεοῦς ἔνεκα διαθέσεως τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφειδῶς τοῖς Χριστοῦ μέλεσιν προσενηνεγμένων.

Ἡ δ' αὕτη τῶν προειρημένων μαρτύρων γραφὴ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ μνήμης ἀξίαν ἱστορίαν περιέχει, ἦν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτο φθόνος μὴ οὐχὶ τῶν ἐντευξομένων εἰς γνῶσιν προθεῖναι: ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. [2] Ἀλκιβιάδου γάρ τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν πάνυ αὐχμηρὸν βιοῦντος βίον καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως τὸ πρότερον μεταλαμβάνοντος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄρτῳ μόνῳ καὶ ὕδατι χρωμένου πειρωμένου τε καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ οὕτῳ διάγειν, Ἀττάλῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἀγῶνα ὄν ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ ἦνυσεν, ἀπεκαλύφθη ὅτι μὴ καλῶς ποιοίῃ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ χρώμενος τοῖς κτίσμασι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τύπον σκανδάλου ὑπολειπόμενος. [3] πεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης πάντων ἀνέδην μετελάμβανεν καὶ ἠὲ χαρίσται τῷ θεῷ: οὐ γὰρ ἀνεπίσκεπτοι χάριτος θεοῦ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἦν σύμβουλον αὐτοῖς. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὥδι ἐχέτω. [4] Τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μοντανὸν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ Θεόδοτον περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἄρτι τότε πρῶτον τὴν περὶ τοῦ προφητεύειν ὑπόληψιν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐκφερομένων 'πλεῖσται γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἄλλαι παραδοξοποιαὶ τοῦ θείου χαρίσματος εἰς ἔτι τότε κατὰ διαφόρους ἐκκλησίας ἐκτελούμεναι πίστιν παρὰ πολλοῖς τοῦ κἀκείνους προφητεύειν παρείχον' καὶ δὴ διαφωνίας ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων, αὐθις οἱ κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφοὶ τὴν ἰδίαν κρίσιν καὶ περὶ τούτων εὐλαβῇ καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτην ὑποτάττουσιν, ἐκθέμενοι καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τελειωθέντων μαρτύρων διαφόρους ἐπιστολάς, ἃς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔτι ὑπάρχοντες τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας ἀδελφοῖς διεχάραζαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλευθέρῳ τῷ τότε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ, τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης ἔνεκα πρεσβεύοντες.

Οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες καὶ τὸν Εἰρηναῖον, πρεσβύτερον ἤδη τότε ὄντα τῆς ἐν Λουγδούνῳ παροικίας, τῷ δηλωθέντι κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ συνίστων,

πλείστα τῷ ἀνδρὶ μαρτυροῦντες, ὡς αἱ τοῦτον ἔχουσαι τὸν τρόπον δηλοῦσι φωναί: ‘χαίρειν [2] ἐν θεῷ σε πάλιν εὐχόμεθα καὶ αἰεὶ, πάτερ Ἐλεῦθερε. ταῦτά σοι τὰ γράμματα προετρεψάμεθα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ κοινωνὸν Εἰρηναῖον διακομίσαι, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ἔχειν σε αὐτὸν ἐν παραθέσει, ζηλωτὴν ὄντα τῆς διαθήκης Χριστοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἤδειμεν τόπον τινὶ δικαιοσύνην περιποιεῖσθαι, ὡς πρεσβύτερον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἐν πρώτοις ἂν παρεθέμεθα.’ [3] Τί δεῖ καταλέγειν τὸν ἐν τῇ δηλωθείσῃ γραφῇ τῶν μαρτύρων κατάλογον, ἰδίᾳ μὲν τῶν ἀποτιμήσει κεφαλῆς τετελειωμένων, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῶν θηρσὶν εἰς βορὰν παραβελημένων, καὶ αὐθις τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτικῆς κεκοιμημένων, τὸν τε ἀριθμὸν τῶν εἰς ἔτι τότε περιόντων ὁμολογητῶν; ὅτῳ γὰρ φίλον, καὶ ταῦτα ῥάδιον πληρέστερα διαγινῶναι μετὰ χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῇ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, κατείλεκται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐπ’ Ἀντωνίνου τοιαῦτα.

Τούτου δὴ ἀδελφὸν Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Καίσαρα λόγος ἔχει Γερμανοῖς καὶ Σαρμάταις ἀντιπααραταττόμενον μάχῃ, δίψει πιεζομένης αὐτοῦ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενέσθαι: τοὺς δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς οὕτω καλουμένης λεγεῶνος στρατιώτας διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστῶσης ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους παρατάξει γόνυ θέντας ἐπὶ γῆν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν τῶν εὐχῶν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἰκεσίας τραπέσθαι, [2] παραδόξου δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῦ τοιοῦτου δὴ θαύματος φανέντος, ἄλλο τι λόγος ἔχει παραδοξότερον ἐπικαταλαβεῖν αὐτίκα, σκηπτὸν μὲν εἰς φυγὴν καὶ ἀπώλειαν συνελαύνοντα τοὺς πολεμίους, ὄμβρον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τὸ θεῖον παρακεκληκότων στρατιάν, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ δίσους μέλλουσας ὅσον οὕτω διαφθείρεσθαι ἀνακτώμενον. [3] Ἡ δ’ ἱστορία φέρεται μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πόρρω τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῦσιν οἷς μέλον γέγονεν τῆς κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους γραφῆς, δεδήλωται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱστορικοῖς, ἅτε τῆς πίστεως ἀνοικείοις, τέθεται μὲν τὸ παράδοξον, οὐ μὴν καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχαῖς τοῦθ’ ὁμολογήθη γεγονέναι: τοῖς δέ γε ἡμετέροις, ἅτε ἀληθείας φίλοις, ἀπλῶ καὶ ἀκακοήθει τρόπῳ τὸ πραχθὲν παραδέδοται. [4] τούτων δ’ ἂν εἴη καὶ Ἀπολινάριος, ἐξ ἐκείνου φήσας τὴν δι’ εὐχῆς τὸ παράδοξον πεποικυῖαν λεγεῶνα οἰκείαν τῷ γεγονότι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως εἰληφέναι προσηγορίαν, κεραυνοβόλον τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικληθεῖσαν φωνῇ. [5] μάρτυς δὲ τούτων γένοίτ’ ἂν ἀξίόχρεως ὁ Τερτυλλιανός, τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν τῇ συγκλήτῳ προσφωνήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπολογία, ἧς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν, τὴν τε ἱστορίαν βεβαιῶν σὺν ἀποδείξει μείζονι καὶ

ἐναργεστέρᾳ: [6] γράφει δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτός, λέγων Μάρκου τοῦ συνετωτάτου βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς εἰς ἔτι νῦν φέρεσθαι ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Γερμανία ὕδατος ἀπορία μέλλοντα αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν διαφθεῖρεσθαι ταῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν εὐχαῖς σεσῶσθαι, τοῦτον δὲ φησιν καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλῆσαι τοῖς κατηγορεῖν ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν: [7] οἷς ὁ δηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ καὶ ταῦτα προσεπιλέγει: 'ποταποὶ οὖν οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι, οὓς καθ' ἡμῶν μόνων ἔπονται ἀσεβεῖς ἄδικοι ὤμοί; οὓς οὔτε Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐφύλαξεν, καίτοι γε Ἰουδαίους νικήσας, οὓς Τραϊανὸς ἐκ μέρους ἐξουθένησεν, κωλύων ἐκζητεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς, οὓς οὔτε Ἀδριανὸς, καίτοι γε πάντα τὰ περίεργα πολυπραγμονῶν, οὔτε ὁ Εὐσεβὴς ἐπικληθεὶς ἐπεκύρωσεν.' ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη τις ἐθέλοι, τιθέσθω: [8] μετίωμεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐξῆς ἀκολουθίαν. Ποθεινοῦ δὴ ἐφ' ὅλοις τῆς ζωῆς ἔτεσιν ἐνενήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Γαλλίας μαρτυρήσασιν τελειωθέντος, Εἰρηναῖος τῆς κατὰ Λούγδουνον ἧς ὁ Ποθεινὸς ἠγεῖτο παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται: Πολυκάρπου δὲ τοῦτον ἀκουστὴν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἐμανθάνομεν ἡλικίαν. [9] οὗτος τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὴν διαδοχὴν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τρίτῃ συντάξει τῶν πρὸς τὰς αἱρέσεις παραθέμενος, εἰς Ἐλεῦθερον, οὗ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἡμῖν ἐξετάζεται, ὡς ἂν δὴ κατ' αὐτὸν σπουδαζομένης αὐτῷ τῆς γραφῆς, τὸν κατάλογον ἴστησι, γράφων ὧδε:

‘θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνω τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν: τούτου τοῦ Λίνου Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολαῖς μέμνηται. [2] διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος, μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται Κλήμης, ὁ καὶ ἐορακῶς τοὺς μακαρίους ἀποστόλους καὶ συμβεβληκῶς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔτι ἑναυλον τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τὴν παράδοσιν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχων, οὐ μόνος: ἔτι γὰρ πολλοὶ ὑπελείποντο τότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων δεδιδασμένοι. [3] ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος στάσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπέστειλεν ἢ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἦν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν εἰλήφει.’ Καὶ μετὰ βραχεὰ φησὶν: ‘τὸν [4] δὲ Κλήμεντα τοῦτον διαδέχεται Εὐάρεστος καὶ τὸν Εὐάρεστον Ἀλέξανδρος, εἴθ' οὕτως ἔκτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καθίσταται Ξύστος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τελεσφόρος, ὃς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν: ἔπειτα Ὑγῖνος, εἶτα Πίος, μεθ' ὃν Ἀνίκητος. διαδεξαμένου τὸν Ἀνίκητον Σωτῆρος, νῦν δωδεκάτῳ τόπῳ τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατέχει κληρὸν Ἐλεῦθερος. [5] τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ

διδασχῇ ἢ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς·

Ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἀκολούθως ταῖς προδιεξοδευθείσαις ἡμῖν ὑπογράψας ἱστορίαις ἐν οἷς ἐπέγραψεν, πέντε οὖσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, Ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀνατροπῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, ἐν δευτέρῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὅτι δὴ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ὑποδείγματα τῆς θείας καὶ παραδόξου δυνάμεως ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τισὶν ὑπολέλειπτο, διὰ τούτων ἐπισημαίνεται, λέγων: ‘τοσοῦτον ^[2] δὲ ἀποδέουσιν τοῦ νεκρὸν ἐγείραι, καθὼς ὁ κύριος ἤγειρεν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι διὰ προσευχῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀδελφότητι πολλάκις διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τῆς κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίας πάσης αἰτησαμένης μετὰ νηστείας καὶ λιτανείας πολλῆς ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος καὶ ἐχαρίσθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ταῖς εὐχαῖς τῶν ἀγίων.’ καὶ αὐθὺς φησιν μεθ’ ἑτερα: ‘εἰ ^[3] δὲ καὶ τὸν κύριον φαντασιωδῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκέναι φήσουσιν, ἐπὶ τὰ προφητικὰ ἀνάγοντες αὐτούς, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξομεν πάντα οὕτως περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προειρησθαι καὶ γεγενῆναι βεβαίως καὶ αὐτὸν μόνον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ: διὸ ὁ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι οἱ ἀληθῶς αὐτοῦ μαθηταί, παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τὴν χάριν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐπ’ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων, καθὼς εἰς ἕκαστος τὴν δωρεὰν εἴληφεν παρ’ αὐτοῦ. ^[4] οἱ μὲν γὰρ δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσιν βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς, ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ πιστεύειν ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς τοὺς καθαρισθέντας ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πνευμάτων καὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρόγνωσιν ἔχουσιν τῶν μελλόντων καὶ ὁπτασίας καὶ ῥήσεις προφητικάς, ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς κάμνοντας διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως ἰῶνται καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἀποκαθιστᾷσιν, ἤδη δέ, καθὼς ἔφαμεν, καὶ νεκροὶ ἠγέρθησαν καὶ παρέμειναν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔτεσιν ἱκανοῖς, καί, τί γάρ; ^[5] οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸν εἰπεῖν τῶν χαρισμάτων ὧν κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἡ ἐκκλησία παρὰ θεοῦ λαβοῦσα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐπ’ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιτελεῖ, μήτε ἐξαπατῶσά τινας μήτε ἐξαργυριζομένη: ὥς γὰρ δωρεὰν εἴληφεν παρὰ θεοῦ, δωρεὰν καὶ διακονεῖ.’ ^[6] καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ δὲ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει: ‘καθὼς καὶ πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἐχόντων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς λαλούντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερόν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδιηγουμένων.’ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ διαφορὰς χαρισμάτων μέχρι καὶ τῶν δηλουμένων χρόνων παρὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις διαμεῖναι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρχόμενοι τῆς πραγματείας ὑπόσχεσιν πεποιήμεθα παραθήσεσθαι

κατὰ καιρὸν εἰπόντες τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων φωνὰς ἐν αἷς τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθῆκων γραφῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς κατελθούσας παραδόσεις γραφῇ παραδεδώκασιν, τούτων δὲ καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἦν, φέρε, καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα λέξεις, [2] καὶ πρώτας γε τὰς περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων, οὕτως ἐχούσας: ‘ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφῇ ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: [3] μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον Μάρκος, ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκεν: καὶ Λουκᾶς δέ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βίβλῳ κατέθετο. [4] ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης, ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκεν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.’ [5] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τρίτῳ τῆς εἰρημένης ὑποθέσεως τῷ προδηλωθέντι εἴρηται, ἐν δὲ τῷ πέμπτῳ περὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου προσηγορίας οὕτως διαλαμβάνει: ‘τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κειμένου καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ’ ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑορακότων καὶ τοῦ λόγου διδάσκοντος ἡμᾶς ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ θηρίου κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων ψήφον διὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ γραμμάτων ἐμφαίνεται.’ [6] καὶ ὑποκαταβάς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φάσκει: ‘ἡμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς. εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι’ ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑορακότος: οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.’ [7] Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως ἱστορήται τῷ δεδηλωμένῳ: μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάννου πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς, μαρτυρίας ἐξ αὐτῆς πλείστας εἰσφέρων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς Πέτρου προτέρας. οὐ μόνον δὲ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὴν τοῦ Ποιμένος γραφὴν, λέγων: ‘καλῶς οὖν ἢ γραφὴ ἢ λέγουσα πρῶτον πάντων πιστευσον ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας’ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. [8] καὶ ῥητοῖς δὲ τισιν ἐκ τῆς Σολομῶνος Σοφίας κέχρηται, μόνον οὐχὶ φάσκων: ‘ὅρασις δὲ θεοῦ περιποιητικὴ ἀφθαρσίας, ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιῇ θεοῦ.’ καὶ ἀπομνημονευμάτων δὲ ἀποστολικῶν τινος πρεσβυτέρου, οὗ τοῦνομα σιωπῇ παρέδωκεν, μνημονεύει ἐξηγήσεις τε αὐτοῦ θείων γραφῶν παρατίθεται. [9] ἔτι καὶ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ Ἰγνατίου μνήμην πεποιήται, μαρτυρίαις αὐθις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

τούτοις γραφέντων κεκρημένος, ἐπήγγελται δ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Μαρκίωνος συγγραμμάτων ἀντιλέξειν αὐτῷ ἐν ἰδίῳ σπουδάσματι. [10] Καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἑρμηνείας τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν ἄκουε οἷα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει: 'ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, δούς τὸ τῆς παρθένου σημεῖον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥς ἔνιοί φασιν τῶν νῦν τολμώντων μεθερμηνεύειν τὴν γραφὴν, 'ἰδοὺ ἡ νεᾶνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν': ὡς Θεοδοτίων ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ Ποντικός, ἀμφοτέροι Ἰουδαῖοι προσήλυτοι, οἷς κατακολουθήσαντες οἱ Ἑβριωναῖοι ἐξ Ἰωσήφ αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι φάσκουσιν.' [11] τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μετὰ βραχέα λέγων: 'πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ Ῥωμαίους κρατῦναι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, ἔτι τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν Ἀσίαν κατεχόντων, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου φιλοτιμούμενος τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένην βιβλιοθήκην ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ κοσμήσαι τοῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων συγγράμμασιν ὅσα γε σπουδαῖα ὑπῆρχεν, ἠτήσατο παρὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον σχεῖν αὐτῶν μεταβεβλημένας τὰς γραφάς. [12] οἱ δέ, ὑπήκουον γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν τότε, τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμπειροτάτους τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαλέκτων, ἑβδομήκοντα πρεσβυτέρους, ἔπεμψαν Πτολεμαίῳ, ποιήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπερ ἠβούλετο. [13] ὁ δὲ ἰδίᾳ πεῖραν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν θελήσας εὐλαβηθεὶς τε μὴ τι ἄρα συνθέμενοι ἀποκρύψωσι τὴν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἀλήθειαν, χωρίσας αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πάντας τὴν αὐτὴν ἑρμηνείαν γράφειν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν βιβλίων ἐποίησεν. [14] συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παρὰ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ συναντιβαλόντων ἐκάστου τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἑρμηνείαν, ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη, αἱ δὲ γραφαὶ ὄντως θεῖαι ἐγνώσθησαν, τῶν πάντων τὰ αὐτὰ ταῖς αὐταῖς λέξεσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀναγορευσάντων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἔθνη γινῶναι ὅτι κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν ἐρμηνευμένοι αἱ γραφαί. [15] καὶ οὐδὲν γε θαυμαστὸν τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο ἐνηργηκέναι, ὅς γε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Ναβουχοδονόσορ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ διαφθαρεισῶν τῶν γραφῶν καὶ μετὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνελθόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐνέπνευσεν Ἑσδρα τῷ ἱερεῖ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Λευὶ τοὺς τῶν προγεγονότων προφητῶν πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Μωυσέως νομοθεσίαν.' τοσαῦτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος.

Ἐννέα δὲ καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαρκέσαντος Ἀντωνίνου, Κόμοδος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει: οὗ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν Ἰουλιανὸς ἐγχειρίζεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν, ἐπὶ δυοκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν

Ἀγριππίνου τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀποπλήσαντος.

Ἦγεῖτο δὲ τὴν καὶ τῆς τῶν πιστῶν αὐτόθι διατριβῆς ἀνὴρ κατὰ παιδείαν ἐπιδοξότατος, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Πάνταινος, ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους διδασκαλείου τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων παρ' αὐτοῖς συνεστῶτος· ὁ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς παρατείνεται καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐν λόγῳ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδῇ δυνατῶν συγκροτεῖσθαι παρελήφμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ διαλάμψαι λόγος ἔχει τὸν δεδλωμένον, οἷα καὶ ἀπὸ φιλοσόφου ἀγωγῆς τῶν καλουμένων Στωϊκῶν ὥρμημένον. [2] τοσαύτην δ' οὖν φασιν αὐτὸν ἐκθυμοτάτῃ διαθέσει προθυμίαν περὶ τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐνδείξασθαι, ὥς καὶ κήρυκα τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐαγγελίου τοῖς ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἔθνεσιν ἀναδειχθῆναι, μέχρι καὶ τῆς Ἰνδῶν στειλάμενον γῆς. ἦσαν γάρ, ἦσαν εἰς ἔτι τότε πλείους εὐαγγελισταὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἔνθεον ζῆλον ἀποστολικοῦ μιμήματος συνεισφέρειν ἐπ' αὐξήσει καὶ οἰκοδομῇ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου προμηθεύμενοι· [3] ὧν εἷς γενόμενος καὶ ὁ Πάνταινος, καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἐλθεῖν λέγεται, ἔνθα λόγος εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρά τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν, οἷς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἓνα κηρῦσαι αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλεῖναι γραφὴν, ἣν καὶ σφῆξαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον. [4] ὁ γε μὴν Πάνταινος ἐπὶ πολλοῖς κατορθώμασι τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τελευτῶν ἡγεῖται διδασκαλείου, ζώσῃ φωνῇ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τοὺς τῶν θείων δογμάτων θησαυροὺς ὑπομνηματιζόμενος.

Κατὰ τοῦτον ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς συνασκούμενος ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐγνωρίζετο Κλήμης, ὁμώνυμος τῷ πάλαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγησαμένῳ φοιτῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων· [2] ὃς δὴ καὶ ὀνομαστί ἐν αἷς συνέταξεν Ὑποτυπώσεις ὡς ἂν διδασκάλου τοῦ Πανταίνου μέμνηται, τοῦτόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Στρωματέων ἐν πρώτῳ συγγράμματι αἰνίττεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ, ὅτε τοὺς ἐμφανεστέρους ἧς κατεῖληφεν ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπισημνήμενος ταῦτά φησιν· ἥδη [3] δὲ οὐ γραφὴ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τετεχνασμένη ἦδε ἡ πραγματεία, ἀλλὰ μοι ὑπομνήματα εἰς γῆρας θησαυρίζεται, λήθης φάρμακον, εἰδῶλον ἀτεχνῶς καὶ σκιαγραφία τῶν ἐναργῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἐκείνων ὧν κατηξιώθη ἐπακοῦσαι λόγων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν μακαρίων καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀξιολόγων. [4] τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὁ Ἰωνικός, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος, τῆς Κοίλης ἄτερος αὐτῶν Συρίας ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν, καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν τις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Ἑβραῖος ἀνέκαθεν· ὑστάτῳ δὲ περὶ τυχόν, δυνάμει δὲ ἄρα πρῶτος ἦν, ἀνεπαυσάμην, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα. [5] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀληθὴ τῆς μακαρίας σφύζοντες

διδασκαλίας παράδοσιν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰακώβου Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύλου τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεξάμενος ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ πατράσιν ὅμοιοι, ἦκον δὴ σὺν θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, τὰ προγονικὰ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἀποστολικά καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα.'

Ἐπὶ τούτων τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος ὁ παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰς ἔτι νῦν βεβοημένος Νάρκισσος ἐγνωρίζετο, πεντεκαιδεκάτην ἄγων διαδοχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ Ἀδριανὸν πολιορκίας, ἐξ οὗ δὴ πρῶτον τὴν αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίαν ἐξ ἔθνων συστήναι μετὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς καθηγῆσασθαι τε αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐξ ἔθνων ἐπίσκοπον Μάρκον ἐδηλώσαμεν: [2] μεθ' ὃν ἐπισκοπεῦσαι Κασσιανὸν αἱ τῶν αὐτόθι διαδοχαὶ περιέχουσιν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Πούπλιον, εἶτα Μάξιμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἰουλιανόν, ἔπειτα Γάϊον, μεθ' ὃν Σύμμαχον, καὶ Γάϊον ἕτερον, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλον Ἰουλιανόν, Καπίτωνά τε πρὸς τούτοις καὶ Οὐάλεντα καὶ Δολιχιανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν Νάρκισσον, τριακοστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐξῆς διαδοχὴν γεγεννημένον.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ῥόδων, γένος τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀσίας, μαθητευθεὶς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ὡς αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ, Τατιανῷ, ὃν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν ἔγνωμεν, διάφορα συντάξας βιβλία, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρκίανος παρατέτακται αἵρεσιν: ἦν καὶ εἰς διαφόρους γνώμας κατ' αὐτὸν διαστᾶσαν ἱστορεῖ, τοὺς τὴν διάστασιν ἐμπεποιηκότας ἀναγράφων ἐπ' ἀκριβές τε τὰς παρ' ἐκάστῳ τούτων ἐπινενοημένας διελέγχων ψευδολογίας. [2] ἄκουε δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα γράφοντος: 'διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀσύμφωνοι γεγόνασιν, ἀσυστάτου γνώμης ἀντιποιοῦμενοι. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τούτων ἀγέλης Ἀπελλῆς μὲν, ὁ τὴν πολιτείαν σεμνυνόμενος καὶ τὸ γῆρας, μίαν ἀρχὴν ὁμολογεῖ, τὰς δὲ προφητείας ἐξ ἀντικειμένου λέγει πνεύματος, πειθόμενος ἀποφθέγμασι παρθένου δαιμονώσης, ὄνομα Φιλουμένης: [3] ἕτεροι δέ, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ναύτης Μαρκίων, δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσηγοῦνται: ἀφ' ὧν εἰσιν Ποτῖτός τε καὶ Βασιλικός. [4] καὶ οὗτοι μὲν κατακολουθήσαντες τῷ Ποντικῷ λύκῳ καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκοντες τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπὶ τὴν εὐχέρειαν ἐτράποντο καὶ δύο ἀρχὰς ἀπεφῆναντο ψιλῶς καὶ ἀναποδείκτως: ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐξοκεῖλαντες, οὐ μόνον δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς ὑποτίθενται φύσεις: ὧν ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ προστάτης Συνέρως, καθὼς οἱ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον αὐτοῦ προβαλλόμενοι λέγουσιν.' [5] Γράφει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς καὶ εἰς λόγους ἐληλύθει τῷ Ἀπελλῇ, φάσκων οὕτως: 'ὁ γὰρ γέρων Ἀπελλῆς συμμίσας ἡμῖν, πολλὰ μὲν κακῶς λέγων ἠλέγχθη: ὅθεν καὶ ἔφασκεν μὴ δεῖν ὅλως ἐξετάζειν τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον, ὡς πεπίστευκεν, διαμένειν:

σωθήσεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ἠλπικότας ἀπεφαίνετο, μόνον ἂν ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς εὐρίσκωνται: τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀσαφέστατον ἐδογματίζετο αὐτῷ πρᾶγμα, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, τὸ περὶ θεοῦ. ἔλεγεν μὲν γὰρ μίαν ἀρχὴν καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος.’ [6] εἴτα προθεῖς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δόξαν, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων: ‘λέγοντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν ‘πόθεν ἢ ἀπόδειξις αὕτη σοι, ἢ πῶς δύνασαι λέγειν μίαν ἀρχήν; φράσον ἡμῖν’ ἔφη τὰς μὲν προφητείας ἑαυτὰς ἐλέγχειν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ἀληθὲς εἰρηκέναι: ἀσύμφωνοι γὰρ ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ψευδεῖς καὶ ἑαυταῖς ἀντικείμεναι. τὸ δὲ πῶς ἐστὶν μία ἀρχή, μὴ γινώσκειν ἔλεγεν, οὕτως δὲ κινεῖσθαι μόνον. [7] εἴτ’ ἐπομοσαμένου μου τάληθές εἶπεῖν, ὤμνουν ἀληθεύων λέγειν μὴ ἐπίστασθαι πῶς εἷς ἐστὶν ἀγέννητος θεός, τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύειν. ἐγὼ δὲ γελάσας κατέγων αὐτοῦ, διότι διδάσκαλος εἶναι λέγων, οὐκ ἦδει τὸ διδασκόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρατύνειν.’ [8] Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ συγγράμματι Καλλιστίωνι προσφωνῶν ὁ αὐτὸς μεμαθητεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Ῥώμης Τατιανῷ ἑαυτὸν ὁμολογεῖ: φησὶν δὲ καὶ ἐσπουδάσθαι τῷ Τατιανῷ Προβλημάτων βιβλίον: διὸ ὢν τὸ ἀσαφὲς καὶ ἐπικεκρυμμένον τῶν θείων γραφῶν παραστήσειν ὑποσχομένου τοῦ Τατιανοῦ, αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥόδων ἐν ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι τὰς τῶν ἐκείνου προβλημάτων ἐπιδύσεις ἐκθήσεσθαι ἐπαγγέλλεται. φέρεται δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐξαήμερον ὑπόμνημα. [9] ὁ γέ τοι Ἀπελλῆς οὗτος μυρία κατὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως ἡσέβησεν νόμου, διὰ πλείονων συγγραμμάτων τοὺς θείους βλασφημήσας λόγους εἰς ἔλεγχόν τε, ὥς γε δὴ ἐδόκει, καὶ ἀνατροπὴν αὐτῶν οὐ μικρὰν πεποιημένος σπουδῇ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων:

Μισόκαλός γε μὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ φιλοπόνηρος ὢν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ πολέμιος, μηδένα τε μηδαμῶς τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολιπὼν ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον, αἰρέσεις ξένας αὐθις ἐπιφύεσθαι κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνήργει: ὢν οἱ μὲν ἰοβόλων δίκην ἐρπετῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Φρυγίας εἵρπον, τὸν μὲν δὴ παράκλητον Μοντανόν, τὰς δ’ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας, Πρίσκιλλαν καὶ Μαξίμιλλαν, ὥς ἂν τοῦ Μοντανοῦ προφήτιδας γεγонуῖας, ἀνχοῦντες:

οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἤκμαζον, ὢν ἡγεῖτο Φλωρῖνος, πρεσβυτερίου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποπεσών, Βλάστος τε σὺν τούτῳ, παραπλησίῳ πτώματι κατεσχημένος: οἱ καὶ πλείους τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιέλκοντες ἐπὶ τὸ σφῶν ὑπῆγον βούλημα, θάτερος ἰδίως περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν νεωτερίζειν πειρώμενος.

Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν λεγομένην κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσιν ὄπλον ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀκαταγώνιστον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱεραπόλεως τὸν Ἀπολινάριον, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν μνήμην ὁ λόγος πεποίητο, ἄλλους τε σὺν αὐτῷ πλείους τῶν τῆνικάδε λογίων ἀνδρῶν

ή της ἀληθείας ὑπέρμαχος ἀνίστη δύναμις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡμῖν ἱστορίας πλείστη τις ὑπόθεσις καταλέλειπται. [2] ἀρχόμενος γοῦν τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν γραφῆς, τῶν εἰρημένων δὴ τις πρῶτον ἐπισημαίνεται ὡς καὶ ἀγράφοις τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπεξέλθοι ἐλέγχους: προοιμιάζεται γοῦν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: 'ἐκ [3] πλείστου ὅσου καὶ ἰκανωτάτου χρόνου, ἀγαπητὲ Ἀνίρκιε Μάρκελλε, ἐπιταχθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ συγγράψαι τινὰ λόγον εἰς τὴν τῶν κατὰ Μιλτιάδην λεγομένων αἵρεσιν, ἐφεκτικώτερόν πως μέχρι νῦν διεκείμην, οὐκ ἀπορία τοῦ δύνασθαι ἐλέγχειν μὲν τὸ ψεῦδος, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, δεδιὼς δὲ καὶ ἐξευλαβούμενος μή πη δόξω τισὶν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεσθαι τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, ᾧ μήτε προσθεῖναι μήτε ἀφελεῖν δυνατόν τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολιτεύεσθαι προηρημένῳ. [4] προσφάτως δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν κατὰ τόπον ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης, οὐχ, ὡς αὐτοὶ φασιν, προφητείας, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς δειχθήσεται, ψευδοπροφητείας διατεθρυλημένην, καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν, τοῦ κυρίου παρασχόντος, περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ τῶν προτεινομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστά τε διελέχθημεν ἡμέραις πλείοσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν: ἀγαλλιαθῆναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἐναντίας πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἀποκρουσθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἀντιθέτους λυπηθῆναι. [5] ἀξιούντων οὖν τῶν κατὰ τόπον πρεσβυτέρων ὅπως τῶν λεχθέντων κατὰ τῶν ἀντιδιατιθεμένων τῷ τῆς ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ ὑπόμνημά τι καταλείπωμεν, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ συμπρεσβυτέρου ἡμῶν Ζωτικοῦ τοῦ Ὀτρηνοῦ, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπράξαμεν, ἐπηγγειλάμεθα δέ, ἐνθάδε γράψαντες, τοῦ κυρίου διδόντος, διὰ σπουδῆς πέμψειν αὐτοῖς.' [6] Ταῦτα καὶ ἐξῆς τούτοις ἕτερα κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰπὼν τοῦ λόγου, τὸν αἴτιον τῆς δηλουμένης αἵρέσεως προϊὼν τοῦτον ἀνιστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον: 'ἡ τοίνυν ἔνστασις αὐτῶν καὶ πρόσφατος τοῦ ἀποσχίσματος αἵρεσις πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοιαύτην. [7] κώμη τις εἶναι λέγεται ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν Μυσίᾳ, καλουμένη Ἀρδαβαῦ τοῦνομα: ἐνθα φασὶ τινὰ τῶν νεοπίστων πρῶτως, Μοντανὸν τοῦνομα, κατὰ Γράτων Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ψυχῆς ἀμέτρῳ φιλοπρωτείας δόντα πάροδον εἰς ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἀντικειμένῳ πνευματοφορηθῆναί τε καὶ αἰφνιδίως ἐν κατοχῇ τινι καὶ παρεκστάσει γενόμενον ἐνθουσιᾶν ἄρξασθαι τε λαλεῖν καὶ ξενοφωνεῖν, παρὰ τὸ κατὰ παράδοσιν καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄνωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔθος δῆθεν προφητεύοντα. [8] τῶν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν νόθων ἐκφωνημάτων ἀκροάσει γενομένων οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἐνεργουμένῳ καὶ δαιμονῶντι καὶ ἐν πλάνῃς πνεύματι ὑπάρχοντι καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους ταραττοντοί ἀχθόμενοι, ἐπετίμων καὶ

λαλεῖν ἐκώλουν, μεμνημένοι τῆς τοῦ κυρίου διαστολῆς τε καὶ ἀπειλῆς πρὸς τὸ φυλάττεσθαι τὴν τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν ἐγρηγορότως παρουσίαν: οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ προφητικῷ χαρίσματι ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα χαννούμενοι καὶ τῆς διαστολῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐπιλανθανόμενοι, τὸ βλαψίφρον καὶ ὑποκοριστικὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα προυκαλοῦντο, θελγόμενοι καὶ πλανώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι κωλύεσθαι σιωπᾶν. [9] τέχνη δέ τι, μᾶλλον δὲ τοιαύτη μεθόδῳ κακοτεχνίας ὁ διάβολος τὴν κατὰ τῶν παρηκόων ἀπώλειαν μηχανησάμενος καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τιμώμενος ὑπεξήγειρέν τε καὶ προσεξέκαυσεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀποκεκοιμημένην ἀπὸ τῆς κατ' ἀλήθειαν πίστεως διάνοιαν, ὡς καὶ ἐτέρας τινὰς δύο γυναῖκας ἐπεγεῖραι καὶ τοῦ νόθου πνεύματος πληρῶσαι, ὡς καὶ λαλεῖν ἐκφρόνως καὶ ἀκαίρως καὶ ἀλλοτριοτρόπως, ὁμοίως τῷ προειρημένῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν χαίροντας καὶ χαννουμένους ἐπ' αὐτῷ μακαρίζοντος τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων ἐκφυσιοῦντος, ἔσθ' ὅπῃ δὲ καὶ κατακρίνοντος στοχαστικῶς καὶ ἀξιοπίστως αὐτοὺς ἄντικρυς, ἵνα καὶ ἐλεγκτικὸν εἶναι δοκῇ 'ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι τῶν Φρυγῶν ἐξηπατημένοι, τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίαν βλασφημεῖν διδάσκοντος τοῦ ἀπηυθαδισμένου πνεύματος, ὅτι μήτε τιμὴν μήτε πάροδον εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ ψευδοπροφητικὸν ἐλάμβανε πνεῦμα, [10] τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πιστῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τοῦτο συνελθόντων καὶ τοὺς προσφάτους λόγους ἐξετασάντων καὶ βεβήλους ἀποφηνάντων καὶ ἀποδοκίμασάντων τὴν αἵρεσιν, οὕτω δὲ τῆς τε ἐκκλησίας ἐξεώσθησαν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας εἰρχθησαν.' [11] Ταῦτα ἐν πρώτοις ἱστορήσας καὶ δι' ὅλου τοῦ συγγράμματος τὸν ἔλεγχον τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς πλάνης ἐπαγαγών, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τῶν προδεδηλωμένων ταῦτά φησιν: 'ἐπειδὴ [12] τοίνυν καὶ προφητοφόντας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλουν, ὅτι μὴ τοὺς ἀμετροφώνους αὐτῶν προφήτας ἐδεξάμεθα 'τούτους γὰρ εἶναί φασιν οὐσπερ ἐπηγγείλατο τῷ λαῷ πέμψειν ὁ κύριος', ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς θεοῦ: ἔστιν τις, ᾧ βέλτιστοι, τούτων τῶν ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν λαλεῖν ἀρξαμένων ὅστις ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώχθη ἢ ὑπὸ παρανόμων ἀπεκτάνθη; οὐδεῖς. οὐδέ γέ τις αὐτῶν κρατηθεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἀνεσταυρώθη; οὐ γὰρ οὖν. οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων τῶν γυναικῶν τις ἐμαστιγώθη ποτὲ ἢ ἐλιθοβολήθη; [13] οὐδαμόσε οὐδαμῶς, ἄλλω δὲ θανάτῳ τελευτῆσαι λέγονται Μοντανός τε καὶ Μαξίμιλλα. τούτους γὰρ ὑπὸ πνεύματος βλαψίφρονος ἐκατέρους ὑποκινήσαντος λόγος ἀναρτῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς οὐχ ὁμοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς ἐκάστου τελευτῆς καιρὸν φήμη πολλὴ καὶ οὕτω δὲ

τελευτῆσαι καὶ τὸν βίον καταστρέφει· Ἰουδα προδότου δίκην, [14] καθάπερ καὶ τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον τὸν πρῶτον τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς λεγομένης προφητείας οἷον ἐπίτροπόν τινα Θεόδοτον πολὺς αἰρεῖ λόγος ὥς αἰρόμενόν ποτε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνόμενον εἰς οὐρανοὺς παρεκστῆναί τε καὶ καταπιστεῦσαι ἑαυτὸν τῷ τῆς ἀπάτης πνεύματι καὶ δισκευθέντα κακῶς τελευτῆσαι: φασὶ γοῦν τοῦτο οὕτως γεγονέναι. [15] ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄνευ τοῦ ἰδεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐπίστασθαί τι τῶν τοιούτων νομίζωμεν, ὃ μακάριε: ἴσως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἴσως δὲ οὐχ οὕτως τετελευτήκασιν Μοντανὸς τε καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ ἡ προειρημένη γυνή.' [16] Αὐθις δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ φησιν λόγῳ τοὺς τότε ἱεροὺς ἐπισκόπους πεπειρασθαι μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ Μαξιμίλλῃ πνεῦμα διελέγξαι, κεκωλύσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἐτέρων, συνεργούντων δηλαδὴ τῷ πνεύματι: [17] γράφει δὲ οὕτως: 'καὶ μὴ λεγέτω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τῷ κατὰ Ἀστέριον Ὀρβανὸν τὸ διὰ Μαξιμίλλης πνεῦμα 'διώκομαι ὥς λύκος ἐκ προβάτων: οὐκ εἰμὶ λύκος: ῥῆμά εἰμι καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις,' ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πνεύματι δύναμιν ἐναργῶς δεῖξάτω καὶ ἐλεγξάτω καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος καταναγκασάτω τοὺς τότε παρόντας εἰς τὸ δοκιμάσαι καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πνεύματι λαλοῦντι, ἄνδρας δοκίμους καὶ ἐπισκόπους, Ζωτικὸν ἀπὸ Κουμάνης κόμης καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπὸ Ἀπαμείας, ὧν οἱ περὶ Θεμίσωνα τὰ στόματα φημώσαντες οὐκ εἶασαν τὸ ψευδὲς καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθῆναι.' [18] Ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ πάλιν ἕτερα μεταξὺ πρὸς ἔλεγχον τῶν τῆς Μαξιμίλλης ψευδοπροφητειῶν εἰπών, ὁμοῦ τὸν τε χρόνον καθ' ὃν ταῦτ' ἔγραφεν, σημαίνει καὶ τῶν προρρήσεων αὐτῆς μέμνηται δι' ὧν πολέμους ἔσσεσθαι καὶ ἀκαταστασίας προεμαντεύσατο, ὧν καὶ τὴν ψευδολογίαν εὐθύνει, ὧδε λέγων: 'καὶ [19] πῶς οὐ καταφανὲς ἤδη γέγονεν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψεῦδος; πλείω γὰρ ἢ τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξ οὗ τετελεύτηκεν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οὔτε μερικὸς οὔτε καθολικὸς κόσμῳ γέγονεν πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Χριστιανοῖς μᾶλλον εἰρήνην διάμονος ἐξ ἑλέου θεοῦ.' [20] Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου συγγράμματος. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου δὲ σμικρὰς παραθήσομαι λέξεις, διῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνχύνοντας ὥς ἄρα πλείους καὶ αὐτῶν μεμαρτυρηκότες εἶεν, ταῦτά φησιν: 'ὅταν τοίνυν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐλεγχθέντες ἀπορήσωσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας καταφεύγειν πειρῶνται, λέγοντες πολλοὺς ἔχειν μάρτυρας καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τεκμήριον πιστὸν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένου προφητικοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἄρα, ὥς ἔοικεν, παντὸς μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀληθές. [21] καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων αἰρέσεών τινες πλείστους ὅσους ἔχουσι μάρτυρας, καὶ οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δήπου συγκαταθησόμεθα, οὐδὲ ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσομεν. καὶ πρῶτοί γε οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Μαρκίωνος

αίρέσεως Μαρκιανιστᾶι καλούμενοι πλείστους ὅσους ἔχειν Χριστοῦ μάρτυρας λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τόν γε Χριστόν αὐτόν κατ' ἀλήθειαν οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσιν.' Καὶ μετὰ βραχέα τούτοις ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'ὅθεν [22] τοι καὶ ἐπειδὴν οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς κατ' ἀλήθειαν πίστεως μαρτύριον κληθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τύχωσι μετὰ τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Φρυγῶν αἵρέσεως λεγομένων μαρτύρων, διαφέρονταί τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ κοινωνήσαντες αὐτοῖς τελειοῦνται διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συγκαταθέσθαι τῷ διὰ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πνεύματι. καὶ ὅτι τοῦτ' ἀληθές, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαιάνδρῳ τυγχάνει γεγεννημένον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Γάϊον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπὸ Εὐμενεΐας μαρτυρήσας πρόδηλον.'

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ συγγράμματι καὶ Μιλτιάδου συγγραφέως μέμνηται, ὡς λόγον τινὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς προειρημένης αἵρέσεως γεγραφότος: παραθέμενος γοῦν αὐτῶν λέξεις τινάς, ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'ταῦτα εὐρὼν ἐν τινι συγγράμματι αὐτῶν ἐνισταμένων τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ συγγράμματι, ἐν ᾧ ἀποδείκνυσιν περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν, ἐπετεμόμην.' [2] ὑποκαταβάς δ' ἐν ταύτῳ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν καινὴν διαθήκην προπεφητευκότας καταλέγει, ἐν οἷς καταριθμεῖ Ἀμμίαν τινὰ καὶ Κοδρᾶτον, λέγων οὕτως: 'ἀλλ' ὁ γε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐν παρεκστάσει, ᾧ ἔπεται ἄδεια καὶ ἀφοβία, ἀρχομένου μὲν ἐξ ἐκουσίου ἀμαθίας, καταστρέφοντος δὲ εἰς ἀκούσιον μανίαν ψυχῆς, ὡς προεῖρηται. [3] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον οὔτε τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν οὔτε τῶν κατὰ τὴν καινὴν πνευματοφορηθέντα προφήτην δεῖξαι δυνήσονται, οὔτε Ἄγαβον οὔτε Ἰούδαν οὔτε Σίλαν οὔτε τὰς Φιλίππου θυγατέρας, οὔτε τὴν ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ Ἀμμίαν οὔτε Κοδρᾶτον, οὔτε εἰ δὴ τινας ἄλλους μηδὲν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντας καυχῆσονται.' [4] καὶ αὐθις δὲ μετὰ βραχέα ταῦτά φησιν: 'εἰ γὰρ μετὰ Κοδρᾶτον καὶ τὴν ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ Ἀμμίαν, ὡς φασιν, αἱ περὶ Μοντανὸν διεδέξαντο γυναῖκες τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα, τοὺς ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τίνες παρ' αὐτοῖς διεδέξαντο, δειξάτωσαν: δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μέχρι τῆς τελείας παρουσίας ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀξιοῖ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν δεῖξαι τεσσαρεσκαιδέκατον ἤδη που τοῦτο ἔτος ἀπὸ τῆς Μαξιμίλλης τελευτῆς.' [5] Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοσαῦτα: ὁ γέ τοι πρὸς αὐτοῦ δεδηλωμένος Μιλτιάδης καὶ ἄλλας ἡμῖν τῆς ἰδίας περὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγια σπουδῆς μνήμας καταέλοιπεν ἐν τε οἷς πρὸς Ἑλληνας συνέταξε λόγοις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, ἑκατέρᾳ ἰδίως ὑποθέσει ἐν δυσὶν ὑπαντήσας συγγράμμασιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμικοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ ἧς μετῆι φιλοσοφίας πεποιῆται ἀπολογίαν.

Τῆς δὲ κατὰ Φρύγας καλουμένης αἰρέσεως καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεύς, ἀκμαζούσης εἰς ἔτι τότε κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἔλεγchon ἐνστησάμενος, ἴδιον κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήται σύγγραμμα, τὰς μὲν φερομένας αὐτῶν προφητείας ψευδεῖς οὕσας κατὰ λέξιν εὐθύνων, τὸν δὲ βίον τῶν τῆς αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγῶν ὁποῖός τις γέγονεν, διελέγχων: αὐτοῖς δὲ ῥήμασιν περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος ἄκουε: 'ἀλλὰ [2] τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ πρόσφατος διδάσκαλος, τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία δείκνυσιν. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάξας λύσεις γάμων, ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας, ὁ Πέπουζαν καὶ Τύμιον Ἱερουσαλήμ ὀνομάσας 'πόλεις ὅς εἰσιν αὗται μικραὶ τῆς Φρυγίας', τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐκεῖ συναγαγεῖν ἐθέλων, ὁ πρακτῆρας χρημάτων καταστήσας, ὁ ἐπ' ὀνόματι προσφορῶν τὴν δωροληψίαν ἐπιτεχνώμενος, ὁ σαλάρια χορηγῶν τοῖς κηρύσσουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον, ἵνα διὰ τῆς γαστριμαργίας ἡ διδασκαλία τοῦ λόγου κρατύνηται.' [3] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ Μοντανοῦ: καὶ περὶ τῶν προφητῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὑποκαταβάς οὕτω γράφει: 'δείκνυμεν οὖν αὐτὰς πρῶτας τὰς προφητίδας ταύτας, ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπληρώθησαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας καταλιπούσας. πῶς οὖν ἐψεύδοντο Πρίσκιλλαν παρθένον ἀποκαλοῦντες;' [4] εἰτ' ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'δοκεῖ σοι πᾶσα γραφὴ κωλύειν προφήτην λαμβάνειν δῶρα καὶ χρήματα; ὅταν οὖν ἴδω τὴν προφήτην εἰληφυῖαν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ πολυτελεῖς ἐσθῆτας, πῶς αὐτὴν μὴ παραιτήσωμαι.' [5] Αὕθις δ' ὑποκαταβάς περὶ τινος τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁμολογητῶν ταῦτά φησιν: 'ἔτι δὲ καὶ Θεμίσων, ὁ τὴν ἀξιώπιστον πλεονεξίαν ἡμφιεσμένος, ὁ μὴ βαστάσας τῆς ὁμολογίας τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ πλήθει χρημάτων ἀποθέμενος τὰ δεσμά, δέον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταπεινοφρονεῖν, ὡς μάρτυς καυχώμενος, ἐτόλμησεν, μιμούμενος τὸν ἀπόστολον, καθολικὴν τινα συνταξάμενος ἐπιστολήν, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἅμεινον αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας, συναγωνίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς τῆς κενοφωνίας λόγοις, βλασφημῆσαι δὲ εἰς τὸν κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.' καὶ [6] περὶ ἐτέρου δὲ αὕθις τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς τετιμημένων ὡς δὴ μαρτύρων οὕτω γράφει: 'ἵνα δὲ μὴ περὶ πλείονων λέγωμεν, ἢ προφήτης ἡμῖν εἰπάτω τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν μάρτυρα, ὃ συνεστιᾶται, ὃ προσκυνοῦσιν καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοί: οὗ τὰς ληστείας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τολμήματα ἐφ' οἷς κεκόλασται, οὐχ ἡμᾶς δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἔχει. [7] τίς οὖν τίνι χαρίζεται τὰ ἁμαρτήματα; πότερον ὁ προφήτης τὰς ληστείας τῷ μάρτυρι ἢ ὁ μάρτυς τῷ προφήτῃ τὰς πλεονεξίας; εἰρηκότος γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν μήτε ἄργυρον μηδὲ δύο χιτῶνας, οὗτοι πᾶν τοῦναντίον πεπλημμελήκασιν περὶ τὰς τούτων

τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων κτήσεις. δείξομεν γὰρ τοὺς λεγομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς προφήτας καὶ μάρτυρας μὴ μόνον παρὰ πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πτωχῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν κερματιζομένους. [8] καὶ εἰ πεποιθήσιν ἔχουσιν, στήτωσαν ἐν τούτῳ καὶ διορισάσθωσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἵνα ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν, κἂν τοῦ λοιποῦ παύσωνται πλημμελοῦντες. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι τοῦ προφήτου: [9] ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ ξύλον γινώσκεται. ἵνα δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ κατὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ γνώριμα, κέκριται ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου Φροντίνου ἀνθυπάτου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, οὐ διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ δι' ἃς ἐτόλμησεν ληστείας, ὧν ἤδη παραβάτης: εἴτ' ἐπιψευσάμενος τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου, ἀπολέλυται, πλανήσας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πιστοὺς, καὶ ἡ ἰδία παροικία αὐτόν, ὅθεν ἦν, οὐκ ἐδέξατο διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ληστήν, καὶ οἱ θέλοντες μαθεῖν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔχουσιν τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας δημόσιον ἀρχεῖον: [10] ὃν ὁ προφήτης συνόντα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀγνοεῖ. τοῦτον ἐλέγχοντες ἡμεῖς, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἐξελέγχομεν τοῦ προφήτου. τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπὶ πολλῶν δυνάμεθα ἀποδείξαι, καὶ εἰ θαρροῦσιν, ὑπομεινάτωσαν τὸν ἔλεγχον.' [11] Πάλιν τε αὖ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ τοῦ συγγράμματος περὶ ὧν αὐχῶσι προφητῶν ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα: 'ἐὰν ἀρνῶνται δῶρα τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι, τοῦθ' ὁμολογησάτωσαν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐλεγχθῶσιν εἰληφότες, οὐκ εἰσὶ προφῆται, καὶ μυρίας ἀποδείξεις τούτων παραστήσομεν. ἀναγκαῖον δέ ἐστιν πάντας καρποὺς δοκιμάζεσθαι προφήτου. προφήτης, εἰπέ μοι, βάπτεται; προφήτης στιβίζεται; προφήτης φιλοκοσμεῖ; προφήτης τάβλαις καὶ κύβοις παίζει; προφήτης δανερίζει; ταῦτα ὁμολογησάτωσαν πότερον ἔξεστιν ἢ μή, ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι γέγονεν παρ' αὐτοῖς, δείξω.' [12] Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος Ἀπολλώνιος κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ σύγγραμμα ἱστορεῖ ὡς ἄρα τεσσαρακοστὸν ἐτύγχανεν ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ γραφὴν ἐξ οὗ τῇ προσποιήτῳ αὐτοῦ προφητεία ὁ Μοντανὸς ἐπικεχείρηκεν, [13] καὶ πάλιν φησὶν ὡς ἄρα Ζωτικός, οὗ καὶ ὁ πρότερος συγγραφεὺς ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἐν Πεπούζοις προφητεύειν δὴ προσποιουμένης τῆς Μαξιμίλλης ἐπιστὰς διελέγξαι τὸ ἐνεργοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα πεπείραται, ἐκωλύθη γε μὴν πρὸς τῶν τὰ ἐκείνης φρονούντων. [14] καὶ Θρασέα δέ τινος τῶν τότε μαρτύρων μνημονεύει. ἔτι δὲ ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τὸν σωτῆρά φησιν προστεταχέναι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστόλοις ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔτεσιν μὴ χωρισθῆναι τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, κέχρηται δὲ καὶ μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαλύψεως, καὶ νεκρὸν δὲ δυνάμει θεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ ἐγγεῖρθαι ἱστορεῖ, καὶ ἄλλα τινά φησιν, δι' ὧν ἰκανῶς τῆς προειρημένης αἰρέσεως πληρέστατα διηύθυνεν τὴν πλάνην. ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος.

Τῶν δὲ Ἀπολιναρίου κατὰ τῆς δηλωθείσης αἵρέσεως μνήμην πεποιῆται Σεραπίων, ὃν ἐπὶ τῶν δηλουμένων χρόνων μετὰ Μαξιμῖνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας γενέσθαι κατέχει λόγος: μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Καρικὸν καὶ Πόντιον, ἐν ᾗ διευθύνων καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα: 'ὅπως [2] δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδῆτε ὅτι τῆς ψευδοῦς ταύτης τάξεως τῆς ἐπικαλουμένης νέας προφητείας ἐβδέλυκται ἡ ἐνέργεια παρὰ πάσῃ τῇ ἐν κόσμῳ ἀδελφότητι, πέπομφα ὑμῖν καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀπολιναρίου, τοῦ μακαριωτάτου γενομένου ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπου, γράμματα.' [3] ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ τοῦ Σεραπίωνος ἐπιστολῇ καὶ ὑποσημειώσεις φέρονται διαφόρων ἐπισκόπων, ὧν ὁ μὲν τις ὧδέ πως ὑποσεσημειώται: 'Αὐρήλιος Κυρίνιος μάρτυς ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι,' ὁ δὲ τις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: 'Αἴλιος Πούπλιος Ἰούλιος ἀπὸ Δεβελτοῦ κολωνίας τῆς Θράκης ἐπίσκοπος: ζῇ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅτι Σωτᾶς ὁ μακάριος ὁ ἐν Ἀγγιάλῳ ἠθέλησε τὸν δαίμονα τὸν Πρισκίλλης ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν.' [4] καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλειόνων τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων συμψήφων τούτοις ἐν τοῖς δηλωθεῖσιν γράμμασιν αὐτόγραφοι φέρονται σημειώσεις. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τούτους ἦν τοιαῦτα.

Ἐξ ἐναντίας δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τὸν ὑγιὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμὸν παραχαρτιόντων, Εἰρηναῖος διαφόρους ἐπιστολάς συντάττει, τὴν μὲν ἐπιγράνας Πρὸς Βλάστον περὶ σχίσματος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς Φλωρίνον περὶ μοναρχίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν. ταύτης γάρ τοι τῆς γνώμης οὗτος ἐδόκει προασπίζειν: δι' ὃν αὖθις ὑποσυρόμενον τῇ κατὰ Οὐαλεντίνον πλάνῃ καὶ τὸ Περὶ ὀγδοάδος συντάττεται τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ σπούδασμα, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐπισημαίνεται τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀποστόλων κατελιφέναι ἑαυτὸν διαδοχὴν: [2] ἐνθα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ συγγράμματος τέλει χαριεστάτην αὐτοῦ σημείωσιν εὐρόντες, ἀναγκάως καὶ ταύτην τῇδε καταλέξομεν τῇ γραφῇ, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον: 'ὀρκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, ἧς ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ἵνα ἀντιβάλῃς ὁ μετεγράψω, καὶ κατορθώσης αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο ὅθεν μετεγράψω, ἐπιμελῶς: καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως μεταγράψεις καὶ θήσεις ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ.' [3] καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ὠφελίμως ὑπ' ἐκείνου λελέχθω πρὸς ἡμῶν τε ἱστορεῖσθω, ὥς ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἄριστον σπουδαιοτάτης ἐπιμελείας τοὺς ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους καὶ ὄντως ἱεροὺς ἄνδρας ὑπόδειγμα. [4] Ἐν ᾗ γε μὴν προειρήκαμεν πρὸς τὸν Φλωρίνον ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐπιστολῇ αὖθις τῆς ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ συνουσίας αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει,

λέγων: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα, Φλωρίνε, ἵνα πεφεισμένως εἶπω, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιούς γνώμης: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα ἀσύμφωνά ἐστιν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰς τὴν μεγίστην ἀσέβειαν περιβάλλοντα τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτοῖς: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οὐδὲ οἱ ἔξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰρετικοὶ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποφήνασθαι ποτε: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες, οὐ παρέδωκάν σοι. [5] εἶδον γάρ σε, παῖς ἔτι ὢν, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ Πολυκάρπῳ, λαμπρῶς πράσσοντα ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ καὶ πειρώμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν παρ' αὐτῷ. μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἑναγchos γινομένων 'αἱ [6] γὰρ ἐκ παίδων μαθήσεις συναύξουσαι τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐνοῦνται αὐτῇ, ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εισόδους καὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδέαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ἃς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλεν καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑορακόντων τὸν κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευεν τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου τίνα ἦν ἃ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρεληφώς ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλεν πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. [7] ταῦτα καὶ τότε διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γεγονός σπουδαίως ἤκουον, ὑπομνηματιζόμενος αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐν χάρτῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ καρδίᾳ: καὶ αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ γνησίως αὐτὰ ἀναμαρτυροῦμαι, καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι εἴ τι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει ἐκεῖνος ὁ μακάριος καὶ ἀποστολικὸς πρεσβύτερος, ἀνακράξας ἂν καὶ ἐμφράξας τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῦνθηες αὐτῷ εἰπὼν 'ὦ καλὲ θεέ, εἰς οἴους με καιροὺς τετήρηκας, ἵνα τούτων ἀνέχωμαι,' πεφεύγει ἂν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος ἢ ἐστὼς τῶν τοιούτων ἀκηκόει λόγων. [8] καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ἡτοι ταῖς γειννιώσαις ἐκκλησίαις, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτάς, ἢ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισί, νουθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι.' ταῦτα ὁ Εἰρηναῖος.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας χρόνον μεταβέβλητο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶον τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, εἰρήνης σὺν θεῷ χάριτι τὰς καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης διαλαβούσης ἐκκλησίας: ὅτε καὶ ὁ σωτήριος λόγος ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων πᾶσαν ὑπήγετο ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσεβῆ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ θρησκείαν, ὡς ἦδη καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς εὖ μάλα πλούτῳ καὶ γένει διαφανῶν πλείους ἐπὶ τὴν σφῶν ὁμόσε χωρεῖν πανοικεῖ τε καὶ παγγενεῖ σωτηρίαν. [2] οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄρα τοῦτο τῷ μισοκάλῳ δαίμονι βασκάνῳ ὄντι τὴν φύσιν οἰστόν,

ἀπεδύετο ὁ οὖν εἰς αὖθις, ποικίλας τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν μηχανὰς ἐπιτεχνώμενος. ἐπὶ γοῦν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως Ἀπολλώνιον, ἄνδρα τῶν τότε πιστῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ βεβοημένον, ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἄγει, ἓνα γέ τινα τῶν εἰς ταῦτ' ἐπιτηδεῖων αὐτῷ διακόνων ἐπὶ κατηγορία τάνδρὸς ἐγείρας. [3] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δεῖλαιος παρὰ καιρὸν τὴν δίκην εἰσελθὼν, ὅτι μὴ ζῆν ἐξὸν ἦν κατὰ βασιλικὸν ὅρον τοὺς τῶν τοιῶνδε μηνυτάς, αὐτίκα κατεάγνυται τὰ σκέλη, Περεινίου δικαστοῦ τοιαύτην κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον ἀπενέγκαντος: [4] ὁ δέ γε θεοφιλέστατος μάρτυς, πολλὰ λιπαρῶς ἱκετεύσαντος τοῦ δικαστοῦ καὶ λόγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς αἰτήσαντος, λογιωτάτην ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐμαρτύρει πίστεως ἐπὶ πάντων παρασχὼν ἀπολογία, κεφαλικῇ κολάσει ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ δόγματος συγκλήτου τελειοῦται, μὴδ' ἄλλως ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς ἅπαξ εἰς δικαστήριον παριόντας καὶ μηδαμῶς τῆς προθέσεως μεταβαλλομένους ἀρχαίους παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμου κεκρατηκότος. [5] τούτου μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ φωνὰς καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἃς πρὸς πεῦσιν πεποίητο τοῦ Περεινίου, πᾶσάν τε τὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπολογία, ὅτ' διαγνῶναι φίλον, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτύρων συναχθείσης ἡμῖν ἀναγραφῆς εἴσεται.

Δεκάτῳ γε μὴν τῆς Κομόδου βασιλείας ἔτει δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λειτουργηκότα Ἐλευθέρον διαδέχεται Βίκτωρ: ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ δέκατον ἔτος ἀποπλήσαντος, τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικιῶν τὴν λειτουργίαν ἐγχειρίζεται Δημήτριος: καθ' οὓς καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας ὄγδοος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ πρόσθεν ἤδη δεδηλωμένος ἔτι τότε Σεραπίων ἐπίσκοπος ἐγνωρίζετο. Καισαρείας δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνων ἡγεῖτο Θεόφιλος, καὶ Νάρκισσος δὲ ὁμοίως, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ λόγος μνήμην ἐποίησατο, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἔτι τότε τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶχεν, Κορίνθου δὲ τῆς καθ' Ἑλλάδα κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν Βάκχυλλος καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας Πολυκράτης. καὶ ἄλλοι δ', ὡς γε εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτοις μυρίοι κατὰ τούσδε διέπρεπον: ὧν γε μὴν ἑγγραφὸς ἢ τῆς πίστεως εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήλθεν ὀρθοδοξία, τούτους εἰκότως ὀνομαστί κατελέξαμεν.

Ζητήσεως δὴτα κατὰ τούσδε οὐ σμικρὰς ἀνακινηθείσης, ὅτι δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης αἱ παροικίαι ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀρχαιοτέρας σελήνης τὴν τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτην ὥντο δεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα ἑορτῆς παραφυλάττειν, ἐν ᾗ θύειν τὸ πρόβατον Ἰουδαίοις προηγόρευτο, ὡς δέον ἐκ παντὸς κατὰ ταύτην, ὅποια δ' ἡμέρα τῆς ἐβδομάδος περιτυγχάνοι, τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις ποιεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἔθους ὄντος τοῦτον ἐπιτελεῖν τὸν τρόπον ταῖς ἀνὰ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς

παραδόσεως τὸ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο κρατήσαν ἔθος φυλαττούσαις, ὡς μηδ' ἑτέρα προσήκειν παρὰ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμέρα τὰς νηστείας ἐπιλύεσθαι, [2] σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ ταῦτὸν ἐγίνοντο, πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διευπουῖντο ὡς ἂν μηδ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ποτὲ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρα τὸ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῖτο τοῦ κυρίου μυστήριον, καὶ ὅπως ἐν ταύτῃ μόνῃ τῶν κατὰ τὸ πάσχα νηστειῶν φυλαττοίμεθα τὰς ἐπιλύσεις. [3] φέρεται δ' εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην τηνικάδε συγκεκροτημένων γραφῇ, ὧν προυτέτακτο Θεόφιλος τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Νάρκισσος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς δ' ὁμοίως ἄλλη περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζητήματος, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτορα δηλοῦσα, τῶν τε κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπων, ὧν Πάλμας ὡς ἀρχαιότατος προυτέτακτο, καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γαλλίαν δὲ παροικιῶν, ἃς Εἰρηναῖος ἐπεσκόπει, [4] ἔτι τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ὀσροηνὴν καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖσε πόλεις, καὶ ιδίως Βακχύλλου τῆς Κορινθίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πλείστων ὅσων ἄλλων, οἱ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν τε καὶ κρίσιν ἐξηξηνεγμένοι, τὴν αὐτὴν τέθεινται ψῆφον.

Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν ὅρος εἶς, ὁ δεδηλωμένος· τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπων τὸ πάλαι πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν διαφυλάττειν ἔθος χρῆναι διςχυριζομένων ἡγεῖτο Πολυκράτης· ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἧ' πρὸς Βίκτορα καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν διευπώσατο γραφῇ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν παράδοσιν ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων· ἡμεῖς [2] οὖν ἀραδιούργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε προστιθέντες μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται· ἅτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ἧ' ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν καὶ ἀναζητήσει πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθένοι καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται· [3] ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκῶς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος· οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται, [4] ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν Σμύρνῃ, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς· καὶ Θρασέας καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας, ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοίμηται. [5] τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν Σάγαριν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα, ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παπίριον τὸν μακάριον καὶ Μελίωνα τὸν εὐνοῦχον, τὸν ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα πολιτευσάμενον, ὃς κεῖται ἐν Σάρδεσιν περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐν ἧ' ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεται· [6] οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν

τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κανὸνα τῆς πίστεως ἀκολουθοῦντες: ἔτι δὲ καὶ γὰρ ὁ μικρότερος πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ παράδοσιν τῶν συγγενῶν μου, οἷς καὶ παρηκολούθησά τιςιν αὐτῶν. ἑπτὰ μὲν ἦσαν συγγενεῖς μου ἐπίσκοποι, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος: καὶ πάντοτε τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγαγον οἱ συγγενεῖς μου ὅταν ὁ λαὸς ἤρηνεν τὴν ζύμην. [7] ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ συμβεβληκῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πᾶσαν ἀγίαν γραφὴν διεληλυθώς, οὐ πτύρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις: οἱ γὰρ ἐμοῦ μείζονες εἰρήκασιν 'πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις.' [8] Τούτοις ἐπιφέρει περὶ τῶν γράφοντι συμπαρόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμοδοξούντων ἐπισκόπων ταῦτα λέγων 'ἐδυνάμην δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῶν συμπαρόντων μνημονεῦσαι, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡξιώσατε μετακληθῆναι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ μετεκαλεσάμην: ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐὰν γράφω, πολλὰ πλήθη εἰσίν: οἱ δὲ εἰδότες τὸν μικρόν μου ἄνθρωπον συνηυδόκησαν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰκὴ πολιὰς οὐκ ἤνεγκα, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ πάντοτε πεπολίτευμαι.' [9] 'Επὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων προεστὼς Βίκτωρ ἀθρόως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης ἅμα ταῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις τὰς παροικίας ἀποτέμνειν, ὡς ἂν ἑτεροδοξούσας, τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως πειρᾶται, καὶ στηλιτεύει γε διὰ γραμμάτων ἀκοινωνήτους πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀνακηρύττων ἀδελφούς: [10] ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσί γε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ταῦτ' ἡρέσκετο. ἀντιπαρακελεύονται δὴτα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ἐνώσεώς τε καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν, φέρονται δὲ καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ πληκτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βίκτορος: [11] ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐκ προσώπου ὧν ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστεῖλας, παρίσταται μὲν τῷ δεῖν ἐν μόνη τῇ τῆς κυριακῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μυστήριον, τῷ γε μὴν Βίκτορι προσηκόντως, ὡς μὴ ἀποκόπτοι ὅλας ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἀρχαίου ἔθους παράδοσιν ἐπιτηρούσας, πλεῖστα ἕτερα παραινεῖ, καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ῥήμασιν τάδε ἐπιλέγων: 'οὐδὲ [12] γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἶδους αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας: οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσιν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. [13] καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγонуῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν, τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀκριβές, ὡς εἰκός, κρατούντων τὴν καθ' ἀπλότητα καὶ ιδιωτισμὸν συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μετέπειτα πεποικιότων, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσάν τε καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν

τῆς πίστεως συνίστησιν.’ [14] Τούτοις καὶ ἱστορίαν προστίθησιν, ἣν οἰκεῖως παραθήσομαι, τοῦτον ἔχουσιν τὸν τρόπον: ‘ἐν οἷς καὶ οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ προστάντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἥς σὺ νῦν ἀφηγῇ, Ἀνίκητον λέγομεν καὶ Πίον Ὑγῖνόν τε καὶ Τελεσφόρον καὶ Ξύστον, οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν οὔτε τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπέτρεπον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες εἰρήνευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν ἐν αἷς ἐτηρεῖτο, ἐρχομένοις πρὸς αὐτούς: καίτοι μᾶλλον ἐναντίον ἦν τὸ τηρεῖν τοῖς μὴ τηροῦσιν. [15] καὶ οὐδέποτε διὰ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο ἀπεβλήθησάν τινες, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν, [16] καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν μικρὰ σχόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εὐθὺς εἰρήνευσαν, περὶ τούτου τοῦ κεφαλαίου μὴ φιλεριστήσαντες εἰς ἑαυτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πεῖσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν, ἅτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων οἷς συνδιέτριπεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισεν τηρεῖν, λέγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέρων ὀφείλιν κατέχειν. [17] καὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐκοινώνησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ’ ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι, καὶ μετ’ εἰρήνης ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπηλλάγησαν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην ἐχόντων, καὶ τῶν τηρούντων καὶ τῶν μὴ τηρούντων.’ Καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος φερώνυμος τις ὢν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ αὐτῷ τε τῷ τρόπῳ εἰρηνοποιός, τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης παρεκάλει τε καὶ ἐπρέσβευεν, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς οὐ μόνῳ τῷ Βίκτορι, καὶ διαφόροις δὲ πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν τὰ κατάλληλα δι’ ἐπιστολῶν περὶ τοῦ κεκινήμενου ζητήματος ὠμίλει.

Οἱ γε μὴν ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, οὓς ἀρτίως διεληλύθαμεν, ὃ τε Νάρκισσος καὶ Θεόφιλος, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Κάσσιος τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Κλᾶρος τῆς ἐν Πτολεμαίδι οἱ τε μετὰ τούτων συνεληλυθότες, περὶ τῆς κατελθούσης εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων περὶ τοῦ πάσχα παραδόσεως πλεῖστα διεληφότες, κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς γραφῆς αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπιλέγουσιν ταῦτα: ‘τῆς δ’ ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν πειράθητε κατὰ πᾶσαν παροικίαν ἀντίγραφα διαπέμψασθαι, ὅπως μὴ ἔνοχοι ὦμεν τοῖς ῥαδίως πλανῶσιν ἑαυτῶν τὰς ψυχάς. δηλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἄγουσιν ἥπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς: παρ’ ἡμῶν γὰρ τὰ γράμματα κομίζεται αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν παρ’ αὐτῶν, ὥστε συμφώνως καὶ ὁμοῦ ἄγειν ἡμᾶς τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν.’

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἀποδοθεῖσιν Εἰρηναίου συγγράμμασιν καὶ ταῖς

ἐπιστολαῖς φέρεται τις αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λόγος συντομώτατος καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀναγκαιότατος, Περὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐπιγεγραμμένος, καὶ ἄλλος, ὃν ἀνατίθεικεν ἀδελφῷ Μαρκιανῷ τοῦνομα εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος, καὶ βιβλίον τι διαλέξεων διαφόρων, ἐν ᾧ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Σολομῶνος Σοφίας μνημονεύει, ρητὰ τινὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν παραθέμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς ἡμετέραν ἐλθόντα γινώσιν τῶν Εἰρηναίου τοσαῦτα. Κομόδου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ δέκα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν καταλύσαντος, αὐτοκράτωρ Σευήρος οὐδ' ὅλοις μηνσὶν ἕξ μετὰ τὴν Κομόδου τελευτὴν Περτίνακος διαγενομένου κρατεῖ.

πλεῖστα μὲν οὖν παρὰ πολλοῖς εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν τότε σφύζεται παλαιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐναρέτου σπουδῆς ὑπομνήματα: ὧν γε μὴν αὐτοὶ διέγνωμεν, εἴη ἂν τὰ Ἡρακλείτου εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ τὰ Μαξίμου περὶ τοῦ πολυθρυλήτου παρὰ τοῖς αἵρεσιώταις ζητήματος τοῦ πόθεν ἢ κακία, καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννητὴν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ὕλην, τὰ τε Κανδίδου εἰς τὴν ἐξαήμερον, καὶ Ἀπίωνος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὁμοίως Σέξτου περὶ ἀναστάσεως, καὶ ἄλλη τις ὑπόθεσις Ἀραβιανοῦ, καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων, ὧν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀφορμὴν οὐχ οἶόν τε οὔτε τοὺς χρόνους παραδοῦναι γραφῇ οὐθ' ἱστορίας μνήμην ὑποσημῆσθαι. καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πλείετων, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰς προσηγορίας καταλέγειν ἡμῖν δυνατόν, ἦλθον εἰς ἡμᾶς λόγοι, ὀρθοδόξων μὲν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ὥς γε δὴ ἡ ἐκάστου παραδείκνυσιν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐρμηνεία, ἀδήλων δ' ὅμως ἡμῖν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπάγεται τῶν συγγραμμένων.

Τούτων ἓν τινος σπουδάσματι κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος αἱρέσεως πεπονημένῳ, ἦν αὖθις ὁ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων Παῦλος καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι πεπείραται, φέρεται τις διήγησις ταῖς ἐξεταζομέναις ἡμῖν προσήκουσα ἱστορίας. [2] τὴν γάρ τοι δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι τὸν σωτήρα φάσκουσιν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τε νεωτερισθεῖσαν διευθύνων, ἐπειδὴ σεμνύνειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἂν ἀρχαίαν οἱ ταύτης ἠθελον εἰσηγηταί, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα εἰς ἔλεγχον αὐτῶν τῆς βλασφήμου ψευδηγορίας παραθεῖς ὁ λόγος ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ἱστορεῖ: 'φασὶν [3] γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀποστόλους παρειληφέναι τε καὶ δεδιδαχέναι ταῦτα ἃ νῦν οὗτοι λέγουσιν, καὶ τετηρηῆσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ κηρύγματος μέχρι τῶν Βίκτορος χρόνων, ὃς ἦν τρισκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπίσκοπος: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ διαδόχου αὐτοῦ Ζεφυρίνου παρακεχαράχθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. [4] ἦν δ' ἂν τυχὸν πιθανὸν τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἀντέπιπτον αὐτοῖς αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί: καὶ ἀδελφῶν

δέ τινων ἔστιν γράμματα, πρεσβύτερα τῶν Βίκτορος χρόνων, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς τὰς τότε αἱρέσεις ἔγραψαν, λέγω δὲ Ἰουστίνου καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ ἐτέρων πλείονων, ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστός. [5] τὰ γὰρ Εἰρηναίου τε καὶ Μελίτωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τίς ἀγνοεῖ βιβλία, θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταγγέλλοντα τὸν Χριστόν, ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Χριστόν ὑμνοῦσιν θεολογοῦντες; [6] πῶς οὖν ἐκ τοσούτων ἐτῶν καταγγελλομένου τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ φρονήματος, ἐνδέχεται τοὺς μέχρι Βίκτορος οὕτως ὡς οὗτοι λέγουσιν κεκηρυχένα; πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰδοῦνται ταῦτα Βίκτορος καταπεύδεσθαι, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅτι Βίκτωρ Θεόδοτον τὸν σκυτέα, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα ταύτης τῆς ἀρνησιθέου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκήρυξεν τῆς κοινωνίας, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστόν; εἰ γὰρ Βίκτωρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἐφρόνει ὡς ἡ τούτων διδάσκει βλασφημία, πῶς ἂν ἀπέβαλεν Θεόδοτον τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως ταύτης εὐρετὴν; [7] Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Βίκτορα τοσαῦτα: τούτου δὲ ἔτεσιν δέκα προστάντος τῆς λειτουργίας διάδοχος καθίσταται Ζεφυρίνος ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔνατον τῆς Σευήρου βασιλείας ἔτος. προστίθησιν δὲ ὁ τὸ προειρημένον συντάξας περὶ τοῦ κατάρξαντος τῆς δηλωθείσης αἱρέσεως βιβλίον καὶ ἄλλην κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον γενομένην πρᾶξιν, ᾧδὲ πως αὐτοῖς ῥήμασι γράφων: 'ὑπομνήσω [8] γοῦν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενον, ὃ νομίζω ὅτι εἰ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐγεγόνει, τυχὸν ἂν κάκείνους ἐνουθέτησεν. Νατάλιος ἦν τις ὁμολογητής, οὐ πάλαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων γενόμενος καιρῶν. [9] οὗτος ἡπατήθη ποτὲ ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιδοδοτοῦ καὶ ἐτέρου Θεοδότου τινὸς τραπεζίτου: ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ἄμφω Θεοδότου τοῦ σκυτέως μαθηταὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ φρονήσει, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφροσύνῃ, ἀφορισθέντος τῆς κοινωνίας ὑπὸ Βίκτορος, ὡς ἔφην, τοῦ τότε ἐπισκόπου. [10] ἀνεπίεσθη δὲ ὁ Νατάλιος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ σαλαρίῳ ἐπίσκοπος κληθῆναι ταύτης τῆς αἱρέσεως, ὥστε λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν μηνιαῖα δηνάρια ρν. [11] γενόμενος οὖν σὺν αὐτοῖς, δι' ὁραμάτων πολλάκις ἐνουθετεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου: ὁ γὰρ εὖσπλαγχνος θεὸς καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἔξω ἐκκλησίας γενόμενον ἀπολέσθαι μάρτυρα τῶν ἰδίων παθῶν. [12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥαθυμότερον τοῖς ὁράμασιν προσεῖχεν, δελεαζόμενος τῇ τε παρ' αὐτοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίᾳ καὶ τῇ πλείστοις ἀπολλυούσῃ αἰσχροκερδίᾳ, τελευταῖον ὑπὸ ἀγίων ἀγγέλων ἐμαστιγώθη δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός οὐ μικρῶς αἰκισθεὶς, ὥστε ἔωθεν ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἐνδυσάμενον σάκκον καὶ σποδὸν καταπασάμενον μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ δακρύων προσπεσεῖν

Ζεφυρίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κυλιόμενον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λαϊκῶν, συγγέαι τε τοῖς δάκρυσιν τὴν εὖσπλαγχνον ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ ἐλεήμονος Χριστοῦ πολλῇ τε τῇ δεήσει χρησάμενον δεῖξαντά τε τοὺς μῶλωπας ὧν εἰλήφει πληγῶν μόλις κοινωνηθῆναι.’ [13] Τούτοις ἐπισυνάσωμεν καὶ ἄλλας περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ συγγραφῆως φωνάς, τοῦτον ἐχούσας τὸν τρόπον: ‘γραφὰς μὲν θείας ἀφόβως ῥεραδιουργήκασιν, πίστεώς τε ἀρχαίας κανόνα ἡθετήκασιν, Χριστὸν δὲ ἡγνοήκασιν, οὐ τί αἱ θεῖαι λέγουσιν γραφαί, ζητοῦντες, ἀλλ’ ὅποιον σχῆμα συλλογισμοῦ εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀθεότητος σύστασιν εὑρεθῇ, φιλοπόνως ἀσκοῦντες. κἂν αὐτοῖς προτείνῃ τις ῥητὸν γραφῆς θεϊκῆς, ἐξετάζουσιν πότερον συνημμένον ἢ διεξευγμένον δύναται ποιῆσαι σχῆμα συλλογισμοῦ: [14] καταλιπόντες δὲ τὰς ἀγίας τοῦ θεοῦ γραφάς, γεωμετρίαν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὄντες καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαλοῦντες καὶ τὸν ἄνωθεν ἐρχόμενον ἀγνοοῦντες. Εὐκλείδης γοῦν παρά τισιν αὐτῶν φιλοπόνως γεωμετρεῖται, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ Θεόφραστος θαυμάζονται: Γαληνὸς γὰρ ἴσως ὑπὸ τινων καὶ προσκυνεῖται. [15] οἱ δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀπίστων τέχναις εἰς τὴν τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῶν γνώμην ἀποχρώμενοι καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀθέων πανουργίᾳ ὅτι μὴδὲ ἐγγὺς πίστεως ὑπάρχουσιν, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς ἀφόβως ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας, λέγοντες αὐτὰς διωρθωκένας. [16] καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο μὴ καταψευδόμενος αὐτῶν λέγω, ὁ βουλόμενος δύναται μαθεῖν. εἰ γάρ τις θελήσει συγκομίσας αὐτῶν ἐκάστου τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἐξετάζειν πρὸς ἄλληλα, κατὰ πολὺ ἂν εὖροι διαφωνοῦντα. ἀσύμφωνα γοῦν ἔσται τὰ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῖς Θεοδότου, [17] πολλῶν δὲ ἔστιν εὐπορῆσαι διὰ τὸ φιλοτίμως ἐκγεγράφθαι τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῶν τὰ ὑφ’ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν, ὡς αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν, κατωρθωμένα, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ἡφανισμένα: πάλιν δὲ τούτοις τὰ Ἑρμοφίλου οὐ συνάδει. τὰ γὰρ Ἀπολλωνιάδου οὐδὲ αὐτὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἐστὶν σύμφωνα: ἔνεστιν γὰρ συγκρίναι τὰ πρότερον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν κατασκευασθέντα τοῖς ὕστερον πάλιν ἐπιδιαστραφεῖσιν καὶ εὑρεῖν κατὰ πολὺ ἀπάδοντα. [18] ὅσης δὲ τόλμης ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα, εἰκὸς μὴδὲ ἐκείνους ἀγνοεῖν. ἡ γὰρ οὐ πιστεύουσιν ἅγιῳ πνεύματι λελέχθαι τὰς θείας γραφάς, καὶ εἰσιν ἄπιστοι: ἡ ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦνται σοφωτέρους τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τί ἕτερον ἢ δαιμονῶσιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀρνήσασθαι δύνανται ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὸ τόλμημα, ὅποταν καὶ τῇ αὐτῶν χειρὶ ἢ γεγραμμένα, καὶ παρ’ ὧν κατηχήθησαν, μὴ τοιαύτας παρέλαβον τὰς γραφάς, καὶ δεῖξαι ἀντίγραφα ὅθεν αὐτὰ μετεγράψαντο, μὴ ἔχωσιν. [19] ἔνιοι δ’ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ παραχαράσσειν ἠξίωσαν αὐτάς, ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς ἀρνησάμενοι τὸν τε νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας, ἀνόμου καὶ ἀθέου διδασκαλίας προφάσει χάριτος

εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας ὄλεθρον κατωλίσθησαν.’ Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον
ἱστορήσθω τὸν τρόπον.

BOOK VI.

τάδε καὶ ἡ περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

B Περὶ τῆς Ὠριγένους ἐκ παιδὸς ἀσκήσεως.

Γ Ὡς κομιδῇ νέος ὢν τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον ἐπρέσβευεν.

Δ Ὅσοι δι' αὐτοῦ κατηχηθέντες προήχθησαν μάρτυρες.

E Περὶ Ποταμιαίνης.

#2 Περὶ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως.

Z Περὶ Ἰούδα συγγραφῆς.

H Περὶ τοῦ τολμηθέντος Ὠριγένει.

Θ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Νάρκισσον παραδόξων.

I Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκόπων.

IA Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

IB Περὶ Σεραπίωνος καὶ τῶν φερομένων αὐτοῦ λόγων.

IG Περὶ τῶν Κλήμεντος συγγραμμάτων.

ID Ὅπόσων ἐμνημόνευσε γραφῶν.

IE Περὶ Ἡρακλᾶ.

I#2 Ὅπως Ὠριγένης περὶ τὰς θείας γραφὰς ἐσπουδάκει.

IZ Περὶ Συμμάχου τοῦ ἐρμηνέως.

IH Περὶ Ἀμβροσίου.

IΘ Ὅσα περὶ Ὠριγένους μνημονεύεται.

K Ὅσοι τῶν τῆνικάδε φέρονται λόγοι.

KA Ὅσοι κατὰ τούσδε ἐπίσκοποι ἐγνωρίζοντο.

KB Ὅσα τῶν Ἰππολύτου εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦλθεν.

ΚΓ Περί τῆς Ὠριγένους σπουδῆς καὶ ὡς τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ πρεσβείου ἡξιώθη.

ΚΔ Τίνα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐξηγήσατο.

ΚΕ Ὅπως τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων γραφῶν ἐμνημόνευσεν.

Κ#2 Ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐώρων οἱ ἐπίσκοποι.

ΚΖ Ὡς Ἡρακλᾶς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξατο.

ΚΗ Περί τοῦ κατὰ Μαξιμῖνον διωγμοῦ.

ΚΘ Περί Φαβιανοῦ ὡς Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ θεοῦ παραδόξως ἀνεδείχθη.

Λ Ὅσοι γεγόνασιν Ὠριγένους φοιτηταί.

ΛΑ Περί Ἀφρικανοῦ.

ΛΒ Τίνα Ὠριγένης ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐξηγήσατο.

ΛΓ Περί τῆς Βηρύλλου παρατροπῆς.

ΛΔ Τὰ κατὰ Φίλιππον.

ΛΕ Ὡς Διονύσιος Ἡρακλᾶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξατο.

Λ#2 Ὅσα ἄλλα ἐσπούδαστο τῷ Ὠριγένει.

ΛΖ Περί τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων διαστάσεως.

ΛΗ Περί τῆς Ἐλκεσαιτῶν αἵρέσεως.

ΛΘ Περί τῶν κατὰ Δέκιον.

Μ Περί τῶν Διονυσίῳ συμβάντων.

ΜΑ Περί τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μαρτυρησάντων.

ΜΒ Περί ὧν ἄλλων ὁ Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ.

ΜΓ Περί Νοουάτου, οἷός τις ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καὶ περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν αἵρέσεως.

ΜΔ Περί Σεραπίωνος ἱστορία Διονυσίου.

ΜΕ Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Νοουᾶτον Διονυσίου.

Μ#2 Περί τῶν ἄλλων Διονυσίου ἐπιστολῶν.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σευήρος διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκίνει, λαμπρὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἀπετελεῖτο μαρτύρια, μάλιστα δ' ἐπλήθυεν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας, τῶν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θηβαΐδος ἀπάσης αὐτόθι ὥσπερ ἐπὶ μέγιστον ἀθλητῶν θεοῦ παραπεμπομένων στάδιον διὰ καρτερικωτάτης τε ποικίλων βασάνων καὶ θανάτου τρόπων ὑπομονῆς τοὺς παρὰ θεῷ στεφάνους ἀναδουμένων: ἐν οἷς καὶ Λεωνίδης, ὁ λεγόμενος Ὁριγένους πατήρ, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς, νέον κομιδῇ καταλείπει τὸν παῖδα: ὃς δὴ ὁποίας ἐξ ἐκείνου περὶ τὸν θεῖον λόγον προαιρέσεως ἦν, οὐκ ἄκαιρον διὰ βραχέων διελεῖν τῷ μάλιστα πολὺν εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ βεβοημένον λόγον.

πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν σχολῇ παραδοῦναι διὰ γραφῆς πειρώμενος, δέοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ ἰδίας ὑποθέσεως ἢ περὶ αὐτοῦ σύνταξις: ὅμως δ' ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιτεμόμενοι τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ βραχέων ὡς οἶόν τε, ὀλίγα ἅττα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν διελευσόμεθα, ἔκ τινων ἐπιστολῶν καὶ ἱστορίας τῶν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῷ βίῳ πεφυλαγμένων αὐτοῦ γνωρίμων τὰ δηλούμενα φέροντες. [2] Ὁριγένους καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν σπαργάνων ἀξιωματικῶν μοι εἶναι δοκεῖ. δέκατον μὲν γὰρ ἐπέιχε Σευήρος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Αἰγύπτου Λαῖτος, τῶν δ' αὐτόθι παροικιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν νεωστὶ τότε μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν Δημήτριος ὑπελήφει. [3] εἰς μέγα δὴ οὖν τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ πυρκαϊᾶς ἀφθείσης καὶ μυρίων ὅσων τοῖς κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον ἀναδουμένων στεφάνοις, ἔρως τοσοῦτος μαρτυρίου τὴν Ὁριγένους, ἔτι κομιδῇ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος, κατεῖχε ψυχὴν, ὡς ὁμόσε τοῖς κινδύνοις χωρεῖν προπηδᾶν τε καὶ ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα προθυμῶς ἔχειν. [4] ἤδη γέ τοι σμικρὸν ὅσον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου ἀπαλλαγῆς οὐ πόρρω καθίστατο, μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς θείας καὶ οὐρανίου προνοίας εἰς τὴν πλείστων ὠφέλειαν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς ἐμποδῶν αὐτῷ τῆς προθυμίας ἐνστάσης. [5] αὕτη γοῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λόγοις ἰκετεύουσα, τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν μητρικῆς διαθέσεως φειδῶ λαβεῖν παρεκάλει, σφοδρότερον δ' ἐπιτείναντα θεασαμένη, ὅτε γνούς ἁλόντα τὸν πατέρα δεσποτικῶς φυλάττεσθαι ὅλος ἐγένετο τῆς περὶ τὸ μαρτύριον ὁρμῆς, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ἀποκρυψαμένη ἐσθῆτα οἶκοι μένειν ἀνάγκην ἐπῆγεν: [6] ὁ δ', ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράττειν αὐτῷ παρῆν, τῆς προθυμίας ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιτεινομένης οὐχ οἷός τε ὦν ἡρεμεῖν, διαπέμπεται τῷ πατρὶ προτρεπτικωτάτην περὶ μαρτυρίου ἐπιστολὴν, ἐν ἣ κατὰ λέξιν αὐτῷ παραινεῖ λέγων 'ἔπεχε μὴ δι' ἡμᾶς ἄλλο τι φρονήσης.' τοῦτο πρῶτον τῆς Ὁριγένους παιδικῆς ἀγχινοίας καὶ περὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν γνησιωτάτης διαθέσεως

ἀνάγραφτον ἔστω τεκμήριον. [7] καὶ γὰρ ἤδη καὶ τῶν τῆς πίστεως λόγων οὐ σμικρὰς ἀφορμὰς καταβέβλητο, ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐξ ἔτι παιδὸς ἐνησκημένος: οὐ μετρίως γοῦν καὶ περὶ ταύτας πεπόνητο, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείᾳ καὶ τούτων οὐ κατὰ ἀπαργον τὴν φροντίδα πεποιημένου. [8] ἐξ ἅπαντος γοῦν αὐτὸν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων μελέτης ἐνήγεν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνασκεισθαι παιδεύμασιν, ἐκμαθήσεις καὶ ἀπαγγελίας ἡμέρας ἐκάστης αὐτὸν εἰσπραττόμενος: [9] οὐκ ἀπροαιρέτως δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο τῷ παιδί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν προθυμότατα περὶ ταῦτα πονοῦντι, ὥς μηδ' ἐξαρκεῖν αὐτῷ τὰς ἀπλᾶς καὶ προχείρους τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων ἐντεύξεις, ζητεῖν δέ τι πλεόν καὶ βαθυτέρας ἤδη ἐξ ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονεῖν θεωρίας, ὥστε καὶ πράγματα παρέχειν τῷ πατρί, τί ἄρα ἐθέλοι δηλοῦν τὸ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς ἀναπνυθανόμενος βούλημα. [10] ἐκεῖνος δὲ τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῷ, μηδὲν ὑπὲρ ἡλικίαν μηδὲ τῆς προφανοῦς διανοίας περαιτέρω τι ζητεῖν παραινῶν, ιδίως δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὰ μεγάλα γεγηθῶς τὴν μεγίστην ὡμολόγει τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίῳ θεῷ χάριν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν τοιοῦδε πατέρα γενέσθαι παιδὸς ἠξίωσεν. [11] ἐπιστάντα δὲ ἤδη πολλάκις καθεύδοντι τῷ παιδί γυμνῶσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰ στέρνα φασίν, ὥσπερ δὲ θείου πνεύματος ἔνδον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀφιερωμένου, φιλησαί τε σεβασμῶς καὶ τῆς εὐτεκνίας μακάριον ἑαυτὸν ἠγήσασθαι. ταῦτα καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις συγγενῇ περὶ παῖδα ὄντα τὸν Ὠριγένην γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσιν. [12] Ὡς δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ μαρτυρίῳ τετελειώτο, ἔρημος ἅμα μητρὶ καὶ βραχυτέροις ἀδελφοῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔξ, ἑπτακαιδέκατον οὐ πληρὲς ἔτος ἄγων, καταλείπεται: [13] τῆς γε μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς περιουσίας τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ταμείοις ἀναληφθείσης, ἐν σπάνει τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον χρειῶν σὺν τοῖς προσήκουσιν καταστάς, οἰκονομίας τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ καταξιούται καὶ τυγχάνει δεξιώσεως ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύσεως παρά τινι πλουσιωτάτῃ μὲν τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα περιφανεστάτῃ γυναικί, διαβόητόν γε μὴν ἄνδρα περιεπούση τῶν τότε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας αἵρεσιωτῶν: τὸ γένος ἦν οὗτος Ἀντιοχεύς, θετὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτὸν εἶχεν τε σὺν ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περιεῖπεν ἡ δεδηλωμένη. [14] ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε ἐπάναγκες ὁ Ὠριγένης συνών, τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν πίστιν ὀρθοδοξίας ἐναργῇ παρείχετο δείγματα, ὅτι δὴ μυρίου πλήθους διὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἱκανὸν ἐν λόγῳ τοῦ Παύλου 'τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ ἀνδρὶ συναγομένου παρ' αὐτῷ οὐ μόνον αἰρετικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρων, οὐδεπώποτε προουτράπη κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτῷ συστήναι, φυλάττων ἐξ ἔτι παιδὸς κανόνα ἐκκλησίας βδελυττόμενός τε, ὥς αὐτῷ ῥήματί φησὶν πού αὐτός, τὰς τῶν αἰρέσεων διδασκαλίας. [15] προαχθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τοῖς

Ἑλλήνων μαθήμασιν ἐκθυμότερόν τε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευταίην τῇ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀσκήσει ὅλον ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὥς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐπὶ τὰ γραμματικὰ μετρίαν ἔχειν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τελειώσεως, τούτοις ἐπιδεδωκὼς ἑαυτόν, εὐπόρει τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὥς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, δαυλιῶς.

Σχολάζοντι δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγγράφως ἱστορεῖ, μηδενὸς τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ κατηγεῖν ἀνακειμένου, πάντων δ' ἀπεληλαμένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπειλῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ, προσήεσαν αὐτῷ τινες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀκουσόμενοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ: [2] ὢν πρῶτον ἐπισημαίνεται γεγονέναι Πλούταρχον, ὃς μετὰ τὸ βιῶναι καλῶς καὶ μαρτυρίῳ θείῳ κατεκοσμήθη, δεύτερον Ἡρακλᾶν, τοῦ Πλουτάρχου ἀδελφόν, ὃς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῷ πλείστην βίου φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀσκήσεως ἀπόδειξιν παρασχών, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μετὰ Δημήτριον ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξιοῦται. [3] ἔτος δ' ἦγεν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον καθ' ὃ τοῦ τῆς κατηγήσεως προέστη διδασκαλείου: ἐν ᾧ καὶ προκόπτει ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀκύλαν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγούμενον διωγμῶν, ὅτε καὶ μάλιστα διαβόητον ἐκτίσαστο παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως ὀρμωμένοις ὄνομα δι' ἣν ἐνεδείκνυτο πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀγίους ἀγνώτᾳς τε καὶ γνωρίμους μάρτυρας δεξιῶσιν τε καὶ προθυμίαν. [4] οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐν δεσμοῖς τυγχάνουσιν, οὐδὲ μέχρις ὑστάτης ἀποφάσεως ἀνακρινόμενοις συνῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἀπαγομένοις τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοῖς ἀγίοις μάρτυσιν, πολλῇ τῇ παρρησίᾳ χρώμενος καὶ ὁμόσε τοῖς κινδύνοις χωρῶν: ὥστε ἤδη αὐτὸν προσιόντα θαρσαλέως καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας φιλήματι προσαγορεύοντα πολλάκις ἐπιμανεῖς ὁ ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν δῆμος μικροῦ δεῖν κατέλευσεν, εἰ μὴ τῆς θείας δεξιᾶς βοηθοῦ καθάπαξ τυγχάνων παραδόξως διεδίδρασκεν, [5] ἡ δ' αὐτὴ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χάρις ἄλλοτε πάλιν καὶ πάλιν καὶ οὐδ' ἔστιν ὁσάκις εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἄγαν περὶ τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον προθυμίας τε καὶ παρρησίας ἕνεκεν τηνικαῦτα ἐπιβουλευόμενον αὐτὸν διεφύλαττεν. τοσοῦτος δ' ἦν ἄρα τῶν ἀπίστων ὁ πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμος, ὥς καὶ συστροφὰς ποιησαμένους, στρατιώτας αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἔνθα κατέμενεν, ἐπιστῆσαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς πίστεως κατηχουμένων παρ' αὐτῷ. [6] οὕτω δὲ ὁσημέραι ὁ κατ' αὐτοῦ διωγμὸς ἐξεκάετο, ὥς μηκέτι χωρεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν, οἴκους μὲν ἐξ οἴκων ἀμείβοντα, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἐλαυνόμενον, τῆς πληθύος ἕνεκεν τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ προσιόντων διδασκαλία: ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πρᾶξιν ἔργα αὐτῷ γνησιωτάτης φιλοσοφίας κατορθώματα εὖ μάλα θαυμαστά περιεῖχεν ὅτιον γοῦν τὸν λόγον, [7] τοιόνδε, 'φασίν, 'τὸν τρόπον' καὶ 'οἶον τὸν τρόπον, τοιόνδε

τὸν λόγον' ἐπεδείκνυτο, δι' ἃ δὴ μάλιστα, συναιρομένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως θείας, μυρίους ἐνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ ζῆλον. [8] Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα φοιτητὰς ἤδη πλείους προσιόντας, αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κατηχεῖν διατριβῆς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτος ἐπιτετραμμένης, ἀσύμφωνον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διδασκαλίαν τῇ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα παιδεύματα ἀσκήσει, μὴ μελλήσας· ἀπορρήγνυσιν ἅτε ἀνωφελῇ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασιν ἐναντίαν τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διατριβήν, [9] εἴτα λογισμῷ καθήκοντι, ὡς ἂν μὴ γένοιτο τῆς παρ' ἐτέρων ἐπικουρίας ἐνδεής, ὅσαπερ ἦν αὐτῷ πρότερον λόγων ἀρχαίων συγγράμματα φιλοκάλως ἐσπουδασμένα, μεταδούς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα ἐωνημένου φερομένοις αὐτῷ τέτταρσιν ὀβολοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἤρκεϊτο. πλείστοις τε ἔτεσιν τοῦτον φιλοσοφῶν διετέλει τὸν τρόπον, πάσας ὕλας νεωτερικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἑαυτοῦ περιαιρούμενος, καὶ διὰ πάσης μὲν ἡμέρας οὐ σμικροὺς ἀσκήσεως καμάτους ἀναπ.ι.μ. λῶν, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ τὸν πλείονα χρόνον ταῖς τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀνατιθεὶς μελέταις, βίῳ τε ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ἐγκαρτερῶν φιλοσοφωτάτῳ, τοτὲ μὲν τοῖς ἐν ἀσιτίαις γυμνασίοις, τοτὲ δὲ μεμετρημένοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον καιροῖς, οὗ μεταλαμβάνειν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος διὰ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο· [10] πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος φωνὰς φυλακτέας ᾤετο εἶναι δεῖν τὰς τε περὶ τοῦ μὴ δύο χιτῶνας μηδ' ὑποδήμασιν χρῆσθαι παραινούσας μηδὲ μὴν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου φροντίσιν κατατρίβεσθαι· [11] ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζονι τῆς ἡλικίας προθυμία χρώμενος, ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι διακαρτερῶν εἰς ἄκρον τε ὑπερβαλλούσης ἀκτημοσύνης ἐλαύνων, τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα κατέπληττεν, μυρίους μὲν λυπῶν εὐχομένους αὐτῷ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δι' οὓς ἑώρων αὐτὸν εἰσφέροντα περὶ τὴν θεῖαν διδασκαλίαν καμάτους, οὐ μὴν αὐτός γε ἐνδιδούς ταῖς καρτερίαις. [12] λέγεται γοῦν καὶ πλειόνων ἐτῶν γῆν πεπατηκέναι μηδενὶ μηδαμῶς κεκρημένος ὑποδήματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴνου χρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἀπεσχημένος, ὥστε ἤδη εἰς κίνδυνον ἀνατροπῆς καὶ διαφθορᾶς τοῦ θώρακος περιπεσεῖν. [13] Τοιαῦτα δὴ φιλοσόφου βίου τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχων ὑποδείγματα, εἰκότως ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ ζῆλον πλείους παρώρμα τῶν φοιτητῶν, ὥστε ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων ἐθνῶν τῶν τε ἀπὸ παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας ὑπάγεσθαι τῇ δι' αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ· οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς γνησίως ἐν βάθει ψυχῆς τὴν εἰς τὸν θεῖον λόγον πίστιν δι' αὐτοῦ παραδεχομένοις, διαπρέπειν συνέβαιεν κατὰ τὸν τότε τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρόν, ὡς καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀλόντας μαρτυρίῳ τελειωθῆναι.

Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν τούτων ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν δηλωθεὶς Πλούταρχος ἦν: οὗ τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον ἀπαγομένου, σμικροῦ δεῖν αὖθις ὁ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, συμπάρων αὐτῷ εἰς ὑστάτην τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἀνήρητο, ὡς αἴτιος αὐτῷ πεφηνῶς τοῦ θανάτου: θεοῦ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐτήρει καὶ τότε βουλή. [2] μετὰ δὲ Πλούταρχον δεύτερος τῶν Ὠριγένους φοιτητῶν μάρτυς ἀναδείκνυται Σέρηνος, διὰ πυρὸς τὴν δοκιμὴν ἧς παρειλήφει πίστεως παρεσχημένος. [3] τῆς αὐτῆς διατριβῆς τρίτος καθίσταται μάρτυς Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τέταρτος Ἡρων, ὁ μὲν πρότερος ἔτι κατηχούμενος, ὁ δὲ νεοφώτιστος, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθέντες. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τῆς αὐτῆς σχολῆς πέμπτος ἀθλητῆς εὐσεβείας ἀνακηρύττεται ἕτερος τοῦ πρώτου Σέρηνος, ὃν μετὰ πλείστην βασάνων ὑπομονὴν κεφαλῇ κολασθῆναι λόγος ἔχει. καὶ γυναικῶν δὲ Ἡραΐς ἔτι κατηχουμένη ‘τὸ βάπτισμα,’ ὥς πού φησιν αὐτός, ‘τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα,’ τὸν βίον ἐξελήλυθεν.

Ἐβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἀριθμείσθω Βασιλείδης, τὴν περιβόητον Ποταμίαιναν ἀπαγαγών, περὶ ἧς πολὺς ὁ λόγος εἰς ἔτι νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ᾄδεται, μυρία μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀγνείας τε καὶ παρθενίας, ἐν ἧ διεπρεπεν, πρὸς ἐραστὰς ἀγωνισαμένης ‘καὶ γὰρ οὖν αὐτῇ ἀκμαῖον πρὸς τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ὠραῖον ἐπήνθει, μυρία δὲ ἀνατλάσης καὶ τέλος μετὰ δεινὰς καὶ φρικτὰς εἰπεῖν βασάνους ἅμα μητρὶ Μαρκέλλῃ διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθείσης. [2] φασὶ γέ τοι τὸν δικαστὴν Ἀκύλας ἦν τούτῳ ὄνομά χαλεπὰς ἐπιθέντα αὐτῇ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος αἰκίας, τέλος ἐφ’ ὅβρει τοῦ σώματος μονομάχοις αὐτὴν ἀπειλῆσαι παραδοῦναι: τὴν δὲ βραχὺ τι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐπισκεψαμένην ἐρωτηθεῖσαν ὁ κρίνειεν, τοιαύτην δοῦναι ἀπόκρισιν δι’ ἧς ἐδόκει νενομισμένον τι αὐτοῖς ἀσεβὲς ἀποφθέγξασθαι. [3] ἅμα δὲ λόγῳ τὸν τῆς ἀποφάσεως ὅρον καταδεξαμένην ὁ Βασιλείδης, εἷς τις ὢν τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀναφερομένων, ἀπάγει παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκολάστοις ἐνυβρίζειν ῥήμασιν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ μὲν ἀνείργεν ἀποσοβῶν τοὺς ἐνυβρίζοντας, πλείστον ἔλεον καὶ φιланθρωπίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος, ἧ δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν συμπαθείας ἀποδεξαμένη τὸν ἄνδρα θαρρεῖν παρακελεύεται: ἐξαιτήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπελθοῦσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς κυρίου καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν πεπραγμένων τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποτίσειν αὐτῷ. [4] ταῦτα δ’ εἰποῦσαν γενναίως τὴν ἐξοδὸν ὑποστῆναι, πίττης ἐμπύρου κατὰ διάφορα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀπ’ ἄκρων ποδῶν καὶ μέχρι κορυφῆς ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ περιχυθείσης αὐτῇ. [5] καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς αἰοιδίου κόρης τοιοῦτος κατηγώνιστο ἄθλος: οὐ μακρὸν δὲ χρόνον διαλιπὼν ὁ

Βασιλείδης ὄρκον διὰ τина αἰτίαν πρὸς τῶν συστρατιωτῶν αἰτηθεὶς, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ τὸ παράπαν ὁμνύναι διεβεβαιούτο: Χριστιανὸν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῦτο ἐμφανῶς ὁμολογεῖν. παίζειν μὲν οὖν ἐνομίζετο τέως τὰ πρῶτα, ὡς δ' ἐπιμόνως ἀπισχυρίζετο, ἄγεται ἐπὶ τὸν δικαστὴν: ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἔνστασιν ὁμολογήσας, δεσμοῖς παραδίδοται. [6] τῶν δὲ κατὰ θεὸν ἀδελφῶν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀθρόας καὶ παραδόξου ταύτης ὁρμῆς πυνθανομένων, λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄρα Ποταμίαινα τρισὶν ὕστερον ἡμέραις τοῦ μαρτυρίου νύκτωρ ἐπιστᾶσα, στέφανον αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιθεῖσα εἶη φαίη τε παρακεκληκέναι χάριν αὐτοῦ τὸν κύριον καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως τετυχηκέναι οὐκ εἰς μακρόν τε αὐτὸν παραλήψεσθαι. ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδος μεταδόντων αὐτῷ, τῇ μετέπειτα ἡμέρᾳ τῷ τοῦ κυρίου διαπρέψας μαρτυρίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται. [7] καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀθρόως τῷ Χριστοῦ λόγῳ προσελθεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους ἱστοροῦνται, ὡς δὴ καθ' ὕπνους τῆς Ποταμιαίνης ἐπιφανείσης καὶ προσκεκλημένης αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἐχέτω.

Πάνταινον δὲ Κλήμης διαδεξάμενος, τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατηχήσεως εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ καθηγεῖτο, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὠριγένην τῶν φοιτητῶν γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὴν γέ τοι τῶν Στρωματέων πραγματείαν ὁ Κλήμης ὑπομνηματιζόμενος, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σύγγραμμα χρονικὴν ἐκθέμενος γραφὴν, εἰς τὴν Κομόδου τελευτὴν περιγράφει τοὺς χρόνους, ὡς εἶναι σαφές ὅτι κατὰ Σεῦηρον αὐτῷ πεπόνητο τὰ σπουδάσματα, οὗ τοὺς χρόνους ὁ παρὼν ἱστορεῖ λόγος.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰούδας, συγγραφέων ἕτερος, εἰς τὰς παρὰ τῷ Δανιὴλ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐβδομάδας ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς Σεήρου βασιλείας ἴστησιν τὴν χρονογραφίαν: ὃς καὶ τὴν θρυλουμένην τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίαν ἤδη τότε πλησιάζειν ᾤετο: οὕτω σφοδρῶς ἢ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν τότε διωγμοῦ κίνησις τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνατεταράχει διανοίας.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τοῦργον ἐπιτελοῦντι τῷ Ὠριγένει πρᾶγμα τι ἐπράκται φρενὸς μὲν ἀτελοῦς καὶ νεανικῆς, πίστεως γε μὴν ὁμοῦ καὶ σωφροσύνης μέγιστον δεῖγμα περιέχον. [2] τὸ γὰρ 'εἰσὶν εὐνούχοι οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν' ἀπλούστερον καὶ νεανικώτερον ἐκλαβόν, ὁμοῦ μὲν σωτήριον φωνὴν ἀποπληροῦν οἰόμενος, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα μὴ ἀνδράσι μόνον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τὰ θεῖα προσομιλεῖν, ὡς ἂν πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις αἰσχυρᾶς διαβολῆς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποκλείσειεν, τὴν σωτήριον φωνὴν

ἔργοις ἐπιτελέσαι ὥρμηθη, τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν γνωρίμων διαλαθεῖν φροντίσας. [3] οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄρα δυνατόν αὐτῷ καίπερ βουλομένῳ τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἐπικρύψασθαι. γνοὺς δὴτα ὕστερον ὁ Δημήτριος, ἅτε τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας προεστώς, εὖ μάλα μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποθαυμάζει τοῦ τολμήματος, τὴν δὲ γε προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ γνήσιον αὐτοῦ τῆς πίστεως ἀποδεξάμενος, θαρρεῖν παρακελεύεται, καὶ νῦν μᾶλλον ἔχεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἔργου παρορμᾷ. [4] Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὗτος τοιοῦτός τις ἦν: οὐ μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις ὕστερον ὁ αὐτὸς ὄρων εὖ πράττοντα μέγαν τε καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὄντα βεβοημένον, ἀνθρώπινόν τι πεπονθώς τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπισκόποις καταγράφειν ὡς ἀτοπωτάτου τοῦπραχθέντος ἐπειράτο, ὅτε τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην οἱ μάλιστα δόκιμοι καὶ διαπρέποντες Καισαρείας τε καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι πρεσβείων τὸν Ὠριγένην καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμῆς ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαντες, χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθείκασιν. [5] τηνικαῦτα δ' οὖν εἰς μέγα δόξης προσελθόντος ὀνομά τε παρὰ τοῖς πανταχῇ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ κλέος ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας οὐ σμικρὸν κτησαμένου, μηδεμιᾶς ἄλλης εὐπορῶν ὁ Δημήτριος κατηγορίας, τῆς πάλαι ἐν παιδὶ γεγυνοῦσας αὐτῷ πράξεως δεινὴν ποιεῖται διαβολήν, συμπεριλαβεῖν τολμήσας ταῖς κατηγορίαις τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πρεσβυτέριον αὐτὸν προάξαντας. [6] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἐπράχθη ὕστερον: τότε γε μὴν ὁ Ὠριγένης ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τὸ τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας ἔργον εἰς ἅπαντας ἀφυλάκτως τοὺς προσιόντας νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπετέλει, τοῖς θείοις ἀόκνως μαθήμασιν καὶ τοῖς ὡς αὐτὸν φοιτῶσιν τὴν πᾶσαν ἀνατιθεὶς σχολήν. [7] Ἐπὶ δέκα δὲ καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατήσαντα Σευήρον Ἀντωνίνος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἀνδρισαμένων καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἐν ὁμολογίαις ἀγῶνας διὰ προνοίας θεοῦ πεφυλαγμένων εἰς τις ὦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃν ἀρτίως ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας ἐδηλώσαμεν, οἷα ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ διαπρέψας ὁμολογίαις, τῆς δηλωθείσης ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξιοῦται, ἔτι Ναρκίσσου, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ πρότερος, περιόντος τῷ βίῳ.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα παράδοξα οἱ τῆς παροικίας πολῖται ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Ναρκίσσου μνημονεύουσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοιόνδε τι θαῦμα δι' αὐτοῦ γεγονὸς ἱστοροῦσιν. [2] κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ποτὲ τοῦ πάσχα διανυκτέρευσιν τοῦλαιόν φασιν τοῖς διακόνοις ἐπιλιπεῖν: ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος δεινῆς ἀθυμίας διαλαβούσης, τὸν Νάρκισσον τοῖς τὰ φῶτα παρασκευάζουσιν ἐπιτάξαι ὕδωρ ἀνιμήσαντας ὡς αὐτὸν κομεισθαι. [3] τούτου δὲ ἅμα λόγῳπραχθέντος, ἐπευξάμενον τῷ ὕδατι, ἐγγέαι κατὰ τῶν λύχνων

πίστει τῇ εἰς τὸν κύριον γνησίᾳ παρακελεύσασθαι: ποιησάντων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, παρὰ πάντα λόγον δυνάμει παραδόξῳ καὶ θεῖᾳ μεταβαλεῖν ἐξ ὕδατος εἰς ἐλαίου ποιότητα τὴν φύσιν, παρὰ τε πλείστοις τῶν αὐτόθι ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ μῆκιστον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς βραχὺ τι δεῖγμα τοῦ τότε θαύματος φυλαχθῆναι. [4] Ἄλλα τε πλείστα περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦδε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμης ἄξια καταλέγουσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοιόνδε τι. τὸ εὐτονον αὐτοῦ καὶ στερρὸν τοῦ βίου φαυλοὶ τινες ἀνθρωπίσκοι μὴ οἰοί τε φέρειν, δέει τοῦ μὴ δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἀλόντας, διὰ τὸ μυρία κακὰ ἑαυτοῖς συνεγνωκέναι, συσκευὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ προλαβόντες συρράπτουσιν καὶ τινα δεινὴν καταχέουσιν αὐτοῦ διαβολήν. [5] εἷτα πιστούμενοι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ὄρκοις ἐβεβαίουν τὰς κατηγορίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν, ἢ μὴν ἀπόλοιτο πυρί, ὦμνυν, ὁ δέ, ἢ μὴν σκαιᾷ νόσῳ δαπανηθεῖ τὸ σῶμα, ὁ δὲ τρίτος, ἢ μὴν τὰς ὁράσεις πηρωθεῖ: ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως αὐτοῖς, καίπερ ὁμνύουσιν, τῶν πιστῶν τις προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν διὰ τὴν εἰς πάντα λάμπουσιν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς σωφροσύνην τε καὶ πανάρετον ἀγωγὴν τοῦ Ναρκίσσου. [6] αὐτὸς γε μὴν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων μηδαμῶς ὑπομένων μοχθηρίαν καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἀσπαζόμενος βίον, διαδράς πᾶν τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος, ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἀγροῖς λανθάνων πλείστοις ἔτεσιν διέτριβεν. [7] ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ ὁ τῆς δίκης μέγας ὀφθαλμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἠρέμει, μετῇι δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς αἷς καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπιπορευόμενος κατεδήσαντο ἀραῖς. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος, ἐκ μηδεμιᾶς προφάσεως ἀπλῶς οὕτως, μικροῦ διαπεσόντος ἐφ' ἧς κατέμενεν οἰκίας σπινθηρος, νύκτωρ ὑφαφθείσης ἀπάσης, παγγενεῖ καταφλέγεται: ὁ δὲ ἄθρόως τὸ σῶμα ἐξ ἄκρων ποδῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἧς αὐτὸς προσετίμησεν ἑαυτῷ νόσου πίμπλαται: [8] ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰς τῶν προτέρων συνιδὼν ἐκβάσεις καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἐφόρου θεοῦ τρέσας τὴν ἀδιάδραστον δίκην, ὁμολογεῖ μὲν τοῖς πᾶσιν τὰ κοινῇ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσκευωρημένα, τοσαύταις δὲ κατετρώχετο μεταμελόμενος οἰμωγαῖς δακρύων τε ἐς τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἀπέλιπεν, ἕως ἅμωφ διεφθάρη τὰς ὧσεις. Καὶ οἶδε μὲν τῆς ψευδολογίας τοιαύτας ὑπέσχον τιμωρίας:

τοῦ δὲ Ναρκίσσου ἀνακεχωρηκότος καὶ μηδαμῶς ὄπη ὦν τυγχάνοι, γινωσκομένου, δόξαν τοῖς τῶν ὁμόρων ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶσιν, ἐφ' ἐτέρου μετίσιν ἐπισκόπου χειροτονίαν: Δῖος τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν: ὃν οὐ πολὺν προστάντα χρόνον Γερμανίων διαδέχεται, καὶ τοῦτον Γόρδιος: καθ' ὃν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀναβιώσεως ἀναφανεῖς ποθεν ὁ Νάρκισσος αἴθις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν προστασίαν παρακαλεῖται, μειζόνως ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν πάντων ἀγασθέντων αὐτὸν τῆς τε ἀναχωρήσεως ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἐφ' ἅπασιν δι' ἣν

παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατηξίωτο ἐκδίκησιν.

Καὶ δὴ μηκέθ' οἶον τε ὄντος λειτουργεῖν διὰ λιπαρὸν γῆρας, τὸν εἰρημένον Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπίσκοπον ἐτέρας ὑπάρχοντα παροικίας, οἰκονομία θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμα τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ λειτουργίαν ἐκάλει κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν νύκτωρ αὐτῷ δι' ὀράματος φανεῖσαν. [2] ταύτη δ' οὖν, ὥς κατὰ τι θεοπρόπιον, ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν γῆς, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἡξίωτο, τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα εὐχῆς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας ἔνεκεν πεποιημένον φιλοφρονέστατα οἱ τῇδε ὑπολαβόντες οὐκέτ' οἴκαδε αὐτῷ παλινოსτεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσιν καθ' ἐτέραν ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ αὐτοῖς νύκτωρ ὀφθεῖσαν μίαν τε φωνὴν σαφεστάτην τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν σπουδαίοις χρήσασαν: ἐδήλου γὰρ προελθόντας ἔξω πυλῶν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ προωρισμένον αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον ὑποδέξασθαι: τοῦτο δὲ πράξαντες, μετὰ κοινῆς τῶν ἐπισκόπων, οἱ τὰς πέριξ διεῖπον ἐκκλησίας, γνώμης ἐπάναγκες αὐτὸν παραμένειν βιάζονται. [3] μνημονεύει γέ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἰδίαις ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς πρὸς Ἀντιοῖτας, εἰς ἔτι νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν σφωζόμεναις, τῆς Ναρκίσσου σὺν αὐτῷ προεδρίας, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ἐπὶ τέλει γράφων τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, 'ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Νάρκισσος ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ διέπων τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν ἐνθάδε καὶ νῦν συνεξεταζόμενός μοι διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν, ρις ἔτη ἡνυκώς, παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ὁμοφρονῆσαι.' [4] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως εἶχεν: τῆς δὲ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας, Σεραπίωνος ἀναπαυσαμένου, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται Ἀσκληπιάδης, ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ὁμολογίαις διαπρέψας καὶ αὐτός. [5] μέμνηται καὶ τῆς τούτου καταστάσεως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντιοχεῦσιν γράφων ὧδε: 'Ἀλέξανδρος, δοῦλος καὶ δέσμιος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῇ μακαρίᾳ Ἀντιοχέῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν. ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κοῦφα τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ κύριος ἐποίησεν, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς εἰρκτῆς πυθομένῳ τῆς ἀγίας ὑμῶν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν θείαν πρόνοιαν Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον κατ' ἀξίαν τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχειρισμένον.' [6] Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σημαίνει διὰ Κλήμεντος ἀπεσταλκέναι, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦτον γράφων τὸν τρόπον: 'ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν, κύριοί μου ἀδελφοί, τὰ γράμματα ἀπέστειλα διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου, ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου καὶ δοκίμου, ὃν ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐπιγνώσεσθε: ὃς καὶ ἐνθάδε παρὼν κατὰ τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ δεσπότη ἐπεστήριξεν τε καὶ ἠϋξῆσεν τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἐκκλησίαν.'

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Σεραπίωνος τῆς περὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἄλλα μὲν εἰκὸς σφύζεσθαι παρ' ἐτέροις ὑπομνήματα, εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ μόνον κατήλθεν τὰ Πρὸς

Δόμον, ἐκπεπτωκότα τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἐθελοθρησκείαν, καὶ τὰ Πρὸς Πόντιον καὶ Καρικόν, ἐκκλησιαστικούς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄλλαι πρὸς ἐτέρους ἐπιστολαί, [2] ἕτερός τε συντεταγμένος αὐτῷ λόγος Περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου, ὃν πεποίηται ἀπελέγχων τὰ ψευδῶς ἐν αὐτῷ εἰρημένα διὰ τινος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ῥωσσὸν παροικία προφάσει τῆς εἰρημένης γραφῆς εἰς ἑτεροδόξους διδασκαλίας ἀποκεῖλαντας: ἀφ' οὗ εὐλογον βραχείας παραθέσθαι λέξεις, δι' ὧν ἦν εἶχεν περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου γνώμην προτίθησιν, οὕτω γράφων: ‘ἡμεῖς [3] γάρ, ἀδελφοί, καὶ Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστόλους ἀποδεχόμεθα ὡς Χριστόν, τὰ δὲ ὀνόματι αὐτῶν ψευδεπίγραφα ὡς ἔμπειροι παραιτούμεθα, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ παρελάβομεν. [4] ἐγὼ γὰρ γενόμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, ὑπενόουν τοὺς πάντας ὀρθῇ πίστει προσφέρεισθαι, καὶ μὴ διελθὼν τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν προφερόμενον ὄνοματι Πέτρου εὐαγγέλιον, εἶπον ὅτι εἰ τοῦτό ἐστιν μόνον τὸ δοκοῦν ὑμῖν παρέχειν μικροψυχίαν, ἀναγινωσκέσθω: νῦν δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι αἰρέσει τινὶ ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῶν ἐφώλευεν, ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων μοι σπουδάσω πάλιν γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὥστε ἀδελφοί, προσδοκᾷτέ με ἐν τάχει. [5] ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀδελφοί, καταλαβόμενοι ὁποίας ἦν αἰρέσεως ἡ Μαρκιανός, ὃς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐναντιοῦτο, μὴ νοῆ' ἃ ἐλάλει, ἃ μαθήσεσθε ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν ἐγράφη, [6] ἐδυνήθημεν γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων ναὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν καταρξαμένων αὐτοῦ, οὓς Δοκητὰς καλοῦμεν ἅ τὰ γὰρ πλείονα φρονήματα ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας', χρῆσάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν διελεῖν καὶ εὐρεῖν τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου τοῦ σωτῆρος, τινὰ δὲ προσδισταλμένα, ἃ καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν ὑμῖν.’

καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ Σεραπίωνος. Τοῦ δὲ Κλήμεντος Στρωματεῖς, οἱ πάντες ὁκτώ, παρ' ἡμῖν σφύζονται, οὓς καὶ τοιαύτης ἡξίωσεν προγραφῆς ‘ Τίτου Φλαυίου Κλήμεντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεῖς,’ [2] ἰσάριθμοί τε τούτοις εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπιγεγραμμένοι Ὑποτυπώσεων αὐτοῦ λόγοι, ἐν οἷς ὀνομαστὶ ὡς διδασκάλου τοῦ Πανταίνου μνημονεύει ἐκδοχὰς τε αὐτοῦ γραφῶν καὶ παραδόσεις ἐκτίθεται: [3] ἔστιν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λόγος ὁ Προτρεπτικός τρεῖς τε οἱ τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου Παιδαγωγοῦ καὶ ‘ Τίς ὁ σφύζομενος πλούσιος’ οὕτως ἐπιγραφεῖς ἕτερος αὐτοῦ λόγος τό τε Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα σύγγραμμα καὶ διαλέξεις Περὶ νηστείας καὶ Περὶ καταλαλιάς καὶ ὁ Προτρεπτικός εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ βεβαπτισμένους καὶ ὁ ἐπιγεγραμμένος Κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαῖζοντας, ὃν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ δεδηλωμένῳ

ἐπισκόπῳ ἀνατέθεικεν. [4] Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Στρωματέσιν οὐ μόνον τῆς θείας κατάστρωσιν πεποιῆται γραφῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, εἴ τι ἄρα ὠφέλιμον ἐδόκει καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰρῆσθαι, μνημονεύει τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δογμάτων, τὰ Ἑλλήνων ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰ βαρβάρων ἀναπτύσσων [5] καὶ ἔτι τὰς τῶν αἵρεσιάρχων ψευδοδοξίας εὐθύνων, ἱστορίαν τε πολλὴν ἐξαπλοῖ, ὑπόθεσιν ἡμῖν πολυμαθοῦς παρέχων παιδείας. τούτοις ἅπασιν καταμίνυσιν καὶ τὰ φιλοσόφων δόγματα, ὅθεν εἰκότως κατάλληλον τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ τὴν προγραφὴν τῶν Στρωματέων πεποιῆται. [6] κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις, τῆς τε λεγομένης Σολομῶνος Σοφίας καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιρὰχ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς τῆς τε Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰούδα, [7] μνημονεύει τε τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλληνας Τατιανοῦ λόγου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ χρονογραφίαν πεποιημένου, ἔτι μὴν Φίλωνος καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου Ἰωσήπου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Εὐπολέμου, Ἰουδαίων συγγραφέων, ὡς ἂν τούτων ἀπάντων ἐγγράφως πρεσβύτερον τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀρχαιογονίας Μωυσέα τε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀποδειξάντων. [8] καὶ ἄλλης δὲ πλείστης χρηστομαθείας ἔμπλεα οἱ δηλούμενοι τυγχάνουσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λόγοι: ὧν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δηλοῖ ὡς ἔγγιστα τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένου διαδοχῆς, ὑπισχνεῖται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ὑπομνηματιεῖσθαι. Καὶ [9] ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἐκβιασθῆναι ὁμολογεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων ἃς ἔτυχεν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων πρεσβυτέρων ἀκηκοὼς παραδόσεις γραφῇ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα παραδοῦναι, μέμνηται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ Μελίτωνος καὶ Εἰρηναίου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων, ὧν καὶ τὰς διηγήσεις τίθεται.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὑποτυπώσειςιν ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκου γραφῆς ἐπιτετημμένας πεποιῆται διηγήσεις, μηδὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθόν, τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὴν τε Βαρναβᾶ, καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην Ἀποκάλυψιν. [2] καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν Παύλου μὲν εἶναι φησιν, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἑβραίοις Ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ, Λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρῶτα εὐρίσκεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν Πράξεων: [3] μὴ προγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸ 'Παῦλος ἀπόστολος' εἰκότως: 'Ἑβραίοις γάρ,' φησίν, 'ἐπιστέλλων πρόληψιν εἰληφόσιν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν αὐτόν, συνετῶς πάνυ οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπέτρεψεν αὐτούς, τὸ ὄνομα θεῖς.' [4] Εἴτα ὑποβὰς ἐπιλέγει, 'ἦδη δέ, ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἔλεγεν πρεσβύτερος, ἐπεὶ ὁ κύριος, ἀπόστολος ὢν τοῦ παντοκράτορος, ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Ἑβραίους, διὰ μετριότητα

ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, οὐκ ἐγγράφει ἑαυτὸν Ἑβραῖον ἀπόστολον διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τιμὴν διὰ τε τὸ ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστέλλειν, ἐθνῶν κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ ἀπόστολον.’ [5] Αὐθις δ’ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλήμης βιβλίοις περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων τέθειται, τοῦτον ἔχουσιν τὸν τρόπον. προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας, [6] τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ταύτην ἐσχηκέναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύζαντος τὸν λόγον καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξειπόντος, τοὺς παρόντας, πολλοὺς ὄντας, παρακαλέσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἂν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα: ποιήσαντα δέ, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μεταδοῦναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτοῦ: [7] ὅπερ ἐπιγνόντα τὸν Πέτρον προτρεπτικῶς μήτε κωλῦσαι μήτε προτρέψασθαι. τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἔσχατον, συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον. [8] τοσαῦτα ὁ Κλήμης. Πάλιν δ’ ὁ δηλωθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πανταίνου ἐν τινι πρὸς Ὠριγένην ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει, ὡς δὴ γνωρίμων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γράφει δὲ οὕτως: ‘τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ θέλημα θεοῦ, ὡς οἶδας, γέγονεν ἵνα ἡ ἀπὸ προγόνων ἡμῶν φιλία μένῃ ἄσυλος, μᾶλλον δὲ θερμότερα ἢ καὶ βεβαιότερα. [9] πατέρας γὰρ ἴσμεν τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκείνους τοὺς προοδεύσαντας, πρὸς οὓς μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐσόμεθα, Πάνταινον, τὸν μακάριον ἀληθῶς καὶ κύριον, καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Κλήμεντα, κύριόν μου γενόμενον καὶ ὠφελήσαντά με, καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος τοιοῦτος: δι’ ὧν σὲ ἐγνώρισα, τὸν κατὰ πάντα ἄριστον καὶ κύριόν μου καὶ ἀδελφόν.’ [10] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτα. Ὁ γέ τοι Ἀδαμάντιος ‘καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῷ Ὠριγένει ὄνομα, Ζεφυρίνου κατὰ τούσδε τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου, ἐπιδημῆσαι τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ αὐτός που γράφει, λέγων ‘εὐξάμενος τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἰδεῖν’ : ἐνθα οὐ πολὺ διατρίψας, ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, [11] καὶ δὴ τὰ συνήθη τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐνταῦθα μετὰ πάσης ἐπλήρου σπουδῆς, Δημητρίου τῶν τῆδε ἐπισκόπου ἔτι τότε παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ ἀντιβολοῦντος ἀόκνως τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὠφέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.

ὁ δ’ ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἑώρα μὴ ἐπαρκοῦντα τῇ τῶν θείων βαθυτέρᾳ σχολῇ τῇ τε ἐξετάσει καὶ ἐρμηνείᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων καὶ προσέτι τῇ τῶν προσιόντων κατηχήσει μὴδ’ ἀναπνεῦσαι συγχωρούντων αὐτῷ, ἐτέρων ἐφ’ ἐτέροις ἐξ ἑω καὶ μέχρις ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ παρ’ αὐτῷ διδασκαλεῖον φοιτῶντων, διανείμας τὰ

πλήθη, τὸν Ἡρακλᾶν τῶν γνωρίμων προκρίνας, ἔν τε τοῖς θείοις σπουδαῖον καὶ ἄλλως ὄντα λογιώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄμοιρον, κοινωνὸν καθίστη τῆς κατηχήσεως, τῷ μὲν τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἄρτι στοιχειουμένων εισαγωγὴν ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐν ἔξει φυλάξας ἀκρόασιν.

Τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγετο τῷ Ὠριγένει τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραῖδα γλῶτταν ἐκμαθεῖν τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι ἀνιχνεύσαι τε τὰς τῶν ἐτέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα τὰς ἱεράς γραφὰς ἐρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρας παρὰ τὰς κατημαζευμένας ἐρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος, ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔκ τινων μυθῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον ἀνιχνεύσας προήγαγεν εἰς φῶς: [2] ἐφ' ὧν διὰ τὴν ἀδηλόγητα, τίνας ἄρ' εἶεν οὐκ εἰδώς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημάνετο ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὖροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίοις Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τοιῷδε τόπῳ: [3] ἐν γε μὴν τοῖς Ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν Ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἐβδόμην παραθεῖς ἐρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μιᾷς αὐτῆς σεσημείωται ὡς ἐν Ἱερικοῖ ἐυρημένης ἐν πίθῳ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σευήρου. [4] ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ ταυτὸν συναγαγὼν διελὼν τε πρὸς κῶλον καὶ ἀντιπαραθεῖς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως τὰ τῶν λεγομένων Ἑξαπλῶν ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν, ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἑκδοσὶν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς Τετρασσοῖς ἐπισκευάσας.

Τῶν γε μὴν ἐρμηνευτῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων ἰστέον Ἑβριωνάϊον τὸν Σύμμαχον γεγονέναι: αἵρεσις δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν Ἑβριωνάϊων οὕτω καλουμένη τῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγονέναι φασκόντων ψιλόν τε ἄνθρωπον ὑπειληφόντων αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν νόμον χρῆναι Ἰουδαϊκώτερον φυλάττειν ἀπισχυριζομένων, ὥς που καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ἱστορίας ἔγνωμεν. καὶ ὑπομνήματα δὲ τοῦ Συμμάχου εἰς ἔτι νῦν φέρεται, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινόμενος εὐαγγέλιον τὴν δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν κρατύνειν. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ὠριγένης μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνειῶν τοῦ Συμμάχου σημαίνει παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆς τινος εἰληφέναι, ἣν καὶ φησιν παρ' αὐτοῦ Συμμάχου τὰς βίβλους διαδέξασθαι.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀμβρόσιος τὰ τῆς Οὐαλεντίνου φρονῶν αἰρέσεως, πρὸς τῆς ὑπὸ Ὠριγένους πρεσβευομένης ἀληθείας ἐλεγχθεὶς καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ φωτός καταυγασθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προστίθεται

λόγῳ. [2] καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας, τῆς περὶ τὸν Ὠριγένην φήμης πανταχόσε βοωμένης, ἤεσαν ὡς αὐτόν, πείραν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ἱκανότητος τάνδρὸς ληψόμενοι: μυρίοι δὲ τῶν αἰρετικῶν φιλοσόφων τε τῶν μάλιστα ἐπιφανῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι διὰ σπουδῆς αὐτῷ προσεῖχον, μόνον οὐχὶ πρὸς τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἔξωθεν φιλοσοφίας πρὸς αὐτοῦ παιδευόμενοι. [3] εἰσηγγέν τε γὰρ ὅσους εὐφυῶς ἔχοντας ἑώρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν καὶ τᾶλλα προπαιδεύματα παραδιδόνς εἰς τε τὰς αἱρέσεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις προάγων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις συγγράμματα διηγούμενος ὑπομνηματιζόμενός τε καὶ θεωρῶν εἰς ἕκαστα, ὥστε μέγαν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἑλλήσιν φιλόσοφον τὸν ἄνδρα κηρύττεσθαι: [4] πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ιδιωτικωτέρων ἐνήγεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια γράμματα, οὐ μικρὰν αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι φάσκων ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεϊότητα εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν θεωρίαν τε καὶ παρασκευήν, ὅθεν μάλιστα καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀναγκαίαν ἠγήσατο τὴν περὶ τὰ κοσμικὰ καὶ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα ἄσκησιν.

Μάρτυρες δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ κατορθώσεως αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατ' αὐτὸν ἡκμακότες φιλόσοφοι, ὧν ἐν συγγράμμασιν πολλὴν μνήμην εὔρομεν τοῦ ἀνδρός, τοτὲ μὲν αὐτῷ προσφωνούντων τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λόγους, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς διδασκάλῳ εἰς ἐπὶ κρισιν τοὺς ἰδίους ἀναφερόντων πόνους. [2] τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταστάς Πορφύριος συγγράμματα καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν πεπειραμένος τῶν τε εἰς αὐτὰς ἐξηγησαμένων μνημονεύσας, μηδὲν μηδαμῶς φαῦλον ἔγκλημα τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐπικαλεῖν δυνηθεῖς, ἀπορία λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν τρέπεται καὶ τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐνδιαβάλλειν, ὧν μάλιστα τὸν Ὠριγένην: [3] ὃν κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἡλικίαν ἐγνωκέναι φήσας, διαβάλλειν μὲν πειράται, συνιστῶν δὲ ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐλάνθανεν, τὰ μὲν ἐπαληθεύων, ἐν οἷς οὐδ' ἐτέρως αὐτῷ λέγειν ἦν δυνατόν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ψευδόμενος, ἐν οἷς λήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς Χριστιανοῦ κατηγορῶν, τοτὲ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα ἐπίδοσιν αὐτοῦ διαγράφων. [4] Ἄκουε δ' οὖν ἃ φησιν κατὰ λέξιν: 'τῆς δὴ μοχθηρίας τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν οὐκ ἀπόστασιν, λύσιν δέ τινες εὐρεῖν προθυμηθέντες, ἐπ' ἐξηγήσεις ἐτράποντο ἀσυγκλώστους καὶ ἀναρμόστους τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, οὐκ ἀπολογίαν μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀθνείων, παραδοχὴν δὲ καὶ ἔπαινον τοῖς οἰκείοις φερούσας. αἰνίγματα γὰρ τὰ φανερώς παρὰ Μωυσεῖ λεγόμενα εἶναι κομπάσαντες καὶ ἐπιθειάσαντες ὡς θεσπίσματα πλήρη κρυφίων μυστηρίων διὰ τε τοῦ τύφου τὸ κριτικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καταγοητεύσαντες, ἐπάγουσιν ἐξηγήσεις.' [5] Εἴτα μεθ' ἑτερά φησιν: 'ὁ δὲ

τρόπος τῆς ἀτοπίας ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ᾧ καὶ γὰρ κοιμίδῃ νέος ὢν ἔτι ἐντετύχηκα, σφόδρα εὐδοκίμησαντος καὶ ἔτι δι' ὧν καταλέλοιπεν συγγραμμάτων εὐδοκιμοῦντος, παρελήφθω, Ὁριγένους, οὗ κλέος παρὰ τοῖς διδασκάλοις τούτων τῶν λόγων μέγα διαδέδοται. [6] ἀκροατὴς γὰρ οὗτος Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ πλείστην ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις ἐπίδοσιν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐσχηκότος γεγονώς, εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπειρίαν πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐκτήσατο, εἰς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐκείνῳ πορείαν ἐποιήσατο. [7] Ἀμμώνιος μὲν γὰρ Χριστιανὸς ἐν Χριστιανοῖς ἀνατραφεὶς τοῖς γονεῦσιν, ὅτε τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἤψατο, εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο, Ὁριγένης δὲ Ἕλληνας: ἐν Ἑλλήσιν παιδευθεὶς λόγοις, πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον ἐξώκειλεν τόλμημα: ᾧ δὴ φέρων αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἑξὶν ἐκαπήλευσεν, κατὰ μὲν τὸν βίον Χριστιανῶς ζῶν καὶ παρανόμως, κατὰ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἐλληνίζων τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων τοῖς ὀθνεῖσι ὑποβαλλόμενος μύθοις. [8] συνῆν τε γὰρ αἰὶ τῷ Πλάτῳ, τοῖς τε Νουμηνίου καὶ Κρονίου Ἀπολλοφάνους τε καὶ Λογγίνου καὶ Μοδεράτου Νικομάχου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορεῖσι ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν ὁμίλει συγγράμμασιν, ἐχρητο δὲ καὶ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Στωϊκοῦ Κορνούτου τε ταῖς βίβλοις, παρ' ὧν τὸν μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν μυστηρίων γνούς τρόπον ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς προσῆψεν γραφαῖς. [9] Ταῦτα τῷ Πορφυρίῳ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον σύγγραμμα τῶν γραφέντων αὐτῷ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν εἰρηται, ἐπαληθεύσαντι μὲν περὶ τῆς τάνδρὸς ἀσκήσεως καὶ πολυμαθείας, ψευσαμένῳ δὲ σαφῶς 'τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν;': ἐν οἷς αὐτόν μὲν φησιν ἐξ Ἑλλήνων μετατεθεῖσθαι, τὸν δ' Ἀμμώνιον ἐκ βίου τοῦ κατὰ θεοσεβείαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐθνικὸν τρόπον ἐκπεσεῖν. [10] τῷ τε γὰρ Ὁριγένῃ τὰ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν διδασκαλίας ἐκ προγόνων ἐσώζετο, ὥς καὶ τὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ἱστορίας ἐδήλου, τῷ τε Ἀμμωνίῳ τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοσοφίας ἀκέραια καὶ ἀδιάπτωτα καὶ μέχρις ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου διέμενεν τελευτῆς, ὥς που καὶ οἱ τάνδρὸς εἰς ἔτι νῦν μαρτυροῦσι πόνοι, δι' ὧν κατέλιπε συγγραμμάτων παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὁ ἐπιγεγραμμένος Περὶ τῆς Μωυσέως καὶ Ἰησοῦ συμφωνίας καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι παρὰ τοῖς φιλοκάλους εὔρηται. [11] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰς παράστασιν ἐκκείσθω τῆς τε τοῦ ψευδηγόρου συκοφαντίας καὶ τῆς Ὁριγένους καὶ περὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων μαθήματα πολυπειρίας, περὶ ἧς πρὸς τινὰς μεμψαμένους αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν περὶ ἐκεῖνα σπουδὴν ἀπολογούμενος, ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινὶ ταῦτα γράφει: 'ἐπεὶ [12] δὲ ἀνακειμένῳ μοι τῷ λόγῳ, τῆς φήμης διατρεχούσης περὶ τῆς ἕξεως ἡμῶν, προσήεσαν ὅτε μὲν αἰρετικοί, ὅτε δὲ οἱ

ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μαθημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἔδοξεν ἐξετάσαι τὰ τε τῶν αἰρετικῶν δόγματα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων περὶ ἀληθείας λέγειν ἐπαγγελλόμενα. [13] τοῦτο δὲ πεποιήκαμεν μιμησάμενοί τε τὸν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλοὺς ὠφελήσαντα Πάνταινον, οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐσχηκότα παρασκευήν, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καθεζόμενον Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἡρακλᾶν, ὄντινα εὖρον παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν φιλοσόφων μαθημάτων, ἥδη πέντε ἔτεσιν αὐτῷ προσκαρτερήσαντα πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ ἄρξασθαι ἀκούειν ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων: [14] δι' ὃν καὶ πρότερον κοινῇ ἐσθῆτι χρώμενος ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα μέχρι τοῦ δευρο τηρεῖ βιβλία τε Ἑλλήνων κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ παύεται φιλολογῶν.' Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀπολογουμένῳ εἴρηται: [15] κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας αὐτῷ τὰς διατριβὰς ποιουμένῳ ἐπιστάς τις τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἀνεδίδου γράμματα Δημητρίῳ τε τῷ τῆς παροικίας ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπάρχῳ παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἡγουμένου, ὥς ἂν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπάσης τὸν Ὀριγένην πέμψοιεν κοινωνήσοντα λόγων αὐτῷ. καὶ δὴ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν: οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀφίξεως εἰς πέρας ἀγαγὼν, αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανήει. [16] χρόνου δὲ μεταξὺ διαγενομένου, οὐ σμικροῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναρριπισθέντος πολέμου, ὑπεξελθὼν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἦει μὲν ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο: ἔνθα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τὰς τε θείας ἐρμηνεύειν γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ τῇδε ἐπίσκοποι, καίτοι τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα, αὐτὸν ἠξίουσαν: [17] ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ γένοιτ' ἂν ἔκδηλον ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου γράφοντες Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Θεόκτιστος ὁ Καισαρείας ὧδέ πως ἀπολογοῦνται. 'προσέθηκεν δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέποτε ἠκούσθη οὐδὲ νῦν γεγέννηται, τὸ παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως προφανῶς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων. [18] ὅπου γοῦν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων, ὥσπερ ἐν Λαράνδοις Εὐέλπιδι ὑπὸ Νέωνος καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ Παυλίνῳ ὑπὸ Κέλσου καὶ ἐν Συνάδοις Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ, τῶν μακαρίων ἀδελφῶν. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ εἰδέναι.' Τοῦτον καὶ ἔτι νέος ὢν ὁ δηλούμενος ἀνὴρ οὐ πρὸς μόνων τῶν συνήθων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ξένης ἐπισκόπων ἐτιμᾶτο τὸν τρόπον. [19] ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐθις τοῦ Δημητρίου διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσαντος δι' ἀνδρῶν τε διακόνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισπεύσαντος ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀφικόμενος τὰς συνήθεις

ἀπετέλει σπουδᾶς.

Ἦκμαζον δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλείους λόγοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ἃς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διεχάραττον, ἔτι νῦν σφριζόμενας εὐρεῖν εὐπορον· αἱ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ, πρὸς τοῦ τηνικάδε τὴν αὐτόθι διέποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκευασθείση, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὕλας τῆς μετὰ χειρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτόν συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα. [2] Τούτων Βήρυλλος σὺν ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ συγγραμμάτων διαφόρους φιλοκαλίας καταλέλοιπεν, ἐπίσκοπος δ' οὗτος ἦν τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν Ἀράβων· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰππόλυτος, ἐτέρας που καὶ αὐτὸς προεστὼς ἐκκλησίας. [3] Ἦλθεν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαῖου, λογιωτάτου ἀνδρός, διάλογος, ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦντα κεκινημένος· ἐν ᾧ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας τὴν περὶ τὸ συντάττειν καινὰς γραφὰς προπέτειάν τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιστομίζων, τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους μὴ συναριθμήσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεῦρο παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τισὶν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἀντωνῖνον ἔτη βασιλεύσαντα ἑπτὰ καὶ μῆνας ἕξ Μακρίνος διαδέχεται· τούτου δ' ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν διαγενομένου, αὐθις ἕτερος Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει· οὗ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος Ζεφυρίνος μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον, ὅλοις ὀκτωκαίδεκα διακατασχὼν ἔτεσιν τὴν λειτουργίαν· [2] μεθ' ὃν Κάλλιστος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγχειρίζεται, ὃς ἐπιβιώσας ἔτεσιν πέντε, Οὐρβανῷ τὴν λειτουργίαν καταλείπει. Αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τούτοις διαδέχεται τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἐπὶ τέτταρσιν μόνις ἔτεσιν Ἀντωνίνου διαγενομένου. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας Ἀσκληπιάδην Φιλητὸς διαδέχεται. [3] Τοῦ δ' αὐτοκράτορος μήτηρ, Μαμαία τοῦνομα, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη θεοσεβεστάτη γυνή, τῆς Ὠριγένους πανταχόσε βοωμένης φήμης, ὥς καὶ μέχρι τῶν αὐτῆς ἐλθεῖν ἀκοῶν, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός θεᾶς ἀξιοθῆναι καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ πάντων θαυμαζομένης περὶ τὰ θεῖα συνέσεως αὐτοῦ πείραν λαβεῖν. [4] ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δῆτα διατρίβουσα, μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς δορυφορίας αὐτὸν ἀνακαλεῖται· παρ' ἧς χρόνον διατρίψας πλείστα τε ὅσα εἰς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διδασκαλείου ἄρετῆς ἐπιδειξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἔσπευδεν διατριβάς.

Τότε δῆτα καὶ Ἰππόλυτος συντάττων μετὰ πλείστων ἄλλων ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τὸ Περ' τοῦ πάσχα πεποιήται σύγγραμμα, ἐν ᾧ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφὴν ἐκθέμενος καὶ τινὰ κανόν' ἐκκαιδεκαετηρίδος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα προθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ

πρῶτον ἔτος αὐτοκράτορος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦς" χρόνους περιγράφει: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶν τάδε: Εἰς" τὴν Ἑξαήμερον, Εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἑξαήμερον, Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα, Εἰς τὸ Ἄισμα, Εἰς μέρη τοῦ " Ἰεζεκιήλ, Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα, Πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς" αἱρέσεις, πλεῖστά τε ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εὖροις" ἂν σφζόμενα.

Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ὠριγένει τῶν εἰς" τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγένετο ἀρχῇ Ἀμβροσίου παρορμῶντος αὐτὸν μυρίαὶς ὅσαις" οὐ προτροπαῖς ταῖς διὰ λόγων καὶ παρακλήσεσσι αὐτὸ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφθονωτάταις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, χορηγίαις. [2] ταχυγράφοι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ πλείους, ἐπτα τὸν ἀριθμὸν παρῆσαν ὑπαγορεύοντι, χρόνοις" τεταγμένοις ἀλλήλους ἀμειβόντες, βιβλιογράφῳ τε οὐχ ἥττους ἅμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖν ἡσκημέναις: ὧν ἀπάντων τὴν δέουσαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονον περιουσίαν ὁ Ἀμβρόσιος παρεστήσατο: ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ περὶ τὰ θεῖα λόγιῳ ἀσκήσει τε καὶ σπουδῇ προθυμίαν ἄφατον αὐτῷ συνεισέφερεν, ἣ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν προύτρεπε, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπομνημάτων σύνταξιν. [3] Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων, Οὐρβανὸν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἔτεσιν ὀκτῶ διαδέχεται Ποντιανός, τῆς δ' Ἀντιοχείων μετ' Ἀφίλητον Ζέβεννος: [4] καθ' οὓς Ὠριγένης, ἐπειγούσης" χρείας ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἔνεκα πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στείλαμενος τὴν διὰ Παλαιστίνης, πρεσβείου χειροθεσίαν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τῶν τῆδε ἐπισκόπων ἀναλαμβάνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκινημένα τά τε ἐπὶ τοῖς κινηθεῖσιν, δεδογμένα τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶσιν ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἀκμάζων περὶ τὸν θεῖον εἰσενήνεκτ' λόγον, ἰδίας δεόμενα συντάξεως, μετρίως ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἢς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεποιήμεθα ἀπολογίας ἀνεγράψαμεν.

Ταῦτα δ' ἐκείνοις δέοι ἂν ἐπιθεῖναι, ὥς ἐν μὲν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Ἑξηγητικῶν σημαίνει τὰ πρότερα πέντε ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔτ' ὄντα αὐτὸν συντάξαι, τῆς δ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο πραγματείας μόνῳ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι εἰς ἡμᾶς περιῆλθον τόμοι: [2] κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕνατον τῶν Εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν δώδεκα δ' ἐστὶν τὰ πάντα οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ ἐνάτου δηλῶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπεμνηματίσθαι, καὶ εἰς" τοὺς πρώτους δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι Ψαλμοὺς ἔτ' τε τὰ εἰς τοὺς Θρήνους, ὧν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλύθασιν τόμοι πέντε, ἐν οἷς μέμνηται καὶ τῶν Περὶ ἀναστάσεως: δύο δ' ἐστὶν καὶ ταῦτα. [3] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' καὶ τὰ Περὶ ἀρχῶν πρὸ τῆς ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας" μεταναστάσεως γράφει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγεγραμμένους" Στρωματεῖς, ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν δέκα, ἐπὶ τῆς" αὐτῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου συντάττει βασιλείαν, ὥς καὶ τοῦτο ὁλόγραφον δηλοῦσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν τόμων ἐπισημειώσεις.

Τὸν μὲν γε πρῶτον ἐξηγούμενος Ψαλμόν, ἔκθεσιν πεποιήται τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καταλόγου, ὃδὲ πως γράφων κατὰ λέξιν: 'οὐκ ἄγνοητέον ὃ εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασιν, δύο καὶ εἴκοσι, ὅσος ἀριθμὸς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς στοιχείων ἐστίν.' [2] Εἴτα μετὰ τινα ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βίβλοι καθ' Ἑβραίους αἶδε: ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν Γένεσις ἐπιγεγραμμένη, παρὰ δ' Ἑβραίοις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βίβλου Βρησιθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν 'ἐν ἀρχῇ': Ἐξοδος, Ουελλεσμοθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν 'ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα: Λευιτικόν, Ουῖκρα, 'καὶ ἐκάλεσεν': Ἀριθμοί, Αμμεσφεκωδεμ: Δευτερονόμιον, Ελλεαδδεβαρεμ, 'οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι: Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, Ἰωσουεβεννον: Κριταί, Ρούθ, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐνί, Σωφτειμ: Βασιλειῶν α β, παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν, Σαμουηλ, 'ὁ θεόκλητος': Βασιλειῶν γ δ ἐν ἐνί, Ουαμμελχδανιδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν 'βασιλεία Δαυίδ: Παραλειπομένων α β ἐν ἐνί, Δαβρηῖαμειν ὅπερ ἐστὶν 'λόγοι ἡμερῶν: Ἐζρας α β ἐν ἐνί, Εζρα, ὃ ἐστὶν 'βοηθός': βίβλος Ψαλμῶν, Σφαρθελλειμ: Σολομῶνος παροιμίαι, Μελωθ: Ἐκκλησιαστής, Κωελθ: Ἄισμα ἁσμάτων 'οὐ γάρ, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν τινες, Ἄισματα ἁσμάτων', Σιρασσιρεμ: Ἡσαΐας, Ἰεσσα: Ἱερεμίας σὺν Θρήνοις καὶ τῇ Ἐπιστολῇ ἐν ἐνί, Ἱερεμια: Δανιήλ, Δανιηλ: Ἱεζεκιήλ, Ἱεζεκιηλ: Ἰώβ, Ἰωβ: Ἐσθήρ, Εσθηρ. ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά, ἅπερ ἐπιγράφεται Σαρβηθσαβαναιελ.' [3] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ τίθησι συγγράμματι: ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα, μόνα τέσσαρα εἰδέναι εὐαγγέλια μαρτύρεται, ὃδὲ πως γράφων: 'ὡς [4] ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων, ἃ καὶ μόνα ἀναντίρρητά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελώνην, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύσασιν, γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον: [5] δεῦτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ, ποιήσαντα, ὃν καὶ υἱὸν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τούτων ὡμολόγησεν φάσκων 'ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ καὶ Μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου ': [6] καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πεποιηκότα: ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.' [7] Καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Ἐξηγητικῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ταῦτα περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων φησὶν: 'ὁ δὲ ἱκανῶθεις διάκονος γενέσθαι τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, Παῦλος, ὁ πεπληρωκὴς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ, οὐδὲ πάσαις ἔγραψεν αἷς ἐδίδαξεν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἷς ἔγραψεν, ὀλίγους στίχους ἐπέστειλεν. [8] Πέτρος δέ, ἐφ' ᾧ

οικοδομεῖται ἡ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία, ἥς πύλαι Ἰδίου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν, μίαν ἐπιστολὴν ὁμολογουμένην καταλέλοιπεν, ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν: ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ. [9] τί δεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἀναπесόντος ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος λέγειν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννου, ὃς εὐαγγέλιον ἐν καταλέλοιπεν, ὁμολογῶν δύνασθαι τοσαῦτα ποιῆσαι ἃ οὐδ' ὁ κόσμος χωρῆσαι ἐδύνατο, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράψαι τὰς τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ βροντῶν φωνάς; [10] καταλέλοιπεν καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων στίχων, ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην: ἐπεὶ οὐ πάντες φασὶν γνησίους εἶναι ταύτας: πλὴν οὐκ εἰσιν στίχων ἀμφοτέραι ἑκατόν.' [11] Ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις περὶ τῆς Πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς ἐν ταῖς εἰς αὐτὴν Ὀμιλίαις ταῦτα διαλαμβάνει: 'ὅτι ὁ χαρακτήρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς Πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιγεγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιώτην εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τῇ φράσει, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Ἑλληνικωτέρα, πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἂν. [12] πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοήματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσιά ἐστιν καὶ οὐ δευτέρα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογουμένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τοῦτο ἂν συμφῆσαι εἶναι ἀληθὲς πᾶς ὁ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ.' [13] Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιθέρει λέγων: 'ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαινόμενος εἶπομι' ἂν ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοήματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικά καὶ ὥσπερ σχολιογραφῆσαντός τινος τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου, εἴ τις οὖν ἐκκλησία ἔχει ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Παύλου, αὕτη εὐδοκιμεῖτω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ: οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἄνδρες ὡς Παύλου αὐτὴν παραδεδώκασιν. [14] τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς θεὸς οἶδεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς φθάσασα ἱστορία ὑπὸ τινῶν μὲν λεγόντων ὅτι Κλήμης, ὁ γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥωμαίων, ἔγραψεν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὑπὸ τινῶν δὲ ὅτι Λουκάς, ὁ γράψας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὰς Πράξεις.'

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὥδε ἐχέτω: ἔτος δ' ἦν τοῦτο δέκατον τῆς δηλουμένης ἡγεμονίας, καθ' ὃ τὴν ἀπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας μετανάστασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν ὁ Ὀριγένης ποιησάμενος, Ἡρακλᾶ τὸ τῆς κατηχίσεως τῶν αὐτόθι διδασκαλεῖον καταλείπει: οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος τελευτᾷ, ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ διαρκέσας: διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρακλᾶς.

Διέπρεπεν δ' ἐν τούτῳ Φιρμιλιανός, Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκῶν ἐπίσκοπος, τοσαύτην εἰσάγων περὶ τὸν Ὀριγένην σπουδὴν, ὡς τοτὲ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν κλίματα εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὠφέλειαν ἐκκαλεῖσθαι,

τοτέ δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν στέλλεσθαι καὶ τινὰς αὐτῷ συνδιατρίβειν χρόνους τῆς εἰς τὰ θεῖα βελτιώσεως ἔνεκα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων προεστὼς Ἀλέξανδρος Θεόκτιστός τε ὁ κατὰ Καισάρειαν τὸν πάντα χρόνον προσανέχοντες αὐτῷ, οἷα διδασκάλῳ μόνῳ, τὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γραφῶν ἑρμηνείας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ λόγου πράττειν συνεχῶρουν.

Τόν γε μὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα Ἀλέξανδρον τρισὶν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν διανύσαντα Μαξιμίνοσ Καῖσαρ διαδέχεται: ὃς δὴ κατὰ κότον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου οἶκον, ἐκ πλείονων πιστῶν συνεστῶτα, διωγμὸν ἐγείρας, τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντας μόνους ὡς αἰτίους τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάττει. τότε καὶ Ὠριγένης τὸν Περὶ μαρτυρίου συντάττει, Ἀμβροσίῳ καὶ Πρωτοκλήτῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς ἐν Καισαρεία παροικίας ἀναθεὶς τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὅτι δὴ ἄμφω περίστασις οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ κατελήφει: ἐν ἧ καὶ διαπρέψαι κατέχει λόγος ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐ πλείονος ἢ τριετοῦς χρόνου τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ διαγενομένου. σεσημειῶται δὲ τουτονὶ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὸν καιρὸν ἔν τε τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Ἑξηγητικῶν καὶ ἐν διαφόροις ἐπιστολαῖς Ὠριγένης.

Γορδιανοῦ δὲ μετὰ Μαξιμῖνον τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξαμένου, τῆς κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίας Ποντιανὸν ἔτεσιν ἑξ ἐπισκοπεύσαντα διαδέχεται Ἀντέρως καὶ τοῦτον Φαβιανός, ἐπὶ μῆνα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ διακονησάμενον, [2] ἐξ ἀγροῦ φασιν τὸν Φαβιανὸν μετὰ τὴν Ἀντέρωτος τελευτήν ἅμ' ἐτέροις συνελθόντα ἐπιχωριάζειν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἔνθα παραδοξότατα πρὸς τῆς θείας καὶ οὐρανίου χάριτος ἐπὶ τὸν κληρὸν παρεληλυθέναι. [3] τῶν γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἔνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν συγκεκροτημένων πλείστων τε ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ὑπαρχόντων, ὁ Φαβιανὸς παρὼν οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἦει, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀθρόως ἐκ μετεώρου περιστερὰν καταπαῖσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ μνημονεύουσιν, μίμημα ἐνδεικνυμένην τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς καθόδου: [4] ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πάντα λαόν, ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἐνὸς πνεύματος θείου κινηθέντα, προθυμία πάσῃ καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ ἄξιον ἐπιβοῆσαι καὶ ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι. Τότε δὴ καὶ τοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπισκόπου Ζεβέννου τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, Βαβυλᾶς τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται, ἔν τε Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ Δημήτριον Ἡρακλᾶ τὴν λειτουργίαν παρειληφότος, τῆς τῶν αὐτόθι

κατηχήσεως τὴν διατριβὴν διαδέχεται Διονύσιος, εἷς καὶ οὗτος τῶν Ὠριγένους γενόμενος φοιτητῶν.

Τῷ δὲ Ὠριγένει ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας τὰ συνήθη πράττοντι πολλοὶ προσήεσαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς μυριοὶ φοιτηταὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες· ὧν ἐπισήμους μάλιστα ἔγνωμεν Θεόδωρον, ὃς ἦν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπων διαβόητος Γρηγόριος, τὸν τε τούτου ἀδελφὸν Ἀθηνόδωρον, οὓς ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων μαθήματα δεινῶς ἐποτημένους, φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῖς ἐνείς ἔρωτα, τῆς προτέρας σπουδῆς τὴν θείαν ἄσκησιν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι προυτρέψατο· πέντε δὲ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν αὐτῷ συγγενόμενοι, τοσαύτην ἀπηνέγκαντο περὶ τὰ θεῖα βελτίωσιν, ὥς ἔτι νέους ἄμφω ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν ἀξιωθῆναι.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων Κεστῶν συγγραφεὺς ἐγνωρίζετο. ἐπιστολὴ τούτου Ὠριγένει γραφεῖσα φέρεται, ἀποροῦντος ὡς νόθου καὶ πεπλασμένης οὐσης τῆς ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ κατὰ Σουσάνναν ἱστορίας· πρὸς ἣν Ὠριγένης ἀντιγράφει πληρέστατα. [2] τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πέντε Χρονογραφῶν ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς πεπονημένα σπουδάσματα· ἐν οἷς φησιν ἑαυτὸν πορεῖαν στεῖλαισθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διὰ πολλὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλᾶ φήμην, ὃν ἐπὶ λόγοις φιλοσόφοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνων μαθήμασιν εὖ μάλα διαπρέψαντα, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς αὐτόθι ἐκκλησίας ἐγχειρισθῆναι ἐδηλώσαμεν. καὶ ἑτέρα δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ φέρεται ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, περὶ τῆς νομιζομένης διαφωνίας τῶν παρὰ Ματθαίῳ τε καὶ Λουκᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογιῶν· ἐν ἣ σαφέστατα τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν παρίστησιν ἐξ ἱστορίας εἰς αὐτὸν κατελθούσης, ἣν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς μετὰ χειρας ὑποθέσεως προλαβὼν ἐξεθέμην.

Καὶ Ὠριγένει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἡσαΐαν, ἐν ταῦτῳ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ συνετάττετο· ὧν εἰς μὲν τὸ τρίτον μέρος τοῦ Ἡσαΐου μέχρι τῆς ὁράσεως τῶν τετραπόδων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τριάκοντα εἰς ἡμᾶς περιήλθον τόμοι, εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, οὓς καὶ μόνους εἰς τὸν πάντα πεποιήται προφήτην. [2] γενόμενος δὲ τηνικάδε ἐν Ἀθήναις, περαίνει μὲν τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ, τῶν δ' εἰς τὸ Ἄισμα τῶν ἁσμάτων ἄρχεται, καὶ πρόεισιν γε αὐτόθι μέχρι τοῦ πέμπτου συγγράμματος· ἐπανελθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν καὶ ταῦτα εἰς πέρας, δέκα ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἄγει. [3] τί δεῖ τῶν λόγων τάνδρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν ἀκριβῆ κατάλογον ποιεῖσθαι, ἰδίας δεόμενον σχολῆς; ὃν καὶ ἀνεγράψαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Παμφίλου βίου τοῦ καθ'

ἡμᾶς ἱεροῦ μάρτυρος ἀναγραφῆς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν περὶ τὰ θεῖα σπουδὴν τοῦ Παμφίλου ὁπόση τις γεγόνει, παριστῶντες, τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῷ τῶν τε Ὠριγένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης τοὺς πίνακας παρεθέμην, ἐξ ὧν ὅτῳ φίλον, πάρεστιν ἐντελέστατα τῶν Ὠριγένους πόνων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα διαγνῶναι. νυνὶ δὲ πορευτέον ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀκολουθίαν.

Βῆρυλλος ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένος Βόστρων τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν παρεκτρέπων κανόνα, ξένα τινὰ τῆς πίστεως παρεισφέρειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τὸν σωτήρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν λέγειν τολμῶν μὴ προῦφεστάναι κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφὴν πρὸ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίας μηδὲ μὴν θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐμπολιτευομένην αὐτῷ μόνην τὴν πατρικὴν. [2] ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείστων ἐπισκόπων ζητήσεις καὶ διαλόγους πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα πεποιημένων, μεθ' ἐτέρων παρακληθεὶς Ὠριγένης κάτεισι μὲν εἰς ὁμιλίαν τὰ πρῶτα τῷ ἀνδρί, τίνα νοῦν ἔχοι, ἀποπειρώμενος, ὥς ὁ ἔγνω ὅ τι καὶ λέγοι, εὐθύνας μὴ ὀρθοδοξοῦντα λογισμῷ τε πείσας, τῇ περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἐφίστησιν ἀληθείᾳ ἐπὶ τε τὴν προτέραν ὑγιῇ δόξαν ἀποκαθίστησιν. [3] καὶ φέρεται γε εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἔγγραφα τοῦ τε Βῆρυλλου καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὸν γενομένης συνόδου, ὁμοῦ τὰς Ὠριγένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ζητήσεις καὶ τὰς λεχθείσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ παροικίας διαλέξεις ἕκαστά τε τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων περιέχοντα. [4] καὶ ἄλλα μὲν οὖν μυρία Ὠριγένους περὶ μνήμη παραδιδόασιν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἃ καὶ παρήσειν μοι δοκῶ, οὐ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἐχόμενα πραγματείας· ὅσα δὲ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν διαγνῶναι ἦν, ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπονημένης ἡμῖν τε καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερῷ μάρτυρι Παμφίλῳ ἀπολογίας πάρεστιν ἀναλέξασθαι, ἦν τῶν φιλαιτίων ἕνεκα συμπονήσαντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιήμεθα.

Ἔτεσιν δὲ ὅλοις ἐξ Γορδιανοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διανύσαντος ἡγεμονίαν, Φίλιππος ἅμα παιδὶ Φιλίπῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τοῦτον κατέχει λόγος Χριστιανὸν ὄντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ πάσχα παννυχίδος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐχῶν τῷ πλήθει μετασχεῖν ἐθελῆσαι, οὐ πρότερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆνικάδε προεστῶτος ἐπιτραπῆναι εἰσβαλεῖν, ἢ ἐξομολογήσασθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐν παραπτώμασιν ἐξεταζομένοις μετανοίας τε χώραν ἴσχουσιν ἑαυτὸν καταλέξει· ἄλλως γὰρ μὴ ἂν ποτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ, μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, διὰ πολλὰς τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν αἰτίας παραδεχθῆναι. καὶ πειθαρχησαί γε προθύμως λέγεται, τὸ γνήσιον καὶ εὐλαβὲς τῆς περὶ τὸν θεῖον φόβον διαθέσεως ἔργους ἐπιδεδειγμένον.

Τρίτον δὲ τοῦτῳ ἔτος ἦν, καθ' ὃ μεταλλάξαντος Ἡρακλᾶ τὸν βίον ἐπὶ δέκα ἔξ ἔτεσιν τῆς προστασίας τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησιῶν, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Διονύσιος ὑπολαμβάνει.

Τότε δῆτα, οἷα καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, πληθουούσης θουούσης τῆς πίστεως πεπαρρησιασμένου τε τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρὰ πᾶσιν λόγου, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐξήκοντά φασιν ἔτη τὸν Ὠριγένην γενόμενον, ἅτε δὴ μεγίστην ἤδη συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς παρασκευῆς ἔξιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις ταχυγράφοις μεταλαβεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι, οὐ πρότερόν ποτε τοῦτο γενέσθαι συγκεχωρηκότα. [2] Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένον καθ' ἡμῶν Κέλσου τοῦ Ἐπικουρείου Ἀληθῆ λόγον ὁκτῶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν συγγράμματα συντάττει καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον εἴκοσι πέντε τόμους τοὺς τε εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα προφήτας, ἀφ' ὧν μόνους εὗρομεν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. [3] φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐπιστολὴ καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν Σευήραν διάφοροί τε ἄλλαι πρὸς διαφόρους· ὧν ὅποσας σποράδην παρὰ διαφόροις σωθείσας συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα, ἐν ἰδίαις τόμων περιγραφαῖς, ὡς ἂν μηκέτι διαρρίπτοντο, κατελέξαμεν, τὸν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαινούσας. [4] γράφει δὲ καὶ Φαβιανῷ τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ ἐτέροις τε πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ὀρθοδοξίας· ἔχεις καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐν ἑκτῷ τῆς γραφείσης ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογίας.

Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον ἐπιφύονται χρόνον δόγματος ἀλλοτρίου τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσηγηταί, οἱ ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν ψυχὴν τέως μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν ἅμα τῇ τελευτῇ συναποθνήσκειν τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ συνδιαφθείρεσθαι, αὐτῆς δὲ ποτε κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως καιρὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναβιώσεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε συγκροτηθείσης οὐ μικρᾶς συνόδου, πάλιν Ὠριγένης παρακληθεὶς καὶ ἐνταῦθα κινήσας τε λόγους ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου, οὕτως ἠνέχθη ὡς μετατεθῆναι τὰς τῶν πρότερον ἐσφαλμένων διανοίας.

Τότε δὲ καὶ ἄλλης διαστροφῆς κατάρχεται ἡ τῶν Ἐλκεσαϊτῶν λεγομένη αἵρεσις, ἥ καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀπέσβη. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς ὁμιλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ εἰς τὸν πβ ψαλμὸν ὁ Ὠριγένης, ὃδὲ πὼς λέγων· ἑλήλυθέν τις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δύνασθαι πρεσβεύειν γνώμης ἀθέου καὶ ἀσεβεστάτης, καλουμένης Ἐλκεσαϊτῶν, νεωστὶ ἐπανισταμένης ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. ἐκεῖνη ἡ γνώμη οἷα λέγει κακά, παραθήσομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ συναρπάξησθε. ἀθετεῖ τινα ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς, κέχρηται ῥητοῖς πάλιν ἀπὸ

πάσης παλαιᾶς τε καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς, τὸν ἀπόστολον τέλεον ἄθετεῖ. φησὶν δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι ἀδιάφορόν ἐστιν καὶ ὁ μὲν νοήσας τῷ μὲν στόματι ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἀρνήσεται, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐχί. καὶ βίβλον τινὰ φέρουσιν, ἣν λέγουσιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἀκηκοῦτα ἐκείνης καὶ πιστεύοντα ἄφεσιν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἄλλην ἄφεσιν παρ' ἣν Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς ἀφῆκεν.'

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Φίλιππον ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ βασιλεύσαντα διαδέχεται Δέκιος· ὃς δὴ τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθους ἔνεκα διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐγείρει, ἐν ᾧ Φαβιανοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μαρτυρίῳ τελειωθέντος, Κορνήλιος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται. [2] Ἐπὶ δὲ Παλαιστίνης Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος αὐθις διὰ Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ ἡγεμονικοῖς παραστάς δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέρᾳ διαπρέψας ὁμολογία, δεσμωτηρίου πειράται, λιπαρῷ γήρει καὶ σεμνῇ πολιᾷ κατεστεμμένος. [3] τούτου δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμονικοῖς δικαστηρίοις λαμπρὰν καὶ περιφανῆ μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτικῆς κοιμηθέντος, Μαζαβάνης διάδοχος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς ἀναδείκνυται. [4] Τῷ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραπλησίως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοῦ Βαβυλᾶ μετὰ ὁμολογίαν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεταλλάξαντος, Φάβιος τῆς αὐτόθι προΐσταται ἐκκλησίας. [5] Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ὠριγένη κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν συμβάντα οἶα καὶ ὅσα, καὶ ὁποίας ἔτυχεν τελευτῆς, τοῦ πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐφαμίλλως τάνδρῳ πανστρατιᾷ παραταξαμένου πάσῃ τε μηχανῇ καὶ δυνάμει κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγήσαντος παρὰ πάντας τε τοὺς τηνικάδε πολεμηθέντας διαφερόντως ἐπισκήψαντος αὐτῷ, οἷά τε καὶ ὅσα διὰ τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον ὁ ἀνὴρ ὑπέμεινεν, δεσμὰ καὶ βασάνους τὰς κατὰ τοῦ σώματος τὰς τε ὑπὸ σιδήρῳ καὶ μυχοῖς εἰρκτικῆς τιμωρίας, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ πλείσταις ἡμέραις τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ τέσσαρα τοῦ κολαστηρίου ξύλου παραταθεὶς διαστήματα, πυρός τε ἀπειλὰς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπενεχθέντα καρτερῶς ἤνεγκεν, οἷου τε τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔτυχεν τέλους, μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν παντὶ σθένει τοῦ δικαστοῦ φιλονεικῶς ἐνστάντος, ὁποίας τε μετὰ ταῦτα καταλείπει φωνὰς καὶ αὐτὰς πλήρεις τοῖς ἀναλήψεως δεομένοις ὠφελείας, πλείσται ὅσαι τάνδρὸς ἐπιστολαὶ τάληθές ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀκριβὲς περιέχουσιν.

Τὰ γέ τοι κατὰ Διονύσιον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Γερμανὸν ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ παραθήσομαι, ἔνθα τοῦτον περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον· 'ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λαλῶ, καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδεν εἰ ψεύδομαι· οὐδεμίαν ἐπ' ἑμαυτοῦ βαλλόμενος οὐδὲ ἄθεεῖ πεποίημαι τὴν φυγὴν, [2] ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον, τοῦ κατὰ Δέκιον προτεθέντος διωγμοῦ, Σαβῖνος αὐτῆς ὥρας φρουρμεντάριον ἔπεμψεν εἰς ἀναζήτησίν μου, καὶ γὰρ μὲν τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἔμεινα, τὴν

ἄφιζιν τοῦ φρουμενταρίου προσδοκῶν, ὃ δὲ πάντα μὲν περιῆλθεν ἀνερευνῶν, τὰς ὁδοὺς τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοὺς ἀγρούς, ἔνθα κρύπτεσθαι με ἢ βαδίζειν ὑπενόησεν, ἄορασίᾳ δὲ εἶχετο μὴ εὐρίσκων τὴν οἰκίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευεν οἴκοι με διωκόμενον μένειν. [3] καὶ μόλις, μετὰ τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν, κελεύσαντός μοι μεταστῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδόξως ὁδοποιήσαντος, ἐγὼ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἅμα συνεξήλθομεν. καὶ ὅτι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας ἔργον ἐκεῖνο γέγονεν, τὰ ἐξῆς ἐδήλωσεν, ἐν οἷς τάχα τισὶν γεγόναμεν χρήσιμοι.’ [4] Εἴτά τινα μεταξὺ εἰπὼν, τὰ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ συμβεβηκότα δηλοῖ, ταῦτα ἐπιφέρων· ‘ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἅμα τοῖς σὺν ἐμοὶ γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις, εἰς Ταπόσιριν ἦχθην, ὃ δὲ Τιμόθεος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔτυχεν μὴ παρὼν μηδὲ καταληφθεὶς, ἐλθὼν δὲ ὕστερον εὗρεν τὸν οἶκον ἔρημον καὶ φρουροῦντας αὐτὸν ὑπηρέτας, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξηνδραποδισμένους.’ [5] Καὶ μεθ’ ἑτερά φησιν· ‘καὶ τίς ὁ τῆς θαυμασίας οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ τρόπος; τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ λεχθήσεται. ἀπῆντετο τὶς τῶν χωριτῶν ὑποφεύγοντι τῷ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ τεταραγμένῳ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐπειξέως ἐπύθετο. [6] ὃ δὲ τάληθές ἐξεῖπεν, κάκεῖνος ἀκούσας ‘ἀπῆει ὃ εὐωχησόμενος γάμους, διαπαννυχίζειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συνόδοις ἔθος’ εἰσελθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς κατακειμένοις· οἱ δὲ ὁρμῇ μιᾷ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ συνθήματι, πάντες ἐξανέστησαν, καὶ δρόμῳ φερόμενοι τάχιστα ἦκον, ἐπεισπεσόντες τε ἡμῖν ἠλάλαξαν, καὶ φυγῆς εὐθέως τῶν φρουρούντων ἡμᾶς στρατιωτῶν γενομένης, ἐπέστησαν ἡμῖν, ὥς εἴχομεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστρώτων σκιμπόδων κατακείμενοι. [7] κἀγὼ μὲν, οἶδεν ὁ θεὸς ὥς ληστὰς εἶναι πρότερον ἡγούμενος ἐπὶ σύλῃσιν καὶ ἄρπαγὴν ἀφικομένους, μένων ἐπὶ τῆς εὐνῆς, ἡμῃν γυμνὸς ἐν τῷ λινῷ ἐσθήματι, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐσθῆτα παρακειμένην αὐτοῖς ὄρεγον· οἱ δὲ ἐξανίστασθαι τε ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν ταχίστην ἐξιέναι. [8] καὶ τότε συνεῖς ἐφ’ ᾧ παρῆσαν, ἀνέκραγον δεόμενος αὐτῶν καὶ ἱκετεῦον ἀπιέναι καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδὼν, εἰ δὲ βούλονται τι χρηστὸν ἐργάσασθαι, τοὺς ἀπάγοντάς με φθάσαι καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποτεμεῖν ἡξίου. καὶ τοιαῦτα βοῶντος, ὥς ἴσασιν οἱ κοινωνοὶ μου καὶ μέτοχοι πάντων γενόμενοι, ἀνίστασαν πρὸς βίαν. κἀγὼ μὲν παρῆκα ἐμαυτὸν ὑπτίον εἰς τοῦδαφος, οἱ δὲ διαλαβόντες χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν σύροντες ἐξήγαγον, [9] ἐπηκολούθουν δέ μοι οἱ τούτων πάντων μάρτυρες, Γάϊος Φαῦστος Πέτρος Παῦλος· οἱ καὶ ὑπολαβόντες με φοράδην ἐξήγαγον τοῦ πολυχνίου καὶ ὄνῳ γυμνῷ ἐπιβιβάσαντες ἀπήγαγον.’ ταῦτα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Διονύσιος.

Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Φάβιον Ἀντιοχέων ἐπίσκοπον, τῶν κατὰ

Δέκιον μαρτυρησάντων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον: ‘ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος ὁ διωγμὸς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἤρξατο, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν προύλαβεν, καὶ φθάσας ὁ κακῶν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ μάντις καὶ ποιητῆς, ὅστις ἐκεῖνος ἦν, ἐκίνησεν καὶ παρώρμησεν καθ’ ἡμῶν τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῦ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀναρριπίσας: [2] οἱ δ’ ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας εἰς ἀνοσιουργίαν λαβόμενοι, μόνην εὐσέβειαν τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν δαιμόνων ταύτην ὑέλαβον, τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν φονᾶν.

Πρῶτον [3] οὖν πρεσβύτην, Μητρᾶν ὀνόματι, συναρπάσαντες καὶ κελεύσαντες ἄθεα λέγειν ῥήματα, μὴ πειθόμενον, ξύλοις τε παίοντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ καλάμοις ὀξέσιν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κεντοῦντες, ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὸ προάστειον, κατελιθοβόλησαν.

[4] εἴτα πιστὴν γυναῖκα, Κοῖνταν καλουμένην, ἐπὶ τὸ εἰδωλεῖον ἀγαγόντες, ἠνάγκαζον προσκυνεῖν: ἀποστρεφομένην δὲ καὶ βδελυττομένην ἐκδήσαντες τῶν ποδῶν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τοῦ τραχέος λιθοστρώτου σύροντες προσαρασσομένην τοῦ μυλιαίοις λίθοις, ἅμα καὶ μαστιγοῦντες, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες κατέλευσαν τόπον. [5] εἴθ’ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν θεοσεβῶς οἰκίας, καὶ οὓς ἐγνώριζον ἕκαστοι γειννῶντας, ἐπεισεπσόντες ἦγον ἐσύλων τε καὶ διήρπαζον, τὰ μὲν τιμιώτερα τῶν κειμηλίων νοσφιζόμενοι, τὰ δὲ εὐτελέστερα καὶ ὅσα ἐκ ξύλων ἐπεποίητο διαρριπτοῦντες καὶ κατακάοντες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῦ ἐάλωκυίας ὑπὸ πολεμίων πόλεως παρεῖχον θέαν [6] ἐξέκλινον δὲ καὶ ὑпанεχώρουν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις οἷς καὶ Παῦλος ἐμαρτύρησεν, μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέξαντο καὶ οὐκ οἶδ’ εἴ τις, πλὴν εἰ μὴ πού τις εἷς ἐμπεσὼν μέχρι γε τούτου τὸν κύριον ἠρνήσατο. [7]

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν θαυμασιωτάτην τότε παρθένον πρεσβῦτιν Ἀπολλωνίαν διαλαβόντες, τοὺς μὲν ὀδόντας ἅπαντας κόπτοντες τὰς σιαγόνας ἐξήλασαν, πυρὰν δὲ νήσαντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ζῶσαν ἠπεῖλουν κατακαύσειν, εἰ μὴ συνεκφωνήσειεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας κηρύγματα. ἡ δὲ ὑποπαραιτησαμένη βραχὺ καὶ ἀνεθεῖσα, συντόνως ἐπήδησεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ καταπέφλεκται.

[8] Σεραπίωνά τε καταλαβόντες ἐφέστιον, σκληραῖς βασάνοις αἰκισάμενοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄρθρα διακλάσαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερφύου πρηνῇ κατέρριψαν.

Οὐδεμία δὲ ὁδός, οὐ λεωφόρος, οὐ στενωπὸς ἡμῖν βάσιμος ἦν, οὐ νύκτωρ, οὐ μεθ’ ἡμέραν, ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντων κεκραγόντων, εἰ μὴ τὰ δύσφημά τις ἀνυμνοίῃ ῥήματα, τοῦτον εὐθέως δεῖν σύρεσθαι τε καὶ πίμπρασθαι. [9] καὶ

ταῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν τοῦτον ἤκμασεν τὸν τρόπον, διαδεξαμένη δὲ τοὺς ἀθλίου
ἢ στάσις καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ὠμότητα πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν
ἔτρεψεν, καὶ σμικρὸν μὲν προσανεπνεύσαμεν, ἀσχολίαν τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς θυμοῦ
λαβόντων, εὐθέως δὲ ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκείνης τῆς εὐμενεστέρας ἡμῖν
μεταβολὴ διήγγελλται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀπειλῆς φόβος ἀνετείνετο. [10]
καὶ δὴ καὶ παρῇν τὸ πρόσταγμα, αὐτὸ σχεδὸν ἐκεῖνο οἶον τὸ προρρηθὲν ὑπὸ
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν παρὰ βραχὺ τὸ φοβερώτατον, ὥς, εἰ δυνατόν, σκανδαλίσαι
καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς. [11] πλὴν πάντες γε κατεπτήχεσαν: καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθέως
τῶν περιφανεστέρων, οἱ μὲν ἀπήντων δεδιότες, οἱ δὲ δημοσιεύοντες ὑπὸ τῶν
πράξεων ἤγοντο, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς ἐφέιλκοντο: ὀνομαστί τε
καλούμενοι ταῖς ἀνάγκαις καὶ ἀνιέροις θυσίαις προσήεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὠχρίωντες
καὶ τρέμοντες, ὥσπερ οὐ θύσοντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ θύματα καὶ σφάγια τοῖς
εἰδώλοις ἐσόμενοι, ὥς ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιεστώτος δήμου χλεύην αὐτοῖς
ἐπιφέρεισθαι καὶ δῆλους μὲν εἶναι πρὸς πάντα δειλοὺς ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ πρὸς
τὸ τεθνάναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θῆσαι: [12] οἱ δὲ τινες ἐτοιμότερον τοῖς βωμοῖς
προσέτρεχον, ἰσχυριζόμενοι τῇ θρασύτητι τὸ μηδὲ πρότερον Χριστιανοὶ
γεγονέναι, περὶ ὧν ἡ τοῦ κυρίου πρόρρησις ἀληθεστάτη ὅτι δυσκόλως
σωθήσονται. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν ἔποντο τούτοις ἐκατέροις, οἱ δὲ ἔφευγον:
[13] οἱ δὲ ἠλίσκοντο, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἄχρι δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς χωρήσαντες,
καὶ τινὲς καὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας καθειρχθέντες, εἴτα καὶ πρὶν ἐπὶ δικαστήριον
ἐλθεῖν, ἐξωμόσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ βασάνοις ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐγκατερῆσαντες, πρὸς τὸ
ἐξῆς ἀπέπεινον.

Οἱ [14] δὲ στεργοὶ καὶ μακάριοι στῦλοι τοῦ κυρίου κραταιωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ τῆς ἰσχυρᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς πίστεως ἀξίαν καὶ ἀνάλογον δύναμιν καὶ καρτερίαν
λαβόντες, θαυμαστοὶ γεγονάσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μάρτυρες: [15] ὧν πρῶτος
Ίουλιανός, ἄνθρωπος ποδαγρός, μὴ στῆναι, μὴ βαδίσαι δυνάμενος, σὺν
ἐτέροις δύο τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτὸν προσήχθη: ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος εὐθὺς ἠρνήσατο,
ὁ δ' ἕτερος, Κρονίων ὀνόματι, ἐπὶ κλινὴν δὲ Εὐνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρεσβύτερος
Ίουλιανὸς ὁμολογήσαντες τὸν κύριον, διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως, μεγίστης οὔσης
ὥς ἴστε, καμῆλοις ἐποχοῦμενοι καὶ μετέωροι μαστιγούμενοι, τέλος ἀσβέστω,
περικεχυμένου τοῦ δήμου παντός, κατετάκησαν. [16] στρατιώτης τε αὐτοῖς
ἀπαγομένοις παραστὰς καὶ τοῖς ἐφυβρίζουσιν ἐναντιωθείς, ἐκβοησάντων
ἐκείνων προσαχθεὶς ὁ ἀνδρειότατος ὀπλομάχος τοῦ θεοῦ Βησᾶς κὰν τῷ
μεγάλῳ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀριστεύσας, ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν.
[17] καὶ τις ἕτερος, τὸ μὲν γένος Λίβυς, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν ἄμα καὶ τὴν

εὐλογίαν ἀληθῆς Μάκαρ, προτροπῆς αὐτῷ πολλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ πρὸς ἄρνησιν γενομένης, οὐχ ὑπαχθεὶς ζῶν καταπέφλεκται. Ἐπίμαχός τε μετ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ πολλὸν ὃν ἔμειναν δεσμῶται χρόνον, μυρίας διενεγκόντες ἀλγηδόνας ξυστήρας μάστιγας, πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ καὶ οὗτοι διεχύθησαν.

Καὶ [18] σὺν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες τέσσαρες, Ἀμμωνάριόν τε ἁγία παρθένος, πάνυ φιλονείκως αὐτὴν ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ δικαστοῦ βασανίσαντος, ἅτε προαποφνημαμένην ὅτι μηδὲν ὦν ἐκεῖνος κελεύει φθέγγεται, ἀληθεύσασα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἀπήχθη: αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, ἡ σεμνοτάτη πρεσβῦτις Μερκουρία καὶ ἡ πολὺπαις μὲν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον δὲ ἀγαπήσασα τὰ τέκνα Διονυσία, καταιδεσθέντος εἰς ἀνήνυτον ἔτι βασανίζειν καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἡττᾶσθαι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, σιδήρῳ τεθνᾶσιν, μηκέτι βασάνων πείραν λαβοῦσαι: τὰς γὰρ ὑπὲρ πασῶν ἡ πρόμαχος Ἀμμωνάριον ἀνεδέδεκτο.

Ἦρων [19] δὲ καὶ Ἀτὴρ καὶ Ἰσίδωρος Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς παιδάριον ὡς πεντεκαίδεκάτης ὁ Διόσκορος παρεδόθησαν: καὶ πρῶτον τὸ μειράκιον λόγοις τε ἀπατᾶν ὡς εὐπαράγωγον καὶ βασάνοις καταναγκάζειν ὡς εὐένδοτον πειρωμένου, οὐτ' ἐπέισθη οὐτ' εἶξεν ὁ Διόσκορος: [20] τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀγριώτατα καταξίνας, ἐγκατερήσαντας πυρὶ καὶ τούτους ἔδωκεν. τὸν δὲ Διόσκορον ἐλλαμπρυνάμενόν τε δημοσίᾳ καὶ σοφώτατα πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας πεύσεις ἀποκρινάμενον θαυμάσας, παρήκεν, ὑπέρθεσιν φήσας εἰς μετάνοιαν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιμετρεῖν: καὶ νῦν ὁ θεοπρεπέστατος σὺν ἡμῖν ἔστιν Διόσκορος, εἰς μακρότερον τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ διαρκέστερον μείνας τὸν ἄθλον.

Νεμεσίων [21] δέ τις, κάκεϊνος Αἰγύπτιος, ἐσυκοφαντήθη μὲν ὡς δὴ σύνοικος ληστῶν, ἀπολυσάμενος δὲ ταύτην παρὰ τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῳ τὴν ἀλλοτριωτάτην διαβολήν, καταμηνυθεὶς ὡς Χριστιανὸς ἦκεν δεσμώτης ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον: ὁ δὲ ἀδικώτατος διπλαῖς αὐτὸν ἢ τοὺς ληστὰς ταῖς τε βασάνοις καὶ ταῖς μάστιξιν λυμηνάμενος, μεταξὺ τῶν ληστῶν κατέφλεξεν τιμηθέντα τὸν μακάριον τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραδείγματι.

Ἀθρόον [22] δέ τι σύνταγμα στρατιωτικόν, Ἄμμων καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἰγγένης καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πρεσβύτης Θεόφιλος, εἰστήκεισαν πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου: κρινομένου δὴ τινος ὡς Χριστιανοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἄρνησιν ἤδη ῥέποντος, ἐπρίοντο οὗτοι παρεστηκότες, καὶ τοῖς τε προσώποις ἐνένευον καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινον καὶ συνεσχηματίζοντο τοῖς σώμασιν. [23] ἐπιστροφῆς δὲ πάντων πρὸς αὐτοὺς γενομένης, πρὶν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἄλλως λαβέσθαι, φθάσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ βάθρον ἀνέδραμον, εἶναι Χριστιανοὶ λέγοντες, ὡς τὸν τε

ἡγεμόνα καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐμφόβους γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρινομένους εὐθαρσεστάτους ἐφ' οἷς πείσονται, φαίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ δικάζοντας ἀποδειλιᾶν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ δικαστηρίων ἐνεπόμευσαν καὶ ἡγαλλιάσαντο τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ, θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς ἐνδόξως τοῦ θεοῦ.

‘ Ἄλλοι δὲ πλείστοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κόμας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν διεσπάσθησαν, ὧν ἑνὸς παραδείγματος ἕνεκεν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. Ἰσχυρίων ἐπετρόπευέν τινα τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ μισθῷ. τοῦτον ὁ μισθοδότης ἐκέλευσεν θῆσαι, μὴ πειθόμενον ὕβριζεν, ἐμμένοντα προεπηλάκιζεν, ὑφισταμένου, βακτηρίαν μεγίστην λαβὼν διὰ τῶν ἐντέρων καὶ τῶν σπλάγγχων διώσας, ἀπέκτεινεν.

τί [2] δεῖ λέγειν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ὄρεσιν πλανηθέντων, ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ δίψης καὶ κρύους καὶ νόσων καὶ ληστῶν καὶ θηρίων διεφθαρμένων; ὧν οἱ περιγενόμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων εἰσὶν ἐκλογῆς καὶ νίκης μάρτυρες, ἐν δὲ καὶ τούτων εἰς δῆλωσιν ἔργον παραθήσομαι. [3] Χαιρήμων ἦν ὑπέργηρος τῆς Νεΐλου καλουμένης πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος. οὗτος εἰς τὸ Ἀράβιον ὄρος ἅμα τῇ συμβίῳ ἑαυτοῦ φυγών, οὐκ ἐπανελήλυθεν, οὐδὲ ἐδυνήθησαν ἰδεῖν οὐκέτι, καίτοι πολλὰ διερευνησάμενοι, οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οὔτε αὐτοὺς οὔτε τὰ σώματα. [4] πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ἀραβικὸν ὄρος ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν: ὧν οἱ μὲν μόλις ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασιν ἐλυτρώθησαν, οἱ δὲ μέχρι νῦν οὐδέπω.

καὶ ταῦτα διεξῆλθον οὐ μάτην, ἀδελφέ, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῆς ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα δεινὰ παρ' ἡμῖν συνέβη: ὧν οἱ μᾶλλον πεπειραμένοι πλείονα ἂν εἰδεῖεν.

‘ [5]

Εἴτα τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μετὰ βραχέα λέγων: ‘ αὐτοὶ τοίνυν οἱ θεῖοι μάρτυρες παρ' ἡμῖν, οἱ νῦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάρεδροι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ συνδικάζοντες αὐτῷ, τῶν παραπεπτωκότων ἀδελφῶν τινὰς ὑπευθύνους τοῖς τῶν θυσιῶν ἐγκλήμασιν γενομένους προσελάβοντο, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἰδόντες δεκτὴν τε γενέσθαι δυναμένην τῷ μὴ βουλομένῳ καθόλου τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὥς τὴν μετάνοιαν δοκιμάσαντες, εἰσεδέξαντο καὶ συνήγαγον καὶ συνέστησαν καὶ προσευχῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐστιάσεων ἐκοινώνησαν. τί οὖν ἡμῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τούτων συμβουλευέετε; [6] τί ἡμῖν πρακτέον; σύμψηφοι καὶ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς καταστῶμεν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν χάριν φυλάξωμεν καὶ τοῖς ἐλεηθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν χρηστευσώμεθα, ἢ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶν ἄδικον ποιησώμεθα καὶ δοκιμαστὰς αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ἐπιστήσωμεν καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα

λυπήσωμεν καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀνασκευάσωμεν;

.

Ταῦτα ὁ εἰκότως ὁ Διονύσιος παρατέθειται, τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐξησθενηκότων κατὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν ἀνακινῶν λόγον.

ἐπειδὴπερ τῇ κατὰ τούτων ἀρθεὶς ὑπερηφανία Νοουάτος, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος, ὡς μηκέτ' οὔσης αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδος μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν γνησίαν καὶ καθαρὰν ἐξομολόγησιν ἐπιτελοῖεν, ἰδίας αἵρέσεως τῶν κατὰ λογισμοῦ φυσίωσιν Καθαροὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἀποφηνάντων ἀρχηγὸς καθίσταται: [2] ἐφ' ᾧ συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης συγκροτηθείσης ἐξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπισκόπων, πλειόνων δ' ἐτι μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε καὶ διακόνων, ἰδίως τε κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χώραν ποιμένων περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διασκεψαμένων, δόγμα παρίσταται τοῖς πᾶσιν, τὸν μὲν Νοουάτον ἅμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ συνεπαρθεῖσιν τοὺς τε συνευδοκεῖν τῇ μισαδέλφῳ καὶ ἀπανθρωποτάτῃ γνώμῃ τάνδρὸς προαιρουμένους ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῇ συμφορᾷ περιπεπωκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἰᾶσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν τοῖς τῆς μετανοίας φαρμάκοις. [3] Ἦλθον δ' οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαὶ Κορνηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον, δηλοῦσαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων συνόδου καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι χώρας, καὶ ἄλλαι πάλιν, Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ συντεταγμέναι, Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἅμ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν, δι' ὧν τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς συνευδοκεῖν τῷ δεῖν τυγχάνειν ἐπικουρίας τοὺς πεπειρασμένους ἐνεφαίνετο καὶ τῷ χρῆναι εὐλόγως τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκκήρυκτον ποιήσασθαι τὸν τῆς αἵρέσεως ἀρχηγὸν πάντας τε ὁμοίως τοὺς συναπαγομένους αὐτῷ. [4] ταύταις ἄλλη τις ἐπιστολὴ συνήπτο τοῦ Κορνηλίου περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον ἄρεσάντων καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα περὶ τῶν κατὰ Νοουάτον πραχθέντων: ἂν ἥς καὶ μέρη παραθέσθαι οὐδὲν ἂν κωλύοι, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οἱ τῇδε ἐντυγχάνοντες τῇ γραφῇ. [5] τὸν δὲ οὖν Φάβιον ἀναδιδάσκων ὁποῖός τις ὁ Νοουάτος γεγόνοι τὸν τρόπον, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα γράφει ὁ Κορνήλιος: ἵνα δὲ γνῶς ὅτι πρόπαλαι ὀρεγόμενος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος καὶ κρύπτων ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν προπετὴ ταύτην αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐλάνθανεν, ἐπικαλύμματι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπονοίας τῷ κατ' ἀρχὰς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁμολογητὰς ἐσχηκέναι χρώμενος, εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. [6] Μάξιμος πρεσβύτερος τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ Οὐρβανός, δις τὴν ἐξ ὁμολογίας δόξαν ἀρίστην καρπωσάμενοι, Σιδόνιός τε καὶ Κελερίνος, ἀνὴρ ὃς πάσας βασάνους διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλεον καρτερικώτατα διενέγκας καὶ τῇ ρώμῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως τὸ

ἀσθενὲς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιρρώσας, κατὰ κράτος νενίκηκεν τὸν ἀντικείμενον, οὗτοι δὲ οὖν οἱ ἄνδρες κατανοήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ καταφωράσαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πανουργίαν τε καὶ παλιμβολίαν τάς τε ἐπιπορκίας καὶ τὰς ψευδολογίας καὶ τὴν ἀκοινωνησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ λυκοφυλίαν, ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἅπαντα αὐτοῦ τὰ τεχνάσματα καὶ πονηρεύματα, ἃ ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὑπεστέλλετο, παρόντων ἱκανῶν τοῦτο μὲν ἐπισκόπων τοῦτο δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ λαϊκῶν ἀνδρῶν παμπόλλων, ἐξήγγειλαν, ἀποδυρόμενοι καὶ μεταγινώσκοντες ἐφ' οἷς πεισθέντες τῷ δολερῷ καὶ κακοήθει θηρίῳ πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελείφθησαν.’ [7] Εἶτα μετὰ βραχέα φησίν: ‘ ἀμήχανον ὅσην, ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφέ, τροπὴν καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐν βραχεὶ καιρῷ ἐθεασάμεθα ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένην. ὁ γάρ τοι λαμπρότατος καὶ δι' ὄρκων φοβερῶν τινων πιστούμενος τὸ μηδ' ὅλως ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεσθαι, αἰφνίδιον ἐπίσκοπος ὥσπερ ἐκ μαγγάνου τινὸς εἰς τὸ μέσον ῥιφεῖς ἀναφαίνεται. [8] οὗτος γάρ τοι ὁ δογματιστής, ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπερασπιστής, ὅπηνίκα παρασπᾶσθαι τε καὶ ὑφαρπάζειν τὴν μὴ δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπεχείρει, δύο ἑαυτῷ κοινωνούς, ἀπεγνωκότας τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας, ἐπελέξατο, ὡς ἂν εἰς βραχὺ τι μέρος καὶ ἐλάχιστον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποστείλῃ κάκειθεν ἐπισκόπους τρεῖς, ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλουστάτους, πλαστῇ τινι ἐπιχειρήσει ἐξαπατήσῃ, διαβεβαιούμενος καὶ δισχυριζόμενος δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι εἰς Ῥώμην, ὡς δῆθεν πᾶσα ἥτις δῆποτε οὖν διχοστασία γεγονυῖα σὺν καὶ ἐτέροις ἐπισκόποις καὶ αὐτῶν μεσιτευόντων διαλυθῇ: [9] οὓς παραγενομένους, ἅτε δῆ, ὡς ἔφθημεν λέγοντες, ἀνθρώπους ἀπλουστέρους περὶ τὰς τῶν πονηρῶν μηχανάς τε καὶ ῥαδιουργίας, συγκλεισθέντας ὑπὸ τινων ὁμοίων αὐτῷ τεταραγμένων ἀνθρώπων, ὥρα δεκάτῃ, μεθύνοντας καὶ κραιπαλῶντας, μετὰ βίας ἠνάγκασεν εἰκονικῇ τινι καὶ ματαίᾳ χειρεπιθεσίᾳ ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι, ἣν ἐνέδρα καὶ πανουργία, μὴ ἐπιβάλλουσαν αὐτῷ, ἐκδικεῖ: [10] ἐξ ὧν εἷς μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀποδυρόμενος καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμάρτημα, ᾧ καὶ ἐκοινωνήσαμεν λαϊκῷ, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος παντὸς τοῦ παρόντος λαοῦ: καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων διαδόχους εἰς τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν, χειροτονήσαντες ἀπεστάλκαμεν.

Ὁ [11] ἐκδικητὴς οὖν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὐκ ἡπίστατο ἓνα ἐπίσκοπον δεῖν εἶναι ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ἣ οὐκ ἡγνόει, πῶς γάρ; πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ, διακόνους ἑπτὰ, ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ, ἀκολούθους δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλωροὺς δύο καὶ

πεντήκοντα, χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας, οὓς πάντα ἢ τοῦ δεσπότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει: [12] ὃν οὐδὲ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος καὶ οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός τε καὶ πληθύνων ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπογνώσεώς τε καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως ἐνέτρεψέν τε καὶ ἀνεκαλέσατο εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

‘ [13]

Καὶ αὐθις μεθ’ ἕτερα τούτοις προστίθησιν ταῦτα: ‘ φέρε δὴ, ἐξῆς εἰπώμεν τίσιν ἔργοις ἢ τίσιν πολιτείαις τεθαρρηκῶς ἀντεποιήθη τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς. ἄρά γε διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνεστράφθαι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἠγωνίσθαι καὶ ἐν κινδύνοις πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις ἔνεκα τῆς θεοσεβείας γεγενέσθαι; ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν: [14] ὃ γε ἀφορμὴ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι γέγονεν ὁ σατανᾶς, φοιτήσας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ οἰκήσας ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνον ἰκανόν: ὃς βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπορκιστῶν νόσφ’ περιπεσὼν χαλεπῇ καὶ ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὅσον οὐδέπω νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ, οὗ ἔκειτο, περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν, εἰ γε χρὴ λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι. [15] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχεν, διαφυγὼν τὴν νόσον, ὣν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τοῦ τε σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου: τούτων δὲ μὴ τυχών, πῶς ἂν τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἔτυχεν;

‘ [16]

Καὶ πάλιν μετὰ βραχεά φησίν: ‘ὁ διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φιλοζωΐαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς διώξεως πρεσβύτερον εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀρνησάμενος. ἀξιούμενος γὰρ καὶ παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν διακόνων, ἵν’ ἐξελθὼν τοῦ οἰκίσκου, ἐν ᾧ καθεῖρξεν ἑαυτόν, βοηθήσῃ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὅσα θέμις καὶ ὅσα δυνατόν πρεσβυτέρῳ κινδυνεύουσιν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἐπικουρίας δεομένοις βοηθεῖν, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχεν τοῦ πειθαρχῆσαι παρακαλοῦσι τοῖς διακόνοις, ὥς καὶ χαλεπαίνοντα ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι: μὴ γὰρ ἔτι βούλεσθαι πρεσβύτερος εἶναι ἔφη, ἐτέρας γὰρ εἶναι φιλοσοφίας ἑραστῆς.’ [17] Ὑπερβὰς δ’ ὀλίγα, τούτοις πάλιν ἐπιφέρει λέγων: ‘καταλιπὼν γὰρ ὁ λαμπρὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ἣ ἡ πιστεύσας κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χεῖρα εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλῆρον, ὃς διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐν κλίνῃ διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ οὗτος, εἰς κλῆρόν τινα γενέσθαι, ἠξίωσεν συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι.’ [18] Εἴτ’ ἄλλο τι τούτοις χερίστον προστίθησιν τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀτοπημάτων, λέγων: οὕτως ‘ποιήσας

γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ διανέμων ἐκάστῳ τὸ μέρος καὶ ἐπιδίδους τοῦτο, ὁμνύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς τालαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκάζει, κατέχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος καὶ μὴ ἀφιεῖς, ἔστ' ἂν ὁμνύοντες εἴπωσιν ταῦτα 'τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου χρήσομαι λόγοις': 'ὁμοσὸν μοι κατὰ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μηδέποτε με καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον.' [19] καὶ ὁ ἄθλιος ἄνθρωπος οὐ πρότερον γεύεται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ καταράσαιοτο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον τὸ ἀμήν, 'οὐκ ἐπανάξω πρὸς Κορνήλιον λέγει.' [20] Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα πάλιν ταῦτα φησιν: 'ἤδη δὲ ἴσθι γεγυμνωσθαι καὶ ἔρημον γεγονέναι, καταλιμπανόντων αὐτὸν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανερχομένων: ὃν καὶ Μωσῆς, ὁ μακάριος μάρτυς, ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔναγχος μαρτυρήσας καλὴν τινα καὶ θαυμαστὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἔτι ὢν ἐν κόσμῳ, κατιδὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, ἀκοινώνητον ἐποίησεν σὺν τοῖς πέντε πρεσβυτέροις τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ ἀποσχίσασιν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας.' [21] Καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραγενομένων ἐπισκόπων τῆς τε τοῦ Νοουάτου κατεγνωκότων ἀβελτηρίας κατάλογον πεποιήται, ὁμοῦ τὰ τε ὀνόματα καὶ ἧς ὁ καθεὶς αὐτῶν προηγεῖτο παροικίας, ἐπισημαινόμενος, [22] τῶν τε μὴ παραγενομένων μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, συνευδοκησάντων δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων τῇ τῶν προειρημένων ψήφῳ τὰς προσηγορίας ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ὁρμώμενος ἐπέστελλεν, μνημονεύει. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κορνήλιος Φαβίῳ Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκόπῳ δηλῶν ἔγραφεν.

Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ Φαβίῳ, ὑποκατακλινομένῳ πως τῷ σχίσματι, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπιστεῖλας πολλά τε καὶ ἄλλα περὶ μετανοίας ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν γράμμασιν διελθὼν τῶν τε κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἔναγχος τότε μαρτυρησάντων τοὺς ἀγῶνας διῶν, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἱστορίας πρᾶγμά τι μεστὸν θαύματος διηγεῖται, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῇδε παραδοῦναι τῇ γραφῇ, οὕτως ἔχον: 'ἐν [2] δέ σοι τοῦτο παράδειγμα παρ' ἡμῖν συμβεβηκὸς ἐκθήσομαι. Σεραπίων τις ἦν παρ' ἡμῖν, πιστὸς γέρον, ἀμέμπτως μὲν τὸν πολλὸν διαβιώσας χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πειρασμῷ πεσών. οὗτος πολλάκις ἐδεῖτο, καὶ οὐδεὶς προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ: καὶ γὰρ ἐτεθύκει. ἐν νόσῳ δὲ γενόμενος, τριῶν ἑξῆς ἡμερῶν ἄφωνος καὶ ἀναίσθητος διετέλεσεν, [3] βραχὺ δὲ ἀνασφίλας τῇ τετάρτῃ προσεκαλέσατο τὸν θυγατρίδου, καὶ 'μέχρι με τίνος' φησὶν 'ὦ τέκνον, κατέχετε; δέομαι, σπεύσατε, καὶ με θᾶπτον ἀπολύσατε, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοί τινα κάλεσον.' καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, πάλιν ἦν ἄφωνος. [4] ἔδραμεν ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὸν

πρεσβύτερον: νῦν δὲ ἦν, κἀκεῖνος ἡσθένει. ἀφικέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη, ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένης τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέοντο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἰκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν, ἀφίεσθαι, ἵν' εὐέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται, βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἔδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ, ἀποβρέξαι κελεύσας καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι. [5] ἐπανῆκεν ὁ παῖς φέρων, ἐγγὺς τε γενομένου, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀνενέγκας πάλιν ὁ Σεραπίων 'ἦκες' ἔφη 'τέκνον; καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἔλθεῖν οὐκ ἡδυνήθη, σὺ δὲ ποίησον ταχέως τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ ἀπάλλαττέ με.' ἀπέβρεξεν ὁ παῖς καὶ ἅμα τε ἐνέχεεν τῷ στόματι καὶ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνος καταβροχθίσας εὐθέως ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. [6] ἃρ' οὐκ ἐναργῶς διετηρήθη καὶ παρέμεινεν, ἕως λυθῇ καὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐξαλειφθείσης ἐπὶ πολλοῖς οἷς ἔπραξεν καλοῖς ὁμολογηθῆναι δυνηθῇ;'

Ταῦτα ὁ Διονύσιος, ἴδωμεν δ' ὁ αὐτὸς ὅποια καὶ τῷ Νοουάτῳ διεχάραξεν, ταραττοντι τηνικάδε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀδελφότητα: ἐπειδὴ οὖν τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ τοῦ σχίσματος πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἀδελφῶν τινας, ὥς δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἔλθεῖν ἐκβεβιασμένος, ὅρα τίνα τρόπον αὐτῷ γράφει: 'Διονύσιος Νοουατιανῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. εἰ ἄκων, ὥς φῆς, ἤχθης, δείξεις ἀναχωρήσας ἐκόν. ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὅτι οὖν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἀδοξοτέρα τῆς ἔνεκεν τοῦ μὴ εἰδωλολατρῆσαι γινομένης ἢ ἔνεκεν τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία, κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μεῖζων. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μιᾶς τις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρεῖ. καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ πείσαις ἢ βιάσαιο τοὺς ἀδελφούς εἰς ὁμόνοίαν ἔλθεῖν, μεῖζον ἔσται σοι τοῦ σφάλματος τὸ κατόρθωμα, καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐ λογισθῆσεται, τὸ δὲ ἐπαινεθῆσεται. εἰ δὲ ἀπειθούντων ἀδυνατοίης, σφῶζων σφῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν. ἐρρῶσθαί σε, ἐχόμενον τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν κυρίῳ, εὐχομαι.'

Ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νοουάτον: γράφει δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστολὴν περὶ μετανοίας ἐν ἣ τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ὑποπεπτωκότων παρατίθεται, τάξεις παραπτωμάτων διαγράψας. [2] καὶ πρὸς Κόλωνα 'τῆς Ἑρμουπολιτῶν δὲ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν οὗτος' ἰδίᾳ τις περὶ μετανοίας αὐτοῦ φέρεται γραφὴ καὶ ἄλλη ἐπιστρεπτικὴ πρὸς τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν αὐτοῦ ποιμνιον. ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ περὶ μαρτυρίου πρὸς τὸν Ὠριγένην γραφεῖσα: καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Λαοδίκειαν ἀδελφοῖς, ὧν προΐστατο Θηλυμίδρης ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Ἀρμενίαν ὡσαύτως περὶ μετανοίας ἐπιστέλλει, ὧν ἐπεσκόπευεν Μερουζάνης. [3] πρὸς ἅπασιν τούτοις καὶ Κορνηλίῳ τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην γράφει, δεξάμενος

αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Νοουάτου ἐπιστολὴν, ᾧ καὶ σημαίνει δηλῶν ἑαυτὸν παρακεκλησθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἑλένου τοῦ ἐν Ταρσῶ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ Φιρμιλιανοῦ τε τοῦ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Θεοκτίστου, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἀπαντήσῃ τὴν κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἔνθα τοῦ Νοουάτου κρατύνειν τινὲς ἐνεχέουσιν τὸ σχίσμα. [4] πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιστέλλει μηνυθῆναι αὐτῷ Φάβιον μὲν κεκοιμησθαι, Δημητριανὸν δὲ διάδοχον ἐκείνου τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπισκοπῆς καθεστάναι: γράφει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν φάσκων: 'ὁ μὲν γὰρ θαυμάσιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν φρουρᾷ γενόμενος, μακαρίως ἀνεπαύσατο.' [5] Ἐξῆς ταύτῃ καὶ ἑτέρα τις ἐπιστολὴ τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται διακονικὴ διὰ Ἱπολύτου: τοῖς αὐτοῖς δὲ ἄλλην περὶ εἰρήνης διατυπῶνται, καὶ ὡσαύτως περὶ μετανοίας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἄλλην τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ὁμολογηταῖς, ἔτι τῇ τοῦ Νοουάτου συμφερομένοις γνώμῃ: τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἑτέρας δύο, μεταθεμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐπιστέλλει. καὶ ἄλλοις δὲ πλείοσιν ὁμοίως διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλήσας, ποικίλας τοῖς ἔτι νῦν σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ποιουμένοις καταλέλοιπεν ὠφελείας.

BOOK VII.

τάδε καὶ ἡ ἐβδόμη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

A Περὶ τῆς Δεκίου καὶ Γάλλου κακοτροπίας.

B Οἱ κατὰ τοῦσδε Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοποι.

Γ Ὅπως Κυπριανὸς ἅμα τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόποις τοὺς ἐξ αἰρετικῆς πλάνης ἐπιστρέφοντας λουτρῷ δεῖν καθαίρειν πρῶτος ἐδογμάτισεν.

Δ Ὅπως περὶ τούτου Διονύσιος συνέταξεν ἐπιστολάς.

E Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τὸν διωγμὸν εἰρήνης.

Σ Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Σαβέλλιον αἵρέσεως.

Z Περὶ τῆς τῶν αἰρετικῶν παμμιάρου πλάνης καὶ τῆς θεοπόμου ὀράσεως Διονυσίου οὗ τε παρεῖληφεν ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος.

Η Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Νοουάτον ἑτεροδοξίας.

Θ Περὶ τοῦ τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἀθέου βαπτίσματος.

I Περὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν διωγμοῦ.

IA Περὶ τῶν τότε Διονυσίῳ καὶ τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον συμβάντων.

IB Περὶ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης μαρτυρησάντων.

IG Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Γαλλιῆνον εἰρήνης.

ID Οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνο συνηκμακότες ἐπίσκοποι.

IE Ὅπως κατὰ Καισάρειαν Μαρῖνος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

IZ Ἡ κατὰ Ἀστύριον ἱστορία.

IZ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πανεάδα σημείων τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μεγαλουργίας.

IΗ Περὶ τοῦ θρόνου Ἰακώβου.

IΘ Περὶ τῶν ἐορταστικῶν Διονυσίου ἐπιστολῶν, ἔνθα καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα κανονίζει.

K Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ συμβάντων.

ΚΑ Περί τῆς ἐπισκηψάσης νόσου.

ΚΒ Περί τῆς Γαλλίηνου βασιλείας.

ΚΓ Περί Νέπωτος καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν σχίσματος.

ΚΔ Περί τῆς Ἰωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως.

ΚΕ Περί τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Διονυσίου.

Κς Περί Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ συστάσης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ αἱρέσεως.

ΚΖ Περί τῶν τότε γνωριζομένων διαφανῶν ἐπισκόπων.

ΚΗ Ὅπως ὁ Παῦλος ἀπελεγχθεὶς ἐξεκηρύχθη.

ΚΘ Περί τῆς τῶν Μανιχαίων ἐτεροδόξου διαστροφῆς ἄρτι τότε ἀρξαμένης.

Λ Περί τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαπρεψάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν τίνες τε αὐτῶν μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πολιορκίας διέμειναν.

Τὸν ἑβδομον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας αὐθις ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν Ἀλεξανδρῶν ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἰδίαις φωναῖς συνεκπονήσει, τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πεπραγμένων ἕκαστα ἐν μέρει δι' ὧν καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολῶν ὑφηγούμενος· ἐμοὶ δ' ὁ λόγος ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσεται τὴν ἀρχήν.

Δέκιον οὐδ' ὅλον ἐπικρατήσαντα δυεῖν ἐτοῖν χρόνον αὐτίκα τε ἅμα τοῖς παισὶν κατασφαγέντα Γάλλος διαδέχεται· Ὀριγένης ἐν τούτῳ ἐνὸς δέοντα τῆς ζωῆς ἑβδομήκοντα ἀποπλήσας ἔτη, τελευτᾷ. γράφων γέ τοι ὁ Διονύσιος Ἑρμᾶμμωνι, περὶ τοῦ Γάλλου ταῦτα φάσκει· ‘ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Γάλλος ἔγνω τὸ Δεκίου κακὸν οὐδὲ προεσκόπησεν τί ποτ' ἐκεῖνον ἔσφηλεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἔπαισε λίθον· ὃς εὖ φερομένης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ κατὰ νοῦν χωρούντων τῶν πραγμάτων, τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἄνδρας, τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑγείας πρεσβεύοντας πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἤλασεν. οὐκοῦν σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐδίωξεν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσευχάς.’

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦδε· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν Κορνηλίου ἔτεσιν ἅμφι τὰ τρία τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διανύσαντος, Λούκιος κατέστη διάδοχος, μηνσὶν δ' οὐδ' ὅλοις οὗτος ὀκτῶ τῇ λειτουργίᾳ διακονησάμενος, Στεφάνῳ τελευτῶν μεταδίδωσι τὸν κλῆρον. τούτῳ τὴν πρώτην ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν διατυποῦται, ζητήματος οὐ μικροῦ τηνικάδε ἀνακινήθέντος, εἰ δέοι τοὺς ἐξ οἷας δ' οὖν αἱρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας διὰ λουτροῦ καθαίρειν.

παλαιού γέ τοι κεκρατηκότος ἔθους ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μόνη χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχῇ.

πρῶτος τῶν τότε Κυπριανός, τῆς κατὰ Καρχηδόνα παροικίας ποιμὴν, οὐδ' ἄλλως ἢ διὰ λουτροῦ πρότερον τῆς πλάνης ἀποκαθηραμένους προσίσεσθαι δεῖν ἠγεῖτο. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Στέφανος μὴ δεῖν τι νεώτερον παρὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν ἀρχῇθεν παράδοσιν ἐπικαινοτομεῖν οἰόμενος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ διηγανάκει:

πλεῖστα δὴ οὖν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ Διονύσιος ὁμιλήσας, τελευτῶν δηλοῖ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ διωγμοῦ λεωφοηκότος αἱ πανταχόσε ἐκκλησίαι τὴν κατὰ Νοουάτον ἀποστραφεῖσαι νεωτεροποιίαν, εἰρήνην πρὸς ἑαυτάς ἀνειλήφesan: γράφει δὲ ὧδε:

ἴσθι δὲ νῦν, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἦνωνται πᾶσαι αἱ πρότερον διεσχισμέναι κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐκκλησίαι καὶ ἔτι προσωτέρω, καὶ πάντες εἰσὶν ὁμόφρονες οἱ πανταχοῦ προεστῶτες, χαίροντες καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εἰρήνῃ γενομένῃ, Δημητριανὸς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Θεόκτιστος ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, Μαζαβάνης ἐν Αἰλίᾳ, Μαρίνος ἐν Τύρῳ κοιμηθέντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, Ἡλιόδωρος ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀναπαυσαμένου Θηλυμίδρου, Ἑλενος ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐκκλησίαι, Φιρμιλιανὸς καὶ πᾶσα Καππαδοκία: τοὺς γὰρ περιφανεστέρους μόνους τῶν ἐπισκόπων ὠνόμασα, ἵνα μήτε μήκος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ μήτε βάρος προσάψω τῷ λόγῳ. [2] αἱ μέντοι Συρίαι ὅλαι καὶ ἡ Ἀραβία, οἷς ἐπαρκεῖτε ἐκάστοτε καὶ οἷς νῦν ἐπεστείλατε, ἢ τε Μεσοποταμία Πόντος τε καὶ Βιθυνία καί, συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ἀγαλλιώνται πάντες πανταχοῦ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ φιλαδελφίᾳ, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν.' [3] Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος: Στέφανον δ' ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἀποπλήσαντα τὴν λειτουργίαν ἔτεσιν, Εὖστος διαδέχεται. τούτῳ δευτέραν ὁ Διονύσιος περὶ βαπτίσματος χαράξας ἐπιστολήν, ὁμοῦ τὴν Στεφάνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων γνώμην τε καὶ κρίσιν δηλοῖ, περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου λέγων ταῦτα: 'ἐπεστάλκει [4] μὲν οὖν πρότερον καὶ περὶ Ἑλένου καὶ περὶ Φιρμιλιανοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν τε ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ δηλὸν ὅτι Γαλατίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐξῆς ὁμορούντων ἐθνῶν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις κοινωνήσων διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς αἵρετικούς, φησὶν, ἀναβαπτίζουσιν. [5] καὶ σκόπει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πράγματος. ὄντως γὰρ δόγματα περὶ τούτου γέγονεν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν ἐπισκόπων συνόδοις, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, ὥστε τοὺς προσιόντας ἀπὸ αἱρέσεων προκατηχηθέντας εἶτα ἀπολούεσθαι καὶ ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτου ζύμης ῥύπον. καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτοῦ πάντων δεόμενος ἐπέστειλα.' [6] Καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρά φησιν: 'καὶ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ

συμπρεσβυτέρους Διονυσίῳ καὶ Φιλήμονι, συμψήφοις πρότερον Στεφάνῳ γενομένοις καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μοι γράφουσιν, πρότερον μὲν ὀλίγα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπέστειλα.’ Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ δηλουμένου ζητήματος:

σημαίνων δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαβέλλιον αἰρετικῶν ὡς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐπιπολαζόντων, ταῦτ’ αὖ φησιν: ‘περὶ γὰρ τοῦ νῦν κινήθεντος ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαίδι τῆς Πενταπόλεως δόγματος, ὄντος ἀσεβοῦς καὶ βλασφημίας πολλὴν ἔχοντος περὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπιστίαν τε πολλὴν περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος λόγου, ἀναισθησίαν δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐλθόντων ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ προγραμμάτων καὶ τῶν διαλεξιμένων ἀδελφῶν, ἐπέστειλά τινα, ὡς ἐδυνήθην, παρασχόντος τοῦ θεοῦ, διδασκαλικώτερον ὑφηγούμενος, ὧν τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἔπεμψά σοι.’

Καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος, ἣν Φιλήμονι τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην πρεσβυτέρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει Διονύσιος, ταῦτα παρατίθεται: ‘ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συντάγμασιν καὶ ταῖς παραδόσεσιν τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἐνέτυχον, χραίνων μὲν μου πρὸς ὀλίγον τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς παμμιάρους αὐτῶν ἐνθυμήσεσιν, ὄνησιν δ’ οὖν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ταύτην λαμβάνων, τὸ ἐξελέγχειν αὐτοὺς παρ’ ἐμαυτῷ καὶ πολὺ πλεονέκτημα. [2] καὶ δὴ τινος ἀδελφοῦ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων με ἀπείργοντος καὶ δεδιττομένου συμφύρεσθαι τῷ τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν βορβόρῳ, λυμανεῖσθαι γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ἀληθῆ γε λέγοντος, ὡς ἡσθόμην: ὄραμα θεόπεμpton προσελθὼν ἐπέρρωσέν με, [3] καὶ λόγος πρὸς με γενόμενος προσέταξεν, διαρρήδην λέγων: ‘πᾶσιν ἐντύγχανε οἷς ἂν εἰς χεῖρας λάβοις: διευθύνειν γὰρ ἕκαστα καὶ δοκιμάζειν ἱκανὸς εἶ, καὶ σοι γέγονεν τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς πίστεως αἴτιον.’ ἀπεδεξάμην τὸ ὄραμα, ὡς ἀποστολικῇ φωνῇ συντρέχον τῇ λεγούσῃ πρὸς τοὺς δυνατωτέρους ‘γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται.’ Εἴτ’ αὖ [4] τινα περὶ πασῶν εἰπὼν τῶν αἱρέσεων, ἐπιφέρει λέγων: ‘τοῦτον ἐγὼ τὸν κανόνα καὶ τὸν τύπον παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα ἡμῶν Ἡρακλᾶ παρέλαβον. τοὺς γὰρ προσιόντας ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, καίτοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστάντας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἀποστάντας, ἀλλὰ συνάγεσθαι μὲν δοκοῦντας, καταμνησθέντας δὲ ὡς προσφοιτῶντάς τινα τῶν ἐτεροδιδασκαλούντων, ἀπελάσας τῆς ἐκκλησίας, δεομένους οὐ προσήκατο, ἕως δημοσίᾳ πάντα ὅσα ἀκηκόασιν παρὰ τοῖς ἀντιδιατιθεμένοις ἐξέφρασαν, καὶ τότε συνήγαγεν αὐτούς, οὐ δεηθεὶς ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ἑτέρου βαπτίσματος: τοῦ γὰρ ἁγίου πρότερον παρ’ αὐτοῦ τετυχήκεσαν.’ [5] Πάλιν δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ γυμνάσας τὸ πρόβλημα, ταῦτ’ ἐπιλέγει: ‘μεμάθηκα καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι μὴ νῦν οἱ ἐν Ἀφρικῇ

μόνον τοῦτο παρεισήγαγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπους ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτάταις ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ταῖς συνόδοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐν Ἰκονίῳ καὶ Συνάδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς, τοῦτο ἔδοξεν: ὧν τὰς βουλὰς ἀνατρέπων εἰς ἕριν αὐτοὺς καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐμβαλεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένω. 'οὐ γὰρ μετακινήσεις,' φησὶν, 'ὅρια τοῦ πλησίον σου, ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες σου.' [6] Ἡ τετάρτη αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐγράφη Διονύσιον, τότε μὲν πρεσβεῖου ἡξιωμένον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐκεῖσε παρειληφότα: ἐξ ἧς γινῶναι πάρεστιν ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος λόγιός τε καὶ θαυμάσιος πρὸς τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν Διονυσίου μεμαρτύρηται. γράφει δὲ αὐτῷ μετ' ἕτερα τῶν κατὰ Νοουάτον μνημονεύων ἐν τούτοις:

‘Νοουατιανῷ μὲν γὰρ εὐλόγως ἀπεχθανόμεθα, διακόψαντι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀσεβείας καὶ βλασφημίας ἐλκύσαντι καὶ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἀνοσιωτάτην ἐπεισκυκλήσαντι καὶ τὸν χρηστότατον κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὡς ἀνηλεῇ συκοφαντοῦντι, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ λουτρὸν ἀθετοῦντι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ τὴν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἀνατρέποντι τό τε πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τις ἦν ἐλπίς τοῦ παραμεῖναι ἢ καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς, παντελῶς φυγαδεύοντι.’

Καὶ ἡ πέμπτη δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπον Εὐστόν γεγραπτο: ἐν ἧ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν αἵρετικῶν εἰπών, τοιοῦτόν τι γεγονός κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκτίθεται, λέγων: ‘καὶ γὰρ ὄντως, ἀδελφέ, καὶ συμβουλῆς δέομαι καὶ γνώμην αἰτῶ παρὰ σοῦ, τοιούτου τινός μοι προσελθόντος πράγματος, δεδιώς μὴ ἄρα σφάλλωμαι. [2] τῶν γὰρ συναγομένων ἀδελφῶν πιστὸς νομιζόμενος ἀρχαῖος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χειροτονίας, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως, τῆς συναγωγῆς μετασχών, τοῖς ὑπόγυον βαπτιζομένοις παρατυχὼν καὶ τῶν ἐπερωτήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐπακούσας, προσῆλθέν μοι κλαίων καὶ καταθρηγῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ πίπτων πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν μου, ἐξομολογούμενος μὲν καὶ ἐξομνύμενος τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ παρὰ τοῖς αἵρετικοῖς βεβάπτιστο, μὴ τοῦτο εἶναι μηδὲ ὅλως ἔχειν τινὰ πρὸς τοῦτο κοινωνίαν, ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ βλασφημιῶν πεπληρῶσθαι, [3] λέγων δὲ πάνυ τι τὴν ψυχὴν νῦν κατανεύχθαι καὶ μηδὲ παρρησίαν ἔχειν ἐπᾶραι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνοσιῶν ἐκεῖνων ῥημάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ὀρμώμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεόμενος τῆς εἰλικρινεστάτης ταύτης καθάρσεως καὶ παραδοχῆς καὶ χάριτος τυχεῖν: [4] ὅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησα ποιῆσαι, φήσας αὐτάρκη τὴν πολυχρόνιον αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν εἰς τοῦτο γεγονέναι. εὐχαριστίας γὰρ

ἐπακούσαντα καὶ συνεπιφθεγξάμενον τὸ ἄμην καὶ τραπέζῃ παραστάντα καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα καὶ ταύτην καταδεξάμενον καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μετασχόντα ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ, οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνασκευάζειν ἔτι τολμήσαιμι: θαρσεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ μετὰ βεβαίας πίστεως καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τῇ μετοχῇ τῶν ἁγίων προσιέναι. [5] ὁ δὲ οὔτε πενθὼν παύεται πέφρικέν τε τῇ τραπέζῃ προσιέναι καὶ μόλις παρακαλούμενος συνεστάναι ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀνέχεται.’ [6] Ἐπὶ ταῖς προειρημέναις φέρεται τις καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολή, ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἥς ἠγεῖτο παροικίας Ξύστῳ καὶ τῇ κατὰ Ῥώμην ἐκκλησίᾳ προσπεφωνημένη, ἐν ἣ διὰ μακρᾶς ἀποδείξεως τὸν περὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου ζητήματος παρατείνει λόγον. καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταύτας φέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥώμην Διονύσιον, ἡ περὶ Λουκιανοῦ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα.

Οἱ γε μὴν ἀμφὶ τὸν Γάλλον οὐδ’ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν δύο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπικατασχόντες, ἐκποδὼν μεθίστανται, Οὐαλεριανὸς δ’ ἅμα παιδὶ Γαλλίῳ διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. [2] αὐθις δὴ οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος οἶα καὶ περὶ τούτου διέξεισιν, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἑρμάμωνα ἐπιστολῆς μαθεῖν ἔστιν, ἐν ἣ τοῦτον ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον: ‘καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀποκαλύπτεται: ‘καὶ ἐδόθη γὰρ αὐτῷ,’ φησί, ‘στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίαν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ μῆνες τεσσαράκοντα δύο.’ [3] ἀμφοτέρω δὲ ἔστιν ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ θαυμάσαι καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τὰ πρῶτα ὡς οὕτως ἔσχεν, συννοεῖν ὡς μὲν ἡπιος καὶ φιλόφρων ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ θεοῦ: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλος τις οὕτω τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων εὐμενῶς καὶ δεξιῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διετέθη, οὐδ’ οἱ λεχθέντες ἀναφανδὸν Χριστιανοὶ γεγονέναι, ὡς ἐκεῖνος οἰκειότατα ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ προσφιλέστατα φανερὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς ἀποδεχόμενος, καὶ πᾶς τε ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ θεοσεβῶν πεπλήρωτο καὶ ἦν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ: [4] ἀποσκευάσασθαι δὲ παρέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ τῶν ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου μάγων ἀρχισυνάγωγος, τοὺς μὲν καθαρὸς καὶ ὁσίους ἄνδρας κτείννυσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι κελεύων ὡς ἀντιπάλους καὶ κωλυτὰς τῶν παμμιάρων καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἐπαιδῶν ὑπάρχοντας ‘καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν καὶ ἦσαν ἱκανοί, παρόντες καὶ ὁρώμενοι καὶ μόνον ἐμπνέοντες καὶ φθεγγόμενοι διασκεδάσαι τὰς τῶν ἀλιτηρίων δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλὰς’, τελετὰς δὲ ἀνάγνους καὶ μαγγανείας ἐξαγίστους καὶ ἱερουργίας ἀκαλλιερέτους ἐπιτελεῖν ὑποτιθέμενος, παῖδας ἀθλίους ἀποσφάττειν καὶ τέκνα δυστήνων πατέρων καταθύειν καὶ σπλάγχχνα νεογενῇ διαιρεῖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διακόπτειν καὶ καταχορδεύειν πλάσματα, ὡς ἐκ τούτων εὐδαιμονήσοντας.’ [5] Καὶ τούτοις γε ἐπιφέρει λέγων: ‘καλὰ γοῦν αὐτοῖς

Μακριανὸς τῆς ἐλπιζομένης βασιλείας προσήνεγκεν χαριστήρια: ὃς πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων λεγόμενος εἶναι βασιλέως, οὐδὲν εὐλογον οὐδὲ καθολικὸν ἐφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ὑποπέπτωκεν ἄρ᾽ προφητικῇ τῇ λεγούσῃ 'οὐαὶ τοῖς προφητεύουσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ καθόλου μὴ βλέπουσιν: [6] οὐ γὰρ συνῆκεν τὴν καθόλου πρόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν κρίσιν ὑπείδετο τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, διὸ ὁ καὶ τῆς μὲν καθολικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας γέγονεν πολέμιος, ἡλλοτρίωσεν δὲ καὶ ἀπεξένωσεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἐλέους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἴδιον ἐπαληθεύων ὄνομα.' [7] Καὶ πάλιν μεθ' ἑτερά φησιν: 'ὁ μὲν γὰρ Οὐαλεριανὸς εἰς ταῦτα ὑπὸ τούτου προαχθεὶς, εἰς ὕβρεις καὶ ὀνειδισμοὺς ἐκδοθεὶς, κατὰ τὸ ῥηθὲν πρὸς Ἡσαΐαν: 'καὶ οὗτοι ἐξελέξαντο τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτῶν, ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἠθέλησεν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκλέξομαι τὰ ἐμπαίγματα αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς': [8] οὗτος δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιμανεὶς καὶ τὸν βασιλείον ὑποδῦναι κόσμον ἀδυνατῶν ἀναπῆρψεν τῷ σώματι, τοὺς δύο παῖδας τὰς πατρῶας ἀναδεξαμένους ἀμαρτίας προεστήσατο. ἐναργὴς γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ πρόρρησις ἦν εἶπεν ὁ θεός: 'ἀποδιδούς ἀμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἕως τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης γενεᾶς τοῖς μισοῦσιν με.' [9] τὰς γὰρ ἰδίας πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ὧν ἠτύχει, ταῖς τῶν υἱῶν κεφαλαῖς ἐπιβαλὼν, εἰς ἐκείνους τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κακίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μῖσος ἐξωμόρξατο.' Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοσαῦτα ὁ Διονύσιος:

περὶ δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν διωγμοῦ σφοδρότατα πνεύσαντος οἷα σὺν ἐτέροις ὁ αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ὑπέστη, δηλώσουσιν αἱ αὐτοῦ φωναὶ ἅς πρὸς Γερμανὸν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτὸν πειρώμενον ἀποτεινόμενος, τοῦτον παρατίθεται τὸν τρόπον: ' εἰς [2] ἀφροσύνην δὲ κινδυνεύω πολλὴν καὶ ἀναισθησίαν ὄντως ἐμπεσεῖν, εἰς ἀνάγκην συμβιβαζόμενος τοῦ διηγέισθαι τὴν θαυμαστὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ: ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 'μυστήριον,' φησὶν, 'βασιλέως κρύψαι καλόν, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλύπτειν ἔνδοξον,' ὁμόσε χωρήσω τῇ Γερμανοῦ βίᾳ. [3] ἦκον πρὸς Αἰμιλιανόν, οὐ μόνος, ἡκολούθησαν δέ μοι συμπρεσβύτερός τέ μου Μάξιμος καὶ διάκονοι Φαῦστος Εὐσέβιος Χαιρήμων, καὶ τις τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παρόντων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῖν συνεισῆλθεν. [4] Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ οὐκ εἶπέν μοι προηγουμένως 'μὴ σύναγε.' περιττὸν γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀνατρέχοντι: οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ μὴ συνάγειν ἐτέρους ὁ λόγος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μὴ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς εἶναι Χριστιανούς, καὶ τούτου προσέταττεν πεπαῦσθαι, εἰ μεταβαλοίμην ἐγώ, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔψεσθαί μοι

νομίζων. [5] ἀπεκρινάμην δὲ οὐκ ἀπεικικότως οὐδὲ μακρὰν τοῦ 'πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις,' ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς διεμαρτυράμην ὅτι τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὄντα μόνον καὶ οὐδένα ἕτερον σέβω οὐδ' ἂν μεταθείμην οὐδὲ παυσαίμην ποτὲ Χριστιανὸς ὢν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπελθεῖν εἰς κώμην πλησίον τῆς ἐρήμου καλουμένην Κεφρώ.

Αὐτῶν [6] δὲ ἐπακούσατε τῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων λεχθέντων ὡς ὑπεμνηματίσθη. εἰσαχθέντων Διονυσίου καὶ Φαύστου καὶ Μαξίμου καὶ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Χαιρήμονος Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶπεν: 'καὶ ἀγράφως ὑμῖν διελέχθην περὶ τῆς φιланθρωπίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν ἢ περὶ ὑμᾶς κέχρηται: [7] δεδώκασιν γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ὑμῖν σωτηρίας, εἰ βούλοισθε ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τρέπεσθαι καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς σφύζοντας αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν προσκυνεῖν, ἐπιλαθέσθαι δὲ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν. τί οὖν φατέ πρὸς ταῦτα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀχαρίστους ὑμᾶς ἔσσεσθαι περὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῶν προσδοκῶ, ἐπειδήπερ ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω ὑμᾶς προτρέπονται.' [8]

Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο: 'οὐ πάντες πάντας προσκυνοῦσι θεοῦς, ἀλλ' ἕκαστοι τινάς, οὓς νομίζουσιν. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν τὸν ἕνα θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν πάντων, τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις Οὐαλεριανῷ καὶ Γαλλιῇνῳ Σεβαστοῖς, τοῦτον καὶ σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, καὶ τούτῳ διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμείνῃ, προσευχόμεθα.' [9]

Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς εἶπεν: 'τίς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κωλύει καὶ τοῦτον, εἴπερ ἐστὶν θεός, μετὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν θεῶν προσκυνεῖν; θεοὺς γὰρ σέβειν ἐκελεύσθητε. καὶ θεοὺς οὓς πάντες ἴσασιν.'

Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ἡμεῖς οὐδένα ἕτερον προσκυνοῦμεν.'

[10] Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς εἶπεν:

'ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστους ὄντας καὶ ἀναισθήτους τῆς πρᾶότητος τῶν Σεβαστῶν: δι' ὅπερ οὐκ ἔσεσθε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ ἀποσταλήσεσθε εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐν τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Κεφρώ: τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τόπον ἐξελεξάμην ἐκ τῆς κελεύσεως τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἡμῶν. οὐδαμῶς δὲ ἐξέσται οὔτε ὑμῖν οὔτε ἄλλοις τισὶν ἢ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι ἢ εἰς τὰ καλούμενα κοιμητήρια εἰσιέναι. [11] εἰ δέ τις φανείῃ ἢ μὴ γενόμενος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον ὃν ἐκέλευσα, ἢ ἐν συναγωγῇ τινὶ εὐρεθείῃ, ἑαυτῷ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπαρτήσῃ: οὐ γὰρ ἐπιλείψει ἡ δέουσα ἐπιστρέφεια. ἀπόστητε οὖν ὅπου ἐκελεύσθητε.'

Καὶ νοσοῦντα δέ με κατήπειξεν, οὐδὲ μιᾶς ὑπέρθεσιν δοὺς ἡμέρας. ποίαν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ συνάγειν ἢ μὴ συνάγειν εἶχον σχολήν;

Εἶτα μεθ' ἑτέρα φησιν: ‘ ἀλλ’ ^[12] οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου συναγωγῆς ἀπέστημεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπουδαιότερον συνεκρότουν ὡς συνών, ‘ἀπὼν μὲν τῷ σώματι, ’ ὡς εἶπεν, ‘παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι,’ ἐν δὲ τῇ Κεφρῷ καὶ πολλὴ συνεπεδήμησεν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησία, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀδελφῶν ἐπομένων, τῶν δὲ συνιόντων ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου. ^[13] κάκεῖ θύραν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέωξεν τοῦ λόγου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδιώχθημεν, ἐλιθοβολήθημεν, ὕστερον δέ τινες οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ εἰδωλα καταλιπόντες, ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν: οὐ πρότερον δὲ παραδεξαμένοις αὐτοῖς τότε πρῶτον δι’ ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπεσπάρη, ^[14] καὶ ὥσπερ τούτου ἕνεκεν ἀπαγαγὼν ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός, ἐπεὶ τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ἐπληρώσαμεν, πάλιν ἀπαγέχον.

Ὁ γὰρ Αἰμιλιανὸς εἰς τραχυτέρους μὲν, ὡς ἐδόκει, καὶ λιβυκωτέρους ἡμᾶς μεταστῆσαι τόπους ἐβουλήθη, καὶ τοὺς πανταχόσε εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην ἐκέλευσεν συρρεῖν, κώμας ἐκάστοις τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἀφορίσας, ἡμᾶς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ πρώτους καταληφθησομένους ἔταξεν. ὥκονόμει γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ἵνα ὁπότεν βουλευθεῖη συλλαβεῖν, πάντα εὐαλῶτους ἔχοι. ^[15] ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτε μὲν εἰς Κεφρῷ κεκελεύσμεν ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἠγνῶουν ὅποι ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα σχεδὸν πρότερον ἀκηκόως, καὶ ὅμως εὐθύμως καὶ ἀταράχως ἀπήειν: ἐπεὶ δὲ μετασκηνώσειν εἰς τὰ Κολλουθίωνος ἀπηγγέλη μοι, ἴσασιν οἱ παρόντες ὅπως διετέθην ‘ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἑμαυτοῦ κατηγορήσῃ, ^[16] τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠχθέσθην καὶ λίαν ἐχαλέπηνα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ γνωριμώτεροι καὶ συνηθέστεροι ἐτύγχανον ἡμῖν οἱ τόποι, ἀλλ’ ἔρημον μὲν ἀδελφῶν καὶ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων ἔφασκον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ὁδοιπορούντων ἐνοχλήσεσιν καὶ ληστῶν καταδρομαῖς ἐκκείμενον: ^[17] ἔτυχον δὲ παραμυθίας, ὑπομνησάντων με τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὅτι γειννιῶ μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει καὶ ἢ μὲν Κεφρῷ πολλὴν ἡμῖν ἤγεν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν, ὡς πλατύτερον ἐκκλησιάζειν δύνασθαι, ἐκεῖ δέ, πλησιαίτερον οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, συνεχέστερον τῆς τῶν ὄντως ἀγαπητῶν καὶ οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ὄψεως ἀπολαύσομεν: ἀφίξονται γὰρ καὶ ἀναπαύσονται καὶ ὡς ἐν προαστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί. καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο.

‘ ^[18]

Καὶ μεθ’ ἑτερα περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῷ αὐθις ταῦτα γράφει: ‘πολλαῖς γε ταῖς ὁμολογίαις Γερμανὸς σεμνύνεται, πολλὰ γε εἰπεῖν ἔχει καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ

γενόμενα: ὅσας ἀριθμῆσαι δύναται περὶ ἡμῶν ἀποφάσεις, δημεύσεις, προγραφάς, ὑπαρχόντων ἀρπαγάς, ἀξιωματῶν ἀποθέσεις, δόξης κοσμικῆς ὀλιγωρίας, ἐπαίνων ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ βουλευτικῶν καταφρονήσεις καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀπειλῶν καὶ καταβολῆσεων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ διωγμῶν καὶ πλάνης καὶ στενοχωρίας καὶ ποικίλης θλίψεως ὑπομονήν, οἷα τὰ ἐπὶ Δεκίου καὶ Σαβίνου συμβάντα μοι, οἷα μέχρι νῦν Αἰμιλιανοῦ. [19] ποῦ δὲ Γερμανὸς ἐφάνη; τίς δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος; ἀλλὰ τῆς πολλῆς ἀφροσύνης, εἰς ἣν ἐμπίπτω διὰ Γερμανόν, ὑφίεμαι, διὸ καὶ τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν γενομένων διήγησιν παρίημι τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἀδελφοῖς λέγειν.' [20] Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομέτιον καὶ Δίδυμον ἐπιστολῇ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν διωγμὸν αὐθις μνημονεύει ἐν τούτοις: 'τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους πολλοὺς τε ὄντας καὶ ἀγνώτας ὑμῖν, περισσὸν ὀνομαστὶ καταλέγειν, πλὴν ἴστε ὅτι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ νέοι καὶ γέροντες, καὶ κόραι καὶ πρεσβύτεδες, καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ ἰδιῶται, καὶ πᾶν γένος καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία, οἱ μὲν διὰ μαστίγων καὶ πυρός, οἱ δὲ διὰ σιδήρου τὸν ἀγῶνα νικήσαντες, τοὺς στεφάνους ἀπειλήφασιν: [21] τοῖς δὲ οὐ πάμπολυς αὐτάρκης ἀπέβη χρόνος εἰς τὸ φανῆναι δεκτοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔοικεν μηδὲ ἐμοὶ μέχρι νῦν, διόπερ εἰς ὃν οἶδεν αὐτὸς ἐπιτήδειον καιρὸν ὑπερέθετό με ὁ λέγων 'καιρῷ δεκτῷ ἐπήκουσά σου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι.' [22] τὰ γὰρ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεσθε καὶ βούλεσθε δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν ὅπως διάγομεν, ἠκούσατε μὲν πάντως ὅπως ἡμᾶς δεσμώτας ἀγομένους ὑπὸ ἑκατοντάρχου καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν, ἐμέ τε καὶ Γαῖον καὶ Φαῦστον καὶ Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, ἐπελθόντες τινὲς τῶν Μारेωτῶν, ἄκοντας καὶ μηδὲ ἐπομένους, βία τε καὶ σύροντες, ἀφῆρπασαν: [23] ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν καὶ Γαῖος καὶ Πέτρος μόνοι, τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν ἀπορφανισθέντες, ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ αὐχμηρῷ τῆς Λιβύης τόπῳ κατακεκλείσμεθα, τριῶν ὁδῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ Παιονίου διεστηκότες.' [24] Καὶ ὑποκαταβάς φησιν: 'ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει καταδεδύκασιν ἀφανῶς ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τοὺς ἀδελφούς, πρεσβύτεροι μὲν Μάξιμος Διόσκορος Δημήτριος Λούκιος: οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ προφανέστεροι Φαυστίνος καὶ Ἀκύλας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πλανῶνται: διάκονοι δὲ οἱ μετὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τελευτήσαντας ὑπολειφθέντες Φαῦστος Εὐσέβιος Χαιρήμων: Εὐσέβιος, ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ θεὸς ἐνεδυνάμωσεν καὶ παρεσκεύασεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς γενομένων ὁμολογητῶν ἐναγωνίως ἀποπληροῦν καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων περιστολὰς τῶν τελείων καὶ μακαρίων μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀκινδύνως ἐκτελεῖν: [25] καὶ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν οὐκ ἀνίησιν ὁ ἡγούμενος τοὺς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, ὡς προεῖπον, ὡμῶς τῶν

προσαγομένων, τοὺς δὲ βασιάνους καταζαίνων, τοὺς δὲ φυλακαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐκτῆκων προστάσων τε μηδένα τούτοις προσιέναι καὶ ἀνερευνῶν μὴ τις φανείη, καὶ ὅμως ὁ θεὸς τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ λιπαρίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαναπαύει τοὺς πεπιεσμένους.’ [26] Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος. ἰστέον δὲ ὡς ὁ μὲν Εὐσέβιος, ὃν διακονον προσεῖπεν, σμικρὸν ὕστερον ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν Λαοδικεῖας καθίσταται, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος, ὃν τότε πρεσβύτερον εἶρηκεν, μετ’ αὐτὸν Διονύσιον τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀδελφῶν διαδέχεται, Φαῦστος δέ, ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ τηνικάδε διαπρέπας ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ὑμᾶς διωγμοῦ φυλαχθεῖς, γηραιὸς κομιδῇ καὶ πλήρης ἡμερῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μαρτυρίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς τελειοῦται. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῷ Διονυσίῳ συμβάντα τοιαῦτα.

κατὰ δὲ τὸν δηλούμενον Οὐαλεριανοῦ διωγμὸν τρεῖς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν διαλάμπαντες ὁμολογία, θείῳ κατεκοσμήθησαν μαρτυρίῳ, θηρίων γενόμενοι βορά: τούτων ὁ μὲν Πρίσκος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Μάλχος, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὄνομα ἦν. τούτους φασὶν κατ’ ἀγρὸν οἰκοῦντας, πρότερον μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ὡς ἀμελεῖς καὶ ῥαθύμους κακίσαι, ὅτι δὴ βραβείων, τοῦ καιροῦ τοῖς πόθου γλιχομένοις οὐρανίου διανέμοντος, ὀλιγωροῖεν αὐτοί, μὴ οὐχὶ προαρπάζοντες τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον: ταύτῃ δὲ βουλευσαμένους, ὁρμήσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν ὁμόσε τε χωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τυχεῖν τοῦ προδεδηλωμένου τέλους. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις γυναιὸν τι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν διωγμὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τὸν ὅμοιον ἱστοροῦσιν ἀγῶνα διηθληκένας: τῆς δὲ Μαρκίωνος αὐτὴν αἰρέσεως γενέσθαι κατέχει λόγος.

Ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δουλείαν τὴν παρὰ βαρβάροις ὑπομείναντος Οὐαλεριανοῦ, μοναρχήσας ὁ παῖς σωφρονέστερον τὴν ἀρχὴν διατίθεται, ἀνιήσιν τε αὐτίκα διὰ προγραμμάτων τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν διωγμὸν, ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίας τοῖς τοῦ λόγου προεστῶσιν τὰ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν δι’ ἀντιγραφῆς προστάζας, ἥτις τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον: ‘Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Γαλλιῆνος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστὸς Διονυσίῳ καὶ Πίννᾳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπισκόποις. τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκβιβασθῆναι προσέταξα, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν θρησκευσίμων ἀποχωρήσωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑμεῖς τῆς ἀντιγραφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς τῷ τύπῳ χρῆσθαι δύνασθε, ὥστε μηδένα ὑμῖν ἐνοχλεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο, ὅπερ κατὰ τὸ ἐξὸν δύναται ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἀναπληροῦσθαι, ἤδη πρὸ πολλοῦ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ συγκεχώρηται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Αὐρήλιος Κυρίνιος, ὁ τοῦ μεγίστου πράγματος προστατεύων,

τὸν τύπον τὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθέντα διαφυλάξει.' Ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐρμηνευθέντα γλώττης ἐγκείσθω. καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάταξις φέρεται, ἣν πρὸς ἐτέρους ἐπισκόπους πεποιήται, τὰ τῶν καλουμένων κοιμητηρίων ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπων χωρία.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔτι τότε καθηγεῖτο Εὐστος, τῆς δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ Φάβιον Δημητριάδου, Φιρμιλιανὸς δὲ Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν Γρηγόριος καὶ ὁ τοῦτου ἀδελφὸς Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ὡριγένους γνώριμοι: τῆς δ' ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης Καισαρείας, Θεοκτίστου μεταλλάξαντος, διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Δόμνος, βραχεὶ δὲ χρόνῳ τοῦτου διαγενομένου, Θεότεκνος, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς, διάδοχος καθίσταται: τῆς δ' Ὡριγένους διατριβῆς καὶ οὗτος ἦν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναπαυσαμένου Μαζαβάνου, τὸν θρόνον Ὑμέναιος, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ πλείστοις τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς διαπρέψας ἔτεσιν, διεδέξατο.

Κατὰ τούτους εἰρήνης ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὔσης, ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Μαρτῖνος τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀξιώμασι τετιμημένων γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ περιφανὴς ἀνὴρ, διὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμενεται, τοιαῦδε ἕνεκεν αἰτίας. [2] τιμὴ τίς ἐστὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ κλῆμα, οὗ τοὺς τυχόντας φασὶν ἑκατοντάρχους γίνεσθαι. τόπου σχολάζοντος, ἐπὶ τοῦτο προκοπῆς τὸν Μαρτῖνον ἢ τοῦ βαθμοῦ τάξις ἐκάλει, ἥδη τε μέλλοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἔχθεσθαι παρελθὼν ἄλλος πρὸ τοῦ βήματος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μὲν ἐκείνῳ τῆς Ῥωμαίων μετέχειν ἀξίας κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους, Χριστιανῷ γε ὄντι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύοντι, κατηγορεῖ, αὐτῷ δ' ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν κλῆρον: [3] ἐφ' ᾧ κινηθέντα τὸν δικαστὴν Ἀχαιοὺς οὗτος ἦν πρῶτον μὲν ἐρέσθαι ποίας ὁ Μαρτῖνος εἶη γνώμης, ὡς δ' ὁμολογοῦντα Χριστιανὸν ἐπιμόνως ἑώρα, τριῶν ὥρων ἐπιδουῖναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν διάστημα. [4] Ἐκτὸς δῆτα γενόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου Θεότεκνος ὁ τῇδε ἐπίσκοπος ἀφέλκει, προσελθὼν δι' ὁμιλίας, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προάγει, εἴσω τε πρὸς αὐτῷ στήσας τῷ ἀγιάσματι, μικρόν τι παραναστείλας αὐτοῦ τῆς χλαμύδος καὶ τὸ προσηρτημένον αὐτῷ ξίφος ἐπιδείξας ἅμα τε ἀντιπαρτίθησιν προσαγαγὼν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν, κελεύσας τῶν δυεῖν ἐλέσθαι τὸ κατὰ γνώμην. Ὡς δ' ἀμελλητὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνειας ἐδέξατο τὴν θείαν γραφὴν, 'ἔχου τοίνυν, ἔχου,' φησὶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεότεκνος, 'τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τύχοις ὧν εἴλω, πρὸς αὐτοῦ δυναμούμενος, καὶ βάδιζε μετ' εἰρήνης.' [5] εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπανελθὼντα αὐτὸν κῆρυξ ἐβόα καλῶν πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου: καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ χρόνου πεπλήρωτο: καὶ δὴ παραστὰς τῷ δικαστῇ καὶ

μερίζονα τῆς πίστεως τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιδείξας, εὐθὺς ὡς εἶχεν, ἀπαχθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τελειοῦται.

Ἐνθα καὶ Ἀστύριος ἐπὶ τῇ θεοφιλεῖ παρρησίᾳ μνημονεύεται, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς συγκλητικῶν γενόμενος βασιλεῦσιν τε προσφιλὴς καὶ πᾶσι γνῶριμος εὐγενείας τε ἔνεκα καὶ περιουσίας· ὃς παρὼν τελειούμενῳ τῷ μάρτυρι, τὸν ὄμον ὑποθεὶς, ἐπὶ λαμπρᾷ καὶ πολυτελοῦς ἐσθῆτος ἄρας τὸ σκῆνος ἐπιφέρεται, περιστείλας τε εὖ μάλα πλουσίως, τῇ προσηκούσῃ ταφῇ παραδίδωσιν. Τούτου μυρία μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μνημονεύουσιν οἱ τάνδρὸς καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διαμείναντες γνῶριμοι, ἀτὰρ καὶ παραδόξου τοιούτου.

ἐπὶ τῆς Φιλίππου Καισαρείας, ἣν Πανεάδα Φοίνικες προσαγορεύουσιν, φασὶ παρὰ ταῖς αὐτόθι δεικνυμέναις ἐν ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ καλουμένου Πανείου ὄρους πηγαῖς, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην προχεῖσθαι, κατὰ τινὰ ἑορτῆς ἡμέραν σφάγιόν τι καταβάλλεσθαι καὶ τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ δαίμονος δυνάμει ἀφανὲς γίνεσθαι παραδόξως θαῦμά τε εἶναι περιβόητον τοῖς παροῦσι τὸ γινόμενον. παρόντα δ' οὖν ποτε τοῖς πραττομένοις τὸν Ἀστύριον καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα καταπεπληγμένους ἰδόντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, οἰκεῖται τῆς πλάνης, κᾶπειτα ἀνανεύσαντα εἰς οὐρανόν, ἰκετεῦσαι διὰ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν τὸ λαοπλάνον δαιμόνιον ἐλέγξαι καὶ παῦσαι τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάτης. ταῦτα δὲ φασιν εὐξαμένου, ἀθρόως τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐπιπολάσαι ταῖς πηγαῖς οὕτω τε αὐτοῖς τὸ παράδοξον οἴχεσθαι, μηδεὶς μηκέτι θαύματος περὶ τὸν τόπον γινόμενον.

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δὴ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως εἰς μνήμην ἐλήλυθα, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι παρελθεῖν διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς μνημονεύεσθαι ἀξίαν. [2] τὴν γὰρ αἰμορροοῦσαν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τοῦ πάθους ἀπαλλαγὴν εὔρασθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐνθὲνδε ἔλεγον ὀρμᾶσθαι τὸν τε οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως δεικνυσθαι καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰς αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίας θαυμαστὰ τρόπαια παραμένειν. [3] ἐστάναι γὰρ ἐφ' ὕψηλῳ λίθου πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ αὐτῆς οἴκου γυναικὸς ἐκτύπωμα χάλκεον, ἐπὶ γόνυ κεκλιμένον καὶ τεταμέναις ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ταῖς χερσὶν ἰκετευούσῃ ἑοικός, τούτου δὲ ἄντικρυς ἄλλο τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης, ἀνδρὸς ὀρθιον σχῆμα, διπλοῖδα κοσμίως περιβεβλημένον καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῇ γυναικὶ προτεῖνον, οὗ παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης αὐτῆς ξένον τι βοτάνης εἶδος φύειν, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ κρασπέδου τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ διπλοῖδος ἀνιόν, ἀλεξιφάρμακόν τι παντοίων νοσημάτων τυγχάνειν. τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰκόνα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φέρειν ἔλεγον, ἔμενεν δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ ὅψει παραλαβεῖν ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει. [4] καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἐθνῶν εὐεργετηθέντας πρὸς τοῦ

σωτήρος ἡμῶν ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου καὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σφριζόμενας ἱστορήσαμεν, ὡς εἰκός, τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἷα σωτήρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον.

Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον, τοῦ πρώτου τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένου, ὃν καὶ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ χρηματίσαι οἱ θεῖοι λόγοι περιέχουσιν, εἰς δεῦρο πεφυλαγμένοι οἱ τῇδε κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιέποντες ἀδελφοὶ σαφῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδείκνυνται οἷον περὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνδρας τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς ἔνεκεν οἱ τε πάλαι καὶ οἱ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔσφζόν τε καὶ ἀποσφύζουσι σέβας. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη.

Ὁ γε μὴν Διονύσιος πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσαις ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἐορταστικὰς τὸ τηνικαῦτα συντάττει, πανηγυρικωτέρους ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτῆς ἀνακινῶν λόγους. τούτων τὴν μὲν Φλαυῖον προσφωνεῖ, τὴν δὲ Δομετίῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ κανόνα ἐκτίθεται ὀκταετηρίδος, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλοτε ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν προσήκοι τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν, παριστάμενος· πρὸς ταύταις καὶ ἄλλην τοῖς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμπρεσβυτέροις ἐπιστολὴν διαχαράττει ἐτέροις τε ὁμοῦ διαφόρως, καὶ ταύτας ἔτι τοῦ διωγμοῦ συνεστῶτος.

Ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ ὅσον οὕτω τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐπάνεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, πάλιν δ' ἐνταῦθα στάσεως καὶ πολέμου συστάντος, ὡς οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν αὐτῷ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἅπαντας ἀδελφούς, εἰς ἐκάτερον τῆς στάσεως μέρος διηρημένους, ἐπισκοπεῖν, αὐθις ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτῇ, ὥσπερ τις ὑπερόριος, ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῖς ὠμίλει. [2] καὶ Ἰέρακι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπισκόπων ἑτέραν ἐορταστικὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράφων, τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων στάσεως μνημονεύει διὰ τούτων: Ἐμοὶ δέ, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ πρὸς τοὺς πορρωτέρω παροικοῦντας χαλεπὸν τὸ κᾶν δι' ἐπιστολῶν ὀμιλεῖν, ὅτε καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν αὐτῷ μοι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ψυχῇ συμβουλευέσθαι καθέστηκεν ἄπορον; [3] πρὸς γοῦν τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ σπλάγχνα, τοὺς ὁμοσκήνους καὶ συμψύχους ἀδελφούς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτίας ἐκκλησίας, ἐπιστολιμαίων δέομαι γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦθ' ὅπως διαπεμψαίμην, ἀμήχανον φαίνεται. ῥᾶον γὰρ ἂν τις οὐχ ὅπως εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμὰς περαιωθεῖ, ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπέλθοι. [4] τῆς γὰρ ἐρήμου τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀτριβοῦς ἐκείνης ἦν ἐν δυσὶν γενεαῖς διώδευσεν ὁ Ἰσραὴλ, ἄπειρος μᾶλλον καὶ ἄβατός ἐστιν ἢ μεσαιτάτη τῆς πόλεως ὁδός· καὶ τῆς

θαλάσσης ἦν ἐκεῖνοι ῥαγεῖσαν καὶ διατειχισθεῖσαν ἔσχον ἱππήλατον καὶ ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ κατεποντίσθησαν Αἰγύπτιοι, οἱ γαληνοὶ καὶ ἀκύμαντοι λιμένες γεγόνασιν εἰκῶν, πολλάκις φανέντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φόνων οἷον ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα: [5] ὁ δ' ἐπιρρέων ποταμὸς τὴν πόλιν ποτὲ μὲν ἐρήμου τῆς ἀνύδρου ξηρότερος ὤφθη καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνυμώδης ἐκείνης ἦν διαπορευόμενος ὁ Ἰσραὴλ οὕτως ἐδίψησεν, ὥς Μωσῇ μὲν καταβοᾶν, ῥύηται δ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θαυμάσια ποιοῦντος μόνου ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου ποτόν: [6] ποτὲ δὲ τοσοῦτος ἐπλήμμυρεν ὥς πᾶσαν τὴν περὶχωρον τάς τε ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐπικλύσαντα, τῆς ἐπὶ Νῶε γενομένης τοῦ ὕδατος φορᾶς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἀπειλήν: αἰὶ δὲ αἷματι καὶ φόνους καὶ καταποντισμοῖς κάτεισιν μεμιασμένος, οἷος ὑπὸ Μωσῇ γέγονεν τῷ Φαραώ, μεταβαλὼν εἰς αἷμα καὶ ἐποζέσας. [7] καὶ ποῖον γένοιτ' ἂν τοῦ πάντα καθαίροντος ὕδατος ὕδωρ ἄλλο καθάρσιον; πῶς ἂν ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀπέραντος ἀνθρώποις ὠκεανὸς ἐπιχυθεὶς τὴν πικρὰν ταύτην ἀποσμήξαι θάλασσαν; ἢ πῶς ἂν ὁ μέγας ποταμὸς, ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος ἐξ Ἑδέμ, τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς εἰς ἃς ἀφορίζεται, μετοχετεύσας εἰς μίαν τοῦ Γηῶν, ἀποπλύναι τὸν λύθρον; [8] ἢ πότε ὁ τεθολωμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πανταχόθεν ἀναθυμιάσεων ἀῆρ εἰλικρινὴς γένοιτο; τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀτμοὶ καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνεμοι ποταμῶν τε αὔραι καὶ λιμένων ἀνιμήσεις ἀποπνέουσιν, ὥς σηπομένων ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις στοιχείοις νεκρῶν ἰχθῶρας εἶναι τὰς δρόσους. [9] εἴτα θαυμάζουσιν καὶ διαποροῦσιν, πόθεν οἱ συνεχεῖς λοιμοί, πόθεν αἱ χαλεπαὶ νόσοι, πόθεν αἱ παντοδαπαὶ φθοραὶ, πόθεν ὁ ποικίλος καὶ πολὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄλεθρος, διὰ τί μηκέτι τοσοῦτο πλῆθος οἰκητόρων ἢ μεγίστη πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ φέρει, ἀπὸ νηπίων ἀρξαμένη παίδων μέχρι τῶν εἰς ἄκρον γεγηρακότων, ὅσους ὠμογέροντας οὕς ἐκάλει, πρότερον ὄντας ἔτρεφεν: ἀλλ' οἱ τεσσαρακοντοῦται καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν τοσοῦτον πλέονες τότε, ὥστε μὴ συμπληροῦσθαι νῦν τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν, προσεγγραφέντων καὶ συγκαταλεγέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον σιτηρέσιον τῶν ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν μέχρι τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ γεγόνασιν οἷον ἡλικιώται τῶν πάλαι γεραιτάτων οἱ ὅψει νεώτατοι. [10] καὶ οὕτω μειούμενον αἰὶ καὶ δαπανώμενον ὀρῶντες τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων γένος, οὐ τρέμουσιν, ἀυξομένου καὶ προκόπτοντος τοῦ παντελοῦς αὐτῶν ἀφανισμοῦ.'

Μετὰ ταῦτα λοιμικῆς τὸν πόλεμον διαλαβούσης νόσου τῆς τε ἐορτῆς πλησιαζούσης, αὐθις διὰ γραφῆς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμιλεῖ, τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπισημαινόμενος πάθη διὰ τούτων: ' Τοῖς [2] μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις οὐκ ἂν δόξειεν καιρὸς ἐορτῆς εἶναι τὰ παρόντα, οὐδὲ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς οὔτε οὔτος οὔτε

τις ἕτερος, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιλύπων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἴ τις περιχαρής, ὃν οἰθεῖεν μάλιστα. νῦν μὲν γε θρῆνοι πάντα, καὶ πενθοῦσιν πάντες, καὶ περιηχοῦσιν οἰμωγαὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ὁσημέραι: [3] ὥς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γέγραπται, οὕτως καὶ νῦν ἐγενήθη κραυγὴ μεγάλη: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οἰκία, ἐν ἧ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ τεθνηκώς, καὶ ὄφελόν γε εἶς.

Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου συμβεβηκότα: [4] πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς ἥλασαν, καὶ μόνοι πρὸς ἀπάντων διωκόμενοι καὶ θανατούμενοι ἑωρτάσαμεν καὶ τότε, καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον θλίψεως τόπος πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῖν γέγονε χωρίον, ἀγρὸς ἐρημία ναῦς πανδοχεῖον δεσμωτήριον, φαιδροτάτην δὲ πασῶν ἡγαγον ἑορτὴν οἱ τέλειοι μάρτυρες, εὐωχηθέντες ἐν οὐρανῷ: [5] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πόλεμος καὶ λιμὸς ἐπέλαβεν, ἃ τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνδιηνέκαμεν, μόνοι μὲν ὑποστάντες ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐλυμήναντο, παραπολαύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὧν ἀλλήλους εἰργάσαντό τε καὶ πεπόνθασιν, καὶ τῇ Χριστοῦ πάλιν ἐνηυφράνθημεν εἰρήνῃ, ἣν μόνοις ἡμῖν δέδωκεν: [6] βραχυτάτης δὲ ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν τυχόντων ἀναπνοῆς, ἐπικατέσκηψεν ἡ νόσος αὕτη, πρᾶγμα φόβου τε παντὸς φοβερώτερον ἐκείνοις καὶ συμφορᾶς ἥστινος οὐδ' σχετιώτερον καὶ ὥς ἰδιός τις αὐτῶν ἀπήγγειλεν συγγραφεύς, ' πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γενόμενον,' ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ τοιοῦτο μὲν, γυμνάσιον δὲ καὶ δοκίμιον οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἔλαττον. ἀπέσχετο μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡμῶν, πολλὴ δὲ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη.

‘ [7]

Τούτοις ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'οἱ γοῦν πλείστοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δι' ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀγάπην καὶ φιλαδελφίαν ἀφειδοῦντες ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι, ἐπισκοποῦντες ἀφυλάκτως τοὺς νοσοῦντας, λιπαρῶς ὑπηρετούμενοι, θεραπεύοντες ἐν Χριστῷ, συναπηλλάττοντο ἐκείνοις ἀσμενέστατα, τοῦ παρ' ἐτέρων ἀναμιμλάμενοι πάθους καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον καὶ ἐκόντες ἀναμασσόμενοι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. καὶ πολλοὶ νοσοκομήσαντες καὶ ῥώσαντες ἐτέρους, ἐτελεύτησαν αὐτοί, τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μεταστησάμενοι καὶ τὸ δημῶδες ῥῆμα, μόνῃς ἀεὶ δοκοῦν φιλοφροσύνης ἔχεσθαι, ἔργῳ δὴ τότε πληροῦντες, ' ἀπιόντες αὐτῶν περίφημα.' [8] οἱ γοῦν ἄριστοι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀδελφῶν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξεχώρησαν τοῦ βίου, πρεσβύτεροί τέ τινες καὶ διάκονοι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ, λίαν ἐπαινούμενοι, ὥς καὶ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος, διὰ πολλὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν γινόμενον, μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν μαρτυρίου

δοκεῖν. [9] καὶ τὰ σώματα δὲ τῶν ἁγίων ὑπταῖς χερσὶ καὶ κόλποις ὑπολαμβάνοντες καθαιροῦντές τε ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ στόματα συγκλείοντες ὁμοφοροῦντές τε καὶ διατιθέντες, προσκολλώμενοι, συμπλεκόμενοι, λουτροῖς τε καὶ περιστολαῖς κατακοσμοῦντες, μετὰ μικρὸν ἐτύγχανον τῶν ἴσων, ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἐφεπομένων τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. [10] τὰ δέ γε ἔθνη πᾶν τοῦναντίον· καὶ νοσεῖν ἀρχομένους ἀπωθοῦντο καὶ ἀπέφευγον τοὺς φιλάτους κὰν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐρρίπτουν ἡμιθνήτας καὶ νεκροὺς ἀτάφους ἀπεσκυβαλίζοντο, τὴν τοῦ θανάτου διάδοσιν καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐκτρεπόμενοι, ἦν οὐκ ἦν καὶ πολλὰ μηχανωμένοι ἐκκλιναιρῶδιον.’

[11] μετὰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εἰρηνευσάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς ἐορταστικὴν αὐθις ἐπιστέλλει γραφὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πάλιν ἄλλας διατυποῦται· φέρεται δὲ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ σαββάτου καὶ ἄλλη περὶ γυμνασίου. [12] Ἑρμάμμωνι δὲ πάλιν καὶ τοῖς κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ἀδελφοῖς δι’ ἐπιστολῆς ὁμιλῶν πολλά τε ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Δεκίου καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτὸν διεξελθῶν κακοτροπίας, τῆς κατὰ τὸν Γαλλίηνον εἰρήνης ἐπιμνήσκειται:

οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον τὸ καὶ τούτων ὧδέ πως ἐχόντων ἀκοῦσαι: ‘Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐαυτοῦ βασιλέων τὸν μὲν προέμενος, τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέμενος, παγγενεῖ ταχέως καὶ πρόρριζος ἐξηφανίσθη, ἀνεδείχθη δὲ καὶ συνανωμολογήθη παρὰ πάντων ὁ Γαλλίηνος, παλαιὸς ἅμα βασιλεὺς καὶ νέος, πρῶτος ὢν καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνους παρών. [2] κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ρηθὲν πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν ‘τὰ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἰδοὺ ἤκασιν, καὶ καινὰ ἃ νῦν ἀνατελεῖ.’ ὥσπερ γὰρ νέφος τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας ὑποδραμὸν καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἐπηλυγάσαν ἐσκίασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ προεφάνη, εἴτα παρελθόντος ἢ διατακέντος τοῦ νέφους, ἐξεφάνη πάλιν ἐπανατείλας ὁ προανατείλας ἥλιος, οὕτω προστάς καὶ προσπελάσας ἐαυτὸν ὁ Μακριανὸς τῆς ἐφεστώσης Γαλλίηνου βασιλείας, ὃ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἦν, ὃ δὲ ἔστιν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἦν, [3] καὶ οἶον ἀποθεμένη τὸ γῆρας ἢ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν προοῦσαν ἀνακαθηραμένη κακίαν, ἀκμαϊότερον νῦν ἐπανθεῖ καὶ πορρώτερον ὁρᾶται καὶ ἀκούεται καὶ διαφοιτᾷ πανταχοῦ.’ [4] Εἴθ’ ἐξῆς καὶ τὸν χρόνον, καθ’ ὃν ταῦτ’ ἔγραφεν, διὰ τούτων σημαίνει: ‘καί μοι πάλιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐτῶν ἔπεισι σκοπεῖν. ὁρῶ γάρ, ὡς ὀνομασθέντες μὲν οἱ ἀσεβέστατοι μετ’ οὐ πολὺ γεγόνασιν ἀνώνυμοι, ὃ δὲ ὀσιώτερος καὶ φιλοθεώτερος ὑπερβὰς τὴν ἐπταετηρίδα, νῦν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνατον διανύει, ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς ἐορτάσωμεν.’

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασιν σπουδάζεται αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν δύο

συγγράμματα, ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις αὐτῷ Νέπωσ ἦν, ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, Ἰουδαϊκώτερον τὰς ἐπηγγελμένας τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐπαγγελίας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι διδάσκων καὶ τινὰ χιλιάδα ἐτῶν τρυφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ταύτης ἔσεσθαι ὑποτιθέμενος. [2] δόξας γοῦν οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου τὴν ἰδίαν κρατύνειν ὑπόληψιν, Ἐλεγχον ἀλληγοριστῶν λόγον τινὰ περὶ τούτου συντάξας ἐπέγραψεν: [3] πρὸς ὃν ὁ Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν ἐνίσταται, διὰ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἦν εἶχεν περὶ τοῦ δόγματος, παρατιθέμενος, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου διαλαμβάνων: ἔνθα τοῦ Νέπωτος κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μνημονεύσας, ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει: 'ἐπεὶ [4] δὲ σύνταγμά τι προκομίζουσιν Νέπωτος, ὃ λίαν ἐπερείδονται ὥς ἀναντιρρήτως ἀποδεικνύντι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔσεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νέπωτα τῆς τε πίστεως καὶ τῆς φιλοπονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμωδίας, ἥ μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐθυμοῦνται, καὶ πάννυ δι' αἰδοῦς ἄγω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ταύτη μᾶλλον ἢ προανεπαύσατο: ἀλλὰ φύλῃ γὰρ καὶ προτιμοτάτῃ πάντων ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἐπαινεῖν τε χρὴ καὶ συναινεῖν ἀφθόνως, εἴ τι ὀρθῶς λέγοιτο, ἐξετάζειν δὲ καὶ διευθύνειν, εἴ τι μὴ φαίνοιτο ὑγιῶς ἀναγεγραμμένον. [5] καὶ πρὸς μὲν παρόντα καὶ ψιλῶ λόγῳ δογματίζοντα αὐτάρκης ἦν ἂν ἡ ἄγραφος ὁμιλία, δι' ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως πείθουσα καὶ συμβιβάζουσα τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους: γραφῆς δὲ ἐκκειμένης, ὥς δοκεῖ τισιν, πιθανωτάτης καὶ τινῶν διδασκάλων τὸν μὲν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας τὸ μηδὲν ἡγούμενων καὶ τὸ τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἔπεσθαι παρέντων καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιστολὰς ἐκφραυσάντων, τὴν δὲ τοῦ συγγράμματος τούτου διδασκαλίαν ὥς μέγα δὴ τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον κατεπαγγελλομένων καὶ τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐώντων ὑψηλὸν καὶ μεγαλεῖον φρονεῖν οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἐνθέου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας οὔτε τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπισυναγωγῆς καὶ ὁμοιώσεως, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ καὶ θνητὰ καὶ οἷα τὰ νῦν, ἐλπίζειν ἀναπειθόντων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς ὥς πρὸς παρόντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν διαλεχθῆναι Νέπωτα.' [6] Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ Ἀρσενοῦτῃ γενόμενος, ἔνθα, ὥς οἶδας, πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦτο ἐπεπόλαξεν τὸ δόγμα, ὥς καὶ σχίσματα καὶ ἀποστασίας ὅλων ἐκκλησιῶν γεγονέναι, συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν, παρόντων καὶ τῶν βουλομένων ἀδελφῶν, δημοσίᾳ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ λόγου

προετρεψάμην, [7] καὶ τοῦτό μοι προσαγαγόντων τὸ βιβλίον ὥς τι ὄπλον καὶ τεῖχος ἄμαχον, συγκαθεσθεις αὐτοῖς τριῶν ἑξῆς ἡμερῶν ἕξ ἕω μέχρις ἑσπέρας, διευθύνειν ἐπειράθην τὰ γεγραμμένα: [8] ἔνθα καὶ τὸ εὐσταθὲς καὶ τὸ φιλάληθες καὶ τὸ εὐπαρακολούθητον καὶ συνετὸν ὑπερηγάσθην τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὡς ἐν τάξει καὶ μετ' ἐπιεικειᾶς τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπαπορήσεις καὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις ἐποιοούμεθα, τὸ μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καὶ φιλονείκως τῶν ἅπαξ δοξάντων περιέχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ φαίνοιτο ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα, παραιτησάμενοι, μήτε δὲ τὰς ἀντιλογίας ὑποστελλόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐς ὅσον οἶόν τε, τῶν προκειμένων ἐπιβατεύειν καὶ κρατύνειν αὐτὰ πειρώμενοι, μήτε, εἰ λόγος αἰροῖ, μεταπιθέσθαι καὶ συνομολογεῖν αἰδούμενοι, ἀλλ' εὐσυνειδήτως καὶ ἀνυποκρίτως καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἠπλωμέναις τὰ ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι καὶ διδασκαλίαις τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν συνιστανόμενα καταδεχόμενοι. [9] καὶ τέλος ὃ τε τῆς διδαχῆς ταύτης ἀρχηγὸς καὶ εἰσηγητής, ὁ καλούμενος Κορακίων, ἐν ἐπηκόῳ πάντων τῶν παρόντων ἀδελφῶν ὡμολόγησεν καὶ διεμαρτύρατο ἡμῖν μηκέτι τούτῳ προσέξειν μηδὲ διαλέξεσθαι περὶ τούτου μηδὲ μεμνησθαι μηδὲ διδάξειν, ὡς ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεχθέντων ἡρημένος: τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον ἐπὶ τῇ κοινολογίᾳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας συγκαταβάσει καὶ συνδιαθέσει.'

Εἴθ' ἑξῆς ὑποβάς, περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου ταῦτά φησιν: 'τινὲς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἠθέτησαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν πάντη τὸ βιβλίον, καθ' ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον διευθύνοντες ἄγνωστόν τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστον ἀποφαίνοντες ψεύδεσθαι τε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. [2] Ἰωάννου γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀποκάλυψιν εἶναι τὴν σφόδρα καὶ παχεῖ κεκαλυμμένην τῷ τῆς ἀγνοίας παραπετάσματι, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἀποστόλων τινά, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅλως τῶν ἁγίων ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τούτου γεγονέναι ποιητὴν τοῦ γράμματος, Κήρινθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Κηρινθιανὴν συστησάμενον αἶρεσιν, ἀξιώπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα. [3] τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὠρέγετο, φιλοσώματος ὧν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός, ἐν τούτοις ὀνειροπολεῖν ἔσεσθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμοναῖς, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ γάμοις καὶ δι' ὧν εὐφημότερον ταῦτα φήθη ποριεῖσθαι, ἐορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς. [4] ἐγὼ δὲ ἀθετήσαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαιμι τὸ βιβλίον, πολλῶν αὐτὸ διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχόντων ἀδελφῶν, μεῖζονα δὲ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ φρονήσεως τὴν ὑπόληψιν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων, κεκρυμμένην εἶναί τινα καὶ θαυμασιωτέραν τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐκδοχὴν

ὑπολαμβάνω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνίημι, ἀλλ' ὑπονοῶ γε νοῦν τινα βαθυτέρον ἐγκεῖσθαι τοῖς ῥήμασιν, [5] οὐκ ἰδίῳ ταῦτα μετρῶν καὶ κρίνων λογισμῷ, πίστει δὲ τὸ πλεον νέμων ὑψηλότερα ἢ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταληφθῆναι νενόμικα, καὶ οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζω ταῦτα ἃ μὴ συνενώρακα, θαυμάζω δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ καὶ εἶδον.'

[6] Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν ὅλην τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως βασανίσας γραφὴν ἀδύνατόν τε αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἀποδείξας νοεῖσθαι διάνοιαν, ἐπιφέρει λέγων: 'συντελέσας δὴ πᾶσαν ὡς εἶπεῖν τὴν προφητείαν, μακαρίζει ὁ προφήτης τοὺς τε φυλάσσοντας αὐτὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἑαυτόν. 'μακάριος' γὰρ φησιν ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου κἀγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα.'

[7] καλεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ εἶναι τὴν γραφὴν Ἰωάννου ταύτην οὐκ ἄντερῶ, ἁγίου μὲν γὰρ εἶναί τινος καὶ θεοπνεύστου συναιῶ: οὐ μὴν ῥαδίως ἂν συνθείμην τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸν υἱὸν Ζεβεδαίου, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου, οὗ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ. [8] τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἔκ τε τοῦ ἥθους ἐκατέρων καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἶδους καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ παρεγγράφει οὐδὲ κηρύσσει ἑαυτὸν οὔτε διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὔτε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.'

[9] Εἴθ' ὑποβάς, πάλιν ταῦτα λέγει: 'Ἰωάννης δὲ οὐδαμοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἐτέρου: ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν γράψας εὐθύς τε ἐν ἀρχῇ ἑαυτὸν προτάσσει Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ, ὃς ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν: [10] εἶτα καὶ ἐπιστολὴν γράφει: Ἰωάννης ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη.' ὁ δὲ γε εὐαγγελιστὴς οὐδὲ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς προέγραψεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ ἀπερίττως ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς θείας ἀποκαλύψεως ἤρξατο: ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐώρακαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν: ἐπὶ ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ ἀποκαλύψει καὶ ὁ κύριος τὸν Πέτρον ἐμακάρισεν, εἰπών: 'μακάριος εἶ Σίμων βᾶρ Ἰωνᾶ, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέν σοι, ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος.'

[11] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένη Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καίτοι βραχείαις οὔσαις ἐπιστολαῖς, ὁ Ἰωάννης ὀνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλὰ ἀνωνύμως 'ὁ πρεσβύτερος' γέγραπται. οὗτος δὲ γε οὐδὲ αὐταρκες ἐνόμισεν, εἰς ἅπαξ ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάσας διηγεῖσθαι τὰ ἐξῆς, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνει 'ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν

Ἰησοῦ.’ καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει ταῦτα εἶπεν: ‘μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου καγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα.’ [12]

Ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων, αὐτῷ λέγοντι πιστευτέον: ποῖος δὲ οὗτος, ἄδηλον. οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἑαυτὸν εἶναι, ὥς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ πολλαχοῦ, τὸν ἡγαπημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητὴν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀναπεσόντα ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτόπτην καὶ αὐτήκοον τοῦ κυρίου γενόμενον. [13] εἶπεν γὰρ ἂν τι τούτων τῶν προδεδηλωμένων, σαφῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐμφανίσαι βουλόμενος: ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδέν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνὸν εἶπεν καὶ μάρτυρα Ἰησοῦ καὶ μακάριον ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ καὶ ἀκοῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων. [14] πολλοὺς δὲ ὁμωνύμους Ἰωάννη τῷ ἀποστόλῳ νομίζω γεγονέναι, οἱ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀγάπην καὶ τῷ θαυμάζειν καὶ ζηλοῦν ἀγαπηθῆναι τε ὁμοίως αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡσπάσαντο, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος πολὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τοῖς τῶν πιστῶν παισὶν ὀνομάζεται. [15] ἔστιν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕτερος Ἰωάννης ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Μάρκος, ὃν Βαρναβᾶς καὶ Παῦλος ἑαυτοῖς συμπαρέλαβον, περὶ οὗ καὶ πάλιν λέγει ‘εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην.’ εἰ δὲ οὗτος ὁ γράψας ἐστίν, οὐκ ἂν φαίην: [16] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀφῖχθαι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν γέγραπται, ἀλλὰ ‘ἀναχθέντες μὲν,’ φησὶν, ‘ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα: ἄλλον δὲ τινα οἶμαι τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενομένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ δύο φασὶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἐκάτερον Ἰωάννου λέγεσθαι.

[17] Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νοημάτων δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῆς συντάξεως αὐτῶν εἰκότως ἕτερος οὗτος παρ’ ἐκεῖνον ὑποληφθήσεται. [18] συνάδουσι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὁμοίως τε ἄρχονται: τὸ μὲν φησιν ‘ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος,’ ἡ δὲ ‘ὁ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς’ τὸ μὲν φησιν ‘καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός,’ ἡ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ σμικρῶ παραηλλαγμένα ‘ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐώρακαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν, περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη.’ [19] ταῦτα γὰρ προανακρούεται, διατεινόμενος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐδήλωσεν, πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ φάσκοντας ἐληλυθέναι τὸν κύριον: [20] δι’ ἃ καὶ συνῆψεν ἐπιμελῶς ‘καὶ ὁ ἐώρακαμεν, μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἣτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν: ὁ ἐώρακαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν,

ἀπαγγέλλομεν καὶ ὑμῖν. ἔχεται αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προθέσεων οὐκ ἀφίσταται, διὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ὀνομάτων πάντα διεξέρχεται: ὃν τινὰ μὲν ἡμεῖς συντόμως ὑπομνήσομεν, [21] ὁ δὲ προσεχῶς ἐντυγχάνων εὐρήσει ἐν ἑκατέρῳ πολλὴν τὴν ζώην, πολὺ τὸ φῶς ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ σκότους, συνεχῇ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν χάριν τὴν χαρὰν τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ἐντολήν, ὡς πάσας δεῖ φυλάττειν τὰς ἐντολάς: ὁ ἔλεγχος τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ διαβόλου τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ υἱοθεσία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ διόλου πίστις ἡμῶν ἀπαιτουμένη ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, πανταχοῦ: καὶ ὅλως διὰ πάντων χαρακτηρίζοντας ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνορᾶν τοῦ τε εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρῶτα πρόκειται. [22] ἀλλοιοτάτη δὲ καὶ ξένη παρὰ ταῦτα ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, μῆτε ἐφαπτομένη μῆτε γειννῶσα τούτων μηδενί, σχεδόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μηδὲ συλλαβὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ κοινὴν ἔχουσα: [23] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μνήμην τινὰ οὐδὲ ἔννοιαν οὔτε ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως ἔχει ἕα γὰρ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον οὔτε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, Παύλου διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑποφάναντός τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποκαλύψεων αὐτοῦ, ἃς οὐκ ἐνέγραψεν καθ' αὐτάς.

Ἔτι [24] δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς φράσεως τὴν διαφορὰν ἔστιν τεκμήρασθαι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν. [25] τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἀπταιστως κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογιώτατα ταῖς λέξεσιν τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς ταῖς συντάξεσιν τῆς ἐρμηνείας γέγραπται, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ βάρβαρόν τινα φθόγγον ἢ σολοικισμόν ἢ ὅλως ιδιωτισμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐρεθῆναι: ἑκάτερον γὰρ εἶχεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὸν λόγον, ἀμφοτέρους αὐτῷ χαρισαμένου τοῦ κυρίου, τόν τε τῆς γνώσεως τόν τε τῆς φράσεως: [26] τούτῳ δὲ ἀποκαλύψεις μὲν ἑωρακεῖν καὶ γινῶσιν εἰληφέναι καὶ προφητεῖαν οὐκ ἀντερῶ, διάλεκτον μέντοι καὶ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐλληνίζουσιν αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλ' ιδιώμασί τε βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον καὶ που καὶ σολοικίζοντα: ἅπερ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον νῦν ἐκλέγειν: [27] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισκώπτων ἢ μὴ τις νομίσῃ ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν ἀνομοιότητα διευθύνων τούτων τῶν γραφῶν.

Ἐπὶ ταύταις τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρονται καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους ἐπιστολαί, ὥσπερ αἱ κατὰ Σαβελλίου πρὸς Ἀμμωνα τῆς κατὰ Βερνίκην ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον καὶ ἡ πρὸς Τελεσφόρον καὶ ἡ πρὸς Εὐφράνορα καὶ πάλιν Ἀμμωνα καὶ Εὐπορον: συντάττει δὲ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἄλλα τέσσαρα συγγράμματα, ἃ τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην ὁμωνύμῳ Διονυσίῳ προσφωνεῖ. [2] καὶ

πλείους δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ πολυεπεῖς λόγοι ἐν ἐπιστολῇς χαρακτηρί γραφέντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ φύσεως, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ παιδί προσπεφωνημένοι, καὶ ὁ περὶ πειρασμῶν, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν Εὐφράνορι ἀνατέθεικεν. [3] ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βασιλείδῃ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Πεντάπολιν παροικιῶν ἐπισκόπῳ γράφων, φησὶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξήγησιν πεποιῆσθαι τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, διαφόρους δ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολάς. Τοσαῦτα ὁ Διονύσιος: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἱστορίαν φέρε, καὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῖς μετέπειτα γνωρίζειν γενεὰν ὁποῖα τις ἦν, παραδῶμεν.

Εὐστον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἔτεσιν ἑνδεκα προστάντα διαδέχεται τῷ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁμώνυμος Διονύσιος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Δημητριανοῦ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Παῦλος ὁ ἐκ Σαμοσατῶν παραλαμβάνει. [2] τούτου δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ χαμαιπετῇ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διδασκαλίαν φρονήσαντος ὡς κοινοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου γενομένου, ὁ μὲν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Διονύσιος παρακληθεὶς ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἀφίκοιτο, γῆρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος αἰτιασάμενος, ἀνατίθεται τὴν παρουσίαν, δι' ἐπιστολῇς τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἣν ἔχοι περὶ τοῦ ζητουμένου, παραστήσας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς Χριστοῦ ποίμνης συνήεσαν, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπεύδοντες.

Τούτων οἱ μάλιστα διέπρεπον, Φιρμιλιανὸς μὲν τῆς Καππαδοκῶν Καισαρείας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, Γρηγόριος δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἀδελφοὶ τῶν κατὰ Πόντον παροικιῶν ποιμένες καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ἐλενος τῆς ἐν Ταρσῷ παροικίας καὶ Νικομᾶς τῆς ἐν Ἰκονίῳ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας Ὑμέναιος τῆς τε ὁμόρου ταύτης Καισαρείας Θεότεκνος, Μάξιμος ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀδελφῶν διαπρεπῶς ἡγεῖτο, μυρίου τε ἄλλους οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι τις ἅμα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνους τῆς αὐτῆς ἕνεκεν αἰτίας ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει συγκροτηθέντας ἀπαριθμούμενος, ἀλλὰ τούτων γε οἱ μάλιστα ἐπιφανεῖς οἶδε ἦσαν. [2] πάντων οὖν κατὰ καιροῦς διαφόρως καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ ταυτὸν συνιόντων, λόγοι καὶ ζητήσεις καθ' ἐκάστην ἀνεκινουῦντο σύνοδον, τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαμοσατέα τὰ τῆς ἑτεροδοξίας ἐπικρύπτειν ἔτι καὶ παρακαλύπτεσθαι πειρωμένων, τῶν δὲ ἀπογυμνοῦν καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἄγειν τὴν αἴρεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ διὰ σπουδῆς ποιουμένων. [3] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Διονύσιος τελευτᾷ κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον τῆς Γαλληνοῦ βασιλείας, προστὰς τῆς κατ'

Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπισκοπῆς ἔτεσιν ἑπτακαίδεκα, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάξιμος. [4] Γαλλιανοῦ δ' ἐφ' ὅλοις ἐνιαυτοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν ἀρχὴν κεκρατηκότος, Κλαύδιος κατέστη διάδοχος. Δεύτερον οὗτος διελθὼν ἔτος Αὐρηλιανῷ μεταδίδωσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν:

καθ' ὃν τελευταίας συγκροτηθείσης πλείστων ὅσων ἐπισκόπων συνόδου, φωραθεὶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων ἤδη σαφῶς καταγνωσθεὶς ἑτεροδοξίαν ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν αἰρέσεως ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρύττεται. [2] μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν εὐθύνας ἐπικρυπτόμενον διήλεγξεν Μαλχίων, ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα λόγιος καὶ σοφιστοῦ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων διατριβῆς προεστώς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ὑπερβάλλουσιν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως γνησιότητα πρεσβυτερίου τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἠξιωμένος: οὗτός γέ τοι ἐπισημειουμένων ταχυγράφων ζήτησιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνστησάμενος, ἦν καὶ εἰς δεῦρο φερομένην ἴσμεν, μόνος ἴσχυσεν τῶν ἄλλων κρυψίνουν ὄντα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν φωρᾶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

Μίαν δὲ οὖν ἐκ κοινῆς γνώμης οἱ ἐπὶ ταῦτὸν συγκεκροτημένοι ποιμένες διαχαράξαντες ἐπιστολὴν εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ τε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου Διονυσίου καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ πάσας διαπέμπονται τὰς ἐπαρχίας, τὴν αὐτῶν τε σπουδὴν τοῖς πᾶσιν φανεράν καθιστάντες καὶ τοῦ Παύλου τὴν διάστροφον ἑτεροδοξίαν, ἐλέγχους τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις ἅς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακεκινήκασιν, καὶ ἔτι τὸν πάντα βίον τε καὶ τρόπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διηγούμενοι: ἐξ ὧν μνήμης ἔνεκεν καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ταύτας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος διελθεῖν τὰς φωνάς: 'Διονυσίω [2] καὶ Μαξίμω καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσιν συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἑλενος καὶ Ὑμέναιος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεότεκνος καὶ Μάξιμος Πρόκλος Νικομᾶς καὶ Αἰλιανὸς καὶ Παῦλος καὶ Βωλανὸς καὶ Πρωτογένης καὶ Ἰέραξ καὶ Εὐτύχιος καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Μαλχίων καὶ Λούκιος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν παροικοῦντες τὰς ἐγγὺς πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν.' [3] Τούτοις μετὰ βραχεά ἐπιλέγουσιν ταῦτα: 'ἐπεστέλλομεν δὲ ἅμα καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν μακρὰν ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῆς θανατηφόρου διδασκαλίας, ὥσπερ καὶ Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Καππαδοκίας, τοὺς μακαρίτας: ὧν ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς πλάνης οὐδὲ προσήρσεως ἀξιώσας οὐδὲ πρὸς πρόσωπον γράψας αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τῇ παροικίᾳ πάσῃ, ἧς καὶ

τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπετάξαμεν: [4] ὁ δὲ Φιρμιλιανὸς, καὶ δις ἀφικόμενος, κατέγνω
μὲν τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου καινοτομουμένων, ὡς ἴσμεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν οἱ
παραγενόμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ συνίσασιν, ἐπαγγεिलाμένου δὲ
μεταθήσεσθαι, πιστεύσας καὶ ἐλπίσας ἄνευ τινὸς περὶ τὸν λόγον λοιδορίας τὸ
πρᾶγμα εἰς δέον καταστήσεσθαι, ἀνεβάλετο, παρακρουσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ καὶ τὸν
θεὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κύριον ἄρνούμενου καὶ τὴν πίστιν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς
πρότερον εἶχεν, μὴ φυλάζαντος. [5] ἔμελλεν δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁ Φιρμιλιανὸς εἰς τὴν
Ἀντιόχειαν διαβήσεσθαι καὶ μέχρι γε Ταρσῶν ἦκεν, ἅτε τῆς ἀρνησιθέου
κακίας αὐτοῦ πείραν εἰληφώς: ἀλλὰ γὰρ μεταξύ, συνελθλυθότων ἡμῶν καὶ
καλούντων καὶ ἀναμενόντων, ἄχρι ἂν ἔλθῃ, τέλος ἔσχεν τοῦ βίου.' [6] Μεθ'
ἕτερα δ' αὖθις τὸν βίον τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἷας ἐτύγχανεν ἀγωγῆς, διαγράφουσιν ἐν
τούτοις: 'ὅπου δὲ ἀποστάς τοῦ κανόνος, ἐπὶ κίβδηλα καὶ νόθα διδάγματα
μετελήλυθεν, οὐδὲν δεῖ τοῦ ἔξω ὄντος τὰς πράξεις κρίνειν, [7] οὐδ' ὅτι
πρότερον πένης ὦν καὶ πτωχὸς καὶ μήτε παρὰ πατέρων παραλαβὼν μηδεμίαν
εὐπορίαν μήτε ἐκ τέχνης ἢ τινος ἐπιτηδεύματος κτησάμενος, νῦν εἰς
ὑπερβάλλοντα πλοῦτον ἐλήλακεν ἐξ ἀνομιῶν καὶ ἱεροσυλιῶν καὶ ὧν αἰτεῖ καὶ
σεῖει τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καταβραβεύων τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ ὑπισχνούμενος
βοηθήσειν μισθοῦ, ψευδόμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους καὶ μάτην καρπούμενος τὴν
τῶν ἐν πράγμασιν ὄντων ἐτοιμότητα πρὸς τὸ διδόναι ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν
ἐνοχλούντων, πορισμὸν ἡγούμενος τὴν θεοσέβειαν: [8] οὔτε ὡς ὑψηλὰ φρονεῖ
καὶ ὑπερῆρται, κοσμικὰ ἀξιώματα ὑποδύμενος καὶ δουκηνάριος μᾶλλον ἢ
ἐπίσκοπος θέλων καλεῖσθαι καὶ σοβῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς καὶ ἐπιστολὰς
ἀναγινώσκων καὶ ὑπαγορεύων ἅμα βαδίζων δημοσίᾳ καὶ δορυφορούμενος,
τῶν μὲν προπορευομένων, τῶν δ' ἐφεπομένων, πολλῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὡς καὶ
τὴν πίστιν φθονεῖσθαι καὶ μισεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν ὄγκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν
ὑπερηφανίαν τῆς καρδίας: [9] οὔτε τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς συνόδοις
τερατείαν, ἣν μηχανᾶται, δοξοκοπῶν καὶ φαντασιοκοπῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν
ἀκεραιωτέρων ψυχὰς τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐκπλήττων, βῆμα μὲν καὶ θρόνον ὑψηλὸν
ἑαυτῷ κατασκευασάμενος, οὐχ ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητῆς, σῆκρητόν τε, ὥσπερ οἱ
τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχοντες, ἔχων τε καὶ ὀνομάζων, παίων τε τῇ χειρὶ τὸν μηρὸν καὶ
τὸ βῆμα ἀράττων τοῖς ποσὶν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἐπαινοῦσιν μηδὲ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς
θεάτροις κατασεύουσιν ταῖς ὀθόναῖς μηδ' ἐκβοῶσιν τε καὶ ἀναπηδῶσιν κατὰ τὰ
αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στασιώταις, ἀνδράσιν τε καὶ γυναῖοις, ἀκόσμως οὕτως
ἀκροωμένοις, τοῖς δ' οὖν ὡς ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ σεμνοπρεπῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως
ἀκούουσιν ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ ἐνυβρίζων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκ τοῦ βίου

τούτου παροινῶν ἐξηγητὰς τοῦ λόγου φορτικῶς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ μεγαλορημονῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ οὐκ ἐπίσκοπος ἀλλὰ σοφιστὴς καὶ γόης· [10] ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας ὡς δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα, εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρᾳ ψαλμωδεῖν γυναικας παρασκευάζων, ὧν καὶ ἀκούσας ἂν τις φρίζειεν· οἷα καὶ τοὺς θωπεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ὁμιλίαις καθίησιν διαλέγεσθαι· [11] τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ βούλεται συνομολογεῖν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι ἵνα τι προλαβόντες τῶν μελλόντων γραφήσεσθαι θῶμεν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγῳ ψιλῷ ῥηθήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπέμψαμεν ὑπομνημάτων δείκνυται πολλαχόθεν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ὅπου λέγει Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κάτωθεν, οἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ψάλλοντες καὶ ἐγκωμιάζοντες ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἄγγελον τὸν ἀσεβῆ διδάσκαλον ἑαυτῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι λέγουσιν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ κωλύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγομένοις πάρεστιν ὁ ὑπερήφανος· [12] τὰς δὲ συνεισάκτους αὐτοῦ γυναικας, ὡς Ἀντιοχεῖς ὀνομάζουσιν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, οἷς καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἁμαρτήματα ἀνίατα ὄντα συγκρύπτει, συνειδῶς καὶ ἐλέγξας, ὅπως αὐτοὺς ὑπόχρεως ἔχη, περὶ ὧν λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις ἀδικεῖ, μὴ τολμῶντας κατηγορεῖν τῷ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς φόβῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουσίους ἀπέφηνεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πρὸς τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ζηλούντων φιλεῖται καὶ θαυμάζεται — τί ἂν ταῦτα γράφοιμεν; [13] ἐπιστάμεθα δέ, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τὸ ἱερατεῖον ἅπαν παράδειγμα εἶναι δεῖ τῷ πλήθει πάντων καλῶν ἔργων, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοοῦμεν ὅσοι ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεισάγειν ἑαυτοῖς γυναικας ἐξέπεσον, οἱ δ' ὑπωπεύθησαν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ δοίη τις αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν ἀσελγὲς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε ὑπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πράγματος φυομένην ἐχρῆν εὐλαβηθῆναι, μὴ τινα σκανδαλίσῃ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μμεῖσθαι προτρέψῃ. [14] πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐπιπλήξειεν ἢ νουθετήσειεν ἕτερον μὴ συγκαταβαίνειν ἐπὶ πλεόν εἰς ταὐτὸν γυναικί, μὴ ὀλίσθη, φυλαττόμενον, ὡς γέγραπται, ὅστις μίαν μὲν ἀπέστησεν ἥδη, δύο δὲ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ εὐπρεπεῖς τὴν ὄψιν ἔχει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, κὰν ἀπήν που, συμπεριφέρει, καὶ ταῦτα τρυφῶν καὶ ὑπερεμπιμπλάμενος; [15] ὧν ἕνεκα στενάζουσι μὲν καὶ ὀδύρονται πάντες καθ' ἑαυτούς, οὕτω δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ πεφόβηνται, ὥστε κατηγορεῖν μὴ τολμᾶν. [16] ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, εὐθύνειν ἂν τις ἄνδρα τὸ γοῦν φρόνημα καθολικὸν ἔχοντα καὶ συγκαταριθμούμενον ἡμῖν, τὸν δ' ἐξορχισάμενον τὸ μυστήριον καὶ ἐμπομπεύσαντα τῇ μιαρᾷ αἰρέσει τῇ Ἀρτεμᾷ· τί γὰρ οὐ χρή μόλις τὸν πατέρα

αὐτοῦ δηλῶσαι· οὐδὲν δεῖν ἡγούμεθα τούτων τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν.’ [17] Εἴτ’ ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταῦτ’ ἐπιλέγουσιν: ‘ἡναγκάσθημεν οὖν ἀντιτασσόμενον αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ εἰκοντα ἐκκηρύξαντες, ἕτερον ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καταστῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον, θεοῦ προνοία ὡς πεπεσμεθα, τὸν τοῦ μακαρίου Δημητρίου καὶ ἐπιφανῶς προστάντος πρὸ τούτου τῆς αὐτῆς παροικίας υἱὸν Δόμνον, ἅπασιν τοῖς πρέπουσιν ἐπισκόπῳ καλοῖς κεκοσμημένον, ἐδηλώσαμεν τε ὑμῖν, ὅπως τούτῳ γράφητε καὶ παρὰ τούτου τὰ κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα: τῷ δὲ Ἀρτεμᾷ οὗτος ἐπιστελλέτω καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀρτεμᾷ φρονοῦντες τούτῳ κοινωνεῖτωσαν.’ [18] Τοῦ δὴ οὖν Παύλου σὺν καὶ τῇ τῆς πίστεως ὀρθοδοξίᾳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποπεπτωκότος, Δόμνος, ὡς εἴρηται, τὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκκλησίας διεδέξατο: [19] ἀλλὰ γὰρ μηδαμῶς ἐκστῆναι τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου θέλοντος, βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Αὐρηλιανὸς αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διείληφεν, τούτοις νεῖμαι προστάττων τὸν οἶκον, οἷς ἂν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστέλλοιεν. οὕτω δὴτα ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης αἰσχύνῃς ὑπὸ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας. [20] Τοιοῦτος μὲν γέ τις ἦν τὸ τῆνικαδε περὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ Αὐρηλιανός, προΐουσης δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄλλοιόν τι περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσας, ἤδη τισὶν βουλαῖς, ὡς ἂν διωγμὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐγείρειεν, ἀνεκινεῖτο, πολὺς τε ἦν ὁ παρὰ πᾶσιν περὶ τούτου λόγος: [21] μέλλοντα δὲ ἤδη καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν τοῖς καθ’ ἡμῶν γράμμασιν ὑποσημειούμενον θεία μέτεισιν δίκη, μόνον οὐχὶ ἐξ ἀγκώνων τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀποδεσμοῦσα λαμπρῶς τε τοῖς πᾶσιν συνορᾷ παριστῶσα ὡς οὐποτε γένοιτ’ ἂν ῥαστώνῃ τοῖς τοῦ βίου ἄρχουσιν κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν, μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς ὑπερμάχου χειρὸς θεία καὶ οὐρανίῳ κρίσει παιδείας ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς, καθ’ οὓς ἂν αὐτὴ δοκιμάζοι καιροὺς, τοῦτ’ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι συγχωρούσης. [22] ἔτεσι γοῦν ἕξ κρατήσαντα τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν διαδέχεται Πρόβος, καὶ τοῦτον δέ που τοῖς ἴσοις ἐπικατασχόντα Κᾶρος ἅμα παισὶν Καρίνῳ καὶ Νουμεριανῷ, πάλιν τ’ αὖ καὶ τούτων οὐδ’ ὅλοις τρισὶν ἐνιαυτοῖς διαγενομένων, μέτεισιν τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτὸν εἰσποιηθέντας, ἐφ’ ὧν ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς συντελεῖται διωγμὸς καὶ ἡ κατ’ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθάρσεις. [23] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μικρῷ τούτου πρότερον τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς ἐπίσκοπον Διονύσιον ἔτεσιν ἐννέα διελθόντα τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται Φῆλιξ.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ μανεὶς τὰς φρένας ἐπώνυμός τε τῆς δαιμονώσης αἰρέσεως τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ παρατροπὴν καθωπλίζετο, τοῦ δαίμονος, αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ

θεομάχου σατανᾶ, ἐπὶ λύμῃ πολλῶν τὸν ἄνδρα προβεβλημένου. βάρβαρος δῆτα τὸν βίον αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ τὴν τε φύσιν δαιμονικός τις ὢν καὶ μανιώδης, ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ἐγχειρῶν, Χριστὸν αὐτὸν μορφάζεσθαι ἐπειρᾶτο, τοτὲ μὲν τὸν παράκλητον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακηρύττων καὶ τυφούμενός γε ἐπὶ τῇ μανίᾳ, τοτὲ δέ, οἷα Χριστός, μαθητὰς δώδεκα κοινωνοὺς τῆς καινοτομίας αἱρούμενος· [2] δόγματά γε μὴν ψευδῇ καὶ ἄθεα ἐκ μυρίων τῶν πρόπαλαι ἀπεσβηκότων ἀθέων αἰρέσεων συμπεφορημένα καττύσας, ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ὥσπερ τινὰ θανατηφόρον ἰὸν ἐξωμόρξατο, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ Μανιχαίων δυσσεβὲς ὄνομα τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐπιπολάζει. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ καὶ τῆσδε τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως ὑπόθεσις, κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ὑποφυσίσης χρόνους.

Καθ' οὗς Φήλικα τῆς Ῥωμαίων προστάντα ἐκκλησίας ἔτεσιν πέντε Εὐτυχιανὸς διαδέχεται· οὐδ' ὅλοις δὲ μηνσὶν οὗτος δέκα διαγενόμενος, Γαῖῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς καταλείπει τὸν κλῆρον· καὶ τούτου δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη προστάντος, Μαρκελλῖνος κατέστη διάδοχος, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ διωγμὸς κατείληφεν. [2] Κατὰ τούσδε τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐπισκοπῆς μετὰ Δόμνον ἡγήσατο Τίμαιος, ὃν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς διεδέξατο Κύριλλος· καθ' ὃν Δωρόθεον, πρεσβείου τοῦ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἡξιωμένον, λόγιον ἄνδρα ἔγνωμεν. φιλόκαλος δ' οὗτος περὶ τὰ θεῖα γεγωνός, καὶ τῆς Ἑβραίων ἐπεμελήθη γλώττης, ὥς καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς γραφαῖς ἐπιστημόνως ἐντυγχάνειν. [3] ἦν δ' οὗτος τῶν μάλιστα ἐλευθερίων προπαιδείας τε τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας οὐκ ἄμειρος, τὴν φύσιν δὲ ἄλλως εὐνοῦχος, οὕτω πεφυκὼς ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως, ὥς καὶ βασιλέα διὰ τοῦτο, οἷόν τι παράδοξον, αὐτὸν οἰκειώσασθαι καὶ τιμῆσαι γε ἐπιτροπῇ τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἀλουργοῦ βαφῆς. [4] τούτου μετρίως τὰς γραφὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διηγούμενου κατηκούσαμεν. Μετὰ δὲ Κύριλλον Τύραννος τῆς Ἀντιοχέων παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διεδέξατο, καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πολιορκία. [5] Τῆς δ' ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ παροικίας ἡγήσατο μετὰ Σωκράτην Εὐσέβιος, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ὀρμηθεὶς πόλεως· αἰτία δ' αὐτῷ τῆς μεταναστάσεως ὑπῆρξεν ἡ κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον ὑπόθεσις, δι' ὃν τῆς Συρίας ἐπιβάς, πρὸς τῶν τῆδε περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐσπουδακότων τῆς οἰκαδε πορείας εἵργεται, ἐπέραστόν τι θεοσεβείας χρῆμα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος, ὥς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προπαρατεθεισῶν Διονυσίου φωνῶν διαγνῶναι ῥάδιον. [6] Ἀνατόλιος αὐτῷ διάδοχος, ἀγαθός, φασίν, ἀγαθοῦ, καθίσταται, γένος μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, λόγων δ' ἕνεκα καὶ παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας τε τὰ

πρῶτα τῶν μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς δοκιμωτάτων ἀπενηνεγμένους, ἅτε ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας ἀστρονομίας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης, διαλεκτικῆς εἴτε φυσικῆς, θεωρίας ῥητορικῶν τε αὖ μαθημάτων ἐλληλακῶς εἰς ἄκρον: ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀριστοτέλους διαδοχῆς τὴν διατριβὴν λόγος ἔχει πρὸς τῶν τῇδε πολιτῶν συστήσασθαι αὐτὸν ἀξιοθῆναι. [7] μυρίας μὲν οὖν τοῦδε καὶ ἄλλας ἀριστείας ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοῦ Πιρουχίου πολιορκία μνημονεύουσιν, ἅτε τῶν ἐν τέλει προνομίας ἐξαιρέτου πρὸς ἀπάντων ἡξιωμένου, δείγματος δ' ἕνεκα μόνου τοῦδε ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. [8] τοῦ πυροῦ, φασίν, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις. ἐπιλελοιπότος, ὡς ἤδη τῶν ἔξωθεν πολεμίων μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τὸν λιμὸν ἀφόρητον καθεστάναι, παρὼν ὁ δηλούμενος οἰκονομεῖται τι τοιοῦτον. θατέρου μέρους τῆς πόλεως τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ συμμαχοῦντος στρατῷ ταύτῃ τε τυγχάνοντος ἀπολιορκήτου, τὸν Εὐσέβιον 'ἔτι γὰρ εἶναι τότε αὐτόθι πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Συρίαν μεταναστάσεως', ἐν τοῖς ἀπολιορκήτοις ὄντα μέγα τε κλέος καὶ διαβόητον ὄνομα μέχρι καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηλάτου κεκτημένον, περὶ τῶν λιμῶ διαφθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν πέμψας ὁ Ἀνατόλιος ἐκδιδάσκει: [9] ὁ δὲ μαθὼν, σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτομόλοις παρασχεῖν ὡς ἐν μεγίστῃ χάριτι δωρεᾷς τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν αἰτεῖται, καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεώς γε τυχὼν ἐμφανὲς τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ καθίστησιν. ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν δεξάμενος, βουλὴν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων συναγαγὼν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντα ἡξίου φιλικὴν δοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις δεξιάν, ὡς δ' ἀγριαίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ συνείδεν, 'ἀλλ' οὐ τούτῳ γε,' φησὶν, 'ἀντιλέξειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς οἶομαι, εἰ τοὺς περιττοὺς καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῇ χρήσιμους, γραῖδας καὶ νήπια καὶ πρεσβύτας, ἐκδοῦναι πολῶν ἕξω βαδίζειν ὅποι καὶ βούλονται, συμβουλευσάμι. τί γὰρ δὴ τούτους εἰς μάτην, ὅσον οὐπω τεθνηξομένους, παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔχομεν; τί δὲ τοὺς ἀναπήρους καὶ τὰ σώματα λελωβημένους τῷ λιμῷ κατατρύχομεν, τρέφειν δέον μόνους ἄνδρας καὶ νεανίας καὶ τὸν ἀναγκαῖον πυρὸν τοῖς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτηδεῖοις ταμιεύεσθαι;' [10] τοιούτοις τισὶν λογισμοῖς πείσας τὸ συνέδριον, ψῆφον πρῶτος ἀναστὰς ἐκφέρει πᾶν τὸ τῇ στρατείᾳ μὴ ἐπιτήδειον εἴτε ἀνδρῶν εἴτε γυναικῶν γένος ἀπολύειν τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι μὴδὲ καταμένουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς ἄχρηστον ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβουσιν ἐλπίς ἂν γένοιτο σωτηρίας, πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ διαφθαρησομένοις. [11] ταύτῃ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συγκαταθεμένων μικροῦ δεῖν τοὺς πάντας τῶν πολιορκουμένων διεσώσατο, ἐν πρώτοις μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διαδιδράσκειν προμηθεύμενος, οὐ μόνον τῶν κατὰ τὴν

ψηφον δεδογμένων, τῇ δὲ τούτων προφάσει καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους, λεληθότως γυναικειάν στολὴν ἀμπισχομένους νύκτωρ τε τῇ ἐκείνου φροντίδι τῶν πυλῶν ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιάν ὁρμῶντας. ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ὑποδεχόμενος ὁ Εὐσέβιος πατὴρ καὶ ἱατροῦ δίκην κεκακωμένους ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς πολιορκίας διὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ θεραπείας ἀνεκτᾶτο. [12] τοιούτων ἢ κατὰ Λαοδίκειαν ἐκκλησίᾳ δύο ἐφεξῆς κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἡξιώθη ποιμένων, σὺν θείᾳ προμηθείᾳ μετὰ τὸν δηλωθέντα πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε μετεληλυθότων. [13] οὐμενοῦν ἐσπουδάσθη πλεῖστα τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ συγγράμματα, τοσαῦτα δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν, δι' ὧν αὐτοῦ καταμαθεῖν δυνατόν ὁμοῦ τό τε λόγιον καὶ πολυμαθές: ἐν οἷς μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δόξαντα παρίστησιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη τούτων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μνημονεῦσαι. ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΝΟΝΩΝ “Ἐχει [14] τοῖνυν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τὴν νομηνίαν τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἥτις ἀπάσης ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐννεακαιδεκατηρίδος, τὴν κατ' Αἰγυπτίους μὲν Φαμενώθ κς, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνων μῆνας Δύστρου κβ, ὡς δ' ἂν εἴποιεν Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸ ια Καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίων. [15] εὐρίσκεται δὲ ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ προκειμένη Φαμενώθ κς οὐ μόνον ἐπιβὰς τοῦ πρώτου τμήματος, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέραν ἐν αὐτῷ διαπορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τμήμα πρῶτον δωδεκατημόριον καὶ ἰσημερινὸν καὶ μηνῶν ἀρχὴν καὶ κεφαλὴν τοῦ κύκλου καὶ ἄφεσιν τοῦ τῶν πλανητῶν δρόμου καλεῖν εἰώθασιν, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου μηνῶν ἔσχατον καὶ τμήμα δωδέκατον καὶ τελευταῖον δωδεκατημόριον καὶ τέλος τῆς τῶν πλανητῶν περιόδου: δι' ὃ καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τιθεμένους τὸν πρῶτον μῆνα καὶ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην τοῦ πάσχα κατ' αὐτὴν λαμβάνοντας οὐ μικρῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀμαρτάνειν φαμέν. [16] ἔστιν δ' οὐχ ἡμέτερος οὗτος ὁ λόγος, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ἐγινώσκετο τοῖς πάλαι καὶ πρὸ Χριστοῦ ἐφυλάττετό τε πρὸς αὐτῶν μάλιστα: μαθεῖν δ' ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Φίλωνος Ἰωσήπου Μουσαίου λεγομένων, καὶ οὐ μόνων τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔτι παλαιοτέρων ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγαθοβούλων, τῶν ἐπὶ κλην διδασκάλων Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ πάνυ, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ο κατελιγεμένος τοῖς τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ θείας Ἑβραίων ἐρμηνεύσασι γραφὰς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ καὶ τῷ τούτου πατρί, καὶ βίβλους ἐξηγητικὰς τοῦ Μωυσέως νόμου τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσεφώνησεν βασιλεῦσιν. [17] οὗτοι τὰ ζητούμενα κατὰ τὴν Ἑξοδὸν ἐπιλύοντες, φασὶ δεῖν τὰ διαβατήρια θύειν ἐπ' ἴσης ἅπαντας μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἑαρινήν, μεσοῦντος τοῦ πρώτου μηνός: τοῦτο δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὸ πρῶτον τμήμα τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ, ἢ ὡς τινες αὐτῶν ὠνόμασαν, ζωοφόρου κύκλου διεξιόντος ἡλίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος προστίθῃσιν ὡς εἴη

ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῇ τῶν διαβατηρίων ἐορτῇ μὴ μόνον τὸν ἥλιον ἰσημερινὸν διαπορεύεσθαι τμημα, καὶ τὴν σελήνην δέ. [18] τῶν γὰρ ἰσημερινῶν τμημάτων ὄντων δύο, τοῦ μὲν ἑαρινοῦ, τοῦ δε μετοπωρινοῦ, καὶ διαμετρούντων ἄλληλα δοθείσης τε τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς μεθ' ἐσπέραν, ἐνστήζεται μὲν ἡ σελήνη τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶ διάμετρον τῷ ἡλίῳ στάσιν, ὥσπερ οὖν ἔξεστιν ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις ὄρᾶν, ἔσονται δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἑαρινὸν ἰσημερινόν, ὁ ἥλιος, τμημα, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ φθινοπωρινὸν ἰσημερινόν, ἡ σελήνη. [19] οἶδα πλεῖστα καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, τοῦτο μὲν πιθανά, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς κυριακὰς ἀποδείξεις προϊόντα, δι' ὧν παριστάνειν πειρῶνται τὴν τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῶν ἀζύμων ἐορτὴν δεῖν πάντως μετ' ἰσημερίαν ἄγεσθαι: παρήμι δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν ἀποδείξεων ὕλας ἀπαιτῶν ὧν περιήρηται μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Μωυσέως νόμῳ κάλυμμα, ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ λοιπὸν ἤδη Χριστὸν καὶ τὰ Χριστοῦ ἀεὶ κατοπτρίζεσθαι μαθήματά τε καὶ παθήματα. τοῦ δὲ τὸν πρῶτον παρ' Ἑβραίοις μῆνα περὶ ἰσημερίαν εἶναι παραστατικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ μαθήματα.' [20] Καὶ ἀριθμητικὰς δὲ καταλέλοιπεν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν ὅλοις δέκα συγγράμμασιν εἰσαγωγὰς καὶ ἄλλα δείγματα τῆς περὶ τὰ θεῖα σχολῆς τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυπειρίας. [21] τούτῳ πρῶτος ὁ τῆς Παλαιστίνων Καισαρείας ἐπίσκοπος Θεότεκνος χεῖρας εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτέθεικεν, διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ τελευτὴν ποριεῖσθαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ παροικίᾳ προμνόμενος, καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ σμικρόν τινα χρόνον ἄμφω τῆς αὐτῆς προύστησαν ἐκκλησίας: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς κατὰ Παῦλον συνόδου καλούσης, τὴν Λαοδικέων πόλιν παριὼν πρὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτόθι κοιμηθέντος Εὐσεβίου κεκράτηται. [22] Καὶ τοῦ Ἀνατολίου δὲ τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, τῆς ἐκεῖσε παροικίας ὕστατος τῶν πρὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καθίσταται Στέφανος, λόγων μὲν φιλοσόφων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρ' Ἑλλήσι παιδείας παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς θαυμασθεὶς, οὐχ ὁμοίως γε μὴν περὶ τὴν θεῖαν πίστιν διατεθειμένος, ὥς προῖων ὁ τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸς ἀπήλεγξεν, εἴρωνα μᾶλλον δειλὸν τε καὶ ἄνανδρον ἥπερ ἀληθῆ φιλόσοφον ἀποδείξας τὸν ἄνδρα. [23] οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε καταστρέφειν ἔμελλε τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνορθοῦται δ' αὐτὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων σωτῆρος αὐτίκα τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἀναδειχθεὶς Θεόδοτος, πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ κύριον ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἐπίσκοπον ἐπαληθεύσας. ἱατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ σωμάτων ἀπεφέρετο τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ψυχῶν δὲ θεραπευτικῆς οἷος οὐδὲ ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ἐτύγχανεν φιλανθρωπίας γνησιότητος συμπαθείας σπουδῆς τῶν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεομένων ὠφελείας ἔνεκεν, πολὺ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ θεῖα

μαθήματα συνησκημένον. [24] οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος ἦν. Ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Θεότεκνον σπουδαιότατα τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διελθόντα Ἀγάπιος διαδέχεται: ὃν καὶ πολλὰ καμεῖν γνησιωτάτην τε πρόνοιαν τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ προστασίας ἴσμεν πεπονημένον πλουσίᾳ τε χειρὶ πάντων μάλιστα πενήτων ἐπιμεμελημένον. [25] κατὰ τοῦτον ἐλλογιμώτατον αὐτῷ τε βίῳ φιλόσοφον ἀληθῆ πρεσβείου τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας ἡξιωμένον Πάμφιλον ἔγνωμεν: ὃν ὁποῖός τις ἦν καὶ ὅθεν ὁρμώμενος, οὐ σμικρὰς ἂν γένοιτο δηλοῦν ὑποθέσεως: ἕκαστα δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου καὶ ἥς συνεστήσατο διατριβῆς, τοὺς τε κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἐν διαφόροις ὁμολογίαις ἀγῶνας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὃν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνεδήσατο τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον, ἐν ἰδίᾳ τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ διελήφαμεν ὑποθέσει. [26] ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν τῶν τῇδε θαυμασιώτατος: ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς σπανιωτάτους γενομένους ἴσμεν τῶν μὲν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας πρεσβυτέρων Πιέριον, Μελέτιον δὲ τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοπον. [27] ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄκρως ἀκτήμονι βίῳ καὶ μαθήμασιν φιλοσόφοις δεδοκίμαστο, ταῖς περὶ τὰ θεῖα θεωρίαις καὶ ἐξηγήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλέξεσιν ὑπερφυῶς ἐξησκημένος: ὁ δὲ Μελέτιος 'τὸ μέλι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας' τοιοῦτος ἦν οἷον ἂν γράψειεν τις τὸν κατὰ πάντα λόγων ἔνεκα τελεώτατον. ῥητορικῆς μὲν γε τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐδ' οἷόν τε θαυμάζειν ἐπαξίως, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν εἶναι αὐτῷ φαίη ἂν τις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν: τῆς δ' ἄλλης πολυπειρίας τε καὶ πολυμαθείας τίς ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπερβάλοιτο, [28] ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ πάσαις λογικαῖς ἐπιστήμαις τὸν τεχνικώτατον καὶ λογιώτατον, καὶ μόνον πεῖραν αὐτοῦ λαβὼν, εἶπες ἂν; ἐφάμιλλα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς παρῆν τοῦ βίου. τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν τοῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην κλίμασιν διαδιδράσκοντα ἐφ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἐπτά κατενοήσαμεν.

[29] τῆς δ' ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὸν μικρῷ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἐπίσκοπον Ὑμέναιον Ζαβδᾶς τὴν λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει: μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τούτου κεκοιμημένου, Ἑρμῶν ὕστατος τῶν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ τὸν εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐκείσε πεφυλαγμένον ἀποστολικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον. [30] Καὶ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ Μάξιμον ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεσιν μετὰ τὴν Διονυσίου τελευτὴν ἐπισκοπεύσαντα Θεωνᾶς διαδέχεται: καθ' ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ ταῦτόν τῳ Πιερῷ πρεσβυτερίου ἡξιωμένος Ἀχιλλᾶς ἐγνωρίζετο, τῆς ἱερᾶς πίστεως τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐγκεχειρισμένος, οὐδενὸς ἦττον σπανιώτατον φιλοσοφίας ἔργον καὶ πολιτείας εὐαγγελικῆς τρόπον γνήσιον ἐπιδεδειγμένος. [31] μετὰ δὲ Θεωνᾶν ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτεσιν ἐξυπηρετησάμενον διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας Πέτρος,

ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς διαπρέψας ἐφ' ὅλοις δυοκαίδεκα ἐνιαυτοῖς, ὧν πρὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ τρισὶν οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἡγησάμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον εὐτονωτέρα τῇ συνασκήσει ἑαυτὸν τε ἥγεν καὶ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὠφελείας οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐπεμέλετο. ταύτῃ δ' οὖν ἐνάτῳ ἔτει τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς τῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου κατεκοσμήθη στεφάνῳ.

[32] Ἐν τούτοις τὴν τῶν διαδοχῶν περιγράψαντες ὑπόθεσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προσευκτηρίων καθαίρεσιν εἰς ἔτη συντείνουσιν πέντε καὶ τριακόσια, φέρε, ἐξῆς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀνδρισμένων ἀγῶνας, ὅσοι τε καὶ ὀπηλικοί γεγόνασιν, καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι διὰ γραφῆς καταλείψωμεν.

BOOK VIII.

Τάδε καὶ ἡ ὀγδόη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

A Περὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ.

B Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθαιρέσεως.

Γ Περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἡγωνισμένων.

Δ Περὶ τῶν αἰοιδίμων τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτύρων, ὡς πάντα τόπον ἔπλησαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν μνήμης, ποικίλους τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀναδησάμενοι στεφάνους.

E Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Νικομήδειαν.

Σ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς οἴκους.

Z Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην Αἰγυπτίων.

H Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

Θ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Θηβαΐδα.

I Φιλέου μάρτυρος περὶ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπραγμένων ἔγγραφοι διδασκαλίας.

IA Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν.

IB Περὶ πλείστων ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν διαφόρως ἡγωνισμένων.

IF Περὶ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προέδρων τῶν τὸ γνήσιον ἥς ἐπρέσβευον εὐσεβείας διὰ τοῦ σφῶν αἵματος ἐπιδεδειγμένων.

ID Περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐχθρῶν.

IE Περὶ τῶν τοῖς ἐκτὸς συμβεβηκότων.

IZ Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῆς.

IZ Περὶ τῆς τῶν κρατούντων παλινφθίας.

Τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ὅλοις ἑπτὰ περιγράψαντες βιβλίους, ἐν ὀγδῷ τούτῳ συγγράμματι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσης ἄξια ὄντα γραφῆς, ἐν τι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἡγούμεθα δεῖν εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἄρξεται γε ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν.

Ὁσης μὲν καὶ ὁποίας πρὸ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ δόξης ὁμοῦ καὶ παρρησίας ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ τῷ βίῳ κατηγγεγλμένος τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εὐσεβείας λόγος παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἡξίωτο, μεῖζον ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαξίως διηγήσασθαι: [2] τεκμήρια δ' ἂν γένοιτο τῶν κρατούντων αἱ περὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους δεξιώσεις, οἷς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐνεχειρίζον ἡγεμονίας, τῆς περὶ τὸ θύειν ἀγωνίας κατὰ πολλὴν ἦν ἀπέσφζον περὶ τὸ δόγμα φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττοντες. [3] τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς λέγειν οἴκους καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρχόντων; οἱ τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ παρρησιαζομένοις λόγῳ τε καὶ βίῳ συνεχώρουν, γαμεταῖς καὶ παισὶ καὶ οἰκέταις, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπιτρέποντες: οὗς ἐξόχως καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν συνθεραπόντων ἀποδεκτοὺς ἡγοῦντο [4] οἷος ἐκεῖνος ἦν Δωρόθεος, πάντων αὐτοῖς εὐνοῦστατός τε καὶ πιστότατος καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἡγεμονίαις ἐντιμότερος, ὃ τε σὺν αὐτῷ περιβόητος Γοργόνιος καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως τούτοις ἡξίωντο διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον τιμῆς: [5] οἷας τε καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἄρχοντας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρόποις καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ἀποδοχῆς ἦν ὁρᾶν ἀξιουμένους. πῶς δ' ἂν τις διαγράψειεν τὰς μυριάδους ἐκεῖνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀθροισμάτων τάς τε ἐπισήμους ἐν τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις συνδρομάς; ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα μηδαμῶς ἔτι τοῖς πάλαι οἰκοδομήμασιν ἀρκούμενοι, εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας. [6] ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις προϊόντα ὁσημέραι τε εἰς αὐξὴν καὶ μέγεθος ἐπιδιδόντα οὐδεὶς ἀνεῖργεν φθόνος οὐδέ τις δαίμων πονηρὸς οἷός τε ἦν βασκαίνειν οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλαῖς κωλύειν, ἐς ὅσον ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χεὶρ ἔσκεπέν τε καὶ ἐφρούρει, οἷα δὲ ἄξιον ὄντα, τὸν ἑαυτῆς λαόν. [7] Ὡς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεον ἐλευθερίας ἐπὶ χαννότητα καὶ νωθρίαν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς μετελλάττετο, ἄλλων ἄλλοις διαφθονομένων καὶ διαλοιδορουμένων καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἑαυτοῖς προσπολεμούντων ὅπλοις, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, καὶ δόρασιν τοῖς διὰ λόγων ἀρχόντων τε ἄρχουσι προσρηγνύντων καὶ λαῶν ἐπὶ λαοὺς καταστασιαζόντων τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως ἀφάτου καὶ τῆς εἰρωνείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον κακίας προϊούσης, ἡ μὲν δὲ θεία κρίσις, οἷα φίλον αὐτῇ, πεφεισμένως, τῶν ἀθροισμάτων ἔτι συγκροτουμένων, ἡρέμα καὶ μετρίως τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπὴν ἀνεκίνει, ἐκ τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀδελφῶν καταρχομένου τοῦ διωγμοῦ: [8] ὥς δ' ἀνεπαισθῆτως ἔχοντες οὐχ ὅπως εὐμενὲς καὶ ἴλεω καταστήσεσθαι τὸ θεῖον προυθυμούμεθα, οἷα δὲ τινες ἄθεοι ἀφρόντιστα καὶ ἀνεπίσκοπα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς

ἡγούμενοι ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις προσετίθεμεν κακίας οἱ τε δοκοῦντες ἡμῶν ποιμένες τὸν τῆς θεοσεβείας θεσμὸν παρωσάμενοι ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνεφλέγοντο φιλονεικίαις, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα μόνα, τὰς ἔριδας καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὸν τε ζῆλον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθος τε καὶ μῖσος ἐπαυξόντες οἷά τε τυραννίδας τὰς φιλαρχίας ἐκθύμως διεκδικοῦντες, τότε δὴ, τότε κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν τοῦ Ἱερεμίου φωνὴν ἐγνόφωσεν ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ κύριος τὴν θυγατέρα Σιών καὶ κατέρριπεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δόξασμα Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη τε ὑποποδίου ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ: ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπόντισεν κύριος πάντα τὰ ὥραῖα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ καθεῖλεν πάντας τοὺς φραγμοὺς αὐτοῦ, [9] κατὰ τε τὰ ἐν Ψαλμοῖς προθεσπισθέντα κατέστρεψεν τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐβεβήλωσεν εἰς γῆν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθαιρέσεως τὸ ἁγίασμα αὐτοῦ καὶ καθεῖλεν πάντας τοὺς φραγμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἔθετο τὰ ὀχυρώματα αὐτοῦ δειλίαν: διήρπασάν τε τὰ πλήθη τοῦ λαοῦ πάντες οἱ διοδεύοντες ὁδόν, καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄνειδος ἐγενήθη τοῖς γείτοσιν αὐτοῦ. ὕψωσεν γὰρ τὴν δεξιὰν τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς ῥομφαίας αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀντελάβετο αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ: ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέλυσεν ἀπὸ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν γῆν κατέρραξεν ἐσμίκρυνέν τε τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ χρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν κατέχεεν αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνην.

Συντετέλεσται ὅσα καθ' ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, ὀπηνίκα τῶν μὲν προσευκτηρίων τοὺς οἴκους ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτοῖς θεμελίους καταρριπτομένους, τὰς δ' ἐνθέους καὶ ἱερὰς γραφὰς κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς πυρὶ παραδιδόμενας αὐτοῖς ἐπείδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς τοὺς τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένας αἰσχυρῶς ὥδε κἀκεῖσε κρυπταζομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀσχημόνως ἀλισκομένους καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταπαιζομένους, ὅτε καὶ κατ' ἄλλον προφητικὸν λόγον ἐξεχύθη ἐξουδένωσις ἐπ' ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐπλάνησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀβάτῳ καὶ οὐχ ὁδῷ. [2] ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐχ ἡμέτερον διαγράφειν τὰς ἐπὶ τέλει σκυθρωπὰς συμφοράς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν τοῦ διωγμοῦ διαστάσεις τε αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀτοπίας οὐχ ἡμῖν οἰκεῖον μνήμη παραδιδόναι: δι' ὃ καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἱστορῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν διέγνωμεν ἢ δι' ὧν ἂν τὴν θεῖαν δικαιώσαιμεν κρίσιν. [3] οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς τοῦ διωγμοῦ πεπειραμένων ἢ τῶν εἰς ἅπαν τῆς σωτηρίας νεναυαγηκότων αὐτῇ τε γνώμῃ τοῖς τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐναπορριφέντων βυθοῖς μνήμην ποιήσασθαι προήχθημεν, μόνα δ' ἐκεῖνα τῇ καθόλου προσθήσομεν ἱστορίᾳ, ἃ πρῶτοις μὲν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γένοιτ' ἂν πρὸς ὠφελείας. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας τῶν τοῦ θείου λόγου μαρτύρων ἐν ἐπιτομῇ

διαγράφοντες. [4] Ἔτος τοῦτο ἦν ἐννεακαίδεκατον τῆς Διοκλητιανοῦ βασιλείας, Δύστρος μὴν, λέγοιτο δ' ἂν οὗτος Μάρτιος κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, ἐν ᾧ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους ἐορτῆς ἐπελαυνούσης ἠπλωτο πανταχόσε βασιλικά γράμματα, τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔδαφος φέρειν, τὰς δὲ γραφὰς ἀφανεῖς πυρὶ γενέσθαι προστάττοντα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπειλημμένους ἀτίμους, τοὺς δ' ἐν οἰκεταίαις, εἰ ἐπιμένοιεν τῇ τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ προθέσει, ἐλευθερίας στερεῖσθαι προαγορεύοντα. [5] καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη καθ' ἡμῶν γραφὴ τοιαύτη τις ἦν: μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐτέρων ἐπιφοιτησάντων γραμμάτων, προσετέταττο τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδρους πάντας τοὺς κατὰ πάντα τόπον πρῶτα μὲν δεσμοῖς παραδίδοσθαι, εἴθ' ὕστερον πάσῃ μηχανῇ θύειν ἐξαναγκάζεσθαι.

τότε δὴ οὖν, τότε πλεῖστοι μὲν ὅσοι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄρχοντες, δειναῖς αἰκίαις προθύμως ἐναθλήσαντες, μεγάλων ἀγώνων ἱστορίας ἐπεδειξάντο, μυρίοι δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ δειλίας προναρκήσαντες προχείρως οὕτως ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐξησθένησαν προσβολῆς, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἕκαστος εἶδη διάφορα βασάνων ἐνήλλαττεν, ὃ μὲν μάστιξιν αἰκίζόμενος τὸ σῶμα, ὃ δὲ στρεβλώσεσιν καὶ ξεσμοῖς ἀνυπομονήτοις τιμωρούμενος, ἐφ' οἷς ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ αἴσιον ἀπηνέγκαντο τοῦ βίου τέλος. [2] ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν ἄλλως τὸν ἀγῶνα διεξήεσαν: ὃ μὲν γάρ τις ἐτέρων βίᾳ συνωθούντων καὶ ταῖς παμμυάροις καὶ ἀνάγνοις προσαγόντων θυσίαις ὡς τεθυκὼς ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ τεθυκὼς ἦν, ὃ δὲ μὴδ' ὅλως προσπελάσας μὴδὲ τινος ἐναγοῦς ἐφαψάμενος, εἰρηκότων δ' ἐτέρων ὅτι τεθύκοι, σιωπῇ φέρων τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἀπήει: ἄλλος ἡμιθνής αἰρόμενος ὡς ἂν ἤδη νεκρὸς ἐρρίπτετο, [3] καὶ τις αὖ πάλιν ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμενος μακρὰν ἐσύρετο τοῖν ποδοῖν, ἐν τεθυκόσιν αὐτοῖς λελογισμένος. ὁ δὲ τις ἐβόα καὶ μεγάλη διεμαρτύρετο φωνὴ τῆς θυσίας τὴν ἄρνησιν, καὶ ἄλλος Χριστιανὸς εἶναι ἐκεκράγει, τῇ τοῦ σωτηρίου προσρήματος ὁμολογία λαμπρυνόμενος: ἕτερος τὸ μὴ τεθυκεῖναι μὴδὲ θύσειν ποτὲ διετείνετο. [4] ὁμος δ' οὖν καὶ οἶδε πολυχειρία τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένης στρατιωτικῆς παρατάξεως κατὰ στόματος παιόμενοι καὶ κατασιγάζομενοι κατὰ τε προσώπου καὶ παρειῶν τυπτόμενοι μετὰ βίας ἐξωθοῦντο: οὕτως ἐξ ἅπαντος οἱ τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθροὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἠνυκέναι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐτίθεντο. Ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῖς μαρτύρων ταῦτα προυχώρει: ὧν εἰς ἀκριβῆ διήγησιν τίς ἂν ἡμῖν ἐξαρκέσειεν λόγος;

μυρίους μὲν γὰρ ἱστορήσαι ἂν τις θαυμαστὴν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ἐνδεδειγμένους προθυμίαν, οὐκ ἐξ ὅτουπερ μόνον ὁ κατὰ πάντων ἀνεκινήθη διωγμός, πολὺ πρότερον δὲ καθ' ὃν ἔτι τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης

συνεκροτεῖτο. [2] ἄρτι γὰρ ἄρτι πρῶτον ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κάρου βαθέος ὑποκινουμένου τοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότος κρύβδην τε ἔτι καὶ ἀφανῶς μετὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Δεκίου καὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνον ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιχειροῦντος οὐκ ἀθρόως τε τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαποδουμένου πολέμῳ, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῶν κατὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα μόνων ἀποπειρωμένου ταύτη γὰρ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀλῶναι ραδίως ᾔετο, εἰ πρότερον ἐκείνων καταγωνισάμενος περιγένοιτό, πλείστους παρῆν τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ὄρᾳ ἀσμενέστατα τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν προασπαζομένους βίον, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἔξαρνοι γένοιτο τῆς περὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν εὐσεβείας. [3] ὥς γὰρ ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης, ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ἐκεῖνος, ἄρτι πρῶτον ἐνεχεῖρει τῷ κατὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων διωγμῷ, φυλοκρινῶν καὶ διακαθαίρων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀναφερομένους αἵρεσίν τε διδοὺς ἢ πειθαρχοῦσιν ἥς μετῆν αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύειν τιμῆς ἢ τοῦναντίον στέρεσθαι ταύτης, εἰ ἀντιτάττειντο τῷ προστάγματι, πλείστοι ὅσοι τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας στρατιῶται τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίαν, μὴ μελλήσαντες, τῆς δοκούσης δόξης καὶ εὐπραγίας ἣς εἶχοντο, ἀναμφιλόγως προουτίμησαν. [4] ἤδη δὲ σπανίως τούτων εἷς που καὶ δεύτερος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀξίας τὴν ἀποβολήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θάνατον τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐνστάσεως ἀντικατηλλάττοντο, μετρίως πως ἤδη τότε τοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἐνεργοῦντος καὶ μέχρις αἵματος ἐπ' ἐνίων φθάνειν ἐπιτολμῶντος, τοῦ πλήθους, ὡς ἔοικεν, τῶν πιστῶν δεδιττομένου τε αὐτὸν ἔτι καὶ ἀποκναίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀθρόως ἐφορμηῆσαι πόλεμον. [5] ὥς δὲ καὶ γυμνότερον ἐπαπεδύετο, οὐδ' ἔστιν λόγῳ δυνατὸν ἀφηγήσασθαι ὅσους καὶ ὁποίους τοῦ θεοῦ μάρτυρας ὀφθαλμοῖς παρῆν ὄρᾳ τοῖς ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας οἰκοῦσιν.

Αὐτίκα γοῦν τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμεναι τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ νομιζόμενας ὑπεροχὰς ἐνδοξοτάτων, ἅμα τῷ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν τῇ Νικομηδεῖᾳ προτεθῆναι γραφὴν, ζήλω τῷ κατὰ θεὸν ὑποκινήθεις διαπύρῳ τε ἐφορμήσας τῇ πίστει, ἐν προφανεῖ καὶ δημοσίῳ κειμένην ὡς ἀνοσίαν καὶ ἀσεβεστάτην ἀνελὼν σπαράττει, δυεῖν ἐπιπαρόντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν βασιλέων, τοῦ τε πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ τὸν τέταρτον ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατοῦντος βαθμόν. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν τῶν τῆνικάδε πρῶτος τοῦτον διαπρέψας τὸν τρόπον ἅμα τε τοιαῦτα οἶα καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν ὑπομείνας ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τολμήματι, τὸ ἄλυπον καὶ ἀτάραχον εἰς αὐτὴν τελευταίαν διετήρησεν ἀναπνοήν.

Πάντων δὲ ὅσοι τῶν πώποτε ἀνυμνοῦνται θαυμάσιοι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρεία βεβοημένοι εἴτε παρ' Ἑλλήσιν εἴτε παρὰ βαρβάροις, θείους ἠνεγκεν ὁ καιρὸς

καὶ διαπρέπεις μάρτυρας τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δωρόθεον βασιλικούς παῖδας, οἱ καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ παρὰ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἡξιωμένοι τιμῆς γνησίων τε αὐτοῖς διαθέσει τέκνων οὐ λειπόμενοι, μείζονα πλοῦτον ὥς ἀληθῶς ἡγνῆται τῆς τοῦ βίου δόξης καὶ τρυφῆς τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ὀνειδισμούς τε καὶ πόνους καὶ τοὺς κεκαινουργημένους ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς πολυτρόπους θανάτους· ὧν ἐνός τινος οἶψ κέχρηται μνησθέντες τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει, σκοπεῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβεβηκότα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν καταλείψομεν. [2] Ἦγετό τις εἰς μέσον κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν ἐφ' ὧν δεδηλώκαμεν ἀρχόντων. θύειν δὴ οὖν προσταχθεῖς, ὥς ἐνίστατο, γυμνὸς μετάρσιος ἀρθῆναι κελεύεται μάλιστα τε τὸ πᾶν σῶμα καταξάινεσθαι, εἰς ὅτε ἡττηθεὶς κἂν ἄκων τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιήσειεν. [3] ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάσχων ἀδιάτρεπτος ἦν, ὅξος λοιπὸν ἤδη τῶν ὀστέων ὑποφαινομένων αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ ἄλατι φύραντες κατὰ τῶν διασπαέντων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν ἐνέχεον· ὥς δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἐπάτει τὰς ἀλγηδόνας, ἐσχάρα τούντεῦθεν καὶ πῦρ εἰς μέσον εἵλκετο, καὶ κρεῶν ἐδωδύμων δίκην τὰ λείψανα αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐκ εἰς ἄθρουν, ὥς ἂν μὴ συντόμως ἀπαλλαγείη, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ ἀνηλίσκετο, οὐ πρότερον ἀνεῖναι τῶν ἐπιτιθέντων αὐτὸν τῇ πυρᾷ συγχωρουμένων, πρὶν ἂν καὶ μετὰ τοσαῦτα τοῖς προσταττομένοις ἐπινεύσειεν. [4] ὁ δ' ἀπρίξ ἐχόμενος τῆς προθέσεως νικηφόρος ἐν αὐταῖς βασάνοις παρέδωκε τὴν ψυχὴν. τοιοῦτον τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνός τὸ μαρτύριον παίδων, ἄξιον ὥς ὄντως καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας· Πέτρος γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο. [5] Οὐ χεῖρωνα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὄντα λόγου φειδόμενοι συμμετρίας παραλείψομεν, τοσοῦτον ἱστορήσαντες ὥς ὁ τε Δωρόθεος καὶ ὁ Γοργόνιος ἐτέροις ἅμα πλείοσιν τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκετίας μετὰ τοὺς πολυτρόπους ἀγῶνας βρόχῳ τὴν ζωὴν μεταλλάξαντες, τῆς ἐνθέου νίκης ἀπηνέγκαντο βραβεῖα. [6] Ἐν τούτῳ τῆς κατὰ Νικομήδειαν ἐκκλησίας ὁ τηνικαῦτα προεστὼς Ἀνθιμος διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν μαρτυρίαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμενεται· τούτῳ δὲ πλῆθος ἄθρουν μαρτύρων προστίθεται, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Νικομήδειαν βασιλείοις πυρκαϊᾶς ἐν αὐταῖς δὴ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀφθείσης, ἦν καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ψευδῇ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιχειρηθῆναι λόγου διαδοθέντος, παγγενεῖ σωρηδὸν βασιλικῷ νεύματι τῶν τῇδε θεοσεβῶν οἱ μὲν ξίφει κατεσφάττοντο, οἱ δὲ διὰ πυρὸς ἐτελειοῦντο, ὅτε λόγος ἔχει προθυμία θεία τινι καὶ ἀρρήτῳ ἄνδρα ἅμα γυναιξὶν ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν καθάλεσθαι· δῆσαντες δὲ οἱ δήμιοι ἄλλο τι πλῆθος ἐπὶ σκάφαις τοῖς θαλαττίοις ἐναπέρριπτον βυθοῖς. [7] τοὺς δὲ γε βασιλικούς μετὰ θάνατον παῖδας, γῇ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κηδείας παραδοθέντας, αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνορύξαντες

ἐναπορρῖψαι θαλάττῃ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὄντο δεῖν οἱ νενομισμένοι δεσπότες, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἐν μνήμασιν ἀποκειμένους προσκυνοῖεν τινες, θεοὺς δὴ αὐτούς, ὥς γε ὄντο, λογιζόμενοι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτελεσθέντα τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοιαῦτα: [8] οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν ὁ ἐτέρων κατὰ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν οὕτω καλουμένην χώραν καὶ αὐτὴν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπιφυῆναι τῇ βασιλείᾳ πεπειραμένων, τοὺς πανταχόσε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστώτας εἰρκταῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐνείρειν πρόσταγμα ἐφόιτα βασιλικόν. [9] καὶ ἦν ἡ θεὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις γινομένων πᾶσαν διήγησιν ὑπεραίρουσα, μυρίου πλήθους ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καθειργνυμένου καὶ τὰ πανταχῇ δεσμοκτήρια, ἀνδροφόνους καὶ τυμβωρύχους πάλαι πρότερον ἐπεσκευασμένα, τότε πληρούντων ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἀναγνωστῶν τε καὶ ἐπορκιστῶν, ὥς μηδὲ χώραν ἔτι τοῖς ἐπὶ κακουργίαις κατακρίτοις αὐτόθι λείπεσθαι. [10] Αὐτίς ὁ ἐτέρων τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα ἐπικατελιηφότων, ἐν οἷς τοὺς κατακλείστους θύσαντας μὲν ἔαν βαδίζειν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίας, ἐνισταμένους δὲ μυρίαις καταξάνειν προστέτακτο βασάνοις, πῶς ἂν πάλιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν μαρτύρων ἀριθμήσειεν τις τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὸ Μαύρων ἔθνος Θηβαῖδα τε καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον; ἐξ ἧς καὶ εἰς ἐτέρας ἤδη προελθόντες πόλεις τε καὶ ἐπαρχίας διέπρεψαν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις.

Ἰσμεν γοῦν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν διαλάμψαντας ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, ἴσμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς Φοινίκης: οὓς τίς ἰδὼν οὐ κατεπλάγη τὰς ἀναρίθμους μάστιγας καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς παραδόξων τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθλητῶν ἐνστάσεις τὸν τε παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας ἐν θηρσὶν ἀνθρωποβόροις ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτῳ παρδάλεων καὶ διαφόρων ἄρκτων συῶν τε ἀγρίων καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ κεκαυτηριασμένων βοῶν προσβολὰς καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν θηρίων θαυμασίους τῶν γενναίων ὑπομονάς; [2] οἷς γιγνομένοις καὶ αὐτοὶ παρήμεν, ὁπνῆκα τοῦ μαρτυρουμένου σωτήρος ἡμῶν, αὐτοῦ δὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν θεῖαν δύναμιν ἐπιπαροῦσαν ἐναργῶς τε αὐτὴν τοῖς μάρτυσιν ἐπιδεικνύσαν ἱστορήσαμεν, τῶν ἀνθρωποβόρων ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον μὴ προσψάειν μηδὲ πλησιάζειν τοῖς τῶν θεοφιλῶν σώμασιν ἐπιτολμώντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι δῆπουθεν ἐξωθεν ἐρεθισμοῖς παρώρων αὐτά, φερομένων, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀθλητῶν, γυμνῶν ἐστώτων καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν κατασειόντων ἐπὶ τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπισπωμένων 'τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκελεύετο πράττειν, μηδ' ὅλως ἐφαπτομένων, ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅπῃ μὲν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὀρμώντων, οἷα δὲ πρὸς τινος θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἀνακρουομένων καὶ αὐτὴν πάλιν εἰς

τοὔπισω χωροῦντων: [3] ὁ καὶ εἰς μακρὸν γινόμενον θαῦμα παρῆχεν οὐ σμικρὸν τοῖς θεωμένοις, ὥστε ἤδη διὰ τὸ ἄπρακτον τοῦ πρώτου δεῦτερον καὶ τρίτον προσαφίεσθαι ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μάρτυρι θηρίον. [4] Καταπλαγῆναι δ' ἦν τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπτόητον τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν σώμασι νέοις βεβηκυῖαν καὶ ἀδιάτρεπτον ἔνστασιν. ἐώρας γοῦν ἡλικίαν οὐδ' ὅλων ἐτῶν εἴκοσι δίχα δεσμῶν ἐστῶτος νέου καὶ τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἐφαπλοῦντος εἰς σταυροῦ τύπον, ἀκαταπλήκτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀτρεμεῖ διανοίᾳ ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον σχολαίτατα τεταμένου λιταῖς μηδ' ὅλως τε μεθισταμένου μηδ' ἀποκλίνοντός ποι τοῦ ἔνθα εἰστήκει τόπου, ἄρκτων καὶ παρδάλεων θυμοῦ καὶ θανάτου πνεόντων σχεδὸν αὐτῆς καθαπτομένων αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκός, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως θείᾳ καὶ ἀπορρήτῳ δυνάμει μόνον οὐχὶ φραπτομένων τὸ στόμα καὶ αὐθις παλινδρομοῦντων εἰς τοὔπισω. καὶ οὗτος μὲν τις τοιοῦτος ἦν: [5] πάλιν δ' ἂν ἐτέρους εἶδες ἑπέντε γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐτύγγανον ἡγριωμένῳ ταύρῳ παραβληθέντας, ὃς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τῶν ἔξωθεν προσιόντων τοῖς κέρασιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ρίπτων διεσπάραττεν, ἡμιθνήτας αἶρεσθαι καταλιπών, ἐπὶ μόνους δὲ θυμῷ καὶ ἀπειλῇ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὁρμῶν μάρτυρας οὐδὲ πλησιάζειν αὐτοῖς οἷός τε ἦν, κυρίττων δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν καὶ τοῖς κέρασιν τῇδε κάκεισε χρώμενος καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν καυτήρων ἐρεθισμοὺς θυμοῦ καὶ ἀπειλῆς πνέων εἰς τοὔπισω πρὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀνθεύλκετο προνοίας, ὥς μηδὲ τούτου μηδὲν μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσαντος, ἕτερα ἅττα αὐτοῖς ἐπαφίεσθαι θηρία. [6] τέλος δ' οὖν μετὰ τὰς δεινὰς καὶ ποικίλας τούτων προσβολὰς ξίφει κατασφαγέντες οἱ πάντες ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τάφων τοῖς θαλαττίοις παραδίδονται κύμασιν.

καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ ἀγὼν τῶν κατὰ Τύρον τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἄθλους ἐνδειξαμένων Αἰγυπτίων. Θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς μαρτυρήσαντας, ἔνθα μυριοὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἄνδρες ἅμα γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας, τοῦ προσκαίρου ζῆν καταφρονήσαντες, διαφόρους ὑπέμειναν θανάτους, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μετὰ ξεσμοὺς καὶ στρεβλώσεις μάστιγας τε χαλεπωτάτας καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας ποικίλας καὶ φρικτὰς ἀκοῦσαι βασάνους πυρὶ παραδοθέντες, οἱ δὲ πελάγει καταβροχθισθέντες, ἄλλοι δ' εὐθαρσῶς τοῖς ἀποτέμνουσιν τὰς ἐαυτῶν προτείναντες κεφαλὰς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐναποθανόντες ταῖς βασάνοις, ἕτεροι δὲ λιμῷ διαφθαρέντες, καὶ ἄλλοι πάλιν ἀνασκολοπισθέντες, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ σύνθηες τοῖς κακούργοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ χειρόνως ἀνάπαλιν κάτω κᾶρα προσηλωθέντες τηρούμενοί τε ζῶντες, εἰς ὅτε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἱκρίων λιμῷ διαφθαρεῖν.

Πάντα δ' ὑπεραίρει λόγον καὶ ἃς ὑπέμειναν αἰκίας καὶ ἀλγηδόνας οἱ κατὰ

Θηβαῖδα μάρτυρες, ὁστράκοις ἀντὶ ὀνύχων ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ μέχρις ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου καταξαινόμενοι, γυναῖά τε τοῖν ποδοῖν ἐξ ἐνὸς ἀποδεσμούμενα μετέωρά τε καὶ διαέρια κάτω κεφαλὴν μαγγάνοις τισὶν εἰς ὕψος ἀνελκόμενα γυμνοῖς τε παντελῶς καὶ μὴδ' ἐπικεκαλυμμένοις τοῖς σώμασιν θεάν ταύτην αἰσχίστην καὶ πάντων ὠμοτάτην καὶ ἀπανθρωποτάτην τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἅπασιν παρεσχημένα: [2] ἄλλοι δ' αὖ πάλιν δένδροισιν καὶ πρέμνοις ἐναπέθνησκον δεσμούμενοι: τοὺς γὰρ μάλιστα στερροτάτους τῶν κλάδων μηχαναῖς τισιν ἐπὶ ταῦτό συνέλκοντες εἰς ἑκάτερά τε τούτων τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ἀποτείνοντες σκέλη, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἠφίεσαν τοὺς κλάδους φέρεσθαι φύσιν, ἄθρουιν τῶν μελῶν διασπασμὸν καθ' ὃν ταῦτ' ἐνεχείρουν ἐπινοοῦντες. [3] καὶ ταῦτά γε πάντα ἐνηργεῖτο οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἢ χρόνον τινὰ βραχύν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ὅλων ἐτῶν διάστημα, ὅτε μὲν πλειόνων ἢ δέκα, ὅτε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς εἴκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναιρουμένων, ἄλλοτε δὲ οὐχ ἦττον καὶ τριάκοντα, ἥδη δ' ἐγγύς που ἐξήκοντα, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε ἑκατὸν ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ ἄνδρες ἅμα κομιδῇ νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐκτείνοντο, ποικίλαις καὶ ἐναλλαττούσαις τιμωρίαις καταδικαζόμενοι. [4] Ἱστορήσαμεν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων γενόμενοι πλείους ἀθρόως κατὰ μίαν ἡμέραν τοὺς μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτομὴν ὑπομείναντας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν διὰ πυρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὡς ἀμβλύνεσθαι φονεύοντα τὸν σίδηρον ἀτονοῦντά τε διαθλᾶσθαι αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας ἀποκάμνοντας ἀμοιβαδὸν ἀλλήλους διαδέχεσθαι: [5] ὅτε καὶ θαυμασιωτάτην ὁρμὴν θεῖαν τε ὡς ἀληθῶς δύναμιν καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιστευκότων συνεωρῶμεν. ἅμα γοῦν τῇ κατὰ τῶν προτέρων ἀποφάσει ἐπεπῆδων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι τῷ πρὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ βήματι Χριστιανοὺς σφᾶς ὁμολογοῦντες, ἀφροντίστως μὲν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολυειδῶν βασάνων τρόπους διακείμενοι, ἀκαταπλήκτως δὲ παρρησιαζόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εὐσεβεῖα μετὰ τε χαρᾶς καὶ γέλωτος καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὴν ὑστάτην ἀπόφασιν τοῦ θανάτου καταδεχόμενοι, ὥστε ψάλλειν καὶ ὕμνους καὶ εὐχαριστίας εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν μέχρις αὐτῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπέμπειν ἀναπνοῆς. [6] θαυμάσιοι μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτοι, ἐξαιρέτως δ' ἐκεῖνοι θαυμασιώτεροι οἱ πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ δόξῃ λόγῳ τε καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαπρέψαντες, πάντα γε μὴν δεύτερα θέμενοι τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστεως, [7] οἷος Φιλόρωμος ἦν, ἀρχὴν τινα οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν τῆς κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως ἐγκεχειρισμένος, ὃς μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς τιμῆς, ὑπὸ στρατιώταις δορυφορούμενος, ἐκάστης ἀνεκρίνετο

ἡμέρας, Φιλέας τε τῆς Θμουϊτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, διαπρέψας ἀνὴρ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα πολιτείαις τε καὶ λειτουργίαις ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις: [8] οἱ καὶ μυρίων ὅσων πρὸς αἱματός τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἀντιβολούντων, ἔτι μὴν τῶν ἐπὶ ἀξίας ἀρχόντων, πρὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαστοῦ παρακαλοῦντος ὡς ἂν αὐτῶν οἶκτον λάβοιεν φειδῶ τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ποιήσονται, οὐδαμῶς πρὸς τῶν τοσούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοζωῆσαι μὲν ἐλέσθαι, καταφρονῆσαι δὲ τῶν περὶ ὁμολογίας καὶ ἀρνήσεως τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεσμῶν ὑπήχθησαν, ἀνδρείῳ δὲ λογισμῷ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ πρὸς ἀπάσας τοῦ δικαστοῦ τάς τε ἀπειλάς καὶ τὰς ὕβρεις ἐνστάντες, ἅμφω τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετμήθησαν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν μαθημάτων ἔνεκα πολλοῦ λόγου ἄξιον γενέσθαι τὸν Φιλέαν ἔφαμεν, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ παρίτω μάρτυς, ἅμα μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὅστις ποτ' ἦν, ἐπιδείξων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ συμβεβηκότα μαρτύρια ἀκριβέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἱστορήσων διὰ τούτων τῶν λέξεων. [2] ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΕΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΜΟΥΙΤΑΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ 'Τούτων ἀπάντων ὑποδειγμάτων ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπογραμμῶν καὶ καλῶν γνωρισμάτων ἐν ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς κειμένων, οὐδὲν μελλήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι σὺν ἡμῖν μάρτυρες, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν καθαρῶς τείναντες καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ εὐσεβείᾳ θάνατον ἐν νῷ λαβόντες, ἀπρίξ τῆς κλήσεως εἶχοντο, τὸν μὲν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εὐρόντες ἐνανθρωπήσαντα δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα πᾶσαν μὲν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκκόψη, ἐφόδια δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν εἰσόδου ἡμῖν κατάθῃται: οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκέκνωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτὸν ἐταπείνωσεν ἕως θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ: [3] δι' ὃ καὶ ζηλώσαντες τὰ μείζονα χαρίσματα οἱ χριστοφόροι μάρτυρες πάντα μὲν πόνον καὶ παντοίας ἐπινοίας αἰκισμῶν οὐκ εἰς ἅπαξ, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ δευτερόν τινες ὑπέμειναν, πάσας δὲ ἀπειλάς οὐ λόγοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργοις τῶν δορυφόρων κατ' αὐτῶν φιλοτιμουμένων, οὐκ ἐνεδίδουν τὴν γνώμην διὰ τὸ τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην ἔξω βάλλειν τὸν φόβον: [4] ὧν καταλέγειν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστη βασάνῳ ἀνδρείαν τίς ἂν ἀρκέσειεν λόγος; ἀνέσεως γὰρ οὔσης ἅπασι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνυβρίζειν, οἱ μὲν ξύλοις ἔπαιον, ἕτεροι δὲ ῥάβδοις, ἄλλοι δὲ μάστιξιν, ἕτεροι δὲ πάλιν ἱμάσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ σχοινίοις. [5] καὶ ἦν ἡ θεὰ τῶν αἰκισμῶν ἐνὶ ἡλλαγμένη καὶ πολλὴν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κακίαν ἔχουσα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσω τὸ χεῖρε δεθέντες περὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐξηρτῶντο καὶ μαγγάνοις τισὶ διετείνοντο πᾶν μέλος, εἴθ' οὕτως διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἐπῆγον ἐκ κελεύσεως οἱ

βασανισταί, οὐ καθάπερ τοῖς φονεῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ κνημῶν καὶ παρειῶν τοῖς ἀμυντηρίοις ἐκόλαζον: ἕτεροι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς μιᾶς χειρὸς ἐξηρητημένοι αἰωροῦντο, πάσης ἀλγηδόνης δεινότεραν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρθρων καὶ μελῶν τάσιν ἔχοντες: ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοῖς κίοσιν ἀντιπρόσωποι ἐδοῦντο, οὐ βεβηκόσιν τοῖς ποσίν, τῷ δὲ βάρει τοῦ σώματος βιαζομένων μετὰ τάσεως ἀνελκομένων τῶν δεσμῶν. [6] καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπέμενον, οὐκ ἐφ' ὅσον προσδιελέγετο οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἐσχόλαζεν ὁ ἡγεμῶν, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐχὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. ὅτε γὰρ καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέρους μετέβαινεν, τοῖς προτέροις κατελίμπανεν ἐφεδρεῦειν τοὺς τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπηρετουμένους, εἴ πού τις ἡττηθεὶς τῶν βασάνων ἐνδιδόναι ἐδόκει, ἀφειδῶς δὲ κελεύων καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς προσιέναι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ψυχορραγοῦντας αὐτοὺς κατατιθεμένους εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔλκεσθαι: [7] οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κἂν μέρος φροντίδος αὐτοῖς περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' οὕτω καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν, ὥς μηκέτ' ὄντων, ταύτην δευτέραν βάσανον ἐπὶ ταῖς πληγαῖς τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐφευρόντων. [8] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ μετὰ τοὺς αἰκισμοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου κείμενοι, διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ὁπῶν διατεταμένοι ἄμφω τὸ πόδε, ὥς καὶ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ὑπίους εἶναι, μὴ δυναμένους διὰ τὸ ἔναυλα τὰ τραύματα ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καθ' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν: ἕτεροι δὲ εἰς τοῦδαφος ῥιφέντες ἔκειντο ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν βασάνων ἀθρόας προσβολῆς, δεινότεραν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῖς ὀρῶσιν παρέχοντες, ποικίλας καὶ διαφόρους ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν φέροντες τῶν βασάνων τὰς ἐπινοίας. [9] τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οἱ μὲν ἐναπέθνησκον ταῖς βασάνοις, τῇ καρτερίᾳ καταισχύναντες τὸν ἀντίπαλον, οἱ δὲ ἡμιθνήτες ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ συγκλειόμενοι, μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι συνεχόμενοι ἐτελειοῦντο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας ἀνακτήσεως τυχόντες τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ τῆς φυλακῆς διατριβῇ θαρσαλεώτεροι ἐγίνοντο. [10] οὕτω γοῦν, ἡνίκα προσετέτακτο αἰρέσεως κειμένης ἢ ἐφαναμέμενον τῆς ἐναγοῦς θυσίας ἀνενόχλητον εἶναι, τῆς ἐπαράτου ἐλευθερίας παρ' αὐτῶν τυχόντα, ἢ μὴ θύοντα τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δίκην ἐκδέχεσθαι, οὐδὲν μελλήσαντες ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐχώρουν: ἦδσαν γὰρ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἡμῖν προορισθέντα. 'ὁ γὰρ θυσιάζων, ' φησίν, 'θεοῖς ἑτέροις ἐξολοθρευθήσεται,' καὶ ὅτι 'οὐκ ἔσονται σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ.' [11] Τοιαῦται τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσόφου τε ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλοθέου μάρτυρος αἱ φωναὶ ἅς πρὸ τελευταίας ἀποφάσεως, ὑπὸ τὴν δεσμωτικὴν ἔθ' ὑπάρχων τάξιν, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ παροικίαν ἀδελφοῖς ἐπεστάλκει, ἅμα μὲν τὰ ἐν οἷς ἦν, ἀνατιθέμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παρορμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπριῆξ ἔχεσθαι καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ὅσον οὕπω τελειωθησόμενον τῆς ἐν

Χριστῷ θεοσεβείας. [12] ἀλλὰ τί χρή πολλά λέγειν καὶ καινότερας ἐπὶ καινότεραις τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην θεοπρεπῶν μαρτύρων ἀθλήσεις παρατίθεσθαι, μάλιστα τῶν οὐκέτι μὲν κοινῷ νόμῳ, πολέμου δὲ τρόπῳ πεπολιορημένων;

Ἦδη γοῦν ὅλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὐτανδρον ἀμφὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιβαλόντες ὀπλῖται πῦρ τε ὑφάψαντες κατέφλεξαν αὐτοῖς ἅμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν ἐπιβοωμένοις, ὅτι δὴ πανδημεὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες λογιστὴς τε αὐτὸς καὶ στρατηγοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἐν τέλει πᾶσιν καὶ ὅλῳ δήμῳ Χριστιανοὺς σφᾶς ὁμολογοῦντες, οὐδ' ὅπως τοῖς προστάττουσιν εἰδωλολατρεῖν ἐπειθάρχουν. [2] Καὶ τις ἕτερος Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀξίας ἐπειλημμένος, Ἄδauκτος τοῦνομα, γένος τῶν παρ' Ἰταλοῖς ἐπισήμων, διὰ πάσης προελθὼν ἀνὴρ τῆς παρὰ βασιλεῦσι τιμῆς, ὥς καὶ τὰς καθόλου διοικήσεις τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης μαγιστροτήτος τε καὶ καθολικότητος ἀμέμπτως διελθεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις διαπρέψας τοῖς ἐν θεοσεβείᾳ κατορθώμασιν καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁμολογίαις, τῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου διαδήματι κατεκοσμήθη, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καθολικοῦ πράξεως τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ὑπομείνας ἀγῶνα.

Τί με χρή νῦν ἐπ' ὀνόματος τῶν λοιπῶν μνημονεύειν ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμεῖν ἢ τὰς πολυτρόπους αἰκίας ἀναζωγραφεῖν τῶν θαυμασίων μαρτύρων, τοτὲ μὲν πέλυξιν ἀναιρουμένων, οἷα γέγονεν τοῖς ἐπ' Ἀραβίας, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ σκέλη κατεαγνυμένων, οἷα τοῖς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ συμβέβηκεν, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐκ τοῖν ποδοῖν εἰς ὕψος ἀναρτωμένων καὶ μαλθακοῦ πυρὸς ὑποκαιομένου τῷ παραπεμπομένῳ καπνῷ τῆς φλεγομένης ὕλης ἀποπνιγομένων, οἷα τοῖς ἐν Μέσῃ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπήχθη, ποτὲ δὲ ῥίνας καὶ ὄτα καὶ χεῖρας ἀκρωτηριαζομένων τὰ τε λοιπὰ τοῦ σώματος μέλη τε καὶ μέρη κρεουργουμένων, οἷα τὰ ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἦν; [2] Τί δεῖ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἀναζωπυρεῖν τὴν μνήμην, ἐσχάραις πυρὸς οὐκ εἰς θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μακρᾷ τιμωρίᾳ κατοπτωμένων, ἐτέρων τε θάπτον τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ πυρὶ καθιέντων ἢ τῆς ἐναγοῦς θυσίας ἐφαπτομένων; ὧν τινες τὴν πεῖραν φεύγοντες, πρὶν ἀλῶναι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐπιβούλων ἐλθεῖν, ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὑψηλῶν δωματίων ἑαυτοὺς κατεκρήμνισαν, τὸν θάνατον ἄρπαγμα θέμενοι τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν μοχθηρίας. [3] Καὶ τις ἱερὰ καὶ θαυμασία τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα γυνὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας πλούτῳ καὶ γένει καὶ εὐδοξίᾳ παρὰ πᾶσι βεβοημένη, παίδων ξυνωρίδα παρθένων τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὥρᾳ καὶ ἀκμῇ διαπρεπουσῶν θεσμοῖς εὐσεβείας ἀναθρεψαμένη, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὁ περὶ αὐτὰς

κινούμενος φθόνος πάντα τρόπον ἀνιχνεύων λανθανούσας περιειργάζετο, εἴτ' ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπῆς αὐτὰς διατρίβειν μαθὼν πεφροντισμένως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκάλει δικτύων τε ἤδη στρατιωτικῶν εἴσω περιβέβληντο, ἐν ἀμηγάνοις ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὰς παῖδας θεασαμένη καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραθεῖσα τό τε πάντων δεινῶν καὶ ἀφορητότερον, πορνείας ἀπειλήν, μηδὲ ἄκροις ὥσιν ὑπομεῖναι δεῖν ἀκοῦσαι ἑαυτῇ τε καὶ ταῖς κόραις παρακελευσαμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προδοῦναι τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ τῶν δαιμόνων δουλείᾳ πάντων ὑπάρχειν θανάτων καὶ πάσης χειρὸν ἀπωλείας φήσασα, μίαν τούτων ἀπάντων εἶναι λύσιν ὑπετίθετο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καταφυγὴν, [4] κᾶπειτα ὁμοῦ τῇ γνώμῃ συνθέμεναι τὰ τε σώματα περιστείλασαι κοσμίως τοῖς περιβλήμασιν, ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης γενόμεναι τῆς ὁδοῦ, βραχύ τι τοὺς φύλακας εἰς ἀναχώρησιν ὑποπαραιτησάμεναι, ἐπὶ παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν ἑαυτὰς ἠκόντισαν. [5] Αἶδε μὲν οὖν ἑαυτάς· ἄλλην δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας ξυνωρίδα παρθένων τὰ πάντα θεοπρεπῶν καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀδελφῶν, ἐπιδόξων μὲν τὸ γένος, λαμπρῶν δὲ τὸν βίον, νέων τοὺς χρόνους, ὥραίων τὸ σῶμα, σεμνῶν τὴν ψυχὴν, εὐσεβῶν τὸν τρόπον, θαυμαστῶν τὴν σπουδὴν, ὥς ἂν μὴ φερούσης τῆς γῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαστάζειν, θαλάττῃ ρίπτειν ἐκέλευον οἱ τῶν δαιμόνων θεραπευταί. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῖσδε: [6] τὰ φρικτὰ δὲ ἀκοαῖς κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἔπασχον ἕτεροι, καλάμοις ὀξέσιν τοῖν χεροῖν ἐξ ἄκρων ὀνύχων τοὺς δακτύλους διαπειρόμενοι, καὶ ἄλλοι, πυρὶ μολίβδου διατακέντος, βρασσοῦση καὶ πεπυρακτωμένη τῇ ὕλῃ τὰ νῶτα καταχεόμενοι καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀναγκαιότατα τοῦ σώματος κατοπτώμενοι, [7] διὰ τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἕτεροι μελῶν τε καὶ σπλάγγνων αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀσυμπαθεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ λόγῳ ῥητὰς ὑπέμενον πάθας, ἃς οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ νόμιμοι δικασταὶ τὴν σφῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δεινότητα, ὥσπερ τινὰ σοφίας ἀρετὴν, φιλοτιμότερον ἐπενόουν, αἰεὶ ταῖς καινότερον ἐφευρισκομέναις αἰκίαις, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγῶνος βραβείοις, ἀλλήλους ὑπερεξάγειν ἀμιλλώμενοι. [8] Τὰ δ' οὖν τῶν συμφορῶν ἔσχατα, ὅτε δὴ λοιπὸν ἀπειρηκότες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν κακῶν ὑπερβολῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κτείνειν ἀποκαμόντες πλησμονὴν τε καὶ κόρον τῆς τῶν αἱμάτων ἐκχύσεως ἐσχηκότες, ἐπὶ τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτοῖς χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐτρέποντο, ὥς μηδὲν μὲν ἔτι δοκεῖν δεινὸν καθ' ἡμῶν περιεργάζεσθαι: [9] μὴ γὰρ καθήκειν φασὶν αἵμασιν ἐμφυλίοις μιαίνειν τὰς πόλεις μηδ' ἐπ' ὁμότητι τὴν ἀνωτάτω διαβάλλειν τῶν κρατούντων ἀρχήν, εὐμενῇ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ πραεῖαν, δεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς φιланθρώπου καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς πάντας ἐκτείνεσθαι τὴν εὐεργεσίαν, μηκέτι θανάτῳ κολαζομένους: λελύσθαι γὰρ αὐτῶν καθ' ἡμῶν

ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν διὰ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων φιланθρωπίαν. [10] τὴνικαῦτα ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύττεσθαι καὶ τοῖν σκελοῖν πηροῦσθαι θάτερον προσετάρτετο. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν τιμωριῶν τὰ κουφότατα, ὥστε ἤδη ταύτης ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν ἀσεβῶν φιланθρωπίας οὐκέτ' εἶναι δυνατόν ἐξαιρεῖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον τοὺς μὲν δεξιούς ὀφθαλμοὺς ξίφει πρότερον ἐκκοπτομένων κάπειτα τούτους πυρὶ καυτηριαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ λαιοὺς πόδας κατὰ τῶν ἀγκυλῶν αὐθις καυτῆρσιν ἀχρεiouμένων μετὰ τε ταῦτα τοῖς κατ' ἐπαρχίαν χαλκοῦ μετάλλοις οὐχ ὑπηρεσίας τοσοῦτον ὅσον κακώσεως καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἔνεκεν καταδικαζομένων πρὸς ἅπασί τε τούτοις ἄλλων ἄλλοις ἀγῶσιν, οὓς μηδὲ καταλέγειν δυνατόν· νικᾷ γὰρ πάντα λόγον τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθήματὰ, περιπεπτωκότων.

[11] Ἐν δὴ τούτοις ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης διαλάμπαντες οἱ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες τοὺς μὲν ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν ἐπόπτας εἰκότως κατεπλήξαντο, τῆς δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θείας ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀπορρήτου δυνάμεως ἐμφανῇ δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰ τεκμήρια παρεστήσαντο. ἐκάστου μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ὀνόματος μνημονεύειν μακρὸν ἂν εἴη, μὴ τί γε τῶν ἀδυνάτων.

Τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους πόλεις μαρτυρησάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχόντων πρῶτος ἡμῖν ἐν εὐσεβῶν στήλαις τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἀνηγορεύσθω μάρτυς ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Νικομηδέων πόλεως, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς, Ἀνθιμος, [2] τῶν δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας μαρτύρων τὸν πάντα βίον ἄριστος πρεσβύτερος τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας, Λουκιανός, ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος τὴν οὐράνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν λόγῳ πρότερον δι' ἀπολογίας, εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἔργοις ἀνακηρύξας. [3] τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Φοινίκης μαρτύρων γένοιντ' ἂν ἐπισημότατοι τὰ πάντα θεοφιλεῖς τῶν λογικῶν Χριστοῦ θρεμμάτων ποιμένες, Τυραννίων ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Τύρον ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερός τε τῆς κατὰ Σιδῶνα Ζηνόβιος καὶ ἔτι Σιλβανὸς τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἑμισαν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοπος. [4] ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν θηρίων βορὰ μεθ' ἐτέρων ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἑμίσης γενόμενος χοροῖς ἀνελήφθη μαρτύρων, τῷ δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἄμφω τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον διὰ τῆς εἰς θάνατον ὑπομονῆς ἐδοξασάτην, ὃ μὲν θαλαττίοις παραδοθεὶς βυθοῖς, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ δὲ ἱατρῶν ἄριστος Ζηνόβιος ταῖς κατὰ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐπιτεθείσαις αὐτῷ καρτερῶς ἐναποθανὼν βασάνοις. [5] τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης μαρτύρων Σιλβανός, ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐκκλησιῶν, κατὰ τὰ ἐν Φαινοὶ χαλκοῦ μέταλλα σὺν ἐτέροις ἐνὸς δέουσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεσσαράκοντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμενεται, Αἰγύπτιοί τε αὐτόθι

Πηλεὺς καὶ Νεῖλος ἐπίσκοποι μεθ' ἐτέρων τὴν διὰ πυρὸς ὑπέμειναν τελευτήν.
[6] καὶ τὸ μέγα δὲ κλέος τῆς Καισαρέων παροικίας ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν
μνημονεύεσθω Πάμφιλος πρεσβύτερος, τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θαυμασιώτατος, οὗ τῶν
ἀνδραγαθημάτων τὴν ἀρετὴν κατὰ τὸν δέοντα καιρὸν ἀναγράφομεν. [7] τῶν δ'
ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας καθ' ὅλης τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θηβαΐδος διαπρεπῶς
τελειωθέντων πρῶτος Πέτρος, αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος, θεῖον τι χρῆμα
διδασκάλων τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ θεοσεβείας, ἀναγεγράφθω, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ
πρεσβυτέρων Φαῦστος καὶ Δῖος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, τέλειοι Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες,
Φιλέας τε καὶ Ἡσύχιος καὶ Παχύμιος καὶ Θεόδωρος, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον
ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοποι, μυρίοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλοι διαφανεῖς, οἱ πρὸς τῶν κατὰ
χώραν καὶ τόπον παροικιῶν μνημονεύονται: ὧν ἀνὰ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην
ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἡγωνισμένων γραφῇ παραδιδόναι τοὺς
ἄθλους ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τε ἕκαστα τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς συμβεβηκότων ἱστορεῖν οὐχ
ἡμέτερον, τῶν δ' ὅψει τὰ πράγματα παρειληφότων ἴδιον ἂν γένοιτο: οἷς γε μὴν
αὐτὸς παρεγενόμην, τούτους καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γνωρίμους δι' ἐτέρας
ποιήσομαι γραφῆς. [8] κατὰ γε μὴν τὸν παρόντα λόγον τὴν παλινῳδίαν τῶν
περὶ ἡμᾶς εἰργασμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπισυνάψω τά τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ
διωγμοῦ συμβεβηκότα, χρησιμώτατα τυγχάνοντα τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις.

[9] τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, ἐν ὅσοις
δὴ χρόνοις τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων φιλία τε ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ εἰρηναῖα, ὁπόσης ἀγαθῶν
εὐφορίας καὶ εὐετηρίας ἡξίωτο, τίς ἂν ἐξαρκέσειεν λόγος διηγήσασθαι; ὅτε
καὶ οἱ μάλιστα τῆς καθόλου κρατοῦντες ἀρχῆς δεκαετηρίδας καὶ
εἰκοσαετηρίδας ἐκπλήσαντες, ἐν ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν παιδροτάταις τε
θαλαῖαις καὶ εὐφροσύναις μετὰ πάσης εὐσταθοῦς διετέλουν εἰρήνης. [10] Οὕτω
δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπαραποδίστως αὐξήσεως καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ὀσημέραι προΐούσης τῆς
ἐξουσίας, ἀθρόως τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνης μεταθέμενοι, πόλεμον ἄσπονδον
ἐγείρουσιν: οὕτω δ' αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιαύδε κινήσεως δευτερον ἔτος πεπλήρωτο,
καὶ τι περὶ τὴν ὅλην ἀρχὴν νεώτερον γεγονὸς τὰ πάντα πράγματα ἀνατρέπει.
[11] νόσου γὰρ οὐκ αἰσίας τῷ πρωτοστάτῃ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπισκηψάσης, ὑφ' ἧς
ἤδη καὶ τὰ τῆς διανοίας εἰς ἔκστασιν αὐτῷ παρήγετο, σὺν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν
δευτερείοις τετιμημένῳ τὸν δημῳδὴ καὶ ιδιωτικὸν ἀπολαμβάνει βίον: οὕτω δὲ
ταῦθ' οὕτω πέπρακτο, καὶ διχῇ τὰ πάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διαιρεῖται, πρᾶγμα μὴδ'
ἄλλοτὲ πω πάλαι γεγονὸς μνήμη παραδεδομένον. Χρόνου [12] δ' οὐ πλείστου
μεταξὺ γενομένου βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος τὸν πάντα βίον πραότατα καὶ τοῖς
ὑπηκόοις εὐνοϊκώτατα τῷ τε θείῳ λόγῳ προσφιλέστατα διαθέμενος, παῖδα

γνήσιον Κωνσταντῖνον αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ Σεβαστὸν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπὼν, κοινῷ φύσεως νόμῳ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, πρῶτός τε ἐν θεοῖς ἀνηγορεύετο παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀπάσης μετὰ θάνατον, ὅση βασιλεῖ τις ἂν ὠφείλετο, τιμῆς ἡξιωμένος, χρηστότατος καὶ ἡπιώτατος βασιλέων: [13] ὃς δὴ καὶ μόνος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαξίως τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸν πάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διατελέσας χρόνον καὶ τᾶλλα τοῖς πᾶσι δεξιώτατον καὶ εὐεργετικώτατον παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ τε καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου μηδαμῶς ἐπικοινωνήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους φυλάζας καὶ μήτε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς οἴκους καθελὼν μήθ' ἕτερόν τι καθ' ἡμῶν καινουργήσας, τέλος εὐδαιμον καὶ τρισμακάριον ἀπέληφεν τοῦ βίου, μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας εὐμενῶς καὶ ἐπιδόξως ἐπὶ διαδόχῳ γνησίῳ παιδί πάντα σωφρονεστάτῳ τε καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ τελευτήσας. [14] Τούτου παῖς Κωνσταντῖνος εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος βασιλεὺς τελεώτατος καὶ Σεβαστὸς πρὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ἔτι πολὺ τούτων πρότερον πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ ἀναγορευθεὶς, ζηλωτὴν ἑαυτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον εὐσεβείας κατεστήσατο. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν τοιοῦτος: Λικίνιος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπὸ κοινῆς ψήφου τῶν κρατούντων αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ Σεβαστὸς ἀναπέφηνεν. [15] ταῦτα Μαξιμῖνον δεινῶς ἐλύπει, μόνον Καίσαρα παρὰ πάντας εἰς ἔτι τότε χρηματίζοντα: ὃς δὴ οὖν τὰ μάλιστα τυραννικὸς ὢν, παραρπάσας ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀξίαν, Σεβαστὸς ἦν, αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ γεγονώς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κωνσταντίνῳ μηχανὴν θανάτου συρράπτων ἄλους ὁ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν ἐπανηρῆσθαι δεδηλωμένος αἰσχίστῳ καταστρέφει θανάτῳ: πρῶτου δὲ τούτου τὰς ἐπὶ τιμῇ γραφὰς ἀνδριάντας τε καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἐπ' ἀναθέσει νενόμισται, ὥς ἀνοσίου καὶ δυσσεβεστάτου καθήρουν.

Τούτου παῖς Μαξέντιος, ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τυραννίδα συστησάμενος, ἀρχόμενος μὲν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστιν ἐπ' ἀρεσκείᾳ καὶ κολακείᾳ τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων καθυπεκρίνατο ταύτῃ τε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἀνεῖναι προστάττει διωγμόν, εὐσέβειαν ἐπιμορφάζων καὶ ὥς ἂν δεξιὸς καὶ πολὺ πρᾶος παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους φανείη: [2] οὐ μὴν οἷος ἔσσεσθαι ἡλπίσθη, τοιοῦτος ἔργοις ἀναπέφηνεν, εἰς πάσας δ' ἀνοσιουργίας ὀκείλας, οὐδὲν ὃ τι μιαρίας ἔργον καὶ ἀκολασίας παραλέλοιπεν, μοιχείας καὶ παντοίας ἐπιτελῶν φθοράς. διαζευγνύς γέ τοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς κατὰ νόμον γαμετάς, ταύταις ἐνυβρίζων ἀτιμότατα, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐθις ἀπέπεμπεν, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀσήμοις οὐδ' ἀφανέσιν ἐγχειρῶν ἐπετήδευεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν δὴ μάλιστα τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἀπενηνεγμένων ἐμπαροινῶν τοῖς ἐξοχωτάτοις. [3]

οἱ πάντες δ' αὐτὸν ὑποπεπτηγότες, δῆμοι καὶ ἄρχοντες, ἔνδοξοι τε καὶ ἄδοξοι, δεινῇ κατετρύχοντο τυραννίδι, καὶ οὐδ' ἡρεμούντων καὶ τὴν πικρὰν φερόντων δουλείαν ἀπαλλαγὴ τις ὅμως ἦν τῆς τοῦ τυράννου φονώσης ὠμότητος. ἐπὶ σμικρᾷ γοῦν ἤδη ποτὲ προφάσει τὸν δῆμον εἰς φόνον τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δορυφόροις ἐκδίδωσιν, καὶ ἐκτείνεται μυρία τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων πλήθη, ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, οὐ Σκυθῶν οὐδὲ βαρβάρων ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων δόρασι καὶ πανοπλίας: [4] συγκλητικῶν γε μὴν φόνος ὁπόσος δι' ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνηργεῖτο τῆς οὐσίας, οὐδ' ἐξαριθμῆσασθαι δυνατόν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις πεπλασμέναις αἰτίαις μυρίων ἀναιρουμένων. [5] ἡ δὲ τῶν κακῶν τῷ τυράννῳ κορωνὶς ἐπὶ γοητείαν ἤλαυνεν, μαγικαῖς ἐπινοίαις τοτὲ μὲν γυναικας ἐγκύμονας ἀνασχίζοντος, τοτὲ δὲ νεογνῶν σπλάγχνα βρεφῶν διερευνωμένου λέοντάς τε κατασφάττοντος καὶ τινὰς ἄρρητοποιίας ἐπὶ δαιμόνων προκλήσεις καὶ ἀποτροπιασμὸν τοῦ πολέμου συνισταμένον: διὰ τούτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς νίκης κατορθωθήσεσθαι ἢ πᾶσα ἐτύγχανεν ἐλπίς. [6] Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς τυραννῶν οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν οἷα δρῶν τοὺς ὑπηκόους κατεδουλοῦτο, ὥς ἦδη καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τροφῶν ἐν ἐσχάτῃ σπάνει καὶ ἀπορίᾳ καταστῆναι, ὅσῃν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς οὐδ' ἄλλοτε οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσιν. [7] Ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς τύραννος Μαξιμῖνος, ὥς ἂν πρὸς ἀδελφὸν τὴν κακίαν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς φιλίαν κρύβδην σπενδόμενος, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον λανθάνειν ἐφρόντιζεν: φωραθεὶς γέ τοι ὕστερον δίκην τίνυσσι τὴν ἀξίαν. [8] ἦν δὲ θαυμάσαι ὅπως καὶ οὗτος τὰ συγγενῇ καὶ ἀδελφά, μᾶλλον δὲ κακίας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια τῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ῥώμην τυράννου κακοτροπίας ἀπενηνεγμένος: γοήτων τε γὰρ καὶ μάγων οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς ἀνωτάτω παρ' αὐτῷ τιμῆς ἡξίωντο, ψοφοδεοῦς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δεισιδαιμονεστάτου καθεστῶτος τὴν τε περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας περὶ πολλοῦ τιθεμένου πλάνην: μαντείων γοῦν δίχα καὶ χρησμῶν οὐδὲ μέχρις ὄνυχος ὥς εἰπεῖν τολμᾶν τι κινεῖν οἷός τε ἦν: [9] οὗ χάριν καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν σφοδρότερον ἢ οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ πυκνότερον ἐπετίθετο διωγμῷ, νεῶς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐγείρειν καὶ τὰ χρόνου μήκει καθηρημένα τεμένη διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνανεοῦσθαι προστάττων ἱερέας τε εἰδώλων κατὰ πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας ἀρχιερέα τῶν ἐν πολιτείαις ἓνα γέ τινα τῶν μάλιστα ἐμφανῶς διὰ πάσης ἐμπρέπαντα λειτουργίας μετὰ στρατιωτικοῦ στίφους καὶ δορυφορίας ἐκτάσσωσαν ἀνέδην τε πᾶσιν γόησιν, ὥς ἂν εὐσεβέσιν καὶ θεῶν προσφιλέσιν, ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας προνομίας δωροῦμενος. [10] ἐκ δὴ τούτων ὁρμώμενος, πόλιν μὲν οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ χώραν, ὅλας δὲ ἄρδην τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐπαρχίας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ χρημάτων ἀμυθῆτων εἰσπράττειν

ἐπισκίψεσιν τε βαρυτάταις καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις καταδίκαις ἡνία καὶ κατεπίεζεν. τῶν γε μὴν εὐπόρων τὰς ἐκ προγόνων περιποιηθείσας οὐσίας ἀφαιρούμενος, πλούτους ἀθρώως καὶ σωροὺς χρημάτων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κόλαξιν ἐδωρεῖτο. [11] παροινίας γε μὴν καὶ μέθης ἐς τοσαύτην ἡνέχθη φοράν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς πότοις παρακόπτεται καὶ τῶν φρενῶν παρεξίστασθαι τοιαυτά τε μεθύοντα προστάττειν, οἷα ἀνανήψαντα αὐτὸν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς μετάμελον ἄγειν· κραιπάλης δὲ καὶ ἀσωτίας μηδενὶ καταλιπὼν ὑπερβολήν, κακίας διδάσκαλον τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσί τε καὶ ἀρχομένοις ἑαυτὸν καθίστη, θρύπτεσθαι μὲν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διὰ πάσης τρυφῆς τε καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐνάγων, ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ στρατοπεδάρχας δι' ἀρπαγῶν καὶ πλεονεξίας χωρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων μόνον οὐχὶ συντυραννοῦντας αὐτῷ προκαλούμενος. [12] τί δεῖ τὰς ἐμπαθεῖς τάνδρὸς αἰσχροουργίας μνημονεύειν ἢ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμοιχευμένων ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι τὴν πληθύν; οὐκ ἦν γέ τοι πόλιν αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἐκ παντὸς φθορὰς γυναικῶν παρθένων τε ἀρπαγὰς εἰργασμένον. [13] κατὰ πάντων γέ τοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα προυχώρει, μὴ ὅτι μόνων Χριστιανῶν· οἱ θανάτου καταφρονήσαντες παρ' οὐθὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοσαύτην ἔθεντο τυραννίδα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀνατλάντες πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ προσηλώσεις θήρας τε ἀγρίους καὶ θαλάττης βυθοὺς ἀποτομάς τε μελῶν καὶ καυτῆρας καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν κεντήσεις τε καὶ ἐξορύξεις καὶ τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἀκρωτηριασμοὺς λιμόν τε ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ μέταλλα καὶ δεσμά, ἐπὶ πάντων μᾶλλον ὑπομονὴν τὴν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐνεδείξαντο ἢ τὸ σέβας τὸ εἰς θεὸν εἰδώλοις ἀντικατηλλάξαντο· [14] αἱ δ' αὖ γυναῖκες οὐχ ἥττον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου διδασκαλίας ἡρρενωμέναι, αἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀγῶνας ὑποστᾶσαι ἴσα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπηνέγκαντο βραβεῖα, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ φθορὰν ἐλκόμεναι θάττον τὴν ψυχὴν θανάτῳ ἢ τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ παραδεδώκασιν. [15] μόνῃ γοῦν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου μεμοιχευμένων Χριστιανῇ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισημοτάτῃ τε καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ τὴν ἐμπαθῇ καὶ ἀκόλαστον Μαξιμίνου ψυχὴν δι' ἀνδρειοτάτου παραστήματος ἐξενίκησεν, ἔνδοξος μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει καὶ παιδείᾳ, πάντα γε μὴν δεύτερα σωφροσύνης τεθειμένη· ἦν καὶ πολλὰ λιπαρήσας, κτεῖναι μὲν ἐτοίμως θνήσκειν ἔχουσαν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μᾶλλον τοῦ θυμοῦ κατακρατούσης αὐτοῦ, φυγῇ δὲ ζημιώσας πάσης ἀφείλετο τῆς οὐσίας. [16] μυρία δὲ ἄλλαι πρὸς τῶν κατ' ἔθνος ἀρχόντων, πορνείας ἀπειλὴν μηδ' ἀκοῦσαι δεδυνημέναι, πᾶν εἶδος βασάνων καὶ στρεβλώσεων καὶ θανατηφόρου κολάσεως ὑπέστησαν. Θαυμασταὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὗται, ὑπερφυῶς γε μὴν

θαυμασιωτάτη ἢ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὐγενεστάτη τῷ ὄντι καὶ σωφρονεστάτη γυνὴ πασῶν αἷς ἐμπαροινεῖν ὁ ἐκεῖσε τύραννος Μαξέντιος, τὰ ὅμοια Μαξιμίνῳ δρῶν, ἐπειρᾶτο. [17] ὥς γὰρ ἐπιστάντας τῷ οἴκῳ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ τυράννῳ διακονουμένους ἐπύθετο Ἑκκλεσιανὴν δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἦν, τὸν τε ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ὄντα ἔπαρχον, τοῦ δέους ἕνεκα λαβόντας ἄγειν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέψαντα, ἐς βραχὺ ὑποπαραιτησαμένη, ὥς ἂν δὴ κατακοσμηθεῖ τὸ σῶμα, εἴσεισιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ταμιείου καὶ μονωθεῖσα ξίφος καθ' ἑαυτῆς πῆγνυσιν, θανοῦσά τε παραχρήμα, τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν τοῖς προαγωγοῖς καταλιμπάνει, ἔργοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπάσης φωνῆς γεγωνότεροις, ὅτι μόνον χρημάτων ἀήτητόν τε καὶ ἀνώλεθρον ἢ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς ἀρετὴ πέφυκεν, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τε νῦν ὄντας καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένους ἐξέφηνεν. [18] τοσαύτη δὴτα κακίας φορὰ ὑφ' ἑνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνηνέχθη καιρὸν πρὸς τῶν δύο τυράννων ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν διειληφότων κατεργασθεῖσα: τίς δ' ἂν τὴν τῶν τοσοῦτων διερευνώμενος αἰτίαν διστάξαι μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμὸν ἀποφήνασθαι; ὅτε γε μάλιστα οὐ πρότερον τὰ τῆς τοσῆσδε πέπαιτο συγχύσεως ἢ Χριστιανοὺς τὰ τῆς παρρησίας ἀπολαβεῖν.

Διὰ παντός γέ τοι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν δεκαέτους χρόνου τῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ πόλεμον τὸν κατ' ἀλλήλων οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς διαλέλοιπεν. ἅπλωτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ἦν οὐδ' ἐξῆν ποθεν καταπλεύσαντας μὴ οὐχὶ πάσαις αἰκίαις ὑπάγεσθαι στρεβλουμένους καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς καταξαινομένους βασάνοις τε παντοίαις, μὴ ἄρα παρὰ τῶν δι' ἐναντίας ἐχθρῶν ἤκοιεν, ἀνακρινόμενους καὶ τέλος σταυροῖς ἢ τῇ διὰ πυρὸς ὑπαγομένους κολάσει: [2] ἀσπίδων ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ θωρήκων παρασκευαί βελῶν τε καὶ δοράτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολεμικῆς παρατάξεως ἐτοιμασίαι τριήρων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ ναυμαχίαν ὅπλων κατὰ πάντα συνεκροτοῦντο τόπον οὐδ' ἦν ἄλλο τι παντὶ τῷ προσδοκᾶν ἢ πολέμων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔφοδον ἡμέραν. τούτοις καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα λιμός τε καὶ λοιμός ἐγκατασκήπτει, περὶ ὧν κατὰ καιρὸν ἱστορήσομεν τὰ δέοντα.

Τοιαῦτ' ἦν τὰ διὰ παντός τοῦ διωγμοῦ παρατετακότα, δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει σὺν θεοῦ χάριτι παντελῶς πεπαυμένου, λωφᾶν γε μὴν μετ' ὀγδοὺν ἔτος ἐναρξάμενου. ὥς γὰρ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπισκοπὴν εὐμενῇ καὶ ἴλεω ἢ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χάρις ἐνεδείκνυτο, τότε δὴτα καὶ οἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄρχοντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι δι' ὧν πάλαι τὰ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνηργεῖτο πολέμων, παραδοξότατα μεταθέμενοι τὴν γνώμην, παλινωδίαν ἦδον χρηστοῖς περὶ ἡμῶν προγράμμασιν καὶ διατάγμασιν ἡμερωτάτοις τὴν ἐπὶ μέγα ἀφθεῖσαν τοῦ διωγμοῦ πυρκαϊὰν σβεννύντες. [2] οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον δέ τι τούτου κατέστη αἴτιον οὐδ' οἶκτος, ὥς ἂν

φαίη τις, ἡ φιλανθρωπία τῶν ἀρχόντων: πολλοῦ δεῖ: πλείω γὰρ ὁσημέραι καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἀρχήθην καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπενεοῖτο, ποικιλωτέραις μηχαναῖς ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν αἰκίας ἐπικαινουργούντων: [3] ἀλλ' αὐτῆς γε τῆς θείας προνοίας ἐμφανῆς ἐπίσκεψις, τῷ μὲν αὐτῆς καταλλαττομένης λαῷ, τῷ δ' αὐθέντῃ τῶν κακῶν ἐπεξιούσης καὶ πρωτοστάτῃ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς διωγμοῦ κακίας ἐπιχολουμένης. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τι ταῦτ' ἐχρῆν κατὰ θεῖαν γενέσθαι κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ 'οὐαί,' φησὶν ὁ λόγος, 'δι' οὗ δ' ἂν τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχηται.' μέτεισιν δ' οὖν αὐτὸν θεήλατος κόλασις, ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτοῦ καταρξαμένη σαρκὸς καὶ μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς προελθοῦσα. [4] ἄθροα μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ σώματος ἀπόστασις αὐτῷ γίνεται, εἴθ' ἔλκος ἐν βάθει συριγγῶδες καὶ τούτων ἀνίατος νομὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω σπλάγχχνων: ἀφ' ὧν ἄλεκτόν τι πλῆθος σκολήκων βρῦειν θανατώδῃ τε ὁδμῇ ἀποπνεῖν, τοῦ παντὸς ὄγκου τῶν σωμάτων ἐκ πολυτροφίας αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ τῆς νόσου εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πλήθους πιμελῆς μεταβεβληκότος, ἣν τότε κατασαπεῖσαν ἀφόρητον καὶ φρικτοτάτην τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν παρέχειν τὴν θέαν. [5] ἰατρῶν δ' οὖν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως ὑπομεῖναι τὴν τοῦ δυσώδους ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀτοπίαν οἰοί τε, κατεσφάττοντο, οἱ δὲ διωδηκότος τοῦ παντὸς ὄγκου καὶ εἰς ἀνέλπιστον σωτηρίας ἀποπεπτωκότος μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἀνηλεῶς ἐκτείνοντο.

Καὶ δὴ τοσοῦτοις παλαίων κακοῖς συναίσθησιν τῶν κατὰ τῶν θεοσεβῶν αὐτῷ τετολμημένων ἴσχει, συναγαγὼν δ' οὖν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν διάνοιαν, πρῶτα μὲν ἀνθομολογεῖται τῷ τῶν ὅλων θεῷ, εἶτα τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσας, μηδὲν ὑπερθεμένους τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἀποπαῦσαι διωγμὸν νόμῳ τε καὶ δόγματι βασιλικῷ τὰς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπισπέρχειν καὶ τὰ συνήθη διαπράττεσθαι, εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλείου ποιουμένους, προστάττει. [2] αὐτίκα γοῦν ἔργου τῷ λόγῳ παρηκολουθηκότος, ἥπλωτο κατὰ πόλεις βασιλικά διατάγματα, τὴν παλινφδίαν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτον περιέχοντα τὸν τρόπον: ' Αὐτοκράτωρ [3] Καῖσαρ Γαλέριος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς ἀνίκητος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος, Αἰγυπτιακὸς μέγιστος, Θηβαϊκὸς μέγιστος, Σαρματικὸς μέγιστος πεντάκις, Περσῶν μέγιστος δῖς, Κάρπων μέγιστος ἐξάκις, Ἀρμενίων μέγιστος, Μήδων μέγιστος, Ἀδιαβηνῶν μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ εἰκοστόν, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἐννεακαίδέκατον, ὕπατος τὸ ὄγδοον, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος: [4] καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Φλαύιος Οὐαλέριος Κωνσταντῖνος εὐσεβὴς εὐτυχὴς ἀνίκητος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ πέμπτον, ὕπατος,

πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος. [5] καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Οὐαλέριος Λικιννιανὸς Λικίννιος εὐσεβῆς εὐτυχὴς ἀνίκητος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ τρίτον, ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, ἐπαρχιώταις ἰδίους χαίρειν.

[6] μεταξὺ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἅπερ ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρησίου καὶ λυσιτελοῦς τοῖς δημοσίοις διατυπούμεθα, ἡμεῖς μὲν βεβουλήμεθα πρότερον κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν ἐπιστήμην τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντα ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ τούτου πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι ἵνα καὶ οἱ Χριστιανοί, οἵτινες τῶν γονέων τῶν ἑαυτῶν καταλελοίπασιν τὴν αἴρεσιν, εἰς ἀγαθὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπανεέλθοιεν: [7] ἐπεὶ περ τινὶ λογισμῷ τοσαύτη αὐτοὺς πλεονεξία κατεσχέκει καὶ ἄνοια κατειλήφει ὥς μὴ ἔπεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι καταδειχθεῖσιν, ἅπερ ἴσως πρότερον καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἦσαν καταστήσαντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν καὶ ὥς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο, οὕτως ἑαυτοῖς καὶ νόμους ποιῆσαι καὶ τούτους παραφυλάσσειν καὶ ἐν διαφόροις διάφορα πλήθη συνάγειν. [8] τοιγαροῦν τοιούτου ὑφ' ἡμῶν προστάγματος παρακολουθήσαντος ὥστε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατασταθέντα ἑαυτοὺς μεταστήσαιεν, πλεῖστοι μὲν κινδύνῳ ὑποβληθέντες, πλεῖστοι δὲ ταραχθέντες παντοίους θανάτους ὑπέφερον: [9] καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῶν πολλῶν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπονοίᾳ διαμενόντων ἐωρῶμεν μήτε τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις τὴν ὀφειλομένην θρησκείαν προσάγειν αὐτοὺς μήτε τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν προσέχειν, ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιланθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν διηνεκὴ συνήθειαν δι' ἧς εἰώθαμεν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις συγγνώμην ἀπονέμειν, προθυμώτατα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν συγχώρησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπεκτεῖναι δεῖν ἐνομίσαμεν, ἵνα αὖθις ὧσιν Χριστιανοὶ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους ἐν οἷς συνήγοντο, συνθῶσιν οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτοὺς πράττειν. δι' ἐτέρας δὲ ἐπιστολῆς τοῖς δικασταῖς δηλώσομεν τί αὐτοὺς παραφυλάξασθαι δεήσει: [10] ὅθεν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν συγχώρησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀφείλουσιν τὸν ἑαυτῶν θεὸν ἱκετεύειν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἵνα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον καὶ τὰ δημόσια παρασχεθῇ ὑγίη καὶ ἀμέριμνοι ζῇεν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐστίᾳ δυνηθῶσι.

‘ [11]

Ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φωνήν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μεταληφθέντα, τοῦτον εἶχεν τὸν τρόπον. τί δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις γίνεται, ἐπιθεωρῆσαι καιρός.

Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῆς γραφῆς αἴτιος μετὰ τὴν τοιάνδε ὁμολογίαν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν ἀληθδόνων ἀπαλλαγείς μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον. τοῦτον δὴ λόγος ἔχει πρῶτον αἴτιον τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ καταστῆναι συμφορᾶς, ἔτι πάλαι πρὸ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν βασιλέων κινήσεως τοὺς ἐν στρατείαις Χριστιανοὺς καὶ πρώτους γε ἀπάντων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου παρατρέπειν ἐκβεβιασμένον καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἀξίας ἀποκινουῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμώτατα καθυβρίζοντα, ἤδη δὲ καὶ θάνατον ἐτέροις ἐπαρτῶντα καὶ τοῦσχατόν γε τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀνακεκινηκότα διωγμόν: ὧν καὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄξιον τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος παραδοῦναι σιωπῇ. [2] τεττάρων οὖν τὴν κατὰ πάντων διειληχότων ἀρχήν, οἱ μὲν χρόνῳ καὶ τιμῇ προηγούμενοι οὐδ' ὅλοις δυεῖν ἔτεσιν ἐπιγενόμενοι τῷ διωγμῷ μεθίστανται τῆς βασιλείας, ἥ καὶ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωται, καὶ δὴ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ βίου χρόνον δημῳδεὶ καὶ ιδιωτικῷ τρόπῳ διαγενόμενοι τέλος τοιόνδε τῆς ζωῆς εἰλήχασιν, [3] ὁ μὲν τιμῇ τε καὶ χρόνῳ τῶν πρωτείων ἡξιωμένος μακρᾷ καὶ ἐπιλυποτάτῃ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ διεργασθείς, ὁ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα αὐτοῦ φέρων ἀγχόνη τὴν ζωὴν ἀπορρήξας, κατὰ τινα δαιμονίαν προσημείωσιν τοῦτο παθὼν διὰ πλείστας αὐτῷ τετολμημένας ῥαδιουργίας. [4] τῶν δὲ μετὰ τούτους ὁ μὲν ὕστατος, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ παντός ἔφαμεν γεγονέναι διωγμοῦ, τοιαῦτα οἶα καὶ προδεδηλώκαμεν πέπονθεν, ὁ δὲ τοῦτον προάγων χρηστότατος καὶ ἡπιώτατος βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος, ἐπαξίως τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸν ἅπαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διατελέσας χρόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τᾶλλα τοῖς πᾶσι δεξιώτατον καὶ εὐεργετικώτατον παρασχὼν ἑαυτόν, ἀτὰρ καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου ἔξω γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους διαφυλάξας καὶ μήτε τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθελὼν μήθ' ἕτερόν τι μηδ' ὅλως καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπικαινουργήσας, τέλος εὐδαιμον καὶ τρισμακάριον ὄντως ἀπέειληφεν τοῦ βίου, μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας εὐμενῶς καὶ ἐπιδόξως ἐπὶ διαδόχῳ τῆς βασιλείας γνησίῳ παιδί τὰ πάντα σωφρονεστάτῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ τελευτήσας: [5] ὃς εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος βασιλεὺς τελεώτατος καὶ Σεβαστὸς πρὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀναγορευθείς, ζηλωτὴν ἑαυτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον εὐσεβείας κατεστήσατο. τοιαύτη τῶν προαναγεγραμμένων τεττάρων ἢ τοῦ βίου ἑκβασίς, κατὰ παρηλλαγμένους χρόνους γεγενημένη. [6] τούτων δὴ μόνος ἔτι λιπὼν ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν εἰρημένος σὺν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσποιηθεῖσι τὴν προδεδηλωμένην ἐξομολόγησιν διὰ τοῦ προεκτεθέντος ἐγγράφου λόγου τοῖς πᾶσι φανεράν κατεστήσαντο.

BOOK IX.

τάδε καὶ ἡ ἐνάτη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

A Περὶ τῆς ἐπιπλάστου ἀνέσεως.

B Περὶ τῆς μετέπειτα διαστροφῆς.

Γ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν νεοπαγοῦς ξοάνου.

Δ Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ψηφισμάτων.

E Περὶ τῶν ἐπιπλάστων ὑπομνημάτων.

Σ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ μεμαρτυρηκότων.

Z Περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθείσης γραφῆς.

H Περὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβεβηκότων ἐν λιμῷ καὶ λοιμῷ καὶ πολέμοις.

Θ Περὶ τῆς τῶν τυράννων καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου, καὶ οἷας ἐχρήσαντο πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς φωναίς.

I Περὶ τῆς τῶν θεοφιλῶν βασιλέων νίκης.

IA Περὶ τῆς ὑστάτης ἀπωλείας τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθρῶν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς παλινφθίας τοῦ προτεθέντος βασιλικοῦ νεύματος ἤπλωτο τῆς Ἀσίας πάντῃ καὶ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τε τὰς ἀμφὶ ταύτην ἐπαρχίας: ὧν τοῦτον ἐπιτελεσθέντων τὸν τρόπον Μαξιμῖνος, ὁ ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς τύραννος, δυσσεβέστατος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εὐσεβείας πολεμιώτατος γεγονώς, οὐδαμῶς τοῖς γραφεῖσιν ἄρεσθéis, ἀντὶ τοῦ προτεθέντος γράμματος λόγῳ προστάττει τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσιν τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεῖναι πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐξῆν ἄλλως τῇ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀντιλέγειν κρίσει, τὸν προεκτεθέντα νόμον ἐν παραβύστῳ θείῃς καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν μέρεσιν μὴ εἰς προὔπτον ἀχθείη, φροντίσας, ἀγράφῳ προστάγματι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσιν τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν διωγμὸν ἀνεῖναι προστάττει: οἱ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρακελεύσεως ἀλλήλοις διὰ γραφῆς ὑποσημαίνουσιν. [2] ὁ γοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς τῷ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων ἐπάρχων ἀξιώματι τετιμημένος Σαβῖνος πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἔθνος ἡγουμένους τὴν βασιλέως ἐμφαίνει γνώμην διὰ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐπιστολῆς: [3] ἥς καὶ αὐτῆς ἡ ἐρμηνεία τοῦτον περιέχει

τὸν τρόπον: Ὑπαρωτάτη καὶ καθωσιωμένη σπουδῇ ἡ θεϊότης τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν θειοτάτων αὐτοκρατόρων πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς διανοίας πρὸς τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ ὀρθὴν τοῦ ζῆν ὁδὸν περιαγαγεῖν ἔτι πάλαι ὥρισεν, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοτρία Ῥωμαίων συνηθεία ἀκολουθεῖν δοκοῦντες τὰς ὀφειλομένας θρησκείας τοῖς ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς ἐπιτελοῖεν: [4] ἀλλ' ἡ τινῶν ἐνστασις καὶ τραχυτάτη βουλή εἰς τοσοῦτον περιέστη ὥς μήτε λογισμῷ δικαίῳ τῆς κελεύσεως δύνασθαι ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας προθέσεως ἀναχωρεῖν μήτε τὴν ἐπικειμένην τιμωρίαν αὐτοὺς ἐκφοβεῖν. [5] ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν συνέβαινεν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τρόπου πολλοὺς εἰς κίνδυνον ἑαυτοὺς περιβάλλειν, κατὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν εὐγένειαν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡ θεϊότης τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν δυνατωτάτων αὐτοκρατόρων ἀλλότριον εἶναι τῆς προθέσεως τῆς θειοτάτης τῆς ἰδίας δοκιμάζουσα τὸ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας εἰς τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους περιβάλλειν, ἐκέλευσεν διὰ τῆς ἐμῆς καθοσιώσεως τῇ σῇ ἀγχινοῖα διαχαράξαι ἵν' εἴ τις τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοῦ ἰδίου ἔθνους τὴν θρησκείαν μετιὼν εὐρεθῇ, τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐνοχλήσεως καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτὸν ἀποστήσειας καὶ μή τινα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως τιμωρία κολαστέον νομίσειας, ὅποτε τῇ τοῦ τοσοῦτου χρόνου συνελύσει συνέστη αὐτοὺς μηδενὶ τρόπῳ πεπεῖσθαι δεδυνῆσθαι ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνστάσεων ἀναχωρήσαιεν. [6] γράψαι τοιγαροῦν πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς πραιποσίτους τοῦ πάγου ἐκάστης πόλεως ἡ σῇ ἐπιστρέφεια ὀφείλει ἵνα γνοῖεν περαιτέρω αὐτοῖς τούτου τοῦ γράμματος φροντίδα ποιῆσθαι μὴ προσήκειν.' Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ κατ' ἐπαρχίαν [7] τὴν τῶν γραφέντων αὐτοῖς ἐπαληθεύειν προαίρεσιν νενομικότες, λογισταῖς καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐπιτεταγμένοις τὴν βασιλικὴν διὰ γραμμάτων ἐμφανῇ καθιστῶσι γνώμην: οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτοῖς διὰ γραφῆς ταῦτα προυχῶρει, καὶ ἔργοις δὲ πολὺ πρότερον, ὥς ἂν νεῦμα βασιλικὸν εἰς πέρας ἄγοντες, ὅσους εἶχον δεσμοτηρίους καθειργμένους διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὁμολογίαν, εἰς φανερόν προάγοντες ἡλευθέρουν, ἀνιέντες τούτων δὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν μετάλλοις ἐπὶ τιμωρία δεδομένους: τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας βασιλεῖ δοκεῖν ὑπειλήφασιν ἡπατημένοι. [8] καὶ δὴ τούτων οὕτως ἐπιτελεσθέντων, ἀθρόως οἶόν τι φῶς ἐκ ζοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ἐκλάμψαν, κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν συγκροτουμένας παρῆν ὁρᾶν ἐκκλησίας συνόδους τε παμπληθεῖς καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐξ ἔθνους ἐπιτελουμένας ἀγωγάς: καταπέπληκτο δ' οὐ σμικρῶς ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶς τις τῶν ἀπίστων ἔθνων, τῆς τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς τὸ παράδοξον ἀποθαυμάζων μέγαν τε καὶ μόνον ἀληθῆ τὸν Χριστιανῶν θεὸν ἐπιβώμενος. [9] τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων οἱ μὲν τὸν τῶν διωγμῶν ἀγῶνα πιστῶς καὶ

ἀνδρικῶς διηθληκότες τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας αὐθις ἀπελάμβανον παρρησίαν, ὅσοι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως νενοσηκότες τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτύγγανον κεχειμασμένοι, ἀσμένως περὶ τὴν σφῶν θεραπείαν ἔσπευδον, ἀντιβολουῦντες καὶ σωτηρίας δεξιὰν τοὺς ἐρρωμένους αἰτούμενοι τὸν τε θεὸν ἵλεων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καθικετεύοντες: [10] εἶτα δὲ καὶ οἱ γενναῖοι τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθληταὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ μέταλλα κακοπαθείας ἐλευθερούμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἐστέλλοντο, γαῦροι καὶ φαιδροὶ διὰ πάσης ἰόντες πόλεως εὐφροσύνης τε ἀλέκτου καὶ ἦν οὐδὲ λόγῳ δυνατόν ἐρμηνεῦσαι παρρησίας ἔμπλεοι. [11] στίφη δ' οὖν πολάνθρωπα κατὰ μέσας λεωφόρους καὶ ἀγορὰς ὠδαῖς καὶ ψαλμοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀνυμνοῦντα τὰ τῆς πορείας ἦνυν, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τιμωρίας ἀπηνεστάτης μικρῷ πρόσθεν δεσμίους τῶν πατρίδων ἀπεληλαμένους εἶδες ἂν ἱλαροῖς καὶ γεγηθόσι προσώποις τὰς αὐτῶν ἐστίας ἀπολαμβάνοντας, ὥς καὶ τοὺς πρότερον καθ' ἡμῶν φονῶντας τὸ θαῦμα παρὰ πᾶσαν ὀρῶντας ἐλπίδα, συγχαίρειν τοῖς γεγενημένοις.

Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐθέ οἷός τε φέρειν ὁ τύραννος μισόκαλος καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐπίβουλος ὑπάρχων, ὃν ἔφαμεν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἄρχειν μερῶν, οὐδ' ὅλους ἐπὶ μῆνας ἔξ τοῦτον ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τὸν τρόπον ἠνέσχετο. ὅσα δ' οὖν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν τῆς εἰρήνης μηχανώμενος πρῶτον μὲν εἶργειν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις συνόδου διὰ προφάσεως πειρᾶται, εἶτα διὰ τινων πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβεύεται, τοὺς Ἀντιοχέων πολίτας παρορμήσας ἐπὶ τὸ μηδαμῶς τινα Χριστιανῶν τὴν αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πατρίδα ὥς ἐν μεγίστῃ δωρεᾷ παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν ἀξιώσαι, καὶ ἐτέρους δὲ ταῦτόν ὑποβαλεῖν διαπράξασθαι: ὧν πάντων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπιφύεται Θεότεκνος, δεινὸς καὶ γόης καὶ πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς προσωνομίας ἀλλότριος: ἐδόκει δὲ λογιστεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

Πλεῖστα δ' οὖν οὗτος καθ' ἡμῶν στρατευσάμενος καὶ πάντα τρόπον τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὥσπερ τινὰς φῶρας ἀνοσίους ἐκ μυχῶν θηρεῦσαι διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιημένος πάντα τε ἐπὶ διαβολῇ καὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῇ καθ' ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένος, καὶ θανάτου δὲ αἷτιος μυρίοις ὅσοις γεγονῶς, τελευτῶν εἰδωλόν τι Διὸς Φιλίου μαγγανείαις τισὶν καὶ γοητείαις ἰδρύεται, τελετάς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῷ καὶ μύησεις ἀκαλλιερέτους ἐξαγίστους τε καθαρμούς ἐπινοήσας, μέχρι καὶ βασιλέως τὴν τερατείαν δι' ὧν ἐδόκει χρησμῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο. καὶ δὴ καὶ οὗτος κολακεῖα τῇ καθ' ἡδονὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπεγείρει κατὰ Χριστιανῶν τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὸν θεὸν δὴ κελεῦσαι φησιν ὑπερορίου τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀγρῶν ὥς ἂν ἐχθροὺς αὐτῷ Χριστιανούς ἀπελάσαι.

Τούτω δὲ πρώτῳ κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τὰς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν πόλεις οἰκοῦντες τὴν ὁμοίαν ὁρμῶνται ψῆφον ποιήσασθαι, προσφιλὲς εἶναι τοῦτο βασιλεῖ τῶν κατ' ἐπαρχίαν ἡγεμόνων συνεωρακότων καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ διαπράξασθαι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὑποβεληκότων: [2] ὧν δὴ καὶ αὐτῶν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν δι' ἀντιγραφῆς ἀσμενέστατα ἐπινεύσαντος τοῦ τυράννου, αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεφλέγετο διωγμός. Ἰερεῖς δὴτα κατὰ πόλιν τῶν ξοάνων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀρχιερεῖς πρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαξιμίνου οἱ μάλιστα ταῖς πολιτείαις διαπρέψαντες καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἑνδοξοὶ γενόμενοι καθίσταντο, οἷς καὶ πολλή τις εἰσήγετο σπουδὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν θεραπευομένων πρὸς αὐτῶν θρησκείαν. [3] ἡ γοῦν ἔκτοπος τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεισιδαιμονία, συνελόντι φάναι, πάντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἀρχομένους εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττειν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐνήγεν, ταύτην αὐτῷ χάριν μεγίστην ἀνθ' ὧν ἐνόμιζον πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι εὐεργεσιῶν, ἀντιδωρουμένων, τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν φονᾶν καὶ τινὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς καινότερας κακοηθείας ἐνδείκνυσθαι.

Πλασάμενοι δὴτα Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα πάσης ἔμπλεα κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, γνώμη τοῦ μείζονος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διαπέμπονται τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν διὰ προγραμμαμάτων παρακελευόμενοι κατὰ πάντα τόπον, ἀγρούς τε καὶ πόλεις, ἐν ἐκφανεῖ ταῦτα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκθεῖναι τοῖς τε παισὶ τοὺς γραμματοδιδασκάλους ἀντὶ μαθημάτων ταῦτα μελετᾶν καὶ διὰ μνήμης κατέχειν παραδιδόναι.

[2] Ὡν τοῦτον ἐπιτελουμένων τὸν τρόπον, ἕτερος στρατοπεδάρχης, ὃν δοῦκα Ῥωμαῖοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀνὰ τὴν Δαμασκὸν τῆς Φοινίκης ἐπίρρητά τινα γυναικάρια ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀνάρπαστα ποιήσας, βασάνους αὐταῖς ἐπιθήσειν ἠπειλεῖ, λέγειν ἐγγράφως ἐπαναγκάζων, ὥς δὴ εἶησάν ποτε Χριστιανὰι συνειδεῖν τε αὐτοῖς ἀθεμιτουργίας ἐν αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς κυριακοῖς πράττειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀκόλαστα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα λέγειν αὐτὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τοῦ δόγματος ἤθελεν: ὧν καὶ οὗτος ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν τὰς φωνὰς ἐντεθείσας βασιλεῖ κοινοῦται, καὶ δὴ προστάξαντος εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν καὶ ταῦτα δημοσιοῦται τὰ γράμματα.

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν αὐτόχειρ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονῶς ὁ στρατάρχης δίκην τίνυσιν τῆς κακοτροπίας. Ἡμῶν δ' αὖ φυγαὶ πάλιν ἀνεκινουῦντο καὶ διωγμοὶ χαλεποὶ τῶν τε κατὰ πάσας ἐπαρχίας ἡγουμένων αὐθις δεῖναι καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαναστάσεις, ὥς καὶ τινὰς ἀλόντας τῶν περὶ τὸν θεῖον λόγον ἐπιφανῶν ἀπαραίτητον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ψῆφον καταδέξασθαι. Ὡν τρεῖς ἐν Ἑμίση πόλει τῆς Φοινίκης Χριστιανούς σφᾶς ὁμολογήσαντες, θηρίων βορᾷ παραδίδονται:

ἐπίσκοπος ἦν ἐν τούτοις Σιλβανός, τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπέργηρος, ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσιν τεσσαράκοντα τὴν λειτουργίαν διηνυκώς. [2] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Πέτρος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικιῶν προστὰς ἐπιφανέστατα, θεῖον ἐπισκόπων χρῆμα βίου τε ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων συνασκήσεως, ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάρπαστος γεγωνὸς αἰτίας, μηδεμιᾶς προλαβούσης προσδοκίας, ἀθρόως οὕτως καὶ ἀλόγως, ὥς ἂν Μαξιμῖνον προστάξαντος, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπισκόπων ἄλλοι πλείους ταῦτόν ὑπομένουσιν. [3] Λουκιανός τε, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἄριστος βίῳ τε ἐγκρατεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασιν συγκεκροτημένος, τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν παροικίας πρεσβύτερος, ἀχθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδέων πόλεως, ἔνθα τηνικαῦτα βασιλεὺς διατρίβων ἐτύγγανεν, παρασχών τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἧς προΐστατο διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν, δεσμωτηρίῳ παραδοθεὶς κτίννυται. [4] Τοσαῦτα δῆτα ἐν βραχεὶ τῷ μισοκάλῳ Μαξιμίνῳ καθ' ἡμῶν συνεσκεύαστο, ὥς τοῦ προτέρου δοκεῖν πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἐπεγηγέρθαι διωγμόν.

Ἀνὰ μέσας γέ τοι τὰς πόλεις, ὃ μηδὲ ἄλλοτέ ποτε, ψηφίσματα πόλεων καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν πρὸς ταῦτα διατάξεων ἀντιγραφαὶ στήλαις ἐντετυπωμένα χαλκαῖς ἀνωρθοῦντο, οἳ τε παῖδες ἀνὰ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα Ἰησοῦν καὶ Πιλάτον καὶ τὰ ἐφ' ὕβρει πλασθέντα ὑπομνήματα διὰ στόματος κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔφερον ἡμέραν. [2] Ἐνταῦθά μοι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φαίνεται αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην τὴν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθεῖσαν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου γραφὴν ἐντάξει, ἵν' ὁμοῦ τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θεομισείας ἢ ἀλαζῶν καὶ ὑπερήφανος αὐθάδεια φανερά κατασταίῃ καὶ τῆς παρὰ πόδας αὐτὸν μετελθούσης ἱερᾶς δίκης ἢ αὖπνος κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν μισοπονηρία, πρὸς ἧς ἔλαθεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τάναντία περὶ ἡμῶν ἐβουλεύσατό τε καὶ δι' ἐγγράφων νόμων ἐδογματίσεν. [3] ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΩΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΥΡΩΙ ΣΤΗΛΗΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΗΝ “Ἦδη ποτὲ ἡ ἀσθενὴς θρασύτης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης διανοίας ἴσχυσεν πᾶσαν πλάνης ἀμαυρότητα καὶ ὁμίχλην ἀποσεισασμένη καὶ ἀνασκεδάσασα, ἣτις πρὸ τούτου οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὅσον τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀλεθρίῳ ἀγνοίας σκότῳ ἐνεληλθείσας ἐπολιόρκει, ἐπιγνῶναι ὥς τῇ τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν φιλαγάθῳ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ σταθεροποιεῖται: [4] ὅπερ πρᾶγμα ἄπιστόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅπως κεχαρισμένον ὅπως τε ἡδιστον καὶ προσφιλὲς ἡμῖν γέγονεν ὥς μέγιστον δεῖγμα τῆς θεοφιλοῦς ὑμῶν προαιρέσεως δεδωκέναι, ὅποτε καὶ πρὸ τούτου οὐδενὶ ἄγνωστον ἦν ὁποίας παρατηρήσεως καὶ θεοσεβείας πρὸς

τοὺς ἀθανάτους θεοὺς ἐτυγχάνετε ὄντες, οἷς οὐ ψιλῶν καὶ ὑποκένων ῥημάτων πίστις, ἀλλὰ συνεχῆς καὶ παράδοξος ἔργων ἐπισήμων γνωρίζεται. [5] διόπερ ἐπαξίως ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις θεῶν ἀθανάτων φόβον ἰδρυμά τε καὶ οἰκητήριον ἐπικαλοῖτο: πολλοῖς γοῦν παραδείγμασιν καταφαίνεται τῇ τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν αὐτὴν ἐπιδημίᾳ ἀνθεῖν. [6] ἰδοὺ τοίνυν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις πάντων τῶν ἰδίᾳ διαφερόντων αὐτῆς ἀμελήσασα καὶ τὰς πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πραγμάτων δεήσεις παριδοῦσα, ὅτε πάλιν ἦσθετο τοὺς τῆς ἐπαράτου ματαιότητος γεγονότας ἔρπειν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ὥσπερ ἀμεληθεῖσαν καὶ κεκοιμημένην πυρὰν ἀναζωπυρουμένων τῶν πυρσῶν μεγίστας πυρκαϊὰς ἀναπληροῦσαν, εὐθέως πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν, ὥσπερ πρὸς μητρόπολιν πασῶν θεοσεβειῶν, χωρὶς τινος μελλήσεως κατέφυγεν, ἴασίν τινα καὶ βοήθειαν ἀπαιτοῦσα: [7] ἦντινα διάνοιαν σωτηριώδη διὰ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοσεβείας τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν ἐμβεβληκέναι δηλὸν ἐστίν. ἐκεῖνος τοιγαροῦν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὕψιστος καὶ μέγιστος Ζεὺς, ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς λαμπροτάτης ὑμῶν πόλεως, ὁ τοὺς πατρώους ὑμῶν θεοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἐστίαν καὶ οἶκους ἀπὸ πάσης ὀλεθρίου φθορᾶς ρυόμενος, ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς τὸ σωτήριον ἐνέπνευσεν βούλημα, ἐπιδεικνὺς καὶ ἐμφαίνων ὅπως ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ σωτηριώδες μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος τῇ θρησκείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἱεροθρησκείαις τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν προσιέναι. [8] τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἀνόητος ἢ νοῦ παντὸς ἀλλότριος εὐρεθῆναι δύναται, ὃς οὐκ αἴσθεται τῇ φιλαγάθῳ τῶν θεῶν σπουδῇ συμβαίνειν μήτε τὴν γῆν τὰ παραδιδόμενα αὐτῇ σπέρματα ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν γεωργῶν ἐλπίδα κενῇ προσδοκίᾳ σφάλλουσαν, μηδ' αὖ ἀσεβοῦς πολέμου πρόσοψιν ἀνεπικωλύτως ἐπὶ γῆς στηρίζεσθαι καὶ φθαρεῖσης τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εὐκρασίας αὐχμῶντα τὰ σώματα πρὸς θάνατον κατασύρεσθαι, μηδὲ μὴν ἀμέτρων ἀνέμων πνεύμασι τὴν θάλασσαν κυμαίνουσαν κορυφοῦσθαι, μηδέ γε καταϊγίδας ἀπροσδοκῆτους καταρρηγνυμένας ὀλέθριον χειμῶνα ἐπεγείρειν, ἔτι τοίνυν μηδὲ τὴν τροφὸν ἀπάντων καὶ μητέρα γῆν ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτω λαγόνων ἑαυτῆς ἐν φοβερῷ τρόπῳ καταδυομένην μηδέ γε τὰ ἐπικείμενα ὄρη χασμάτων γινομένων καταλύεσθαι, ἅπερ πάντα καὶ τούτων ἔτι πολλῷ χαλεπώτερα κατὰ πρό τούτου πολλάκις γεγονέναι οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. [9] καὶ ταῦτα σύμπαντα διὰ τὴν ὀλέθριον πλάνην τῆς ὑποκένου ματαιότητος τῶν ἀθεμίτων ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπων ἐγίνετο, ἥνίκα κατὰ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐπεπόλαζεν καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν τὰ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης αἰσχύναις ἐπέλεξεν.' [10] Τούτοις μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιλέγει: ' ἐφοράτωσαν ἐν τοῖς πλατέσιν ἤδη πεδίοις ἀνθοῦντα τὰ λήϊα καὶ τοῖς ἀστάχυσιν

ἐπικυμαίνοντα καὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας δι' εὐομβρίαν φυαῖς καὶ ἄνθεσιν λαμπομένους καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος κατάστασιν εὐκρατόν τε καὶ πραοτάτην ἀποδοθεῖσαν, ^[11] χαιρέτωσαν λοιπὸν ἅπαντες διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας ἱερουργίας τε καὶ τιμῆς τῆς τοῦ δυνατωτάτου καὶ στερροτάτου ἀέρος ἐξευμενισθείσης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εὐδινοτάτης εἰρήνης βεβαίως μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἀπολαύοντες ἡδυνέσθωσαν. καὶ ὅσοι τῆς τυφλῆς ἐκείνης πλάνης καὶ περιόδου παντάπασιν ὠφελήθεντες εἰς ὀρθὴν καὶ καλλίστην διάνοιαν ἐπανήλθον, μειζόνως μὲν οὖν χαιρέτωσαν ὡς ἂν ἐκ χειμῶνος ἀπροσδοκίτου ἢ νόσου βαρείας ἀποσπασθέντες καὶ ἡδεῖαν εἰς τοῦπιὸν ζωῆς ἀπόλαυσιν καρπωσάμενοι· ^[12] εἰ δὲ τῇ ἐπαράτῳ αὐτῶν ματαιότητι ἐπιμένειεν, πολλῶ πόρρωθεν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ περιχώρου, καθὼς ἡξιώσατε, ἀποχωρισθέντες ἐξελαθήτωσαν, ἵν' οὕτως κατ' ἀκολουθίαν τῆς ἀξιευαίνου ὑμῶν περὶ τοῦτο σπουδῆς παντὸς μιάσματος καὶ ἀσεβείας ἀποχωρισθεῖσα ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις καὶ τὴν ἔμφυτον αὐτῇ πρόθεσιν μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος ταῖς τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν ἱερουργίαις ὑπακούει.

Ἵνα ^[13] δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅσῳ προσφιλεῖς ἡμῖν γέγονεν ἡ περὶ τούτου ἀξιώσις ὑμῶν, καὶ χωρὶς ψηφισμάτων καὶ χωρὶς δεήσεως αὐθαιρέτῳ βουλήσει ἡ ὑμετέρα προθυμοτάτη φιλαγαθίας ψυχῇ, ἐπιτρέπομεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καθοσιώσει ὁποῖαν ὃ ἂν βουλευθῆτε μεγαλοδωρεὰν ἀντὶ ταύτης ὑμῶν τῆς φιλοθέου προθέσεως αἰτήσαι. ^[14] καὶ ἤδη μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν ἀξιώσατε· τεύξεσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς χωρὶς τινος ὑπερθέσεως· ἥτις παρασχεθεῖσα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους θεοὺς φιλοθέου εὐσεβείας παρέξει μαρτυρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀξίων ἐπάθλων τετυχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλαγαθίας ταύτης ὑμῶν ἕνεκεν τῆς τοῦ βίου προαιρέσεως υἱοῖς τε καὶ ἐγγόνοις ὑμετέροις ἐπιδειχθήσεται.

^ε ^[15]

Ταῦτα δὲ καθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν ἀνεστηλίτευτο, πάσης ἐλπίδος, τὸ γοῦν ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις, ἀγαθῆς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀποκλείοντα· ὡς κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο λόγιον, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοὺς σκανδαλίζεσθαι. ^[16] ἤδη γέ τοι σχεδὸν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀποψυχούσης προσδοκίας, ἀθρόως, καθ' ὁδὸν ἔτι τὴν πορείαν ἔν τιςιν χώραις διανυνόντων τῶν τὴν προκειμένην καθ' ἡμῶν γραφὴν διακονουμένων, ὁ τῆς ἰδίας ἐκκλησίας ὑπέρμαχος θεὸς μόνον οὐχὶ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστομίζων μεγαλαυχίαν, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐράνιον συμμαχίαν ἐπεδείκνυτο.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἔθους ὄμβροι τε καὶ ὑετοὶ χειμαδίου τῆς ὥρας ὑπαρχούσης

τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνείχον συνήθη φοράν, λιμός δ' ἀδόκητος ἐπισκῆπτει καὶ λοιμός ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τινος ἐτέρου νοσήματος — ἔλκος δὲ ἦν φερωνύμως τοῦ πυρώδους ἔνεκεν ἄνθραξ προσαγορευόμενον — ἐπιφορά, ὃ καὶ καθ' ὅλων μὲν ἔρπον τῶν σωμάτων σφαλεροὺς ἐνεποίει τοῖς πεπονθόσι κινδύνους, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν διαφερόντως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γινόμενον μυρίους ὅσους ἄνδρας ἅμα γυναιξὶν καὶ παισὶν πηροὺς ἀπειργάζετο. [2] Τούτοις προσεπανίσταται τῷ τυράννῳ ὁ πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμος, ἄνδρας ἐξ ἀρχαίου φίλους τε καὶ συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν διὰ σπουδῆς ποιουμένους ὁ θεομισῆς εἰδώλοις θύειν καὶ δαίμοσιν ἐπαναγκάσαι πεπειραμένους, ἐχθροὺς ἀντὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίους ἀντὶ συμμάχων κατεστήσατο. [3] Ἀθρόως δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ὑφ' ἑνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συρρεύσαντα καιρόν, τῆς τοῦ τυράννου θρασύτητος τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγαλαυχίαν διήλεγξεν, ὅτι δὴ τῆς περὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἔνεκα πολιορκίας μὴ λιμὸν μηδὲ λοιμὸν μηδὲ μὴν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμβῆναι καιρῶν ἐθρασύνετο. ταῦτα δ' οὖν ὁμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπελθόντα, καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ καταστροφῆς περιελήφει τὰ προοίμια. [4] αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμον ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδοις κατεπονεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν πόλεις οἰκούντων δεινῶς ὁ λιμός τε ἅμα καὶ ὁ λοιμός κατετρυχέτην, ὥς ἐνὸς μέτρου πυρῶν δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας Ἀττικὰς ἀντικαταλλάττεσθαι. [5] μυριοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐτύγγανον οἱ κατὰ πόλεις θνήσκοντες, πλείους δὲ τούτων οἱ κατ' ἀγρούς τε καὶ κώμας, ὥς ἤδη καὶ τὰς πάλαι τῶν ἀγροίκων πολυάνδρους ἀπογραφὰς μικροῦ δεῖν παντελεῖ παθεῖν ἐξάλειψιν, ἀθρόως σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἐνδεία τροφῆς καὶ λοιμῶδαι νόσῳ διεφθαρμένων. [6] τινὲς μὲν οὖν τὰ ἑαυτῶν φίλτατα βραχυτάτης τροφῆς τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις ἀπεμπολᾶν ἠξίουں, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς κτήσεις κατὰ βραχὺ διαπιπράσκοντες εἰς ἐσχάτην ἐνδείας ἀπορίαν ἤλαντον, ἤδη δὲ τινες σμικρὰ χόρτου διαμασώμενοι σπαράγματα καὶ τινὰς ἀνέδην φθοροποιοὺς ἐσθίοντες πόας, τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἕξιν λυμαινόμενοι διώλλυντο. [7] καὶ γυναιῶν δὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις εὐγενίδων τινὲς εἰς ἀναίσχυντον ἀνάγκην πρὸς τῆς ἀπορίας ἐλαθεῖσαι, μεταίτεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγορῶν προεληλύθεσαν, τῆς πάλαι ἐλευθερίου τροφῆς ὑπόδειγμα διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὴν περιβολὴν κοσμιότητος ὑποφαίνουσαι. [8] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεσκληρότεροι ὥσπερ εἰδῶλα νεκρὰ ὧδε κάκεῖσε ψυχορραγοῦντες ἐνσειόμενοί τε καὶ περιολισθαίνοντες ὑπ' ἀδυναμίας τοῦ στήναι κατέπιπτον ἐν μέσαις τε πλατείαις πρηνεῖς ἠπλωμένοι ὀρέξαι σφίσιν μικρὸν τρύφος ἄρτου

κατηντιβόλουν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς ἐσχάταις ἔχοντες ἀναπνοαῖς πεινῆν ἐπεβόων, πρὸς μόνην ταύτην τὴν ὀδυνηροτάτην φωνὴν εὐσθενεῖς καθιστάμενοι· [9] οἱ δὲ τὴν πληθὺν τῶν αἰτούντων καταπληττόμενοι, ὅσοι τῶν εὐπορωτέρων ἐδόκουν εἶναι, μετὰ τὸ μυρία παρασχεῖν εἰς ἀπηνῆ λοιπὸν καὶ ἄτεγκτον ἐχώρουν διάθεσιν, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν ὅσον οὐπω καὶ αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες ὥστ' ἤδη κατὰ μέσας ἀγορὰς καὶ στενωποὺς νεκρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα ἐφ' ἡμέραις πλείοσιν ἄταφα διερριμμένα θεὰν τοῖς ὀρώσιν οἰκτροτάτην παρέχειν. [10] ἤδη γέ τοι καὶ κυνῶν τινες ἐγίνοντο βορὰ, δι' ἣν μάλιστα αἰτίαν οἱ ζῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν κυνοκτονίαν ἐτράποντο δέει τοῦ μὴ λυσσῆσαντας ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἐργάσασθαι. [11] οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς πάντας οἴκους ἐπεβόσκετο, μάλιστα δ' οὗς ὁ λιμὸς διὰ τὸ εὐπορεῖν τροφῶν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν ἐκτρίψαι· οἱ γοῦν ἐν περιουσίαις, ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡγεμόνες καὶ μυριοὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τῇ λοιμῶδει νόσφ' πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ καταλελειμμένοι, ὀξεῖαν καὶ ὠκυτάτην ὑπέμενον τελευτήν. πάντα δ' οὖν οἰμωγῶν ἦν ἀνάπλεα, κατὰ πάντας τε στενωποὺς ἀγορὰς τε καὶ πλατείας οὐδ' ἦν ἄλλο τι θεωρεῖν ἢ θρήνους μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς αὐλῶν τε καὶ κτύπων. [12] τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τρόπον δυσὶν ὅπλοις τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις λοιμοῦ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ λιμοῦ στρατεύσας, ὅλας ὁ θάνατος ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενεὰς ἐνεμήθη, ὡς ὁρᾶν ἤδη δυεῖν καὶ τριῶν σώματα νεκρῶν ὑπὸ μίαν ἐκφορὰν προκομιζόμενα. [13] Τοιαῦτα τῆς Μαξιμίνου μεγαλυνχίας καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις καθ' ἡμῶν ψηφισμάτων τὰ ἐπίχειρα ἦν, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν περὶ πάντα σπουδῆς τε καὶ εὐσεβείας πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν διάδηλα κατέστη τὰ τεκμήρια. [14] μόνοι γοῦν ἐν τηλικαύτῃ κακῶν περιστάσει τὸ συμπαθὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, διὰ πάσης ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν τῇ τῶν θνησκόντων 'μυριάδες δ' ἦσαν οἷς οὕτως ἦν ὁ ἐπιμελησόμενος' κηδεῖα τε καὶ ταφῇ προσεκαρτέρουν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ κατατρυχομένων τὴν πληθὺν ὑπὸ μίαν σύναξιν ἀθροίζοντες ἄρτους διένεμον τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὡς περιβόητον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταστῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα θεόν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν δοξάζειν εὐσεβεῖς τε καὶ μόνους θεοσεβεῖς τούτους ἀληθῶς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐλεγχθέντας τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμολογεῖν. [15] Ἐφ' οἷς τοῦτον ἐπιτελουμένοις τὸν τρόπον ὁ μέγας καὶ οὐράνιος Χριστιανῶν ὑπέρμαχος θεὸς τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀπειλὴν καὶ ἀγανάκτησιν ἀνθ' ὧν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπερβαλλόντως ἐνεδείξαντο, τὴν εὐμενὴ καὶ φαιδρὰν τῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς προνοίας αὐθις ἡμῖν αὐγὴν ἀπεδίδου, ὡς ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ παραδοξότατα φῶς ἡμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καταλάμπων εἰρήνης ἐκφανές τε τοῖς πᾶσιν καθιστὰς θεὸν

αὐτὸν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπίσκοπον διὰ παντὸς γεγονέναι πραγμάτων, μαστίζοντα μὲν καὶ διὰ τῶν περιστάσεων κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν πάλιν τ' αὖ μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρκη παιδείαν ἴλεω καὶ εὐμενῇ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν ἀναφαινόμενον.

Οὕτω δῆτα Κωνσταντῖνον, ὃν βασιλέα ἐκ βασιλέως εὐσεβῆ τε ἐξ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ πάντα σωφρονεστάτου γεγονέναι προειρήκαμεν, Λικιννίου τε τοῦ μετ' αὐτόν, συνέσει καὶ εὐσεβεῖα τετιμημένων, πρὸς τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ σωτῆρος κατὰ τῶν δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων ἀνεγυγερμένου πολέμου τε νόμῳ παραταξαμένου, θεοῦ συμμαχοῦντος σωτῆρος δύο θεοφιλῶν κατὰ τῶν δύο δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων ἀνεγυγερμένων πολέμου τε νόμῳ παραταξαμένων, θεοῦ συμμαχοῦντος αὐτοῖς παραδοξότατα, πίπτει μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς ὑπὸ Κωνσταντῖνον Μαξέντιος, ὁ δ' ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς οὐ πολλὸν ἐπιζήσας ἐκείνῳ χρόνον, αἰσχίστῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Λικίννιον οὐπω μανέντα τότε καταστρέφει θανάτῳ. [2] Πρώτερός γε μὴν ὁ καὶ τιμῇ καὶ τάξει τῆς βασιλείας πρῶτος Κωνσταντῖνος τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς κατατυραννουμένων φειδῶ λαβὼν, θεὸν τὸν οὐράνιον τόν τε τούτου λόγον, αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, σύμμαχον δι' εὐχῶν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, πρόεισιν πανστρατιᾷ, Ῥωμαίοις τὰ τῆς ἐκ προγόνων ἐλευθερίας προμνόμενος. [3] Μαξεντίου δῆτα μᾶλλον ταῖς κατὰ γοητεῖαν μηχαναῖς ἢ τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐπιθαρσοῦντος εὐνοίᾳ, προελθεῖν γε μὴν οὐδ' ὅσον πυλῶν τοῦ ἄστεος ἐπιτολμῶντος, ὀπλιτῶν δ' ἀνηρίθμῳ πλήθει καὶ στρατοπέδων λόχοις μυρίοις πάντα τόπον καὶ χώραν καὶ πόλιν, ὅση τις ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης ὑπ' αὐτῷ δεδούλωτο, φραζαμένου, ὁ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συμμαχίας ἀνημμένος βασιλεὺς ἐπιὼν πρώτη καὶ δευτέρα καὶ τρίτῃ τοῦ τυράννου παρατάξει εὖ μάλα τε πάσας ἐλών, πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤδη τε αὐτῆς Ῥώμῃς ἄγχιστα ἦν: [4] εἴθ' ὥς μὴ τοῦ τυράννου χάριν Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζοιτο, θεὸς αὐτὸς δεσμοῖς τισιν ὥσπερ τὸν τύραννον πορρωτάτω πυλῶν ἐξέλκει καὶ τὰ πάλοι δὴ κατὰ ἀσεβῶν ὥς ἐν μύθου λόγῳ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπιστούμενα, πιστά γε μὴν πιστοῖς ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐστηλιτευμένα, αὐτῇ ἐναργεῖα πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, πιστοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις, ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ παράδοξα παρειληφόσιν, ἐπιστώσατο. [5] ὥσπερ γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Μωυσέως καὶ τοῦ πάλοι θεοσεβοῦς Ἑβραίων γένους ‘ ἄρματα Φαραὼ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ἔρριπεν εἰς θάλασσαν, ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριστάτας: κατεπόθησαν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἐρυθρᾷ, πόντος ἐκάλυπεν αὐτούς,’ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ καὶ Μαξέντιος οἱ τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὀπλῖται καὶ δορυφόροι ‘ἔδυσαν εἰς

βυθὸν ὥς εἰ λίθος,’ ὀπηνίκα νῶτα δούς τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ μετὰ Κωνσταντίνου δυνάμει, τὸν πρὸ τῆς πορείας διήει ποταμόν, ὃν αὐτὸς σκάφεσιν ζεύξας καὶ εὖ μάλα γεφυρώσας μηχανὴν ὀλέθρου καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ συνεστήσατο: [6] ἐφ’ ᾧ ἦν εἰπεῖν ‘λάκκον ὠρυξεν καὶ ἀνέσκαψεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς βόθρον ὃν εἰργάσατο. ἐπιστρέψει ὁ πόνος αὐτοῦ εἰς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀδικία αὐτοῦ καταβήσεται.’

[7] ταῦτη δῆτα τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ζεύγματος διαλυθέντος, ὑφίζανει μὲν ἡ διάβασις, χωρεῖ δ’ ἀθρόως αὐτανδρα κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ τὰ σκάφη, καὶ αὐτὸς γε πρῶτος ὁ δυσσεβέστατος, εἶτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἅμφ’ αὐτὸν ὑπασπισταί, ἧ τὰ θεῖα προαναφωνεῖ λόγια, ἔδυσαν ὥς εἰ μόλιβδος ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῶ: [8] ὥστε εἰκότως εἰ μὴ λόγοις ἔργοις δ’ οὖν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἅμφι τὸν μέγαν θεράποντα Μωυσέα τοὺς παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν νίκην ἀραμένους αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ κατὰ τοῦ πάλαι δυσσεβοῦς τυράννου ὧδέ πως ἂν ὑμνεῖν καὶ λέγειν ‘ἄσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται. ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριπεν εἰς θάλασσαν: βοηθὸς καὶ σκεπαστὴς μου κύριος, ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν’ καὶ ‘τίς ὅμοιός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε, τίς ὅμοιός σοι; δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἁγίοις, θαυμαστὸς ἐν δόξαις, ποιῶν τέρατα.’ [9] Ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἀδελφά τε καὶ ἐμπερὴ Κωνσταντίνος τῷ πανηγεμόνι καὶ τῆς νίκης αἰτίῳ θεῷ αὐτοῖς ἔργοις ἀνυμνήσας, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης μετ’ ἐπινικίων εἰσήλαυνεν, πάντων ἀθρόως αὐτὸν ἅμα κομιδῇ νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξίν τῶν τε ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλως διασημοτάτων σὺν παντὶ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων φαιδροῖς ὄμμασιν αὐταῖς ψυχαῖς οἷα λυτρωτὴν σωτήρᾱ τε καὶ εὐεργέτην μετ’ εὐφημιῶν καὶ ἀπλήστου χαρᾶς ὑποδεχομένων: [10] ὁ δ’ ὥσπερ ἔμφυτον τὴν εἰς θεὸν εὐσέβειαν κεκτημένος, μὴδ’ ὅλως ἐπὶ ταῖς βοαῖς ὑποσαλευόμενος μὴδ’ ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, εὖ μάλα τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συνησθημένου βοηθείας, αὐτίκα τοῦ σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἀνατεθῆναι προστάττει, καὶ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δεδημοσιευμένῳ τόπῳ στήσαντας αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην προγραφὴν ἐντάξαι ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγκελεύεται φωνῇ: ‘τούτῳ [11] τῷ σωτηριῳδῇ σημείῳ, τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρείας τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ ζυγοῦ τοῦ τυράννου διασωθεῖσαν ἠλευθέρωσα, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ λαμπρότητι ἔλευθερώσας ἀποκατέστησα.’ [12] Καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς τε Κωνσταντίνος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Λικίνιος, οὐπω τότε ἐφ’ ἣν ὕστερον ἐκπέτωκεν μανίαν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκτραπείς, θεὸν τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς αἴτιον εὐμενίσαντες, ἅμφω μιᾷ βουλῇ καὶ γνώμῃ νόμον ὑπὲρ

Χριστιανῶν τελεώτατον πληρέστατα διατυπούνται, καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ παράδοξα τὰ τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου νίκης καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν Μαξιμίῳ, τῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς ἔθνων ἔτι δυναστεύοντι φιλίαν τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑποκοριζομένῳ, διαπέμπονται. [13] ὁ δ' οἷα τύραννος περιαλγῆς ἐφ' οἷς ἔγνω, γεγενημένος, εἶτα μὴ δοκεῖν ἑτέροις εἶσαι βουλόμενος μὴδ' αὖ παρεκθέσθαι τὸ κελευσθὲν δέει τῶν προστεταχότων ὥς ἂν ἐξ ἰδίας αὐθεντίας τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόσιν τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐπάναγκες διαχαράττει τὸ γράμμα, τὰ μηδέπω ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα ἐπιπλάστως αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ψευδόμενος.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥ

Ἰόβιος Μαξιμίῳ Σεβαστὸς Σαβίνῳ. καὶ παρὰ τῇ σῇ στιβαρότητι καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανερόν εἶναι πέποιθα τοὺς δεσπότης ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Μαξιμιανόν, τοὺς ἡμετέρους πατέρας, ἡνίκα συνείδον σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους καταλειφθείσης τῆς τῶν θεῶν θρησκείας τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἑαυτοὺς συμμαχότας, ὁρθῶς διατεταχέναι πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν τῶν ἀθανάτων θρησκείας ἀναχωρήσαντας προδήλῳ κολάσει καὶ τιμωρίᾳ εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακληθῆναι. [2] ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐγὼ εὐτυχῶς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν παρεγενόμενην καὶ ἔγνω εἰς τινὰς τόπους πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ δημόσια ὠφελεῖν δυναμένους ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίαν ἐξορίζεσθαι, ἐκάστῳ τῶν δικαστῶν ἐντολὰς δέδωκα ὥστε μηδένα τούτων τοῦ λοιποῦ προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπαρχιώταις ἀπηνῶς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κολακεῖα καὶ προτροπαῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖν. [3] τηνικαῦτα οὖν, ὅτε ἀκολούθως τῇ κελεύσει τῇ ἐμῇ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἐφυλάττετο τὰ προστεταγμένα, συνέβαινεν μηδένα ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς μερῶν μήτε ἐξόριστον μήτε ἐνύβριστον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βαρέως κατ' αὐτῶν τι γίνεσθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν ἀνακεκλησθαι. [4] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτε τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ εὐτυχῶς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Νικομήδειαν κάκεῖ διετέλουν, παρεγένοντο πολῖται τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως πρὸς με ἅμα μετὰ τῶν ξοάνων τῶν θεῶν μειζόνως δεόμενοι ἵνα παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος μηδαμῶς ἐπιτρέποιο ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν πατρίδι οἰκεῖν. [5] ἀλλ' ὅτε ἔγνω πλείστους τῆς αὐτῆς θρησκείας ἄνδρας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς μέρεσιν οἰκεῖν, οὕτως αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπένεμον ὅτι τῇ μὲν αἰτήσῃ αὐτῶν ἀσμένως χάριν ἔσχηκα, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ πάντων τοῦτο αἰτηθὲν κατεῖδον· εἰ μὲν οὖν τινες εἶεν τῇ αὐτῇ δεισιδαιμονία διαμένοντες, οὕτως ἓνα ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ προαιρέσει τὴν βούλησιν ἔχειν καὶ

εἰ βούλονται, τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν ἐπιγινώσκειν. [6] ὁμως καὶ τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως Νικομηδεῦσιν καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς πόλεσιν, αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον τὴν ὁμοίαν αἴτησιν περισπουδάζτως πρὸς με πεποιήκασιν, δηλονότι ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοικίῃ, ἀνάγκην ἔσχον προσφιλῶς ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αὐτοκράτορες πάντες διεφύλαξαν καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς, δι' οὓς πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ τῶν δημοσίων διοίκησις συνίσταται, ἤρεσεν οὖν ὥστε τὴν τοσαύτην αἴτησιν, ἥν ὑπὲρ τῆς θρησκείας τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν ἀναφέρουσιν, βεβαιώσαιμι.

[7] τοιγαροῦν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῇ σῇ καθοσίῳσει πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπέσταλται καὶ δι' ἐντολῶν ὁμοίως κεκέλευσται ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος διαφυλάξαι ἐπιμεληθέντων μηδὲν τραχέως, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξικάκως καὶ συμμέτρως συμπεριφέροντο αὐτοῖς, ὁμως ἵνα μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν βενεφικαρίων μήτε ὑπ' ἄλλων τῶν τυχόντων ὕβρεις μήτε σεισμοὺς ὑπομένοιεν, ἀκόλουθον ἐνόμισα καὶ τούτοις τοῖς γράμμασιν τὴν σὴν στιβαρότητα ὑπομνήσαι ὅπως ταῖς κολακείαις καὶ ταῖς προτροπαῖς μᾶλλον τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιμέλειαν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐπαρχιώτας ποιήσεως ἐπιγινώσκειν: [8] ὅθεν εἰ τις τῇ αὐτοῦ προαιρέσει τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιγνωστέον προσλάβοι, τούτους ὑποδέχεσθαι προσήκει: εἰ δέ τινες τῇ ἰδίᾳ θρησκείᾳ ἀκολουθεῖν βούλονται, ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἐξουσίᾳ καταλείποις. [9] διόπερ ἡ σὴ καθοσίῳσις τὸ ἐπιτραπέν σοι διαφυλάττειν ὀφείλει, καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξουσία δοθῇ ὥστε τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐπαρχιώτας ὕβρεσι καὶ σεισμοῖς ἐπιτρίψαι, ὁπότε, ὥσπερ προέγραπται, ταῖς προτροπαῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ταῖς κολακείαις πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐπαρχιώτας προσήκει ἀνακαλεῖν. ἵνα δὲ αὕτη ἡμῶν ἡ κέλευσις εἰς γνῶσιν πάντων τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔλθῃ, διατάγματι ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεθέντι τὸ κεκελευσμένον ὀφείλεις δηλῶσαι.

[10]

ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐκβεβιασμένος, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ διακελευσάμενος, οὐκέτι ἀληθὴς οὐδ' ἀξιόπιστος παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἦν τῆς πρόσθεν ἤδη μετὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν συγχώρησιν παλιμβόλου καὶ διενευσμένης αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἔνεκα. [11] οὐκουν ἐτόλμα τις τῶν ἡμετέρων σύνοδον συγκροτεῖν οὐδ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν φανερῷ καταστήσασθαι, ὅτι μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἠθέλεν αὐτῷ τὸ γράμμα, αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπον φυλάττεσθαι, οὐ μὴν συνόδους ἐπικελεῦον ποιεῖσθαι οὐδ' οἴκους ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομεῖν οὐδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἡμῖν συνήθων διαπράττεσθαι. [12] καίτοι γε ταῦθ' οἱ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ εὐσεβείας προήγοροι αὐτῷ τε ἐπιτρέπουν ἐπεστάλκεσαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἅπασιν διὰ προγραμμάτων καὶ νόμων συγκεχωρήκεσαν: οὐ μὴν ὁ

δυσσεβέστατός γε ταύτη ἐνδοῦναι προήρητο, εἰ μὴ ὅτε πρὸς τῆς θείας συναλαθεῖς δίκης ὕστατόν γε ἄκων ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἤχθη.

Ἐκπεριῆλθεν ὁ αὐτὸν τοιαύτη τις αἰτία. τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπιτραπείσης ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ μὴ οἷός τε φέρειν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπειρίαν σὺφρονος καὶ βασιλικοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀπειροκάλως τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγχειρῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τε ὑπερηφανίας μεγαλαυχία τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλόγως ἀρθείς, ἥδη καὶ κατὰ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνῶν, τὰ πάντα αὐτοῦ προφερόντων γένει καὶ τροφῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ ἀξιώματι τε καὶ συνέσει καὶ τῷ γε πάντων κορυφαιοτάτῳ, σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ, τολμᾶν ὥρμητο θρασύνεσθαι καὶ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀναγορεύειν. [2] ἐπιτείνας ὁ εἰς ἀπόνοιαν τὰ τῆς μανίας, συνθήκας ἅς πρὸς Λικίννιον πεποίητο, παρασπονδήσας, πόλεμον ἄσπονδον αἶρεται: εἴτ' ἐν βραχεὶ τὰ πάντα κυκήσας πᾶσάν τε πόλιν ἐκταράζας καὶ πᾶν στρατόπεδον, μυριάδων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνηρίθμων, συναγαγὼν, ἔξεισιν εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ παραταζάμενος, δαιμόνων ἐλπίσιν, ὧν δὴ ὥετο θεῶν, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν μυριάσιν τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπηρμένους. [3] Καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼν εἰς χεῖρας, ἔρημος τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ καθίσταται ἐπισκοπῆς, τῆς νίκης ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάντων ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ τῷ τότε κρατοῦντι πρυτανευθείσης. [4] ἀπόλλυσι δὴ πρῶτον τὸ ἐφ' ᾧ πεποιθεὶ ὀπλιτικόν, τῶν τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν δορυφόρων γυμνὸν καὶ πάντων ἔρημον αὐτὸν καταλελοιπότην τῷ τε κρατοῦντι προσπεφευγόντων, ὑπεκδὺς ὁ δειλῖος ὡς τάχιστα τὸν οὐ πρόποντα αὐτῷ βασιλικὸν κόσμον, δειλῶς καὶ δυσγενῶς καὶ ἀνάνδρως ὑποδύνει τὸ πλῆθος κᾶπειτα διαδιδράσκει κρυπταζόμενός τε ἀνὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὰς κώμας μόλις τῶν πολεμίων τὰς χεῖρας, τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῷ προμνόμενος, διέξεισιν, ἔργοις αὐτοῖς εὖ μάλα πιστοὺς καὶ ἀληθεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποφήνας χρησμούς, ἐν οἷς εἴρηται 'οὐ [5] σφύζεται βασιλεὺς διὰ πολλὴν δύναμιν, καὶ γίγας οὐ σωθήσεται ἐν πλήθει ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ: ψευδὴς ἵππος εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐν δὲ πλήθει δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ οὐ σωθήσεται. ἰδοὺ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν, τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, ῥύσασθαι ἐκ θανάτου τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν.' [6] οὕτω δὴ τὰ αἰσχύνῃς ἔμπλεως ὁ τύραννος ἐπὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλθὼν μέρος, πρῶτα μὲν ἐμμανεῖ θυμῷ πολλοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας τῶν πάλοι θαυμαζομένων αὐτῷ θεῶν, ὧν δὴ τοῖς χρησιμοῖς ἀναρριπισθεὶς τὸν πόλεμον ἤρατο, ὡς ἂν γόητας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν προδότας τῆς αὐτοῦ γενομένους σωτηρίας ἀναιρεῖ: εἴτα δὲ δοὺς δόξαν τῷ Χριστιανῶν θεῷ νόμον τε τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν τελεώτατα καὶ πληρέστατα διαταζάμενος, δυσθανατήσας αὐτίκα μηδεμιᾶς αὐτῷ χρόνου δοθείσης προθεσμίας τελευτᾷ

τὸν βίον. Ὁ δὲ καταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ νόμος τοιοῦτος ἦν:

ΑΝΤΙΓΑΦΟΝ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥ ΥΠΕΡ
ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΕΚ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΤΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ
ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΜΕΤΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΗΣ

Αὐτοκράτωρ [7] Καῖσαρ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμίνοϛ, Γερμανικός, Σαρματικός, εὐσεβὴς εὐτυχὴς ἀνίκητος Σεβαστός. κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἡμᾶς διηνεκῶς τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοῦ χρησίμου προνοεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς βούλεσθαι παρέχειν, οἷς τὰ λυσιτελεῖν πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦνται καὶ ὅσα τῆς λυσιτελείας καὶ τῆς χρησιμότητός ἐστιν τῆς κοινῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ὅποια πρὸς τὴν δημοσίαν λυσιτέλειαν ἀρμόζει καὶ ταῖς ἐκάστων διανοίαις προσφιλεῖ τυγχάνει, οὐδένα ἀγνοεῖν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἀνατρέχειν ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τὸ γινόμενον γινώσκειν τε ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δῆλον εἶναι πιστεύομεν. [8] ὁπότε τοίνυν πρὸ τούτου δῆλον γέγονεν τῇ γνώσει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως ἐξ ἧς κεκελευσμένον ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειοτάτων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ, τῶν γονέων τῶν ἡμετέρων, τὰς συνόδους τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξηρηθῆναι, πολλοὺς σεισμοὺς καὶ ἀποστερήσεις ὑπὸ τῶν ὀφικιαλίων γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ εἰς τοῦπιόν δὲ τοῦτο προχωρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων, ὧν μάλιστα πρόνοιαν τὴν προσήκουσαν γίνεσθαι σπουδάζομεν, τῶν οὐσιῶν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν κατατριβομένων, δοθέντων γραμμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ ἐνομοθετήσαμεν ἵν' εἴ τις βούλοιτο τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἔθει ἢ τῇ αὐτῇ φυλακῇ τῆς θρησκείας ἔπεσθαι, τοῦτον ἀνεμποδίστως ἔχεσθαι τῆς προθέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐμποδίζεσθαι μηδὲ κωλύεσθαι καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς εὐχέρειαν δίχα τινὸς φόβου καὶ ὑποψίας τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐκάστῳ ἀρέσκει, ποιεῖν. [9] πλὴν οὐδὲ νῦν λαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐδυνήθη ὅτι τινὲς τῶν δικαστῶν παρενεθυμοῦντο τὰς ἡμετέρας κελεύσεις καὶ διστάζειν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὰ προστάγματα τὰ ἡμέτερα παρεσκεύασαν καὶ ὀκνηρότερον προσιέναι ταύταις ταῖς θρησκείαις αἷς ἦν ἀρεστὸν αὐτοῖς, ἐποίησαν.

Ἵνα [10] τοίνυν εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς πᾶσα ὑποψία ἢ ἀμφιβολία τοῦ φόβου περιαιρεθῇ, τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα προτεθῆναι ἐνομοθετήσαμεν, ἵνα πᾶσιν δῆλον γένηται ἐξεῖναι τούτοις οἵτινες ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ τὴν θρησκείαν μετιέναι βούλονται, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἡμετέρας, καθὼς ἕκαστος βούλεται ἢ ἡδέα αὐτῷ ἐστίν, οὕτως προσιέναι τῇ θρησκείᾳ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐξ ἑθους θρησκευεῖν εἵλετο. καὶ τὰ κυριακὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅπως κατασκευάζουσιν, συγκεχώρηται. [11] ἵνα μέντοι καὶ μείζων γένηται ἢ ἡμετέρα δωρεά, καὶ τοῦτο νομοθετῆσαι

κατηξίωσαμεν ἵνα εἴ τινες οἰκίαί καὶ χωρία ἃ τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πρὸ τούτου ἐτύγχανον ὄντα, ἐκ τῆς κελεύσεως τῶν γονέων τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς τὸ δίκαιον μετέπεσεν τοῦ φίσκου ἢ ὑπὸ τινος κατελήφθη πόλεως, εἴτε διάπρασις τούτων γεγένηται εἴτε εἰς χάρισμα δέδοται τι, ταῦτα πάντα εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον δίκαιον τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνακληθῆναι ἐκελεύσαμεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς προνοίας αἰσθησιν πάντες λάβωσιν.

[12]

Αὗται τοῦ τυράννου φωναί, οὐδ' ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθειμένων αὐτῷ διαταγμάτων ὑστερήσασαι, καὶ παρ' ᾧ γε μικρῷ πρόσθεν δυσσεβεῖς ἐδοκοῦμεν καὶ ἄθεοι καὶ παντὸς ὄλεθροι τοῦ βίου, ὥς μὴ ὅτι γε πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χώραν οὐδ' ἐρημίαν οἰκεῖν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, παρὰ τούτῳ διατάξεις ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν καὶ νομοθεσίαι συνετάττοντο, καὶ οἱ πρὸ βραχέος πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ θηρίων τε καὶ οἰωνῶν βορᾶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ διαφθειρόμενοι καὶ πᾶν εἶδος κολάσεως καὶ τιμωρίας ἀπαλλαγῆς τε βίου οἰκτρότατα ὥς ἂν ἄθεοι καὶ δυσσεβεῖς ὑπομένοντες, οὗτοι νῦν πρὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ θρησκευεῖν ὁμολογοῦνται θρησκείαν καὶ ἐπισκευάζειν κυριακὰ ἐπιτρέπονται, καὶ δικαίων τινῶν αὐτοῖς μετεῖναι αὐτὸς ὁ τύραννος ὁμολογεῖ.

[13] Καὶ δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐξομολογησάμενος, ὥσπερ τινὸς τυχῶν εὐεργεσίας τούτων δὴ αὐτῶν ἔνεκα, ἤττον ἢ παθεῖν αὐτὸν χρῆν δήπου παθόν, ἀθρόα θεοῦ πληγεῖς μάλιστα ἐν δευτέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου συμβολῇ καταστρέφει: [14] γίνεται δ' αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς καταστροφῆς οὐχ οἷα στρατηγοῖς πολεμάρχαις ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ γνωρίμων πολλάκις ἀνδριζομένοις ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν εὐκλεῆ τελευτὴν εὐθαρσῶς ὑπομεῖναι συνέβη, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅτε τις δυσσεβῆς καὶ θεομάχος, τῆς παρατάξεως ἔτ' αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ πεδίου συνεστώσης οἶκοι μένων αὐτὸς καὶ κρυπταζόμενος, τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν ὑπέχει, ἀθρόα θεοῦ πληγεῖς καθ' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος μάλιστα, ὥς ἀλγηδόσιν δειναῖς καὶ περιωδυνίαις ἐλαυνόμενον πρηνῆ καταπεσεῖν, λιμῷ φθειρόμενον τὰς τε σάρκας ὅλας ἀοράτῳ καὶ θεηλάτῳ πυρὶ τηκόμενον, ὥς διαρρεύσαντα τὸ μὲν πᾶν εἶδος τῆς παλαιᾶς μορφῆς ἀφανισθῆναι, ξηρῶν δ' αὐτὸ μόνον ὀστέων οἷόν τι μακρῷ χρόνῳ κατεσκελετευμένον εἶδωλον ὑπολειφθῆναι, ὥς μὴδ' ἄλλο τι νομίζειν τοὺς παρόντας ἢ τάφον αὐτῷ τῆς ψυχῆς γεγονέναι τὸ σῶμα, ἐν ἧδὴ νεκρῷ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπορρεῦσαντι κατορωρυγμένης. [15] σφοδρότερον δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς θερμῆς αὐτὸν ἐκ βάθους μυελῶν καταφλεγούσης, προπηδῶσιν μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ὅμματα καὶ τῆς ἰδίας λήξεως ἀποπεσόντα πρὸν αὐτὸν ἀφήσιν, ὃ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔτ' ἐμπνέων ἀνθομολογούμενος τῷ κυρίῳ θάνατον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ τὸ πανύστατον ἐνδίκως ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παροινίας χάριν

ὁμολογήσας παθεῖν, τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίησιν.

Οὕτω δὴτα Μαξιμίνου ἐκποδὼν γενομένου, ὃς μόνος ἔτι λείπων τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθρῶν, ἀπάντων χεῖριστος ἀναπέφηγεν, τὰ μὲν τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως ἐκ θεμελίων χάριτι θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἡγείρετο ὃ τε τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ διαλάμπων, μείζονα τῆς πρόσθεν ἀπελάμβανεν παρρησίαν, τὰ δὲ τῆς δυσσεβείας τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθρῶν αἰσχύνης ἐσχάτης καὶ ἀτιμίας ἐνεπίμπλατο. [2] πρῶτός τε γὰρ Μαξιμῖνος αὐτὸς κοινὸς ἀπάντων πολέμιος ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων ἀναγορευθεὶς, δυσσεβέστατος καὶ δυσωνυμώτατος καὶ θεομισέστατος τύραννος διὰ προγραμμάτων δημοσίων ἀνεστηλίτευτο, γραφαὶ τε ὅσαι εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνέκειντο πόλιν, αἱ μὲν ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος ῥιπτούμεναι συνετρίβοντο, αἱ δὲ τὰς προσόψεις ἡχραιοῦντο σκοτεινῷ χρώματι καταμελανούμεναι, ἀνδριάντων τε ὁμοίως ὁπόσοι εἰς αὐτοῦ τιμὴν διανεστίκεσαν, ὥσαύτως ῥιπτούμενοι συνετρίβοντο, γέλως καὶ παιδιὰ τοῖς ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν ἐθέλουσιν ἐκκείμενοι. [3] Εἴτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθρῶν πᾶσαι τιμαὶ περιηροῦντο, ἐκτείνοντο δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ τὰ Μαξιμίνου φρονούντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀρχικοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τετιμημένοι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολακείᾳ σοβαρῶς ἐνεπαροίνησαν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγῳ: [4] οἷος ἦν ὁ παρὰ πάντας αὐτῷ τιμιώτατος καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατος ἐταῖρων τε γνησιώτατος Πευκέτιος, δις ὕπατος καὶ τρίς ὕπατος καὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων ἑπαρχος πρὸς αὐτοῦ καθεσταμένος, Κουλκιανὸς τε ὥσαύτως διὰ πάσης ἀρχικῆς προελθὼν ἐξουσίας, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς μυρίοις τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον Χριστιανῶν ἐλλαμπρυνάμενος αἵμασιν, ἄλλοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγοι, δι' ὧν μάλιστα τὰ τῆς Μαξιμίνου τυραννίδος ἐκραταιοῦτό τε καὶ ἠῤῥετο. [5] Ἐκάλει δὲ ἄρα καὶ Θεότεκνον ἡ δίκη, οὐδαμῶς τὰ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα λήθη παραδιδούσα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἰδρυθέντι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ξοάνῳ δόξας εὐημερεῖν, ἤδη καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἡξίωτο παρὰ Μαξιμίνου, [6] Λικίνιος δ' ἐπιβὰς τῆς Ἀντιοχέων πόλεως φώραν τε γοήτων ποιησάμενος, τοὺς τοῦ νεοπαγοῦς ξοάνου προφήτας καὶ ἱερεῖς βασάνοις ἡκίζετο, τίνι λόγῳ τὴν ἀπάτην καθυποκρίνοιτο, πυνθανόμενος: ὥς δ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν βασάνων συνελαυνομένοις ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἐδήλουν δὲ τὸ πᾶν μυστήριον ἀπάτην τυγχάνειν τέχνη τῇ Θεοτέκνου μεμηχανημένην, τοῖς πᾶσιν τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιθεὶς δίκην, πρῶτον αὐτὸν Θεότεκνον, εἴτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῆς γοητείας κοινωνοὺς μετὰ πλείστας ὅσας αἰκίας θανάτῳ παραδίδωσιν. [7] Τούτοις ἅπασιν προσετίθεντο καὶ οἱ

Μαξιμίνου παῖδες, οὓς ἤδη καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τιμῆς τῆς τε ἐν πίναξιν καὶ γραφαῖς ἀναθέσεως πεποίητο κοινωνοὺς· καὶ οἱ συγγένειαν δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τὸ πρὶν αὐχοῦντες καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταδυναστεύειν ἐπηρμένοι τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀτιμίας ἔπασχον, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδέξαντο παιδείαν μηδὲ ἔγνωσαν μηδὲ συνῆκαν τὴν φάσκουσιν ἐν ἱεροῖς λόγοις παρακέλευσιν ‘μὴ [8] πεποίθετε ἐπ’ ἄρχοντας, ἐπὶ υἱοὺς ἀνθρώπων, οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν σωτηρία· ἐξελεύσεται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστρέψει εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ: ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπολοῦνται πάντες οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν.’ οὕτω δῆτα τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἐκκαθαρθέντων, μόνοις ἐφυλάττετο τὰ τῆς προσηκούσης βασιλείας βέβαιά τε καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ Λικιννίῳ: οἱ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπάντων ἐκκαθάραντες τοῦ βίου τὴν θεοεχθρίαν, τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρυτανευθέντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἡσθημένως τὸ φιλάρετον καὶ θεοφιλὲς τό τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς καὶ εὐχάριστον διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐνεδείξαντο νομοθεσίας.

BOOK X.

τάδε καὶ ἡ δεκάτη περιέχει βίβλος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

A Περὶ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ πρυτανευθείσης ἡμῖν εἰρήνης.

B Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως.

Γ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἐγκαινίων.

Δ Πανηγυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φαιδρότητι.

E Ἀντίγραφα βασιλικῶν νόμων περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν προσηκόντων.

Σ Περὶ τῆς τῶν κληρικῶν ἀλειτουρησίας.

Z Περὶ τῆς Λικιννίου εἰς ὕστερον κακοτροπίας καὶ τῆς καταστροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

H Περὶ τῆς νίκης Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν ὑπαρξάντων.

Θεῶ δὴ χάρις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τῷ παντοκράτορι καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων, πλείστη δὲ καὶ τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ λυτρωτῇ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δι' οὗ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔκ τε τῶν ἔξωθεν ὀχληρῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν βέβαια καὶ ἀσάλευτα φυλάττεσθαι ἡμῖν διὰ παντὸς εὐχόμεθα. [2] Ἄμα δὲ εὐχαῖς καὶ τὸν δέκατον ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς προδιεξοδευθεῖσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιθέντες τόμον, σοὶ τοῦτον ἐπιγράψομεν, ἱερώτατέ μοι Παυλῖνε, ὥσπερ ἐπισφράγισμά σε τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως ἀναβοώμενοι, [3] εἰκότως δ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ τὸν τέλειον ἐνταῦθα καὶ πανηγυρικὸν τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως λόγον κατατάξομεν, θείῳ πνεύματι πειθαρχοῦντες ὧδέ πως ἐγκελευομένῳ ‘ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ῥῆσμα καινόν, ὅτι θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησεν: ἔσωσεν αὐτῷ ἡ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ βραχίον ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ: ἐγνώρισεν κύριος τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ, ἐναντίον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ.’ [4] Καὶ δὴ τῷ λογίῳ προστάττοντι τὸ καινὸν ῥῆσμα διὰ τοῦδε νῦν ἀκολούθως ἐπιφωνῶμεν ὅτι δὴ μετὰ τὰς δεινὰς καὶ σκοτεινὰς ἐκείνας ὄψεις τε καὶ διηγήσεις τοιαῦτα νῦν ὁρᾶν καὶ τοιαῦτα πανηγυρίζειν ἠξιώθημεν, οἷα τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλοὶ τῷ ὄντι δίκαιοι καὶ θεοῦ μάρτυρες ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδεῖν, καὶ οὐκ εἶδον, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν. [5] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἦ τάχος σπεύσαντες τῶν πολὺ κρειπτόνων ἔτυχον ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ παραδείσῳ τῆς ἐνθέου τρυφῆς ἀναρπασθέντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τάδε μείζονα ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν

ὁμολογοῦντες, ὑπερεκπεπλήγμεθα μὲν τῆς τοῦ αἰτίου μεγαλοδωρεᾶς τῇ χάριν, θαυμάζομεν δὲ εἰκότως ὅλης ψυχῆς δυνάμει σέβοντες καὶ ταῖς ἀναγράπτοις προρρήσεσιν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες, [6] δι' ὧν εἴρηται: ‘δεῦτε καὶ ἴδετε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου, ἃ ἔθετο τέρατα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀνταναιρῶν πολέμους μέχρι τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς: τόξον συντρίβει καὶ συγκλάσει ὄπλον, καὶ θυρεοὺς κατακαύσει ἐν πυρὶ’ : ἐφ’ οἷς ἐναργῶς εἰς ἡμᾶς πεπληρωμένοι χαίροντες, τὸν ἐφεξῆς συνείρωμεν λόγον. [7] Ἡφάνιστο μὲν δὴ καθ’ ὃν δεδήλωται τρόπον πᾶν τὸ τῶν θεομισθῶν γένος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀθρόως ὅσως οὕτως ἐξαλλήλειπτο, ὡς πάλιν ῥῆμα θεῖον τέλος ἔχειν τὸ λέγον: ‘εἶδον ἀσεβῆ ὑπερυψούμενον καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενον ὡς τὰς κέδρους τοῦ Λιβάνου: καὶ παρῆλθον, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἐζήτησα τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ εὗρέθη’ : [8] ἡμέρα δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη φαιδρὰ καὶ διαυγής, μηδενὸς νέφους αὐτὴν ἐπισκιάζοντος, φωτὸς οὐρανοῦ βολαῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηύγαζεν, οὐδέ τις ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς θιάσου φθόνος συναπολαύειν εἰ μὴ τῶν ἴσων, ἀπορροῆς δ’ οὖν ὅμως καὶ μετουσίας τῶν θεόθεν ἡμῖν πρυτανευθέντων.

Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐκ τῆς τῶν τυράννων καταδυναστείας ἐλεύθερα ἦν, καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν, ἄλλος ἄλλως μόνον ἀληθῆ θεὸν τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ὑπέρμαχον ὡμολόγει: μάλιστα δ’ ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀνητημένοις ἄλεκτος παρῆν εὐφροσύνη καὶ τις ἔνθεος ἅπασιν ἐπὶ γὰρ πάντα τόπον τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων δυσσεβείαις ἠριτωμένον ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ θανατηφόρου λύμης ἀναβιώσκοντα θεωμένοις νεῶς τε αὐθις ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἐγειρομένους καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τὴν ἀγλαΐαν τῶν πάλαι πεπολιορκημένων ἀπολαμβάνοντας. [2] Ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀνωτάτω συνεχέσι ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν νομοθεσίαις τὰ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ μεγαλοδωρεᾶς ἡμῖν εἰς μακρὸν ἔτι καὶ μεῖζον ἐκράτουν, ἐφοῖτα δὲ καὶ εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπισκόποις βασιλέως γράμματα καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ χρημάτων δόσεις: ὧν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου γένοιτ’ ἂν κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα καιρὸν τοῦ λόγου, ὥσπερ ἐν ἱερᾷ στήλῃ, τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν μεταληφθείσας ἐγχαράξαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ τοῖς μεθ’ ἡμᾶς ἅπασιν φέροιτο διὰ μνήμης.

Ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις τὸ πᾶσιν εὐκατὶον ἡμῖν καὶ ποθοῦμενον συνεκροτεῖτο θέαμα, ἐγκαινίων ἑορταὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἄρτι νεοπαγῶν προσευκτηρίων ἀφιερώσεις, ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ ταῦτόν συνηλύσεις, τῶν πόρρωθεν ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς συνδρομαί, λαῶν εἰς λαοὺς φιλοφρονήσεις, τῶν Χριστοῦ σώματος μελῶν εἰς

μίαν συνιόντων ἁρμονίαν ἔνωσις. [2] συνήγετο γοῦν ἀκολούθως προρρήσει προφητικῇ μυστικῶς τὸ μέλλον προσημαινούση ὅστέον πρὸς ὅστέον καὶ ἁρμονία πρὸς ἁρμονίαν καὶ ὅσα θεσπίζων ὁ λόγος δι' αἰνιγμάτων ἀψευδῶς προαντεΐναιτο, [3] μία τε ἦν θείου πνεύματος διὰ πάντων τῶν μελῶν χωροῦσα δύναμις καὶ ψυχὴ τῶν πάντων μία καὶ προθυμία πίστεως ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ εἰς ἐξ ἀπάντων θεολογίας ὕμνος, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐντελεῖς θρησκεῖαι ἱεουργαί τε τῶν ἱερωμένων καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς ἐκκλησίας θεσμοί, ὧδε μὲν ψαλμοφδίαις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῶν θεόθεν ἡμῖν παραδοθεισῶν φωνῶν ἀκροάσιν, ὧδε δὲ θείαις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἐπιτελουμέναις διακονίαις, σωτηρίου τε ἦν πάθους ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα. [4] ὁμοῦ δὲ πᾶν γένος ἡλικίας ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος φύσεως ὅλη διανοίᾳ ισχυρὴ δι' εὐχῶν καὶ εὐχαριστίας γεγηθότι νῶ καὶ ψυχῇ τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παραίτιον θεὸν ἐγέραιρον. Ἐκίνει δὲ καὶ λόγους ἅπας τῶν παρόντων ἀρχόντων πανηγυρικούς, ὡς ἐκάστῳ παρῆν δυνάμει, θειάζων τὴν πανήγυριν.

καὶ τις ἐν μέσῳ παρελθὼν τῶν μετρίως ἐπιεικῶν, λόγου σύνταξιν πεποιημένος, ὡς ἐν ἐκκλησίας ἀθροίσματι, πλείστων ἐπιπαρόντων ποιμένων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ τὴν ἀκρόασιν παρεχομένων, ἐνὸς εἰς πρόσωπον τὰ πάντα ἀρίστου καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἐπισκόπου, οὗ διὰ σπουδῆς ὁ μάλιστα τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ Φοινίκων ἔθνος διαπρέπων ἐν Τύρῳ νεὼς φιλοτίμως ἐπεσκεύαστο, τοιόνδε παρέσχε λόγον.

ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΙ ΠΑΥΛΙΝΩΙ ΤΥΡΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΕΦΩΝΗΜΕΝΟΣ

Ἦ [2] φίλοι θεοῦ καὶ ἱερεῖς οἱ τὸν ἅγιον ποδῆρη καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον τῆς δόξης στέφανον τό τε χρῖσμα τὸ ἐνθεον καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος στολὴν περιβεβλημένοι, σύ τε, ὃ νέον ἁγίου νεῶ θεοῦ σεμνολόγημα, γεραίρῃ μὲν φρονήσει παρὰ θεοῦ τετιμημένε, νέας δὲ καὶ ἀκμαζούσης ἀρετῆς ἔργα πολυτελῆ καὶ πράξεις ἐπιδεδειγμένε, ὃ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς οἶκον αὐτὸς ὁ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον περιέχων θεὸς δείμασθαι καὶ ἀνανεοῦν Χριστῷ τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτογενεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ τῇ τε ἀγία τούτου καὶ θεοπρεπεῖ νύμφῃ γέρας ἐξαίρετον δεδώρηται, [3] εἴτε τις νέον σε Βεσελεὴλ θείας ἀρχιτέκτονα τέκτονα σκηνῆς ἐθέλοι καλεῖν εἴτε Σολομῶνα καινῆς καὶ πολὺ κρείττονος Ἰερουσαλὴμ βασιλεᾶ εἴτε καὶ νέον Ζοροβαβελ τὴν πολὺ κρείττονα δόξαν τῆς προτέρας τῷ νεῷ τοῦ θεοῦ περιτιθέντα, [4] ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὃ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγγέλης Χριστοῦ θρέμματα, λόγων ἀγαθῶν ἐστία, σωφροσύνης

παιδευτήριον καὶ θεοσεβείας σεμνὸν καὶ θεοφιλὲς ἀκροατήριον: [5] πάλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὰς παραδόξους θεοσημίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου θαυμάτων τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίας διὰ θείων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἀκοῇ παραδεχομένοις ὕμνους εἰς θεὸν καὶ ᾠδὰς ἀναπέμπειν ἐξῆν λέγειν παιδευομένοις ὁ θεός, ἐν τοῖς ὧσιν ἡμῶν ἠκούσαμεν, οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀνήγγειλαν ἡμῖν ἔργον ὃ εἰργάσω ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέραις ἀρχαίαις: [6] ἀλλὰ νῦν γε οὐκέτ' ἀκοαῖς οὐδὲ λόγων φήμαις τὸν βραχίονα τὸν ὑψηλὸν τὴν τε οὐράνιον δεξιὰν τοῦ παναγάθου καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν θεοῦ παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἔργοις δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν καὶ αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ πάλαι μνήμη παραδεδομένα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ καθορωμένοις, δεύτερον ὕμνον ἐπινίκιον πάρεστιν ἀναμέλπειν ἐναργῶς τε ἀναφωνεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὁ καθάπερ ἠκούσαμεν, οὕτως καὶ εἶδομεν ἐν πόλει κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐν πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. [7] ποία δὲ πόλει ἢ τῇδε τῇ νεοπαγεῖ καὶ θεοτεύκτῃ; ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, στῦλος καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, περὶ ἧς καὶ ἄλλο τι θεῖον λόγιον ᾧδὲ πως εὐαγγελίζεται ὁ δεδοξασμένα ἐλάληθη περὶ σοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ: ἐφ' ἣν τοῦ παναγάθου συγκροτήσαντος ἡμᾶς θεοῦ διὰ τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ χάριτος, τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων ἕκαστος ὑμνεῖτω μόνον οὐχὶ βοῶν καὶ λέγων ὁ εὐφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν μοι Εἰς οἶκον κυρίου πορευσόμεθα καὶ ὁ κύριε, ἡγάπησα εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου σου καὶ τόπον σκηνώματος δόξης σου, [8] καὶ μὴ μόνον γε ὁ καθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάντες ἀθρώως ἐνὶ πνεύματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ γεραίροντες ἀνευφημῶμεν, ὁ μέγας κύριος ὁ ἐπιλέγοντες ὁ καὶ αἰνετὸς σφόδρα ἐν πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὗν μέγας ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ μέγας ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ, ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἐπιμήκης καὶ ὡραῖος κάλλει παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων: μέγας κύριος ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια μόνος: μέγας ὁ ποιῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαίσια, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμός: μέγας ὁ ἀλλοιωῶν καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους, μεθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ καθιστῶν, ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχὸν καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀνιστῶν πένητα. καθεῖλεν δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων, καὶ ὕψωσεν ταπεινοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς: πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ βραχίονας ὑπερηφάνων συνέτριψεν, [9] οὐ πιστοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπίστοις τῶν παλαιῶν διηγημάτων τὴν μνήμην πιστωσάμενος, ὁ θαυματουργός, ὁ μεγαλουργός, ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης, ὁ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου δημιουργός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πανάγαθος, ὁ εἷς καὶ μόνος θεός, ὃ τὸ καινὸν ἄσμα μέλπωμεν προσυπακούοντες ὅτι ποιοῦντι θαυμάσια μόνῳ, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ: τῷ πατάξαντι βασιλεῖς μεγάλους καὶ ἀποκτείναντι βασιλεῖς κραταιοὺς, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ: ὅτι ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν

ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν.’ [10]

Καὶ τὸν μὲν τῶν ὅλων πατέρα τούτοις ἀνευφημοῦντες μὴ ποτε διαλείπομεν: τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν δεύτερον αἴτιον, τὸν τῆς θεογνωσίας εἰσηγητὴν, τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας διδάσκαλον, τὸν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ὀλετῆρα, τὸν τυραννοκτόνον, τὸν τοῦ βίου διορθωτὴν, τὸν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν ἀνὰ στόμα φέροντες γεραίρωμεν, [11] ὅτι δὴ μόνος, οἷα παναγάθου πατρὸς μονώτατος ὑπάρχων πανάγαθος παῖς, γνώμη τῆς πατρικῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῶν ἐν φθορᾷ κάτω που κειμένων ἡμῶν εὖ μάλα προθύμως ὑποδὺς τὴν φύσιν, οἷα τις ἱατρῶν ἄριστος τῆς τῶν καμνόντων ἔνεκεν σωτηρίας ὅρῃ μὲν δεινὰ, θιγγάνει δ’ ἀηδέων ἐπ’ ἀλλοτρίησί τε ξυμφορῇσιν ἰδίας καρποῦται λύπας,’ οὐ νοσοῦντας αὐτὸ μόνον οὐδ’ ἔλκεσι δεινοῖς καὶ σεσηπόσιν ἤδη τραύμασιν πιεζομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς κειμένους ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν μυχῶν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ διεσώσατο, ὅτι μὴδ’ ἄλλω τῷ τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν τοσοῦτον παρῆν ἰσχύος, ὥς τῇ τῶν τοσοῦτων ἀβλαβῶς διακονήσασθαι σωτηρίᾳ. [12] μόνος δ’ οὖν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν βαρυπαθοῦς φθορᾶς ἐφαψάμενος, μόνος τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀνατλάς πόνους, μόνος τὰ πρόστιμα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀσεβημάτων περιθέμενος, οὐχ ἡμιθνήτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνπαν ἐν μνήμασι καὶ τάφοις μυσαροὺς ἤδη καὶ ὀδωδότας ἀναλαβὼν πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν σπουδῇ τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐτινος οὖν ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα σφῆζει τε καὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίαν μεταδίδωσιν, ὁ ζωοποιός, ὁ φωταγωγός, ὁ μέγας ἡμῶν ἱατρός καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ κύριος, ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. [13] ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἅπαξ ἐν νυκτὶ ζοφερᾷ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεῖ δαιμόνων ἀλιτηρίων πλάνη καὶ θεομισῶν πνευμάτων ἐνεργείαις πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος κατορωρυγμένον ὅρων αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιφανεῖς, ὥς ἂν κηροῦ διατακέντος ταῖς αὐτοῦ βολαῖς τοῦ φωτός, τὰς πολυδέτους τῶν ἀσεβημάτων ἡμῶν σειρὰς διελύσατο.

Νῦν [14] δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ χάριτι καὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ τοῦ μισοκάλου φθόνου καὶ φιλοπονήρου δαίμονος μόνον οὐχὶ διαρρηγνυμένου καὶ πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς θανατοποιούς καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιστρατεύοντος δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κυνὸς δίχην λυττῶντος τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφιεμένους κατ’ αὐτοῦ λίθους προσαράττοντος καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν ἀμυνομένων θυμὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνυχα βλήματα καθιέντος, τοῖς τῶν προσευκητρίων λίθοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν οἰκῶν ἀψύχοις ὕλαις τὴν θηριώδη μανίαν ἐπερείσαντος ἐρημίαν τε, ὥς γε δὴ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ᾤετο, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπεργασαμένου, εἴτα δὲ δεινὰ συρίγματα καὶ τὰς ὀφιώδεις αὐτοῦ φωνὰς τοτὲ μὲν ἀσεβῶν τυράννων ἀπειλαῖς, τοτὲ δὲ βλασφήμοις

δυσσεβῶν ἀρχόντων διατάξεις ἀφιέντος καὶ προσέτι τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἐξερευγομένου καὶ τοῖς ἰώδεσι καὶ ψυχοφθόροις δηλητηρίοις τὰς ἀλISCOκόμενας πρὸς αὐτοῦ ψυχὰς φαρμάττοντος καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ νεκροῦντος ταῖς τῶν νεκρῶν εἰδώλων νεκροποιοῖς θυσίαις πάντα τε ἀνθρωπόμορφον θῆρα καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἄγριον καθ' ἡμῶν ὑποσαλεύοντος, [15] αὐθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ὁ τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρκη διαγυμνασίαν ἣν οἱ μέγιστοι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας στρατιῶται διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἅπαντα ὑπομονῆς καὶ καρτερίας ἐνεδείξαντο, ἀθρόως οὕτως φανείς, τὰ μὲν ἐχθρὰ καὶ πολέμια εἰς ἀφανὲς καὶ τὸ μηθὲν κατεστήσατο, ὥς μηδὲ πώποτε ὀνομάσθαι δοκεῖν, τὰ δ' αὐτῷ φίλα καὶ οἰκεῖα δόξης ἐπέκεινα παρὰ πᾶσιν, οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ δυνάμεσιν οὐρανίοις ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ ἄστροις καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ προήγαγεν, [16] ὥστε ἤδη, ὁ μηδὲ ἄλλοτε πω, τοὺς πάντων ἀνωτάτω βασιλέας ἧς λελόγχασι παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμῆς συνησθημένως νεκρῶν μὲν εἰδώλων καταπτύειν προσώποις, πατεῖν δ' ἄθεσμα δαιμόνων θέσμια καὶ παλαιᾶς ἀπάτης πατροπαράδοτου καταγελᾶν, ἕνα δὲ αὐτὸν μόνον θεὸν τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων καὶ ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην γνωρίζειν Χριστόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ παῖδα παμβασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὁμολογεῖν σωτῆρά τε αὐτὸν ἐν στήλαις ἀναγορεύειν, ἀνεξαλείπτω μνήμῃ τὰ κατορθώματα καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν αὐτοῦ νίκας μέσῃ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πόλει βασιλικοῖς χαρακτηρσι προσεγγράφοντας, ὥστε μόνον τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν τὸν ἡμῶν σωτῆρα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνωτάτω οὐχ οἷα κοινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα γενόμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷα τοῦ καθ' ὅλων θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ αὐτὸν θεὸν προσκυνεῖσθαι.

Καὶ [17] εἰκότως: τίς γὰρ τῶν πώποτε βασιλέων τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς ἠνέγκατο, ὥς πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀκοὴν καὶ γλῶτταν ἐμπλήσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας; τίς βασιλεὺς νόμους εὐσεβεῖς οὕτω καὶ σώφρονας διαταξάμενος ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς καὶ εἰς ἄκρα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης εἰς ἐπήκοον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγινώσκεσθαι διαρκῶς ἐκράτουνεν; [18] τίς ἀνημέρων ἐθνῶν ἔθι βάρβαρα καὶ ἀνήμερα τοῖς ἡμέροις αὐτοῦ καὶ φιланθρωποτάτοις παρέλυσεν νόμοις; τίς αἰῶσιν ὅλοις ὑπὸ πάντων πολεμούμενος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο, ὥς ἀνθεῖν ὀσημέραι καὶ νεάζειν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου; [19] τίς ἔθνος τὸ μηδὲ ἀκουσθὲν ἐξ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἐν γωνίᾳ ποι γῆς λεληθός, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὅλης τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίον ἰδρύσατο; τίς εὐσεβείας ὅπλοις οὕτως ἐφράξατο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὥς ἀδάμαντος τὰς ψυχὰς κραταιότερους ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἀγῶσιν διαφαίνεσθαι; [20] τίς βασιλέων ἐς τοσοῦτον κρατεῖ καὶ

στρατηγεῖ μετὰ θάνατον καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἴστησιν καὶ πάντα τόπον καὶ χώραν καὶ πόλιν, Ἑλλάδα τε καὶ βάρβαρον, βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν αὐτοῦ πληροῖ καὶ θείων ναῶν ἀφιερώμασιν, οἷα τάδε τὰ τοῦδε τοῦ νεῷ περικαλλῇ κοσμήματά τε καὶ ἀναθήματα; ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ σεμνὰ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλα ἐκπλήξεώς τε καὶ θαύματος ἄξια καὶ οἷα τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν βασιλείας ἐναργῇ δείγματα, ὅτι καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν 'τί γὰρ καὶ ἔμελλεν τοῦ παμβασιλέως καὶ πανηγεμόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐνστήσεσθαι τῷ νεύματι;', σχολῆς τε λόγων οἰκειάς εἰς ἀκριβῆ θεωρίαν τε καὶ ἐρμηνείαν τυγχάνει δεόμενα: [21] οὐ μὴν ὅσα καὶ οἷα τὰ τῆς τῶν πεπονηκότων προθυμίας κέκριται παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ θεολογουμένῳ τὸν ἔμψυχον πάντων ὑμῶν καθορῶντι ναὸν καὶ τὸν ἐκ ζώντων λίθων καὶ βεβηκότων οἶκον ἐποπτεύοντι εὖ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἰδρυμένον ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου λίθου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν μὲν οὐχ οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ μηκέτ' οὔσης ἐκείνης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκοδομῆς κακοὶ κακῶν ὄντες ἀρχιτέκτονες, δοκιμάσας δ' ὁ πατήρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας τῆσδε τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας ἰδρύσατο. [22] τοῦτον δὴ οὖν τὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεσκευασμένον ζῶντος θεοῦ ζῶντα ναόν, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ θεοπρεπὲς ἱερεῖόν φημι, οὗ τὰ ἐνδοτάτω ἄδυστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀθεώρητα καὶ ὄντως ἅγια καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγια, τίς ἂν ἐποπτεύσας ἐξειπεῖν τολμήσειεν; τίς δὲ κἂν εἰσκύψαι περιβόλῳ ἱερῶν εἴσω δυνατός, ὅτι μὴ μόνος ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιερεὺς, ὃ μόνῳ θέμις πάσης λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὰ ἀπόρρητα διερευνᾶσθαι; [23] τάχα δὲ καὶ ἄλλῳ δευτερεύειν μετὰ τοῦτον ἐνὶ μόνῳ τῶν ἴσων ἐφικτόν, τῷδε τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆσδε τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνι, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς δευτερείοις τῶν τῆδε ἱερέων τιμήσας, ποιμένα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνθέου ποιίμνης κλήρω καὶ κρίσει τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον λαχόντα λαόν, ὡς ἂν θεραπευτὴν καὶ ὑποφῆτην αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατετάξατο, τὸν νέον Ἀαρὼν ἢ Μελχισεδεκ ἀφωμοιωμένον τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μένοντά τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τηρούμενον εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀπάντων ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς. [24] τούτῳ δὴ οὖν ἐξέστω μόνῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀρχιερέα, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρῶτα, τὰ δεύτερα γοῦν ὅμως ὁρᾷν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν τῆς ἐνδοτάτω τῶν ὑμετέρων ψυχῶν θεωρίας, πείρα μὲν καὶ χρόνου μήκει ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐξητακότι σπουδῇ τε τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ τοὺς πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ λόγῳ τῷ κατ' εὐσέβειαν διατεθειμένῳ δυνατῷ τε ὄντι μᾶλλον ἀπάντων, ὃν αὐτὸς σὺν θείᾳ δυνάμει κατηρτίσατο, τούτων τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφαμίλλως

Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος καὶ μέγας ἡμῶν ἀρχιερεὺς ὅσα βλέπει τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα, ταῦτα, φησίν, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ποιεῖ: ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ διδάσκαλον τὸν πρῶτον καθαροῖς νοοῖς ὁμασιν ἀφορῶν, ὅσα βλέπει ποιοῦντα, ὡς ἂν ἀρχετύποις χρώμενος παραδείγμασιν, τούτων τὰς εἰκόνας, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα δυνατόν, εἰς τὸ ὁμοιότατον δημιουργῶν ἀπειργάσατο, οὐδὲν ἐκείνῳ καταλιπὼν τῷ Βεσελεηλ, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς πνεύματος ἐμπλήσας σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐντέχνου καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς γνώσεως, τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων τύπων διὰ συμβόλων ναοῦ κατασκευῆς δημιουργὸν ἀνακέκληται. [26] ταύτῃ δ' οὖν καὶ ὁδε Χριστὸν ὅλον, τὸν λόγον, τὴν σοφίαν, τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ἀγαλματοφορῶν ψυχῇ, οὐδ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν οἷα σὺν μεγαλοφροσύνῃ πλουσία τε καὶ ἀπλήστῳ διανοίας χειρὶ καὶ σὺν οἷα πάντων ὑμῶν φιλοτιμία, τῇ τῶν εἰσφορῶν μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ προθέσεως κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολειφθῆναι φιλονεικότερον μεγαλοφρονουμένων, τὸν μεγαλοπρεπῆ τόνδε θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου νεῶν τῷ τοῦ κρείττονος παραδείγματι, ὡς ἂν ὀρώμενον μὴ ὀρωμένου, τὴν φύσιν ἐμπερῇ συνεστήσατο, χῶρον μὲν τόνδε, ὃ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν πρῶτον ἀπάντων, πάσης οὐ καθαρᾶς ὕλης ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς κατακεχωσμένον οὐ παριδὼν οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν αἰτίων παραχωρήσας κακία, ἐξὸν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐλθόντα, μυρίων ἄλλων εὐπορουμένων τῇ πόλει, ῥαστώνην εὐρασθαι τοῦ πόνου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι. [27] ὁ δὲ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐγείρας, εἶτα δὲ τὸν σύμπαντα λαὸν προθυμία ρώσας καὶ μίαν ἐξ ἀπάντων μεγάλην χεῖρα συναγαγών, πρῶτον ἄθλον ἡγωνίζετο, αὐτὴν δὴ μάλιστα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολιορκημένην, αὐτὴν τὴν προπονήσασαν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν διωγμοὺς ὑπομείνας, τὴν μητρὸς δίκην τῶν τέκνων ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἐκκλησίαν συναπολαῦσαι δεῖν οἰόμενος τῆς τοῦ παναγάθου μεγαλοδωρεᾶς. [28] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας αὐθις ὁ μέγας ποιμὴν, τοὺς θήρας καὶ τοὺς λύκους καὶ πᾶν ἀπηνὲς καὶ ἄγριον γένος ἀποσοβήσας καὶ τὰς μύλας τῶν λεόντων, ἧ φησιν τὰ θεῖα λόγια, συντρίψας, ἐπὶ ταῦτόν αὐθις συνελθεῖν ἡξίωσεν, δικαιοτάτα καὶ τῆς ποιμένης τὴν μάνδραν ἀνίστη τοῦ καταισχῦναι ἐχθρόν καὶ ἐκδικητὴν καὶ ὡς ἂν ἔλεγχον ταῖς θεομάχοις τῶν ἀσεβῶν προαγάγοι τόλμαις. [29] καὶ νῦν οἱ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ θεομισεῖς, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἦσαν, ἐς βραχὺ δὲ ταραξάντες καὶ ταραχθέντες, εἴθ' ὑποσχόντες τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτήν τῇ δίκῃ, ἑαυτοὺς καὶ φίλους καὶ οἴκους ἄρδην ἀναστάτους κατέστησαν, ὡς τὰς πάλαι στήλαις ἱεραῖς καταγραφείσας προρρήσεις ἔργοις πιστὰς ὁμολογεῖσθαι, δι' ὧν τά τε ἄλλα ὁ θεὸς ἐπαληθεύει λόγος, ἀτὰρ καὶ

τάδε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαινόμενος [30] ῥομφαίαν ἐσπάσαντο οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, ἐνέτειναν τόξον αὐτῶν τοῦ καταβαλεῖν πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα, τοῦ σφάζει τοὺς εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ: ἡ ῥομφαία αὐτῶν εἰσέλθοι εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν συντριβεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἠπώλετο τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν μετ' ἡχοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἐξήλειπται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐν κακοῖς γενόμενοι ἑκέκραξαν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ σῶζων: πρὸς κύριον, καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἑσυνεποδίσθησαν καὶ ἔπεσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνέστημεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθημεν: καὶ τό γ' ἐν τούτοις προαναφωνοῦν κύριε, ἐν τῇ πόλει σου τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώσεις ἄληθες ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων ἀναπέφονται.

Ἀλλ' [31] οἱ μὲν γιγάντων τρόπον θεομαχίαν ἐνστησάμενοι τοιαύτην εἰλήχασιν τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν: τῆς δ' ἐρήμου καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀπεγνωσμένης τοιαῦτα οἶα τὰ ὀρώμενα τῆς κατὰ θεὸν ὑπομονῆς τὰ τέλη, ὡς ἀναφωνεῖν αὐτῇ τὴν προφητείαν Ἡσαΐου ταῦτα εὐφράνθητι, [32] ἔρημος διψῶσα, ἀγαλλιάσθω ἔρημος καὶ ἀνθείτω ὡς κρίνον: καὶ ἐξανθήσει καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεται τὰ ἔρημα. ἰσχύσατε, χεῖρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραελυμένα: παρακαλέσατε, ὀλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἰσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε. ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κρίσιν ἀνταποδίδωσιν καὶ ἀνταποδώσει, αὐτὸς ἥξει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς: ὅτι, φησὶν, ἐρράγη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὕδωρ, καὶ φάραγξ ἐν γῇ διψῶσῃ, καὶ ἡ ἄνδρος ἔσται εἰς ἔλη, καὶ εἰς τὴν διψῶσαν γῆν πηγὴ ὕδατος ἔσται. [33]

Καὶ τάδε μὲν λόγοις πάλαι προθεσπισθέντα βίβλοις ἱεραῖς καταβέβλητο, τά γε μὴν ἔργα οὐκέτ' ἀκοαῖς, ἀλλ' ἔργοις ἡμῖν παραδέδοται. ἡ ἔρημος ἦδε, ἡ ἄνδρος, ἡ χήρα καὶ ἀπερίστατος, ἥς ὡς ἐν δρυμῷ ξύλων ἀξίναις ἐξέκοψαν τὰς πύλας, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν πέλυκι καὶ λαξευτηρίῳ συνέτριψαν αὐτήν, ἥς καὶ τὰς βίβλους διαφθείραντες ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ ἁγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐτρύγησαν πάντες οἱ παραπορευόμενοι τὴν ὁδὸν προκαθελόντες αὐτῆς τοὺς φραγμούς, ἣν ἐλυμήνατο ὅς ἐκ δρυμοῦ καὶ μονιὸς ἄγριος κατενεμήσατο, Χριστοῦ δυνάμει παραδόξῳ νῦν, ὅτε θέλει αὐτός, γέγονεν ὡς κρίνον: ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ νεύματι, ὡς ἂν προκηδομένου πατρός, ἐπαιδεύετο: ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος, παιδεύει, μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱὸν ὃν παραδέχεται. [34] μέτρῳ δῆτα κατὰ τὸ δέον ἐπιστραφεῖσα, αὐθις ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀγαλλιάων προστάττεται ἐξανθεῖ τε ὡς κρίνον καὶ τῆς ἐνθέου εὐωδίας εἰς πάντας ἀποπνεῖ ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι, φησὶν, ἐρράγη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὕδωρ τὸ νᾶμα τῆς θείας τοῦ σωτηρίου λουτροῦ

παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ νῦν γέγονεν ἡ πρὸ μικροῦ ἔρημος εἰς ἔλη, καὶ εἰς τὴν διψῶσαν γῆν ἔβρυσεν πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος, ἰσχυσάν τε ὡς ἀληθῶς χεῖρες αἱ τὸ πρὶν ἀνειμέναι, καὶ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἰσχύος ἔργα τάδε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἐναργῆ δείγματα: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάλαι σεσαθρωμένα καὶ παρειμένα γόνата τὰς οἰκείας ἀπολαβόντα βάσεις, τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς θεογνωσίας εὐθυποροῦντα βαδίζει, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ποιμνὴν τοῦ παναγάθου ποιμένος σπεύδοντα. [35] εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων ἀπειλαῖς τὰς ψυχὰς τινες ἀπενάρκησαν, οὐδὲ τούτους ὁ σωτήριος ἀθεραπεύτους παρορᾷ λόγος, εὖ μάλα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἰώμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ παράκλησιν παρορμᾷ λέγων: ‘παρακαλέσατε, [36] οἱ ὀλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἰσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε.’

Τούτων δεῖν ἀπολαῦσαι τὴν διὰ θεὸν γενομένην ἔρημον τοῦ λόγου προαγορεύοντος, ἐπακούσας ὀξείᾳ διανοίᾳ ἀκοῇ οὗτος ὁ νέος ἡμῶν καὶ καλὸς Ζοροβαβελ μετὰ τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, οὐ παριδὼν τὸ πτώμα νεκρόν, πρῶτιστα πάντων παρακλήσεσιν καὶ λιταῖς ἴλεω τὸν πατέρα μετὰ τῆς κοινῆς ὑμῶν ἀπάντων ὁμοφροσύνης καταστησάμενος καὶ τὸν μόνον νεκρῶν ζωοποιὸν σύμμαχον παραλαβὼν καὶ συνεργόν, τὴν πεσοῦσαν ἐξήγειρεν προαποκαθάρας καὶ προθεραπεύσας τῶν κακῶν, καὶ στολὴν οὐ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχαίου παλαιὰν αὐτῇ περιτέθεικεν, ἀλλ’ ὁποῖαν αὐθις παρὰ τῶν θείων χρησμῶν ἐξεπαιδεύετο, σαφῶς ὧδε λεγόντων ‘καὶ ἔσται ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν προτέραν.’ [37]

Ταύτῃ δ’ οὖν πολὺ μείζονα τὸν χώρον ἅπαντα περιλαβὼν, τὸν μὲν ἔξωθεν ὠχυροῦτο περίβολον τῷ τοῦ παντὸς περιτειχίσματι, ὡς ἂν ἀσφαλέστατον εἴη τοῦ παντὸς ἔρκος: [38] πρόπυλον δὲ μέγα καὶ εἰς ὕψος ἐπηρμένον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας ἀναπετάσας, ἥδη καὶ τοῖς μακρὰν περιβόλων ἔξω ἱερῶν ἐστῶσιν τῆς τῶν ἔνδον παρέσχεν ἀφθονίαν θέας, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ τὰς πρῶτας εἰσόδους ἐπιστρέφων τὰς ὄψεις, ὡς ἂν μὴ παρατρέχοι τις ὅτι μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν κατανυγείς πρότερον μνήμη τῆς τε πρὶν ἐρημίας καὶ τῆς νῦν παραδόξου θαυματουργίας, ὑφ’ ἧς τάχα καὶ ἐλकुσθήσεσθαι κατανυγέнта καὶ πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς ὀψεως ἐπὶ τὴν εἰσοδὸν προτραπήσεσθαι ἤλπισεν. [39] εἴσω δὲ παρελθόντι πυλῶν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐφῆκεν ἀνάγκοις καὶ ἀνίπτοις ποσὶν τῶν ἔνδον ἐπιβαίνειν ἀγίων, διαλαβὼν δὲ πλεῖστον ὅσον τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε νεῶ καὶ τῶν πρῶτων εἰσόδων, τέτταρσι μὲν πέριξ ἐγκαρσίοις κατεκόσμησεν στοαῖς, εἰς τετράγωνόν τι σχῆμα περιφράζας τὸν τόπον, κίοσι πανταχόθεν ἐπαιρομένας: ὧν τὰ μέσα διαφράγμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου δικτυωτοῖς ἐς τὸ σύμμετρον ἤκουσι μήκους περικλείσας, μέσον αἶθριον

ἡφίει εἰς τὴν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κάτοψιν, λαμπρὸν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ φωτὸς ἀκτίσιν ἀνειμένον ἀέρα παρέχων. [40] ἱερῶν δ' ἐνταῦθα καθαρσιῶν ἐτίθει σύμβολα, κρήνας ἄντικρυς εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπισκευάζων τοῦ νεῷ πολλῷ τῷ χεύματι τοῦ νάματος τοῖς περιβόλων ἱερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσω προῖοῦσιν τὴν ἀπόρουσιν παρεχομένας. καὶ πρώτη μὲν εἰσιόντων αὕτη διατριβή, κόσμον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγλαΐαν τῷ παντὶ τοῖς τε τῶν πρώτων εἰσαγωγῶν ἔτι δεομένοις κατάλληλον τὴν μονὴν παρεχομένη. [41]

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν τούτων θεὰν παραμειψάμενος, πλείοσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐνδοτάτῳ προπύλοις τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶν παρόδους ἀναπεπταμένας ἐποίηι, ὑπὸ μὲν ταῖς ἡλίου βολαῖς αὐθις τρεῖς πύλας ὑφ' ἐν καταθείς πλευρόν, ὧν πολὺ τὰς παρ' ἐκάτερα μεγέθει τε καὶ πλάτει πλεονεκτεῖν τῇ μέσῃ χαρισάμενος παραπήγμασί τε χαλκοῦ σιδηροδέτοις καὶ ποικίλμασιν ἀναγλύφοις διαφερόντως αὐτὴν φαιδρύνας, ὥς ἂν βασιλίδι ταύτῃ τοὺς δορυφόρους ὑπέξευξεν: [42] τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ταῖς παρ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ παντὸς νεῷ στοαῖς τὸν τῶν προπύλων ἀριθμὸν διατάξας, ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ ταύταις ἄλλῳ πλείονι φωτὶ διαφόρους τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον εἰσβολὰς ἐπενόει, ταῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου λεπτουργίαις καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμον καταποικίλλων.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλείον οἶκον πλουσιωτέραις ἤδη καὶ δαψιλέσι ταῖς ὕλαις ὠχύρου, ἀφθόνῳ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων χρώμενος: [43] ἔνθα μοι δοκᾷ περιττὸν εἶναι τοῦ δομήματος μήκη τε καὶ πλάτη καταγράφειν, τὰ φαιδρὰ ταῦτα κάλλη καὶ τὰ λόγου κρεῖττονα μεγέθη τὴν τε τῶν ἔργων ἀποστίλβουσιν ὄψιν τῷ λόγῳ διεξιόντι ὕψη τε τὰ οὐρανομήκη καὶ τὰς τούτων ὑπερκειμένας πολυτελεῖς τοῦ Λιβάνου κέδρους, ὧν οὐδὲ τὸ θεῖον λόγιον τὴν μνήμην ἀπεσιώπησεν 'εὐφρανθήσεται φάσκον 'τὰ ξύλα τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ αἱ κέδροι τοῦ Λιβάνου ἃς ἐφύτευσεν.' [44]

Τί με δεῖ νῦν τῆς πανσόφου καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς διατάξεως καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστου μέρους ὑπερβολῆς ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι τὴν ὑφήγησιν, ὅτε τῆς ὄψεως τὴν διὰ τῶν ὧτων ἀποκλείει μάθησιν ἢ μαρτυρία; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὧδε καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἐπιτελέσας θρόνοις τε τοῖς ἀνωτάτῳ εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμὴν καὶ προσέτι βάθροις ἐν τάξει τοῖς καθ' ὅλου κατὰ τὸ πρέπον κοσμήσας ἐφ' ἅπασιν τε τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγιον θυσιαστήριον ἐν μέσῳ θεῖς, αὐθις καὶ τάδε, ὥς ἂν εἴη τοῖς πολλοῖς ἄβατα, τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύοις εἰς ἄκρον ἐντέχνου λεπτουργίας ἐξησκημένοις, ὥς θαυμάσιον τοῖς ὁρῶσιν παρέχειν τὴν θεάν.

Ἀλλ' [45] οὐδὲ τοῦδαφος ἄρα εἰς ἀμελὲς ἔκειτο αὐτῷ: καὶ τότε γοῦν λίθῳ μαρμάρῳ εὖ μάλα κόσμῳ παντὶ λαμπρύνας, ἤδη λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ

νεὼ μετῆει, ἐξέδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἐκάτερα μεγίστους ἐπισκευάζων ἐντέχνως ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν εἰς πλευρὰ τῷ βασιλείῳ συνεζευγμένους καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον οἶκον εἰσβολαῖς ἠνωμένους· ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἔτι καθάρσεως καὶ περιρραντηρίων τῶν διὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐγχρηΐζουσιν ὁ εἰρηνικώτατος ἡμῶν Σολομὼν ὁ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ θεοῦ δειμιάμενος ἀπειργάζετο, ὡς μηκέτι λόγον, ἀλλ' ἔργον γεγονέναι τὴν ἄνω λεχθεῖσαν προφητείαν· [46] γέγονεν γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν προτέραν.

Ἔδει γὰρ καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τοῦ ποιμένος αὐτῆς καὶ δεσπότου ἅπαξ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θάνατον καταδεξαμένου καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος, ὁ χάριν αὐτῆς ῥυπῶν ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα ἐπὶ τὸ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον μεταβεβληκότος αὐτὴν τε σάρκα τὴν λυθεῖσαν ἐκ φθορᾶς εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ἀγαγόντος, καὶ τήνδε ὁμοίως τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος οἰκονομιῶν ἐπαύρασθαι, ὅτι δὴ καὶ τούτων πολὺ κρείττονα λαβοῦσα παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὴν πολὺ μείζονα δόξαν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐν ἀφθάρτου σώματος ἀναστάσει μετὰ φωτὸς ἀγγέλων χορείας ἐν τοῖς οὐρανῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείοις σὺν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ πανευεργέτῃ καὶ σωτῆρι διαρκῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξῆς αἰῶνας ἀπολαβεῖν ποθεῖ. [47] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τέως ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τούτοις ἡ πάλαι χήρα καὶ ἔρημος θεοῦ χάριτι περιβληθεῖσα τοῖς ἄνθεσιν γέγονεν ἀληθῶς ὡς κρίνον, ἧ φησιν ἡ προφητεία, καὶ τὴν νυμφικὴν ἀναλαβοῦσα στολὴν τὸν τε τῆς εὐπρεπείας περιθεμένη στέφανον οἷα χορεύειν διὰ Ἡσαΐου παιδεύεται τὰ χαριστήρια τῷ βασιλεῖ θεῷ φωναῖς εὐφήμοις γεραίρους, [48] αὐτῆς λεγούσης ἐπακούωμεν ἄγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ· ἐνέδυσεν γὰρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης· περιέθηκέν μοι ὡς νυμφίῳ μίτραν, καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέν με κόσμῳ· καὶ ὡς γῆν αὖξουσαν τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς κῆπος τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ, οὕτως κύριος κύριος ἀνέτειλεν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν ἔθνων·

Τούτοις μὲν οὖν αὕτη χορεύει· [49] οἷος δὲ καὶ ὁ νυμφίος, λόγος ὁ οὐράνιος, αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς αὐτὴν ἀμειβεταί, ἅκουε λέγοντος κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστοῦ ὅτι κατησχύνθης μὴδὲ ἐντραπῆς ὅτι ὠνειδίσθης· ὅτι αἰσχύνῃν αἰώνιον ἐπιλήσῃ καὶ ὀνειδος τῆς χηρείας σου οὐ μὴ μνησθήσῃ, οὐχ ὡς γυναῖκα ἐγκαταλελειμμένην καὶ ὀλιγόψυχον κέκληκέν σε κύριος οὐδ' ὡς γυναῖκα ἐκ νεότητος μεμισημένην. εἶπεν ὁ θεός σου· χρόνον μικρὸν ἐγκατέλιπόν σε, καὶ ἐν ἐλέῳ μεγάλῳ ἐλεήσω σε· ἐν θυμῷ μικρῷ ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἐλέῳ αἰωνίῳ ἐλεήσω σε· εἶπεν ὁ ῥυσάμενός σε κύριος. [50]

ἐξεγείρου, ἐξεγείρου, ἡ πιούσα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ: τὸ ποτήριον γὰρ τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδου τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, ἐξέπιες καὶ ἐξεκένωσας. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ παρακαλῶν σε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων σου ὧν ἔτεκες, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῆς χειρὸς σου. ἰδοὺ εἴληφα ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδου τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, καὶ οὐ προσθήσεις ἔτι πιεῖν αὐτό: καὶ δώσω αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε καὶ τῶν ταπεινωσάντων σε. [51] ἐξεγείρου, ἐξεγείρου, ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἰσχύν, ἔνδυσαι τὴν δόξαν σου: ἐκτίναξαι τὸν χοῦν καὶ ἀνάστηθι. κάθισον, ἔκλυσαι τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ τραχήλου σου. ἄρον κύκλῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἴδε συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα σου: ἰδοὺ συνηχθήσαν καὶ ἤλθον πρὸς σε: ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὡς κόσμον ἐνδύσῃ καὶ περιθήσῃ αὐτοὺς ὡς κόσμον νύμφης: ὅτι τὰ ἔρημά σου καὶ τὰ διεφθαρμένα καὶ τὰ καταπεπτωκότα νῦν στενοχωρήσει ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων σε, καὶ μακρυνθήσονται ἀπὸ σοῦ οἱ καταπίνοντές σε. [52] ἐροῦσιν γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὄτά σου οἱ υἱοί σου οὕς ἀπολώλεκας 'στενός μοι ὁ τόπος, ποιήσόν μοι τόπον ἵνα κατοικήσω,' καὶ ἐρεῖς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου 'τίς ἐγέννησέν μοι τούτους; ἐγὼ δὲ ἄτεκνος καὶ χήρα τούτους δὲ τίς ἐξέθρεψέν μοι; ἐγὼ δὲ κατελείφθην μόνη, οὗτοι δέ μοι ποῦ ἦσαν;' [53]

Ταῦτα Ἡσαΐας προεθέσπισεν, ταῦτα πρόπαλαι περὶ ἡμῶν ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις καταβέβλητο, χρῆν δέ που τούτων τὴν ἀψεύδειαν ἤδη ποτὲ ἔργοις παραλαβεῖν. [54] ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τοῦ νυμφίου λόγου πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νύμφην τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπιφωνοῦντος, εἰκότως ὁ νυμφοστόλος ὁδε αὐτήν, τὴν ἔρημον, τὴν πτῶμα κειμένην, τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀνέλπιδα, ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀπάντων ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς χεῖρας τὰς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ὀρέξας ἐξήγειρεν καὶ ἐξανέστησεν θεοῦ τοῦ παμβασιλέως νεύματι καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως ἐπιφανείᾳ τοιαύτην τε ἀναστήσας κατεστήσατο, οἷαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν χρησμῶν καταγραφῆς ἐδιδάσκετο.

Θαῦμα [55] μὲν οὖν μέγιστον τοῦτο καὶ πέρα πάσης ἐκπλήξεως, μάλιστα τοῖς ἐπὶ μόνη τῇ τῶν ἔξωθεν φαντασίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσανέχουσιν: θαυμάτων δὲ θαυμασιώτερα τὰ τε ἀρχέτυπα καὶ τούτων τὰ πρωτότυπα νοητὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ παραδείγματα, τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου φημὶ καὶ λογικῆς ἐν ψυχαῖς οἰκοδομῆς ἀνανεώματα: [56] ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεόπαις κατ' εἰκόνα τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ δημιουργήσας πάντῃ τε καὶ κατὰ πάντα τὸ θεοεἶκελον δεδορημένος, ἄφθαρτον φύσιν, ἀσώματον, λογικὴν, πάσης γεώδους ὕλης ἀλλοτριάν, αὐτονοερὰν οὐσίαν, ἅπαξ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι συστησάμενος, νύμφην ἁγίαν καὶ νεῶν πανίερον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ

κατειργάσατο: ὁ καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὁμολογῶν ἐκφαίνει, λέγων 'ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός.' καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τελεία καὶ κεκαθαρμένη ψυχὴ, ἀρχήθην οὕτω γεγεννημένη, οἷα τὸν οὐράνιον λόγον ἀγαλματοφορεῖν.

Ἀλλὰ [57] γὰρ φθόνῳ καὶ ζήλῳ τοῦ φιλοπονήρου δαίμονος φιλοπαθῆς καὶ φιλοπόνηρος ἐξ αὐτεξουσίου αἰρέσεως γενομένη, ὑπαναχωρήσαντος αὐτῆς τοῦ θείου ὡς ἂν ἔρημος προστάτου, εὐάλωτος καὶ εἰς ἐπιβουλήν εὐχερῆς τοῖς ἐκ μακροῦ διαφθονομένοις ἀπελήλεγκται, ταῖς τε τῶν ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν καὶ νοητῶν πολεμίων ἐλεπόλεσι καὶ μηχαναῖς καταβληθεῖσα, πτώμα ἐξαίσιον καταπέπτωκεν, ὡς ὅσον οὐδ' ἐπὶ λίθῳ λίθον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ διαμεῖναι, ὅλην δὲ δι' ὅλου χαμαὶ κεῖσθαι νεκράν, τῶν περὶ θεοῦ φυσικῶν ἐννοιῶν πάμπαν ἀπεστερημένην. [58] πεπτωκυῖαν δὴτα αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἐλυμήνατο οὐχ ὅς οὗτος ὁ ἐκ δρυμοῦ τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁρατοῦ, ἀλλὰ τις φθοροποιὸς δαίμων καὶ θῆρες ἄγριοι νοητοί, οἱ καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν οἷα πεφυρακτομένοις μένοις τῆς σφῶν κακίας βέλεσιν αὐτὴν ἐξυφάψαντες, ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ θεῖον ὄντως ἁγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν τε ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, εἴτα πολλῷ τῷ προσχώματι τὴν ἀθλίαν κατορύξαντες, εἰς ἀνέλπιστον πάσης περιέτρεψαν σωτηρίας.

Ἀλλ' [59] ὁ γε κηδεμὼν αὐτῆς λόγος ὁ θεοφεγγής καὶ σωτήριος τὴν κατ' ἀξίαν δίκην τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ὑποσχοῦσαν αὐτῆς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνελάμβανεν, πατρὸς παναγάθου φιλανθρωπία πειθόμενος. [60] αὐτὰς δὴ οὖν πρώτας τὰς τῶν ἀνωτάτω βασιλεύοντων ψυχὰς προελόμενος, τῶν μὲν δυσσεβῶν καὶ ὀλεθρίων πάντων αὐτῶν τε τῶν δεινῶν καὶ θεομισῶν τυράννων τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐκαθήρατο: εἴτα δὲ τοὺς αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἄνδρας, τοὺς πάλαι διὰ βίου ἱερωμένους αὐτῷ, κρύβδην γε μὴν ὡς ἐν κακῶν χειμῶνι πρὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ σκέπης καλυπτομένους, εἰς φανερόν ἀγαγὼν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μεγαλοδωρεαῖς ἐπαξίως τιμήσας, αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τούτων τὰς μικρῶν πρόσθεν ἐρρυπωμένας ψυχὰς ὕλης τε παντοίας καὶ χρώματος ἀσεβῶν ἐπιταγμάτων συμπεφορημένας ὄρυξι καὶ δικέλλαις ταῖς πληκτικαῖς τῶν μαθημάτων διδασκαλίαις ἐξεκάθηρέν τε καὶ ἀπέσμηξεν, [61] λαμπρόν τε καὶ διανυγὴ τῆς πάντων ὁμῶν διανοίας τὸν χῶρον ἀπειργασμένος, ἐνταῦθα λοιπὸν τῷ πανσόφῳ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ τῷδε παραδέδωκεν ἡγεμόνι: ὃς τὰ τε ἄλλα κριτικὸς καὶ ἐπιλογιστικὸς τυγχάνων τὴν τε τῶν αὐτῷ κεκληρωμένων ψυχῶν εὖ διαγινώσκων καὶ φυλοκρινῶν διάνοιαν, ἐκ πρώτης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέρας

οικοδομῶν οὐπω καὶ εἰς δεῦρο πέπανται, τοτὲ μὲν διανυγῇ τὸν χρυσόν, τοτὲ δὲ δόκιμον καὶ καθαρὸν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τοὺς τιμίους καὶ πολυτελεῖς λίθους ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἀρμόττων, ὡς ἱερὰν αὐθις καὶ μυστικὴν ἔργοις τοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀποπληροῦν προφητείαν, δι' ἧς εἴρηται [62] ἴδου ἐγὼ ἐτοιμάζω σοι ἄνθρακα τὸν λίθον σου καὶ τὰ θεμέλιά σου σάπφειρον καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις σου ἴασπιν καὶ τὰς πύλας σου λίθους κρυστάλλου καὶ τὸν περίβολόν σου λίθους ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς σου διδασκτοὺς θεοῦ καὶ ἐν πολλῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ τέκνα σου: καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ οἰκοδομηθήσῃ.' [63]

Δικαιοσύνη δῆτα οἰκοδομῶν, κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ παντὸς λαοῦ διήρει τὰς δυνάμεις, οἷς μὲν τὸν ἔξωθεν αὐτὸ μόνον περιφράττων περίβολον, τὴν ἀπλανῇ πίστιν περιτειχίσας ἄλλους δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ μέγας λεῶς, οὐδὲν κρεῖττον φέρειν οἰκοδόμημα διαρκῶν, οἷς δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐπιτρέπων εἰσόδους, θυραυλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τοὺς εἰσιόντας κατατάττων, οὐκ ἀπεικότως τοῦ νεῷ πρόπυλα νενομισμένους, ἄλλους δὲ πρῶτοις τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀμφὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐκ τετραγώνου κίοσιν ὑπεστήριξεν, ταῖς πρῶταις τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελίων τοῦ γράμματος προσβολαῖς ἐμβιβάζων: τοὺς δ' ἤδη ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλείον οἶκον ἐκατέρωσε παραζεύγνυσιν, ἔτι μὲν κατηχουμένους καὶ ἐν αὐξῇ καὶ προκοπῇ καθεστῶτας, οὐ μὴν πόρρω που καὶ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν ἐνδοτάτω θεοπτίας τῶν πιστῶν διεζευγμένους. [64] ἐκ δὴ τούτων τὰς ἀκηράτους ψυχὰς θεῖῳ λουτρῷ χρυσοῦ δίκην ἀποσμηχθείσας παραλαβὼν, κἀνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν κίοσιν τῶν ἔξωτάτω πολὺ κρεῖττοσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω μυστικῶν τῆς γραφῆς δογμάτων ὑποστηρίζει, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀνοίγμασιν καταυγάζει, [65] προπύλῳ μὲν ἐνὶ μεγίστῳ τῆς τοῦ παμβασιλέως ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ δοξολογίας τὸν πάντα νεῶν κατακοσμῶν, Χριστοῦ δὲ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐθεντίας τὰς δευτέρας αὐγὰς τοῦ φωτὸς παρασχόμενος: τῶν τε λοιπῶν διὰ τοῦ παντὸς οἴκου ἄφθονον καὶ πολὺ διάφορον τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον ἀληθείας τὸ σαφὲς καὶ φωτεινὸν ἐνδεικνύμενος, πάντῃ δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ βεβηκότας καὶ εὐπαγεῖς τῶν ψυχῶν λίθους ἐγκρίνας, τὸν μέγαν καὶ βασιλικὸν ἐξ ἀπάντων οἶκον ἐπισκευάζεται λαμπρὸν καὶ φωτὸς ἔμπλεον τὰ τε ἐνδοθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ὅτι μὴ ψυχὴ μόνον καὶ διάνοια, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγνείας καὶ σωφροσύνης πολυανθεῖ κόσμῳ κατηγλάιστο.

Ἐνεῖσιν [66] δ' ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ θρόνοι βάθρα τε μυρία καὶ καθιστήρια, ἐν ὅσαις ψυχαῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πνεύματος ἐφρίζαναι δωρήματα, οἷα καὶ πάλαι ὤφθη τοῖς ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους, οἷς ἐφάνησαν διαμεριζόμεναι

γλῶσσαι ὥς εἰ πυρὸς ἐκάθισέν τε ἐφ' ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν. [67] ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ πάντων ἄρχοντι ἴσως αὐτὸς ὅλος ἐγκάθεται Χριστός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν δευτερεύουσιν ἀναλόγως, καθ' ὅσον ἕκαστος χωρεῖ, Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς. βάθρα δ' ἂν εἶεν καὶ ἀγγέλων αἱ τινῶν ψυχαὶ τῶν εἰς παιδαγωγίαν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐκάστῳ παραδεδομένων, [68] σεμνὸν δὲ καὶ μέγα καὶ μονογενὲς θυσιαστήριον ποῖον ἂν εἴη ἢ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱερέως τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ εἰλικρινὲς καὶ ἁγίων ἅγιον; ὃ παρεστὼς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ παρὰ πάντων εὐῶδες θυμίαμα καὶ τὰς δι' εὐχῶν ἀναίμους καὶ ἄβλους θυσίας φαιδρῶ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ὑπτίαις ὑποδεχόμενος χερσὶν τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν πατρὶ καὶ θεῷ τῶν ὅλων παραπέμπεται, πρῶτος αὐτὸς προσκυνῶν καὶ μόνος τῷ πατρὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπονέμων σέβας, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εὐμενῇ διαμένειν καὶ δεξιὸν εἰς αἰὶ παραιτούμενος.

Τοιοῦτος [69] ὁ μέγας νεὼς ὃν καθ' ὅλης τῆς ὑφ' ἥλιον οἰκουμένης ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸς λόγος συνεστήσατο, τῶν ἐπέκεινα οὐρανίων ἀψίδων πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸς νοερὰν ταύτην ἐπὶ γῆς εἰκόνα κατεργασάμενος, ὥς ἂν διὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τῶν τε ἐπὶ γῆς λογικῶν ζώων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ τιμῶτο τε καὶ σέβοιτο. [70] τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον χῶρον καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε τῶν τῆδε παραδείγματα τὴν τε ἄνω λεγομένην Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὸ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἐπουράνιον καὶ τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον πόλιν τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ, ἐν ἣ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων πανηγύρεις καὶ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ταῖς ἀρρήτοις καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστοις ἡμῖν θεολογίαις τὸν σφῶν ποιητὴν καὶ πανηγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων γεραίρουν, οὗτις θνητὸς οἶός τε κατ' ἀξίαν ὑμῆσαι, ὅτι δὴ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν: [71] ὧν ἤδη ἐν μέρει καταξιωθέντες, ἄνδρες ἅμα παισὶν καὶ γυναῖξιν, σμικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, πάντες ἀθρώως ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ μὴ διαλίπωμεν ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν παραίτιον ἀνευφημοῦντες, τὸν εὐλατεῦοντα πάσαις ταῖς ἀνομίαις ἡμῶν, τὸν ἰώμενον πάσας τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν, τὸν λυτρούμενον ἐκ φθορᾶς τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν, τὸν στεφανοῦντα ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς, τὸν ἐμπιπλῶντα ἐν ἀγαθοῖς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἡμῶν, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τίας ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταπέδωκεν ἡμῖν, ὅτι καθ' ὅσον ἀπέχουσιν ἀνατολαὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, ἐμάκρυνεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν: καθὼς οἰκτείρει πατὴρ υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, ὡκτείρησεν κύριος τοὺς φοβούμενους αὐτόν.

Ταῦτα [72] καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα χρόνον ταῖς μνήμαις ἀναζωπυροῦντες, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς παρούσης πανηγύρεως καὶ τῆς φαιδρᾶς ταύτης καὶ λαμπροτάτης ἡμέρας τὸν αἴτιον καὶ πανηγυριάρχην νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ πάσης ὥρας καὶ δι' ὅλης ὥς εἰπεῖν ἀναπνοῆς ἐν νῶ προορώμενοι, στέργοντες καὶ σέβοντες ψυχῆς ὅλη δυνάμει, καὶ νῦν ἀναστάντες μεγάλη διαθέσεως φωνῇ καθικετεύσωμεν, ὥς ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ μάνδραν ἐς τέλος ἡμᾶς σκεπάζων διασφύζοιτο, τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ βραβεύων ἀρραγῇ καὶ ἄσειστον αἰωνίαν εἰρήνην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῇρι ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Φέρε δὴ, λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν διατάξεων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φωνῆς μεταληφθεῖσας ἐρμηνείας παραθώμεθα.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΝ ΕΚ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΤΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΩΝ

Ἦδη [2] μὲν πάλαι σκοποῦντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς θρησκείας οὐκ ἀρνητέαν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ βουλήσει ἐξουσίαν δοτέον τοῦ τὰ θεῖα πράγματα τημελεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστον, κεκελεύκειμεν τοῖς τε Χριστιανοῖς ...τῆς αἰρέσεως καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς ἑαυτῶν τὴν πίστιν φυλάττειν· [3] ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πολλαὶ καὶ διάφοροι αἰρέσεις ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ, ἐν ἣ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συνεχωρήθη ἡ τοιαύτη ἐξουσία, ἐδόκουν προστεθεῖσθαι σαφῶς, τυχὸν ἴσως τινὲς αὐτῶν μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης παραφυλάξεως ἀπεκρούοντο.

Ὅποτε [4] εὐτυχῶς ἐγὼ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ γὰρ Λικίνιος ὁ Αὐγουστος ἐν τῇ Μεδιολάνῳ ἐληλύθειμεν καὶ πάντα ὅσα πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελὲς καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῷ κοινῷ διέφερεν, ἐν ζητήσῃ ἔσχομεν, ταῦτα μεταξὺ τῶν λοιπῶν ἅτινα ἐδόκει ἐν πολλοῖς ἅπασιν ἐπωφελῇ εἶναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν πρώτοις διατάξαι ἐδογματίσαμεν, οἷς ἡ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αἰδῶς τε καὶ τὸ σέβας ἐνείχето, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὅπως δῶμεν καὶ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐλευθέραν αἶρεσιν τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἣ ὅ ἂν βουληθῶσιν, ὅπως ὅ τί ποτέ ἐστιν θειότητος καὶ οὐρανίου πράγματος, ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐξουσίαν διάγουσιν εὐμενὲς εἶναι δυνηθῇ. [5] τοίνυν ταύτην τὴν ἡμετέραν βούλησιν ὑγιεινῶ καὶ ὀρθοτάτῳ λογισμῷ ἐδογματίσαμεν, ὅπως μηδενὶ παντελῶς ἐξουσία ἀρνητέα ἢ τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ αἰρεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν παραφύλαξιν ἢ θρησκείαν ἐκάστῳ τε ἐξουσία δοθείη τοῦ διδόναι ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ θρησκείᾳ, ἣν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἀρμόζειν νομίζει, ὅπως ἡμῖν δυνηθῇ τὸ θεῖον ἐν πᾶσι τὴν ἔθιμον σπουδὴν καὶ καλοκάγαθίαν παρέχειν· [6]

ἄτινα οὕτως ἀρέσκειν ἡμῖν ἀντιγράψαι ἀκόλουθον ἦν, ἵν' ἀφαιρεθεῖσιν παντελῶς τῶν αἰρέσεων, αἵτινες τοῖς προτέροις ἡμῶν γράμμασι τοῖς πρὸς τὴν σὴν καθοσίωσιν ἀποσταλεῖσι περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐνείχοντο καὶ ἄτινα πάνυ σκαῖα καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραότητος ἀλλότρια εἶναι ἐδόκει, ταῦτα ὑφαιρεθῇ καὶ νῦν ἐλευθέρως καὶ ἀπλῶς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὴν αὐτὴν προαίρεσιν ἐσχηκότων τοῦ φυλάττειν τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείαν ἄνευ τινὸς ὀχλήσεως τοῦτο αὐτὸ παραφυλάττοι. [7] ἄτινα τῇ σῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ πληρέστατα δηλῶσαι ἐδογματίσαμεν, ὅπως εἰδείης ἡμᾶς ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἀπολελυμένην ἐξουσίαν τοῦ τημελεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν θρησκείαν τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς δεδωκέναι. [8] ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἀπολελυμένως αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν δεδωρῆσθαι θεωρεῖς, συνορᾷ ἡ σὴ καθοσίωσις καὶ ἑτέροις δεδóσθαι ἐξουσίαν τοῖς βουλομένοις τοῦ μετέρχεσθαι τὴν παρατήρησιν καὶ θρησκείαν ἑαυτῶν ὅπερ ἀκολούθως τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων καιρῶν γίνεσθαι φανερόν ἐστιν, ὅπως ἐξουσίαν ἕκαστος ἔχῃ τοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ τημελεῖν ὅποιαν δ' ἂν βούληται τὸ θεῖον. τοῦτο δὲ ὑφ' ἡμῶν γέγονεν, ὅπως μηδεμιᾶ τιμῇ μηδὲ θρησκείᾳ τινὶ μεμειῶσθαι τι ὑφ' ἡμῶν δοκοίη.

Καὶ [9] τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς λοιποῖς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν Χριστιανῶν δογματίζομεν, ἵνα τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν, εἰς οὓς τὸ πρότερον συνέρχεσθαι ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς, περὶ ὧν καὶ τοῖς πρότερον δοθεῖσιν πρὸς τὴν σὴν καθοσίωσιν γράμμασιν τύπος ἕτερος ἦν ὠρισμένος τῷ προτέρῳ χρόνῳ, ἵν' εἴ τινες ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ταμείου τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἢ παρὰ τινος ἑτέρου φαίνοντο ἡγορακότες, τούτους τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἄνευ ἀργυρίου καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς ἀπαιτήσεως τῆς τιμῆς, ὑπερτεθείσης δίχα πάσης ἀμελείας καὶ ἀμφιβολίας, ἀποκαταστήσωσι, καὶ εἴ τινες κατὰ δῶρον τυγχάνουσιν εἰληφότες, τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ὅπως ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀποκαταστήσωσιν [10] οὕτως ὥς ἢ οἱ ἡγορακότες τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἢ οἱ κατὰ δωρεὰν εἰληφότες αἰτῶσί τι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας καλοκἀγαθίας προσέλθωσι τῷ ἐπὶ τόπων ἐπάρχῳ δικάζοντι, ὅπως καὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρηστότητος πρόνοια γένηται. ἄτινα πάντα τῷ σώματι τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν παρ' αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς ἄνευ τινὸς παρολκῆς παραδίδοσθαι δεήσῃ.

Καὶ [11] ἐπειδὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ Χριστιανοὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκείνους εἰς οὓς συνέρχεσθαι ἔθος εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρους τόπους ἐσχηκέναι γινώσκονται διαφέροντας οὐ πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ αὐτῶν σώματος, τοῦτ' ἐστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὃν προειρήκαμεν, δίχα παντελῶς

τινος ἀμφισβητήσεως τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῷ σώματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀποκαταστῆναι κελεύσεις, τοῦ προειρημένου λογισμοῦ δηλαδή φυλαχθέντος, ὅπως αὐτοὶ οἵτινες τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τιμῆς, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, ἀποκαθιστῶσι, τὸ ἀζήμιον τὸ ἐαυτῶν παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας καλοκάγαθίας ἐλπίζοιεν.

Ἐν [12] οἷς πᾶσιν τῷ προειρημένῳ σώματι τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν σπουδὴν δυνατώτατα παρασχεῖν ὀφείλεις, ὅπως τὸ ἡμέτερον κέλευσμα τὴν ταχίστην παραπληρωθῇ, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρηστότητος πρόνοια γένηται τῆς κοινῆς καὶ δημοσίας ἡσυχίας. [13] τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ λογισμῷ, καθὼς καὶ προεῖρηται, ἡ θεία σπουδὴ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἥς ἐν πολλοῖς ἤδη πράγμασιν ἀπεπειράθημεν, διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου βεβαίως διαμεῖναι, [14] ἵνα δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἡμετέρας νομοθεσίας καὶ τῆς καλοκάγαθίας ὁ ὅρος πρὸς γνῶσιν πάντων ἐνεχθῆναι δυνηθῇ, προταχθέντα τοῦ σοῦ προστάγματος ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν γραφέντα πανταχοῦ προθεῖναι καὶ εἰς γνῶσιν πάντων ἀγαγεῖν ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν, ὅπως ταύτης τῆς ἡμετέρας καλοκάγαθίας ἡ νομοθεσία μηδένα λαθεῖν δυνηθῇ.

[15]

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΗΝ ΑΥΘΙΣ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ, ΜΟΝΗΙ ΤΗΙ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΙ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙ ΥΠΟΣΗΜΗΝΑΜΕΝΟΣ

Χαῖρε Ἀνυλῖνε, τιμιώτατε ἡμῖν. ἔστιν ὁ τρόπος οὗτος τῆς φιλαγαθίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὥστε ἐκεῖνα ἅπερ δικαίῳ ἀλλοτρίῳ προσήκει, μὴ μόνον μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκαθιστᾶν βούλεσθαι ἡμᾶς, Ἀνυλῖνε τιμιώτατε. ὅθεν βουλόμεθα ἵν', [16] ὁπότεν ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα κομίση, εἴ τινα ἐκ τούτων τῶν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ καθολικῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐν ἐκάσταις πόλεσιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλοις τόποις διέφερον καὶ κατέχοιντο νῦν ἢ ὑπὸ πολιτῶν ἢ ὑπὸ τινων ἄλλων, ταῦτα ἀποκατασταθῆναι παραχρῆμα ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ποιήσης, ἐπειδὴ περ προηρήμεθα ταῦτα ἅπερ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐκκλησίαι πρότερον ἐσχέκεσαν, τῷ δικαίῳ αὐτῶν ἀποκατασταθῆναι. [17] ὁπότε τοίνυν συνορᾷ ἡ καθοσίωσις ἡ σὴ ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς κελεύσεως σαφέστατον εἶναι τὸ πρόσταγμα, σπουδάσον, εἴτε κῆποι εἴτε οἰκίαι εἴθ' ὅτιονδ' ἢ ποτε τῷ δικαίῳ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διέφερον, σύμπαντα αὐταῖς ἀποκατασταθῆναι ὡς τάχιστα, ὅπως τούτῳ ἡμῶν τῷ προστάγματι ἐπιμελεστάτην σε πειθάρχησιν παρεσχηκέναι καταμάθοιμεν. ἔρρωσο, Ἀνυλῖνε, τιμιώτατε καὶ ποθεινότητε ἡμῖν.

[18]

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΔΙ' ΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΝ

ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΚΕΛΕΥΕΙ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΕΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ

Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ. ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτοι χάρται παρὰ Ἀνυλίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Ἀφρικῆς πρὸς με πλείους ἀπεστάλησαν, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται Καικιλιανὸν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Χαρταγενησίων πόλεως παρὰ τινων κολλήγων αὐτοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καθεστώτων ἐν πολλοῖς πράγμασιν εὐθύνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτό μοι βαρὺ σφόδρα δοκεῖ τὸ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις, ἅς τῇ ἐμῇ καθοσιώσει αὐθαιρέτως ἢ θεία πρόνοια ἐνεχείρισεν κάκεῖσε πολὺ πλῆθος λαοῦ, ὅχλον ἐπὶ τὸ φαυλότερον ἐπιμένοντα εὐρίσκεσθαι ὥς ἂν εἰ διχοστατοῦντα καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπισκόπων διαφορὰς ἔχειν, [19] ἔδοξέ μοι ἵν' αὐτὸς ὁ Καικιλιανὸς μετὰ δέκα ἐπισκόπων τῶν αὐτὸν εὐθύνειν δοκούντων καὶ δέκα ἐτέρων οὓς αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δίκη ἀναγκαίους ὑπολάβοι, εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πλῶ ἀπιέναι, ἵν' ἐκεῖσε ὁμῶν παρόντων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ῥετικίου καὶ Ματέρνου καὶ Μαρίνου, τῶν κολλήγων ὁμῶν, οὓς τούτου ἕνεκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην προσέταξα ἐπισπεῦσαι, δυνηθῇ ἀκουσθῆναι, ὥς ἂν καταμάθοιτε τῷ σεβασμιωτάτῳ νόμῳ ἀρμόττειν. [20] ἵνα μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν τούτων πληρεστάτην δυνηθῇτε ἔχειν γνῶσιν, τὰ ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἐγγράφων τῶν πρὸς με παρὰ Ἀνυλίνου ἀποσταλέντων γράμμασιν ἐμοῖς ὑποτάξας, πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους κολλήγας ὁμῶν ἐξέπεμψα: οἷς ἐντυχούσα ἢ ὑμετέρα στερρότης δοκιμάσει ὄντινα χρὴ τρόπον τὴν προειρημένην δίκην ἐπιμελέστατα διευκρινῆσαι καὶ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τερματίσαι, ὅποτε μὴδὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν λανθάνει τοσαύτην με αἰδῶ τῇ ἐνθέσμῳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπονέμειν, ὥς μὴδὲν καθόλου σχίσμα ἢ διχοστασίαν ἐν τινι τόπῳ βούλεσθαί με ὑμᾶς καταλιπεῖν. ἢ θειότης ὑμᾶς τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ διαφυλάξαι πολλοῖς ἔτεσι, τιμιώτατε.

[21]

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΔΙ' ΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΤΕΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΝ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΕΛΕΙΝ ΔΙΧΟΣΤΑΣΙΑΝ

Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς Χρήστῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Συρακουσίων. ἤδη μὲν πρότερον, ὅτε φαύλως καὶ ἐνδιαστρόφως τινὲς περὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῆς καθολικῆς ἀποδιίστασθαι ἤρξαντο, ἐπιτέμνεσθαι βουληθεὶς τὰς τοιαύτας αὐτῶν φιλονεικίας, οὕτω διατετυπώκειν ὥστε ἀποσταλέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλλίας τινῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τούτων κληθέντων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας μοίρας καταλλήλως, ἐνστατικῶς καὶ ἐπιμόνως διαγωνιζομένων παρόντος τε καὶ τοῦ

τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου, τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐδόκει κεκινήσθαι, δυνηθῆ ὑπὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελοῦς διακρίσεως κατορθώσεως τυχεῖν. [22] ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ, ὡς συμβαίνει, ἐπιλαθόμενοι τινες καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἰδίας καὶ τοῦ σεβάσματος τοῦ ὀφειλομένου τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ αἰρέσει, ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὰς ἰδίας ἔχθρας παρατείνειν οὐ παύονται, μὴ βουλόμενοι τῇ ἤδη ἐξενεχθείσῃ κρίσει συντίθεσθαι καὶ διοριζόμενοι ὅτι δὴ ἄρα ὀλίγοι τινὲς τὰς γνώμας καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἑαυτῶν ἐξήνεγκαν ἢ καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀπάντων τῶν ὀφειλόντων ζητηθῆναι ἀκριβῶς ἐξετασθέντων πρὸς τὸ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξενέγκαι πάνυ ταχέως καὶ ὁξέως ἔσπευσαν, ἔκ τε τούτων ἀπάντων ἐκεῖνα συμβαίνει γενέσθαι, τὸ καὶ τούτους αὐτοὺς ἀδελφικὴν καὶ ὁμόφωνα ὀφείλοντας ἔχειν ὁμοψυχίαν αἰσχυρῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ μυσερῶς ἀλλήλων ἀποδιεστάναι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀλλοτρίας ἔχουσι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης θρησκείας ταύτης πρόφασιν χλεύης διδόναι, — ὅθεν προνοητέον μοι ἐγένετο, ὅπως τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐχρῆν μετὰ τὴν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν ἤδη κρίσιν αὐθαιρέτῳ συγκαταθέσει πεπαῦσθαι, κἂν νῦν ποτε δυνηθῇ πολλῶν παρόντων τέλους τυχεῖν. [23] ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πλείστους ἐκ διαφορῶν καὶ ἀμυθῆτων τόπων ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρελατησίῳ πόλιν εἴσω Καλανδῶν Αὐγούστου συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν, καὶ σοὶ γράψαι ἐνομίσαμεν ἵνα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Λατρωνιανοῦ τοῦ κοινῆκτορος Σικελίας δημόσιον ὄχημα, συζεύξας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου, οὓς ἂν σὺ αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι κρίνης, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας τοὺς δυνησομένους ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπηρετήσασθαι παραλαβὼν, εἴσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ τόπῳ ἀπάντησον, [24] ὡς ἂν διὰ τε τῆς σῆς στερρότητος καὶ διὰ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν συνιόντων ὁμοψύχου καὶ ὁμόφρονος συνέσεως καὶ τοῦτο ὅπερ ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο φαύλως δι' αἰσχυράς τινας ζυγομαχίας παραμεμένηκεν, ἀκουσθέντων πάντων τῶν μελλόντων λεχθήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν νῦν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διεστώτων, οὗπερ ὁμοίως παρεῖναι ἐκελεύσαμεν, δυνηθῇ εἰς τὴν ὀφειλομένην θρησκείαν καὶ πίστιν ἀδελφικὴν τε ὁμόνοιαν κἂν βραδέως ἀνακληθῆναι. ὑγαίνοντά σε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ διαφυλάξαι ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΔΙ' ΗΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙΣ ΔΩΡΕΙΤΑΙ

Κωνσταντῖνος Αὐγουστος Καικιλιανῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Χαρταγένης. ἐπειδὴ ἤρεσεν κατὰ πάσας ἐπαρχίας, τὰς τε Ἀφρικὰς καὶ τὰς Νουμιδίας καὶ τὰς Μαυριτανίας, ῥητοῖς τισι τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῆς ἐνθέσμου καὶ ἀγιωτάτης καθολικῆς θρησκείας εἰς ἀναλώματα ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τι, ἔδωκα γράμματα

πρὸς Οὐρσον τὸν διασημότατον καθολικὸν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς καὶ ἐδήλωσα αὐτῷ ὅπως τρισχιλίους φύλλεις τῇ σῇ στερρότητι ἀπαριθμῆσαι φροντίσῃ. [2] σὺ τοίνυν, ἡνίκα τὴν προδηλουμένην ποσότητα τῶν χρημάτων ὑποδεχθῆναι ποιήσεις, ἅπασι τοῖς προειρημένοις κατὰ τὸ βρέουιον τὸ πρὸς σὲ παρὰ Ὁσίου ἀποσταλὲν ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα διαδοθῆναι κέλευσον. [3] εἰ δ' ἄρα πρὸς τὸ συμπληρωθῆναί μου τὴν εἰς τοῦτο περὶ ἅπαντας αὐτοὺς προαίρεσιν ἐνδεῖν τι καταμάθοις, παρὰ Ἡρακλείδα τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων ἀναμφιλέκτως ὅπερ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι καταμάθοις, αἰτῆσαι ὀφείλεις, καὶ γὰρ παρόντι αὐτῷ προσέταξα ἵν' εἴ τι ἂν χρημάτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἢ σῇ στερρότης αἰτήσῃ, ἄνευ δισταγμοῦ τινος ἀπαριθμῆσαι φροντίσῃ. [4] καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπυθόμην τινὰς μὴ καθεστώσης διανοίας τυγχάνοντας ἀνθρώπους τὸν λαὸν τῆς ἀγιωτάτης καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας φαύλῃ τινὶ ὑπονοθεύσει βούλεσθαι διαστρέφειν, γίνωσκέ με Ἀνυλίνῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Πατρικίῳ τῷ οὐικαρίῳ τῶν ἐπάρχων παροῦσι τοιαύτας ἐντολὰς δεδωκέναι ἵν' ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασι καὶ τούτου μάλιστα τὴν προσήκουσαν φροντίδα ποιήσωνται καὶ μὴ ἀνάσχωνται περιορᾶν τοιοῦτο γινόμενον. [5] διόπερ εἴ τις τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ἐν αὐτῇ μανίᾳ ἐπιμένειν κατίδοις, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀμφιβολίας τοῖς προειρημένοις δικασταῖς πρόσελθε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσανένεγκε ὅπως αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς παροῦσιν ἐκέλευσα, ἐπιστρέψωσιν. ἢ θειότης τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ σε διαφυλάξαι ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΔΙ' ΗΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΕΣΤΩΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΕΛΥΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΤΕΙ

Χαῖρε, Ἀνυλῖνε, τιμιώτατε ἡμῖν. ἐπειδὴ ἐκ πλειόνων πραγμάτων φαίνεται παρεξουθενηθεῖσαν τὴν θρησκείαν, ἐν ἣ ἡ κορυφαία τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἐπουρανίου αἰδῶς φυλάττεται, μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐνηνοχέει τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἐνθέσμως ἀναληφθεῖσαν καὶ φυλαττομένην μεγίστην εὐτυχίαν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ ὀνόματι καὶ σύμπασι τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγμασιν ἐξαίρετον εὐδαιμονίαν παρεσχηκέναι, τῶν θείων εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦτο παρεχουσῶν, ἔδοξεν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς τῇ ὀφειλομένη ἀγιότητι καὶ τῇ τοῦ νόμου τούτου παρεδρία τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ τῆς θείας θρησκείας θεραπείᾳ παρέχοντας τῶν καμάτων τῶν ιδίων τὰ ἔπαθλα κομίσασθαι, Ἀνυλῖνε τιμιώτατε. [2] διόπερ ἐκείνους τοὺς εἴσω τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς σοι πεπιστευμένης ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἣ Καικιλιανὸς ἐφέστηκεν, τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπηρεσίαν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ταύτῃ θρησκείᾳ παρέχοντας, οὕσπερ

κληρικοὺς ἐπονομάζειν εἰώθασιν, ἀπὸ πάντων ἅπαξ ἀπλῶς τῶν λειτουργιῶν βούλομαι ἀλειουργήτους διαφυλαχθῆναι, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τινος πλάνης ἢ ἐξολισθήσεως ἱεροσύλου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τῆς τῇ θειότητι ὀφειλομένης ἀφέλκωνται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἄνευ τινὸς ἐνοχλήσεως τῷ ἰδίῳ νόμῳ ἐξυπηρετῶνται, ὥνπερ μεγίστην περὶ τὸ θεῖον λατρείαν ποιουμένων πλεῖστον ὅσον τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι συνοίσειν δοκεῖ. ἔρρωσο, Ἀνυλῖνε, τιμώτατε καὶ ποθεινότατε ἡμῖν.

Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας ἐδωρεῖτο χάρις, τοσαύτη τε ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονία διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπρυτανεύετο εἰρήνης. καὶ ὧδε μὲν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν εὐφροσύναις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐτελεῖτο: [2] οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἄρα τῷ μισοκάλῳ φθόνῳ τῷ τε φιλοπονήρῳ δαίμονι φορητὸς ἡ τῶν ὀρωμένων θέα, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ Λικιννίῳ πρὸς σῶφρονα λογισμὸν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτάρκη τὰ τοῖς πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένοις τυράννοις συμβεβηκότα: ὃς εὐ φερομένης τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ βασιλέως τε μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου δευτερείων τιμῆς ἐπιγαμβρίας τε καὶ συγγενείας τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἡξιωμένος, μιμήσεως μὲν τῆς τῶν καλῶν ἀπελιμπάνετο, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τυράννων μοχθηρίας ἐξήλου τὴν κακοτροπίαν, καὶ ὧν τοῦ βίου τὴν καταστροφὴν ἐπεῖδεν αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, τούτων ἔπεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐμμένειν φιλία τε καὶ διαθέσει ἥρειτο. [3] διαφθονηθεὶς γέ τοι τῷ πανευεργέτῃ, πόλεμον δυσαγῇ καὶ δεινότατον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκφέρει, οὐ φύσεως νόμων φεισάμενος, οὐχ ὀρκωμοσιῶν οὐχ αἵματος οὐ συνθηκῶν μνήμην ἐν διανοίᾳ λαβών. [4] ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ οἷα πανάγαθος βασιλεὺς εὐνοίας παρέχων ἀληθοῦς σύμβολα, συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν γάμων τε λαμπρῶν ἀδελφῆς μετουσίαν οὐκ ἀπηνήσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐκ πατέρων εὐγενείας βασιλικῆς τε ἀνέκαθεν αἵματος κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι ἡξίωσεν τῆς τε κατὰ πάντων ἀπολαύειν ἀρχῆς οἷα κηδεστῇ καὶ συμβασιλεῖ παρεῖχεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκ ἔλαττον μέρος τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐθνῶν διέπειν αὐτῷ καὶ διοικεῖν κεχαρισμένος. [5] ὁ δ' ἔμπαινον τούτοις τάναντία διεπράττετο, παντοίας ὀσημέραι κατὰ τοῦ κρείττονος μηχανὰς ἐπιτεχνώμενος πάντας τε ἐπινοῶν ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπους, ὡς ἂν κακοῖς τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀμείψοιτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πειρώμενος τὴν συσκευὴν ἐπικρύπτειν, φίλος εἶναι προσεποιεῖτο, δόλῳ τε καὶ ἀπάτῃ πλειστάκις ἐπιθέμενος ῥᾶστα ἂν τυχεῖν τοῦ προσδοκωμένου ἥλπισεν: [6] τῷ δὲ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἦν φίλος κηδεμών τε καὶ φύλαξ, ὃς αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ καὶ σκότει μηχανωμένας ἐπιβουλάς εἰς φῶς ἄγων διήλεγχεν. τοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς τὸ

μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας ὄπλον πρὸς ἄμυναν μὲν ἔχθρῶν, οἰκείας δὲ φυλακῆν σωτηρίας ἰσχύει· ὃ δὴ πεφραγμένος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς τὰς τοῦ δυσωνύμου πολυπλόκους ἐπιβουλὰς διεδίδρασκεν. [7] ὁ δὲ τὴν λαθραίαν συσκευὴν ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἑώρα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ χωροῦσαν, τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα δόλον τε καὶ ῥαδιουργίαν τῷ θεοφιλεῖ βασιλεῖ κατάφωρα ποιοῦντος, οὐκέθ' οἷός τε ὦν ἐπικρύπτεσθαι, προφανῇ πόλεμον αἵρεται. [8] ὁμοσε δῆτα Κωνσταντίνῳ πολεμεῖν διαγνοῦς, ἥδη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων, ὃν ἡπίστατο σέβειν αὐτόν, παρατάττεσθαι ὠρμάτο, κάπειτα τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ θεοσεβεῖς, μηδὲν μηδ' ὅλως πώποτε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ λυπηρὸν διαθεμένους, ἡρέμα τέως καὶ ἡσυχῇ πολιορκεῖν ἐπεβάλλετο. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπραττεν, δεινῶς ἀβλεπεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμφύτου κακίας ἠναγκασμένος. [9] οὐτ' οὖν τὴν μνήμην τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Χριστιανούς ἐκδιωξάντων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔθετο οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς ὀλετήρ καὶ τιμωρὸς δι' ἃς μετῆλθον ἀσεβείας κατέστη· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ σώφρονος ἐκτραπείς λογισμοῦ, διαρρήδην δὲ μανείς τὰς φρένας, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν οἶα δὴ Κωνσταντίνου βοηθὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ βοηθουμένου πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει. [10] Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὐτοῦ πάντα Χριστιανὸν ἀπελαύνει, ἔρημον αὐτὸς αὐτόν ὁ δεῖλαιος τῆς τούτων καθιστὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχῆς, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι πάτριον μάθημα τυγχάνει· εἴτα δὲ τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν στρατιώτας ἐκκρίνεσθαι καὶ ἀποβάλλεσθαι τοῦ τῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώματος, εἰ μὴ τοῖς δαίμοσιν θύειν αἰροῖντο, παρακελεύεται. Καὶ ἔτι γε ταῦτα ἦν μικρά, τῇ τῶν μειζόνων συγκρινόμενα παραθέσει. [11] τί δεῖ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῷ θεομισεῖ πεπραγμένων μνημονεύειν ὅπως τε νόμους ἀνόμους ὁ παρανομώτατος ἐξεῦρεν; τοὺς γέ τοι ἐν ταῖς εἰρκταῖς ταλαιπωρουμένους ἐνομοθέτει μηδένα μεταδόσει τροφῆς φιланθρωπεύεσθαι μηδ' ἐλεεῖν τοὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς λιμῷ διαφθειρομένους μηδ' ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὸν εἶναι μηδένα μηδ' ἀγαθόν τι πράττειν τοὺς καὶ πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τὸ συμπαθὲς τῶν πέλας ἐλκομένους. καὶ ἦν γε νόμων οὗτος ἄντικρυς ἀναιδὴς καὶ ἀπηνέστατος, πᾶσαν ἡμερον ὑπερεξάγων φύσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ τιμωρία προσέκειτο τοὺς ἐλεοῦντας τὰ ἴσα πάσχειν τοῖς ἐλεουμένοις δεσμοῖς τε καὶ φυλακαῖς καθείργνυσθαι, τὴν ἴσῃν τοῖς καταπονουμένοις ὑπομένοντας τιμωρίαν, τοὺς τὰ φιλόανθρωπα διακονουμένους. [12] τοιαῦται αἱ Λικιννίου διατάξεις. τί χρὴ τὰς περὶ γάμων καινοτομίας ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸν βίον μεταλλάττουσιν νεωτερισμοὺς αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν τοὺς παλαιούς Ῥωμαίων εὖ καὶ σοφῶς κειμένους νόμους περιγράψαι τολμήσας, βαρβάρους τινὰς καὶ ἀνημέρους ἀντεισῆγεν, νόμους ἀνόμους ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ παρανόμους,

ἐπισκήψεις τε μυρίας κατὰ τῶν ὑποχειρίων ἐθνῶν ἐπενόει χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου παντοίας εἰσπράξεις ἀναμετρήσεις τε γῆς καὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγρούς μηκέτ' ὄντων ἀνθρώπων πρόπαλαι δὲ κατοικομένων ἐπιζήμιον κέρδος, [13] οἷους δ' ἐφεῦρεν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μισάνθρωπος κατὰ μηδὲν ἡδίκηκότων ἐξορισμούς, οἷας εὐπατριδῶν καὶ ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν ἀπαγωγάς, ὧν δὴ τὰς κουριδίας ἀποζευγνὺς γαμετὰς μαροῖς τισιν οἰκέταις ἐφ' ὕβρει πράξεως αἰσχροῦ παρεδίδου, ὅσαις δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐσχατόγηρος γυναιξὶν ὑπάνδροις παρθένοις τε κόραις ἐμπαροινῶν τὴν ἀκόλαστον τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπλήρου — τί χρὴ ταῦτα μηκύνειν, τῆς τῶν ἐσχάτων αὐτοῦ πράξεων ὑπερβολῆς μικρὰ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὸ μηθὲν εἶναι διελεγχούσης; [14] Τὸ γοῦν τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς μανίας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐχώρει, ἥδη τε τούτους, ὡς ἂν τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ θεράποντας, ἐναντίους ὑπάρχειν οἷς ἔδρα ἡγούμενος, οὕτω μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρεῖττονος φόβον, λάθρα δὲ αὐθις καὶ δολίως συνεσκευάζετο, ἀνῆρει τε τούτων δι' ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους. καὶ ὁ τρόπος δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν φόνου ξένος τις ἦν καὶ οἷος οὐδεπώποτε ἠκούσθη. [15] τὰ γοῦν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀμάσειαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις κατεργασθέντα πᾶσαν ὑπερβολὴν ὠμότητος ὑπερηκόντισεν: ἔνθα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ αἱ μὲν ἐξ ὕψους εἰς ἔδαφος αὐθις κατερρίπτοντο, τὰς δὲ ἀπέκλειον, ὡς ἂν μὴ συνάγοιτό τις τῶν εἰωθότων μηδὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐποφειλομένας ἀποδιδῶ λατρείας. [16] συντελεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχ ἡγᾶτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰς εὐχάς, συνειδῶτι φαύλῳ τοῦτο λογιζόμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως πάντα πράττειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰλεοῦσθαι πέπειστο: ἔνθεν ὠρμᾶτο καθ' ἡμῶν τὸν θυμὸν ἐπισκήπτειν. [17] καὶ δῆτα τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ κόλακες, τὰ φίλα πράττειν τῷ δυσαγεῖ πεπεισμένοι, τῶν ἐπισκόπων τοὺς μὲν συνήθως ταῖς τῶν κακούργων ἀνδρῶν περιέβαλλον τιμωρίαις, ἀπήγοντό τε καὶ ἐκολάζοντο ἀπροφασίστως τοῖς μαιφόνους ὁμοίως οἱ μηδὲν ἡδίκηκότες: ἥδη δὲ τινες καινοτέραν ὑπέμενον τελευτήν, ξίφει τὸ σῶμα εἰς πολλὰ τμήματα κατακρεουργούμενοι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπηνῆ ταύτην καὶ φρικτοτάτην θέαν τοῖς τῆς θαλάσσης βυθοῖς ἰχθύσιν εἰς βορὰν ριπτούμενοι. [18] φυγαὶ δὴ αὐθις ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν θεοσεβῶν ἐγίνοντο ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἀγροὶ καὶ πάλιν ἐρημίαι νάπαι τε καὶ ὄρη τοὺς Χριστοῦ θεράποντας ὑπεδέχοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῦτον προυχῶρει τῷ δυσσεβεῖ τὸν τρόπον, λοιπὸν καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀνακινεῖν διωγμὸν ἐπὶ διάνοιαν ἐβάλλετο, [19] ἐκράτει τε γνώμης καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἦν αὐτῷ μὴ οὐχὶ ἐν ἔργῳ χωρεῖν, εἰ μὴ τάχιστα τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεσθαι προλαβὼν ὁ τῶν οἰκείων ψυχῶν ὑπέρμαχος θεὸς ὡς ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ

ζοφωδεστάτη φωστήρα μέγαν ἀθρόως καὶ σωτήρα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐξέλαμψεν, τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα Κωνσταντῖνον ὑψηλῷ βραχίονι ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε χειραγωγήσας.

τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἄνωθεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καρπὸν εὐσεβείας ἐπάξιον τὰ τρόπαια τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν παρεῖχε νίκης, τὸν δ' ἀλιτήριον αὐτοῖς συμβούλοις ἅπασιν καὶ φίλοις ὑπὸ τοῖς Κωνσταντίνου ποσὶν πρηνῇ κατέβαλεν. [2] Ὡς γὰρ εἰς ἔσχατα μανίας τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνεν, οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτὸν εἶναι λογισάμενος βασιλεὺς ὁ τῷ θεῷ φίλος τὸν σῶφρονα συναγαγὼν λογισμὸν καὶ τὸν στερρόν τοῦ δικαίου τρόπον φιланθρωπία κερασάμενος, ἐπαμῦναι κρίνει τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ τυράννῳ ταλαιπωρουμένοις, καὶ τό γε πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος, βραχεῖς λυμεῶνας ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενος, ἀνασώσασθαι ὁρμάται. [3] μόνῃ γὰρ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ φιланθρωπία τὸν πρὸ τούτου χρόνον καὶ τὸν οὐ συμπαθείας ἄξιον ἐλεοῦντι, τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλέον, τῆς κακίας οὐκ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ, αὖξοντι δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑποχειρίων ἐθνῶν λύτταν, τοῖς δὲ κακουμένοις οὕτις ἐλείπετο σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, ὑπὸ δεινῷ θηρὶ κατατυραννουμένοις. [4] δι' ὃ δὴ τῷ φιλαγάθῳ μίζας τὸ μισοπόνηρον ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄρωγός πρόεισιν ἅμα παιδὶ Κρίσπῳ βασιλεῖ φιланθρωποτάτῳ σωτήριον δεξιὰν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἐκτείνας: εἴθ' οἷα παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ θεοῦ τε παιδὶ σωτῆρι ἀπάντων ποδηγῷ καὶ συμμάχῳ χρώμενοι, πατήρ ἅμα καὶ υἱὸς ἅμφω κύκλῳ διελόντες τὴν κατὰ τῶν θεομισῶν παράταξιν, ῥαδίαν τὴν νίκην ἀποφέρονται, τῶν κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν πάντων ἐξευμαρισθέντων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ γνώμην. [5] ἀθρόως δῆτα καὶ λόγου θᾶπτον οἱ μὲν χθὲς καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας θανάτου πνέοντες καὶ ἀπειλῆς οὐκέτ' ἦσαν, οὐδὲ μέχρ' ὀνόματος μνημονευόμενοι, γραφαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ τιμαὶ τὴν ἀξίαν αἰσχύνην ἀπελάμβανον, καὶ ἃ τοῖς πάλαι δυσσεβέσιν τυράννοις ἐνεῖδεν αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς Δικίννιος, ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπασχεν, ὅτι μὴδ' αὐτὸς ἐδέξατο παιδείαν μὴδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πέλας ἐσωφρονίσθη μᾶστιξιν, τὴν ὁμοίαν δ' ἐκείνοις τῆς ἀσεβείας μετελθὼν ὁδόν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἐνδίκως περιηνέχθη κρημνόν. [6] Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ταύτῃ πῃ βεβλημένος ἔκειτο: ὁ δ' ἀρετῇ πάσῃ θεοσεβείας ἐκπρέπων μέγιστος νικητὴς Κωνσταντῖνος σὺν παιδὶ Κρίσπῳ, βασιλεῖ θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίῳ, τὴν οἰκείαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπελάμβανον καὶ μίαν ἡνωμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν παρεῖχον ἀρχήν, τὴν ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ κατὰ θάτερα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄρκτον τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μεσημβρίαν εἰς ἔσχατα δυομένης ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄγοντες εἰρήνην. [7] ἀφῆρητο δ' οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πᾶν δέος τῶν πρὶν αὐτοῦς πιεζούντων, λαμπρὰς δ' ἐτέλουν καὶ πανηγυρικὰς ἐορτῶν ἡμέρας, ἦν τε φωτὸς

ἔμπλεα πάντα, καὶ μειδιῶσι προσώποις ὅμμασί τε φαιδροῖς οἱ πρὶν κατηφεῖς ἀλλήλους ἔβλεπον, χορεῖται δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὕμνοι κατὰ πόλεις ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγροῦς τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν πρότιστα πάντων, ὅτι δὴ τοῦτ' ἐδιδάχθησαν, κᾶπειτα τὸν εὐσεβῆ βασιλέα παισὶν ἅμα θεοφιλέσιν ἐγέραιρον, [8] κακῶν δ' ἀμνηστία παλαιῶν ἦν καὶ λήθη πάσης δυσσεβείας, παρόντων δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις καὶ προσέτι μελλόντων προσδοκία. ἤπλωντο δ' οὖν κατὰ πάντα τόπον τοῦ νικητοῦ βασιλέως φιланθρωπίας ἔμπλεοι διατάξεις νόμοι τε μεγαλοδωρεᾶς καὶ ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας γνωρίσματα περιέχοντες. [9] οὕτω δῆτα πάσης τυραννίδος ἐκκαθαρθείσης, μόνοις ἐφυλάττετο τὰ τῆς προσηκούσης βασιλείας βέβαιά τε καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν, οἱ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπάντων ἀποσμήξαντες τοῦ βίου τὴν θεοστυγίαν, τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρυτανευθέντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἡσθημένως τὸ φιλάρετον καὶ θεοφιλὲς τό τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς καὶ εὐχάριστον δι' ὧν εἰς προὔπτον ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις παρέσχον ὁρᾶν, ἐπεδείξαντο

The Biography



'The Battle of the Milvian Bridge' by Giulio Romano, 1524 — according to Eusebius and Lactantius, the battle marked the beginning of Constantine's conversion to Christianity. Eusebius recounts that Constantine and his soldiers had a vision sent by the Christian God. This was interpreted as a promise of victory if the sign of the Chi-Rho, the first two letters of Christ's name in Greek, was painted on the soldiers' shields.



The Milvian Bridge, northern Rome, Italy

The Life and Writings of Eusebius of Cæsarea by Arthur Cushman McGiffert



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Chapter I. The Life of Eusebius.

§ 1. Sources and Literature

ACACIUS, the pupil and successor of Eusebius in the bishopric of Cæsarea, wrote a life of the latter (Socr. *H. E.* II. 4) which is unfortunately lost. He was a man of ability (Sozomen *H. E.* III. 2, IV. 23) and had exceptional opportunities for producing a full and accurate account of Eusebius' life; the disappearance of his work is therefore deeply to be regretted.

Numerous notices of Eusebius are found in the works of Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Athanasius, Jerome, and other writers of his own and subsequent ages, to many of which references will be made in the following pages. A collection of these notices, made by Valesius, is found in English translation onsq. of this volume. The chief source for a knowledge of Eusebius' life and character is to be found in his own works. These will be discussed below, onsq. Of the numerous modern works which treat at greater or less length of the life of Eusebius I shall mention here only those which I have found most valuable.

Valesius: *De vita scriptisque Eusebii Diatribe* (in his edition of Eusebius' *Historia Eccles.*; English version in Cruse's translation of the same work).

Cave: *Lives of the Fathers*, II. 95–144 (ed. H. Cary, Oxf. 1840).

Tillemont: *Hist. Eccles.* VII. p–75 (compare also his account of the Arians in vol. VI.).

Stroth: *Leben und Schriften des Eusebius* (in his German translation of the *Hist. Eccles.*).

Closs: *Leben und Schriften des Eusebius* (in his translation of the same work).

Danz: *De Eusebio Cæsariensi, Historiæ Eccles. Scriptore, ejusque fide historica recte æstimanda*, Cap. II.: *de rebus ad Eusebii vitam pertinentibus* (p–75).

Stein: *Eusebius Bischof von Cæsarea. Nach seinem Leben, seinen Schriften, und seinem dogmatischen Charakter dargestellt* (Würzburg, 1859; full and valuable).

Bright, in the introduction to his edition of Burton's text of the *Hist. Eccles.* (excellent).

Lightfoot (Bishop of Durham): *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, in *Smith and Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. II. p-348. Lightfoot's article is a magnificent monument of patristic scholarship and contains the best and most exhaustive treatment of the life and writings of Eusebius that has been written.

The student may be referred finally to all the larger histories of the Church (e.g. Schaff, vol. III. 871 sqq. and 1034 sq.), which contain more or less extended accounts of Eusebius.

§2. Eusebius' Birth and Training. His Life in Cæsarea until the Outbreak of the Persecution.

Our author was commonly known among the ancients as Eusebius of Cæsarea or Eusebius Pamphili. The former designation arose from the fact that he was bishop of the church in Cæsarea for many years; the latter from the fact that he was the intimate friend and devoted admirer of Pamphilus, a presbyter of Cæsarea and a martyr. Some such specific appellation was necessary to distinguish him from others of the same name. Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* mentions 137 men of the first eight centuries who bore the name Eusebius, and of these at least forty were contemporaries of our author. The best known among them were Eusebius of Nicomedia (called by Arius the brother of Eusebius of Cæsarea), Eusebius of Emesa, and Eusebius of Samosata.

The exact date of our author's birth is unknown to us, but his *Ecclesiastical History* contains notices which enable us to fix it approximately. In *H. E.* V. 28 he reports that Paul of Samosata attempted to revive again in his day (καθ' ἡμᾶς) the heresy of Artemon. But Paul of Samosata was deposed from the episcopate of Antioch in 272, and was condemned as a heretic at least as early as 268, so that Eusebius must have been born before the latter date, if his words are to be strictly interpreted. Again, according to *H. E.* III. 28, Dionysius was bishop of Alexandria in Eusebius' time (καθ' ἡμᾶς). But Dionysius was bishop from 247 or 248 to 265, and therefore if Eusebius' words are to be interpreted strictly here as in the former case, he must have been born before 265. On the other hand, inasmuch as his death occurred about 340, we cannot throw his birth much earlier than 260. It is true that the references to Paul and to Dionysius do not prove conclusively that Eusebius was alive in their day, for his words may have been used in a loose sense. But

in *H. E.* VII. 26, just before proceeding to give an account of Paul of Samosata, he draws the line between his own and the preceding generation, declaring that he is now about to relate the events of his own age (τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς). This still further confirms the other indications, and we shall consequently be safe in concluding that Eusebius was born not far from the year 260 a.d. His birthplace cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that he is called "Eusebius the Palestinian" by Marcellus (*Euseb. lib. adv. Marcell.* I. 4), Basil (*Lib. ad. Amphil. de Spir. Sancto*, c. 29), and others, does not prove that he was a Palestinian by birth; for the epithet may be used to indicate merely his place of residence (he was bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine for many years). Moreover, the argument urged by Stein and Lightfoot in support of his Palestinian birth, namely, that it was customary to elect to the episcopate of any church a native of the city in preference to a native of some other place, does not count for much. All that seems to have been demanded was that a man should have been already a member of the particular church over which he was to be made bishop, and even this rule was not universal (see Bingham's *Antiquities*, II. 10, 2 and 3). The fact that he was bishop of Cæsarea therefore would at most warrant us in concluding only that he had made his residence in Cæsarea for some time previous to his election to that office. Nevertheless, although neither of these arguments proves his Palestinian birth, it is very probable that he was a native of that country, or at least of that section. He was acquainted with Syriac as well as with Greek, which circumstance taken in connection with his ignorance of Latin (see below,) points to the region of Syria as his birthplace. Moreover, we learn from his own testimony that he was in Cæsarea while still a youth (*Vita Constantini*, I. 19), and in his epistle to the church of Cæsarea (see below,) he says that he was taught the creed of the Cæsarean church in his childhood (or at least at the beginning of his Christian life: ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει), and that he accepted it at baptism. It would seem therefore that he must have lived while still a child either in Cæsarea itself, or in the neighborhood, where its creed was in use. Although no one therefore (except Theodorus Metochita of the fourteenth century, in his *Cap. Miscell.* 17; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* CXLIV. 949) directly states that Eusebius was a Palestinian by birth, we have every reason to suppose him such.

His parents are entirely unknown. Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* VI. 37)

reports that his mother was a sister of Pamphilus. He does not mention his authority for this statement, and it is extremely unlikely, in the face of the silence of Eusebius himself and of all other writers, that it is true. It is far more probable that the relationship was later assumed to account for the close intimacy of the two men. Arius, in an epistle addressed to Eusebius of Nicomedia (contained in Theodoret's *Hist. Eccles.* I. 5), calls Eusebius of Cæsarea the latter's brother. It is objected to this that Eusebius of Nicomedia refers to Eusebius of Cæsarea on one occasion as his "master" (τοῦ δεσπότου μου, in his epistle to Paulinus contained in Theodoret's *Hist. Eccles.* I. 6), and that on the other hand Eusebius of Cæsarea calls Eusebius of Nicomedia, "the great Eusebius" (*Euseb. lib. adv. Marcell.* I. 4), both of which expressions seem inconsistent with brotherhood. Lightfoot justly remarks that neither the argument itself nor the objections carry much weight. The term ἀδελφός may well have been used to indicate merely theological or ecclesiastical association, while on the other hand, brotherhood would not exclude the form of expression employed by each in speaking of the other. Of more weight is the fact that neither Eusebius himself nor any historian of that period refers to such a relationship, and also the unlikelihood that two members of one family should bear the same name.

From Eusebius' works we gather that he must have received an extensive education both in secular philosophy and in Biblical and theological science. Although his immense erudition was doubtless the result of wide and varied reading continued throughout life, it is highly probable that he acquired the taste for such reading in his youth. Who his early instructors were we do not know, and therefore cannot estimate the degree of their influence over him. As he was a man, however, who cherished deep admiration for those whom he regarded as great and good men, and as he possessed an unusually acquisitive mind and a pliant disposition, we should naturally suppose that his instructors must have possessed considerable influence over him, and that his methods of study in later years must have been largely molded by their example and precept. We see this exemplified in a remarkable degree in the influence exerted over him by Pamphilus, his dearest friend, and at the same time the preceptor, as it were, of his early manhood. Certainly this great bibliopholist must have done much to strengthen Eusebius' natural taste for omnivorous reading, and the opportunities afforded by his grand library for

the cultivation of such a taste were not lost. To the influence of Pamphilus, the devoted admirer and enthusiastic champion of Origen, was doubtless due also in large measure the deep respect which Eusebius showed for that illustrious Father, a respect to which we owe one of the most delightful sections of his Church History, his long account of Origen in the sixth book, and to which in part antiquity was indebted for the elaborate Defense of Origen, composed by Pamphilus and himself, but unfortunately no longer extant. Eusebius certainly owed much to the companionship of that eager student and noble Christian hero, and he always recognized with deep gratitude his indebtedness to him. (Compare the account of Pamphilus given below in Bk. VII. cha, §25 sq.) The names of his earlier instructors, who were eminently successful, at least in fostering his thirst for knowledge, are quite unknown to us. His abiding admiration for Plato, whom he always placed at the head of all philosophers (see Stein,), would lead us to think that he received at least a part of his secular training from some ardent Platonist, while his intense interest in apologetics, which lasted throughout his life, and which affected all his works, seems to indicate the peculiar bent of his early Christian education.

Trithemius concluded from a passage in his History (VII. 32) that Eusebius was a pupil of the learned Dorotheus of Antioch, and Valesius, Lightfoot and others are apparently inclined to accept his conclusion. But, as Stroth remarks (Eusebii Kirchengeschichte, p. xix), all that Eusebius says is that he had heard Dorotheus expound the Scriptures in the church (τούτου μετρίως τὰς γραφὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διηγουμένου κατηκούσαμεν), that is, that he had heard him preach. To conclude from this statement that he was a pupil of Dorotheus is certainly quite unwarranted.

Stroth's suggestion that he probably enjoyed the instruction of Meletius for seven years during the persecution rests upon no good ground, for the passage which he relies upon to sustain his opinion (*H. E.* VII. 32. 28) says only that Eusebius "observed Meletius well" (κατενοήσαμεν) during those seven years.

In Cæsarea Eusebius was at one time a presbyter of the church, as we may gather from his words in the epistle to that church already referred to, where, in speaking of the creed, he says, "As we believed and taught in the presbytery and in the episcopate itself." But the attempt to fix the date of his ordination to that office is quite vain. It is commonly assumed that he became presbyter while Agapius was bishop of Cæsarea, and this is not unlikely,

though we possess no proof of it (upon Agapius see below, *H. E.* VII. 32, note 39). In his *Vita Constantini*, I. 19, Eusebius reports that he saw Constantine for the first time in Cæsarea in the train of the Emperor Diocletian. In his *Chron.* Eusebius reports that Diocletian made an expedition against Egypt, which had risen in rebellion in the year 296 a.d., and Theophanes, in his *Chron.*, says that Constantine accompanied him. It is probable therefore that it was at this time that Eusebius first saw Constantine in Cæsarea, when he was either on his way to Egypt, or on his way back (see Tillemont's *Hist. des Emp.*, IV.).

During these years of quiet, before the great persecution of Diocletian, which broke out in 303 a.d., Eusebius' life must have been a very pleasant one. Pamphilus' house seems to have been a sort of rendezvous for Christian scholars, perhaps a regular divinity school; for we learn from Eusebius' *Martyrs in Palestine* (Cureton's edition, p and 14) that he and a number of others, including the martyr Apphianus, were living together in one house at the time of the persecution, and that the latter was instructed in the Scriptures by Pamphilus and acquired from him virtuous habits and conduct. The great library of Pamphilus would make his house a natural center for theological study, and the immense amount of work which was done by him, or under his direction, in the reproduction of copies of the Holy Scriptures, of Origen's works (see Jerome's *de vir. ill.* 75 and 81, and *contra Ruf.* I. 9), and in other literary employments of the same kind, makes it probable that he had gathered about him a large circle of friends and students who assisted him in his labors and profited by his counsel and instruction. Amidst these associations Eusebius passed his early manhood, and the intellectual stimulus thus given him doubtless had much to do with his future career. He was above all a literary man, and remained such to the end of his life. The pleasant companionships of these days, and the mutual interest and sympathy which must have bound those fellow-students and fellow-disciples of Pamphilus very close together, perhaps had much to do with that broad-minded spirit of sympathy and tolerance which so characterized Eusebius in later years. He was always as far as possible from the character of a recluse. He seems ever to have been bound by very strong ties to the world itself and to his fellow-men. Had his earlier days been filled with trials and hardships, with the bitterness of disappointed hopes and unfulfilled ambitions, with harsh experiences of

others' selfishness and treachery, who shall say that the whole course of his life might not have been changed, and his writings have exhibited an entirely different spirit from that which is now one of their greatest charms? Certainly he had during these early years in Cæsarea large opportunities for cultivating that natural trait of admiration for other men, which was often so strong as to blind him even to their faults, and that natural kindness which led him to see good wherever it existed in his Christian brethren. At the same time these associations must have had considerable influence in fostering the apologetic temper. The pursuits of the little circle were apparently exclusively Christian, and in that day when Christianity stood always on its defense, it would naturally become to them a sacred duty to contribute to that defense and to employ all their energies in the task. It has been remarked that the apologetic temper is very noticeable in Eusebius' writings. It is more than that; we may say indeed in general terms that everything he wrote was an apology for the faith. His *History* was written avowedly with an apologetic purpose, his *Chronicle* was composed with the same end in view. Even when pronouncing a eulogy upon a deceased emperor he seized every possible opportunity to draw from that emperor's career, and from the circumstances of his reign, arguments for the truth and grandeur of the Christian religion. His natural temper of mind and his early training may have had much to do with this habit of thought, but certainly those years with Pamphilus and his friends in Cæsarea must have emphasized and developed it.

Another characteristic which Pamphilus and the circle that surrounded him doubtless did something to develop in our author was a certain superiority to the trammels of mere traditionalism, or we might perhaps better say that they in some measure checked the opposite tendency of slavishness to the traditional which seems to have been natural to him. Pamphilus' deep reverence for Origen proclaims him at once superior to that kind of narrow conservatism which led many men as learned and doubtless as conscientious as himself to pass severe and unconditional condemnation upon Origen and all his teaching. The effect of championing his cause must have fostered in this little circle, which was a very hotbed of Origenism, a contempt for the narrow and unfair judgments of mere traditionalists, and must have led them to seek in some degree the truth solely for its own sake, and to become in a measure careless of its relation to the views of any school or church. It could

hardly be otherwise than that the free and fearless spirit of Origen should leave its impress through his writings upon a circle of followers so devoted to him as were these Cæsarean students. Upon the impressionable Eusebius these influences necessarily operated. And yet he brought to them no keen speculative powers, no deep originality such as Origen himself possessed. His was essentially an acquisitive, not a productive mind, and hence it was out of the question that he should become a second Origen. It was quite certain that Origen's influence over him would weaken somewhat his confidence in the traditional as such, — a confidence which is naturally great in such minds as his, — but at the same time would do little to lessen the real power of the past over him. He continued to get his truth from others, from the great men of the past with whom he had lived and upon whose thought he had feasted. All that he believed he had drawn from them; he produced nothing new for himself, and his creed was a traditional creed. And yet he had at the same time imbibed from his surroundings the habit of questioning and even criticising the past, and, in spite of his abiding respect for it, had learned to feel that the voice of the many is not always the voice of truth, and that the widely and anciently accepted is sometimes to be corrected by the clearer sight of a single man. Though he therefore depended for all he believed so completely upon the past, his associations had helped to free him from a slavish adherence to all that a particular school had accepted, and had made him in some small measure an eclectic in his relations to doctrines and opinions of earlier generations. A notable instance of this eclecticism on his part is seen in his treatment of the Apocalypse of John. He felt the force of an almost universal tradition in favor of its apostolic origin, and yet in the face of that he could listen to the doubts of Dionysius, and could be led by his example, in a case where his own dissatisfaction with the book acted as an incentive, almost, if not quite, to reject it and to ascribe it to another John. Instances of a similar mode of conduct on his part are quite numerous. While he is always a staunch apologist for Christianity, he seldom, if ever, degenerates into a mere partisan of any particular school or sect.

One thing in fact which is particularly noticeable in Eusebius' works is the comparatively small amount of time and space which he devotes to heretics. With his wide and varied learning and his extensive acquaintance with the past, he had opportunities for successful heresy hunting such as few

possessed, and yet he never was a heresy hunter in any sense. This is surprising when we remember what a fascination this employment had for so many scholars of his own age, and when we realize that his historical tastes and talents would seem to mark him out as just the man for that kind of work. May it not be that the lofty spirit of Origen, animating that Cæsarean school, had something to do with the happy fact that he became an apologist instead of a mere polemic, that he chose the honorable task of writing a history of the Church instead of anticipating Epiphanius' *Panarium*?

It was not that he was not alive to the evils of heresy. He shared with nearly all good church-men of his age an intense aversion for those who, as he believed, had corrupted the true Gospel of Christ. Like them he ascribed heresy to the agency of the evil one, and was no more able than they to see any good in a man whom he looked upon as a real heretic, or to do justice in any degree to the error which he taught. His condemnations of heretics in his *Church History* are most severe. Language is hardly strong enough to express his aversion for them. And yet, although he is thus most thoroughly the child of his age, the difference between him and most of his contemporaries is very apparent. He mentions these heretics only to dismiss them with disapproval or condemnation. He seldom, if ever, discusses and refutes their views. His interests lie evidently in other directions; he is concerned with higher things. A still more strongly marked difference between himself and many churchmen of his age lies in his large liberality towards those of his own day who differed with him in minor points of faith, and his comparative indifference to the divergence of views between the various parties in the Church. In all this we believe is to be seen not simply the inherent nature of the man, but that nature as trained in the school of Pamphilus, the disciple of Origen.

§3. *The Persecution of Diocletian.*

In this delightful circle and engaged in such congenial tasks, the time must have passed very happily for Eusebius, until, in 303, the terrible persecution of Diocletian broke upon the Church almost like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. The causes of the sudden change of policy on Diocletian's part, and the terrible havoc wrought in the Church, it is not my intention to discuss here (see below, Bk. VIII. cha, note 3 sq.). We are concerned with the persecution

only in so far as it bears upon the present subject. In the first year of the persecution Procopius, the first martyr of Palestine, was put to death at Cæsarea (Eusebius' *Martyrs of Palestine*, Cureton's ed.), and from that time on that city, which was an important Christian center, was the scene of a tempest which raged with greater or less violence, and with occasional cessations, for seven years. Eusebius himself was an eyewitness of many martyrdoms there, of which he gives us an account in his *Martyrs of Palestine*. The little circle which surrounded Pamphilus did not escape. In the third year of the persecution (*Mart. of Pal.sq.*) a youth named Apphianus, or Epiphanius (the former is given in the Greek text, the latter in the Syriac), who "resided in the same house with us, confirming himself in godly doctrine, and being instructed by that perfect martyr, Pamphilus" (as Eusebius says), committed an act of fanatical daring which caused his arrest and martyrdom. It seems that without the knowledge of his friends, concealing his design even from those who dwelt in the same house with him, he laid hold of the hand of the governor, Arbanus, who was upon the point of sacrificing, and endeavored to dissuade him from offering to "lifeless idols and wicked devils." His arrest was of course the natural consequence, and he had the glory of witnessing a good profession and suffering a triumphant death. Although Eusebius speaks with such admiration of his conduct, it is quite significant of the attitude of himself, and of most of the circle of which he was one, that Apphianus felt obliged to conceal his purpose from them. He doubtless feared that they would not permit him to perform the rash act which he meditated, and we may conclude from that, that the circle in the main was governed by the precepts of good common sense, and avoided that fanaticism which so frequently led men, as in the present case it led Apphianus, to expose themselves needlessly, and even to court martyrdom. It is plain enough from what we know of Eusebius' general character that he himself was too sensible to act in that way. It is true that he speaks with admiration of Apphianus' conduct, and in *H. E.* VIII. 5, of the equally rash procedure of a Nicomedian Christian; but that does not imply that he considered their course the wisest one, and that he would not rather recommend the employment of all proper and honorable precautions for the preservation of life. Indeed, in *H. E.* IV. 15, he speaks with evident approval of the prudent course pursued by Polycarp in preserving his life so long as he could without violating his Christian profession, and with manifest

disapproval of the rash act of the Phrygian Quintus, who presumptuously courted martyrdom, only to fail when the test itself came. Pamphilus also possessed too much sound Christian sense to advocate any such fanaticism, or to practice it himself, as is plain enough from the fact that he was not arrested until the fifth year of the persecution. This unhealthy temper of mind in the midst of persecution was indeed almost universally condemned by the wisest men of the Church, and yet the boldness and the very rashness of those who thus voluntarily and needlessly threw their lives away excited widespread admiration and too often a degree of commendation which served only to promote a wider growth of the same unhealthy sentiment.

In the fifth year of the persecution Pamphilus was arrested and thrown into prison, where he remained for two years, when he finally, in the seventh year of the persecution, suffered martyrdom with eleven others, some of whom were his disciples and members of his own household. (*Pal. Mart.* Cureton's ed.sq.; *H. E.* App. cha.) During the two years of Pamphilus' imprisonment Eusebius spent a great deal of time with him, and the two together composed five books of an *Apology for Origen*, to which Eusebius afterward added a sixth (see below,). Danz () assumes that Eusebius was imprisoned with Pamphilus, which is not an unnatural supposition when we consider how much they must have been together to compose the *Apology* as they did. There is, however, no other evidence that he was thus imprisoned, and in the face of Eusebius' own silence it is safer perhaps to assume (with most historians) that he simply visited Pamphilus in his prison. How it happened that Pamphilus and so many of his followers were imprisoned and martyred, while Eusebius escaped, we cannot tell. In his *Martyrs of Palestine*, cha, he states that Pamphilus was the only one of the company of twelve martyrs that was a presbyter of the Cæsarean church; and from the fact that he nowhere mentions the martyrdom of others of the presbyters, we may conclude that they all escaped. It is not surprising, therefore, that Eusebius should have done the same. Nevertheless, it is somewhat difficult to understand how he could come and go so frequently without being arrested and condemned to a like fate with the others. It is possible that he possessed friends among the authorities whose influence procured his safety. This supposition finds some support in the fact that he had made the acquaintance of Constantine (the Greek in *Vita Const.* I. 19 has *ἔγνωνεν*, which implies, as Danz remarks, that

he not only saw, but that he became acquainted with Constantine) some years before in Cæsarea. He could hardly have made his acquaintance unless he had some friend among the high officials of the city. Influential family connections may account in part also for the position of prominence which he later acquired at the imperial court of Constantine. If he had friends in authority in Cæsarea during the persecution his exemption from arrest is satisfactorily accounted for. It has been supposed by some that Eusebius denied the faith during the terrible persecution, or that he committed some other questionable and compromising act of concession, and thus escaped martyrdom. In support of this is urged the fact that in 335, at the council of Tyre, Potamo, bishop of Heraclea, in Egypt, addressed Eusebius in the following words: "Dost thou sit as judge, O Eusebius; and is Athanasius, innocent as he is, judged by thee? Who can bear such things? Pray tell me, wast thou not with me in prison during the persecution? And I lost an eye in behalf of the truth, but thou appearest to have received no bodily injury, neither hast thou suffered martyrdom, but thou hast remained alive with no mutilation. How wast thou released from prison unless thou didst promise those that put upon us the pressure of persecution to do that which is unlawful, or didst actually do it?" Eusebius, it seems, did not deny the charge, but simply rose in anger and dismissed the council with the words, "If ye come hither and make such accusations against us, then do your accusers speak the truth. For if ye tyrannize here, much more do ye in your own country" (Epiphan. *Hær.* LXVIII. 8). It must be noticed, however, that Potamo does not directly charge Eusebius with dishonorable conduct, he simply conjectures that he must have acted dishonorably in order to escape punishment; as if every one who was imprisoned with Potamo must have suffered as he did! As Stroth suggests, it is quite possible that his peculiarly excitable and violent temperament was one of the causes of his own loss. He evidently in any case had no knowledge of unworthy conduct on Eusebius' part, nor had any one else so far as we can judge. For in that age of bitter controversy, when men's characters were drawn by their opponents in the blackest lines, Eusebius must have suffered at the hands of the Athanasian party if it had been known that he had acted a cowardly part in the persecution. Athanasius himself refers to this incident (*Contra Arian.* VIII. 1), but he only says that Eusebius was "accused of sacrificing," he does not

venture to affirm that he did sacrifice; and thus it is evident that he knew nothing of such an act. Moreover, he never calls Eusebius “the sacrificer,” as he does Asterius, and as he would have been sure to do had he possessed evidence which warranted him in making the accusation (cf. Lightfoot,). Still further, Eusebius’ subsequent election to the episcopate of Cæsarea, where his character and his conduct during the persecution must have been well known, and his appointment in later life to the important see of Antioch, forbid the supposition that he had ever acted a cowardly part in time of persecution. And finally, it is psychologically impossible that Eusebius could have written works so full of comfort for, and sympathy with, the suffering confessors, and could have spoken so openly and in such strong terms of condemnation of the numerous defections that occurred during the persecution, if he was conscious of his own guilt. It is quite possible, as remarked above, that influential friends protected him without any act of compromise on his part; or, supposing him to have been imprisoned with Potamo, it may be, as Lightfoot suggests, that the close of the persecution brought him his release as it did so many others. For it would seem natural to refer that imprisonment to the latter part of the persecution, when in all probability he visited Egypt, which was the home of Potamo. We must in any case vindicate Eusebius from the unfounded charge of cowardice and apostasy; and we ask, with Cave, “If every accusation against any man at any time were to be believed, who would be guiltless?”

From his *History* and his *Martyrs in Palestine* we learn that Eusebius was for much of the time in the very thick of the fight, and was an eyewitness of numerous martyrdoms not only in Palestine, but also in Tyre and in Egypt.

The date of his visits to the latter places (*H. E.* VIII. 7, 9) cannot be determined with exactness. They are described in connection with what seem to be the earlier events of the persecution, and yet it is by no means certain that chronological order has been observed in the narratives. The mutilation of prisoners — such as Potamo suffered — seems to have become common only in the year 308 and thereafter (see Mason’s *Persecution of Diocletian*,), and hence if Eusebius was imprisoned with Potamo during his visit to Egypt, as seems most probable, there would be some reason for assigning that visit to the later years of the persecution. In confirmation of this might be urged the improbability that he would leave Cæsarea while Pamphilus was still alive,

either before or after the latter's imprisonment, and still further his own statement in *H. E.* VII. 32, that he had observed Meletius escaping the fury of the persecution for seven years in Palestine. It is therefore likely that Eusebius did not make his journey to Egypt, which must have occupied some time, until toward the very end of the persecution, when it raged there with exceeding fierceness during the brief outburst of the infamous Maximin.

§4. Eusebius' Accession to the Bishopric of Cæsarea.

Not long after the close of the persecution, Eusebius became bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, his own home, and held the position until his death. The exact date of his accession cannot be ascertained, indeed we cannot say that it did not take place even before the close of the persecution, but that is hardly probable; in fact, we know of no historian who places it earlier than 313. His immediate predecessor in the episcopate was Agapius, whom he mentions in terms of praise in *H. E.* VII. 32. Some writers have interpolated a bishop Agricolaus between Agapius and Eusebius (see *e.g.* Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.* VII. 42), on the ground that his name appears in one of the lists of those present at the Council of Ancyra (c. 314), as bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine (see *Labbei et Cossartii Conc.* I. 1475). But, as Hefele shows (*Conciliengesch.* I. 220), this list is of late date and not to be relied upon. On the other hand, as Lightfoot points out, in the *Libellus Synodicus* (*Conc.* I. 1480), where Agricolaus is said to have been present at the Council of Ancyra, he is called bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and this statement is confirmed by a Syriac list given in Cowper's *Miscellanies*. Though perhaps no great reliance is to be placed upon the correctness of any of these lists, the last two may at any rate be set over against the first, and we may conclude that there exists no ground for assuming that Agapius, who is the last Cæsarean bishop mentioned by Eusebius, was not the latter's immediate predecessor. At what time Agapius died we do not know. That he suffered martyrdom is hardly likely, in view of Eusebius' silence on the subject. It would seem more likely that he outlived the persecution. However that may be, Eusebius was already bishop at the time of the dedication of a new and elegant Church at Tyre under the direction of his friend Paulinus, bishop of that city. Upon this occasion he delivered an address of considerable length, which he has inserted in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. X. cha. He does not

name himself as its author, but the way in which he introduces it, and the very fact that he records the whole speech without giving the name of the man who delivered it, make its origin perfectly plain. Moreover, the last sentence of the preceding chapter makes it evident that the speaker was a bishop: "Every one of the rulers (ἄρχόντων) present delivered panegyric discourses." The date of the dedication of this church is a matter of dispute, though it is commonly put in the year 315. It is plain from Eusebius' speech that it was uttered before Licinius had begun to persecute the Christians, and also, as Görres remarks, at a time when Constantine and Licinius were at least outwardly at peace with each other. In the year 314 the two emperors went to war, and consequently, if the persecution of Licinius began soon after that event, as it is commonly supposed to have done, the address must have been delivered before hostilities opened; that is, at least as early as 314, and this is the year in which Görres places it (*Kritische Untersuchungen ueber die licinianische Christenverfolgung*,). But if Görres' date (319 a.d.) for the commencement of the persecution be accepted (and though he can hardly be said to have proved it, he has urged some strong grounds in support of it), then the address may have been delivered at almost any time between 315 and 319, for, as Görres himself shows, Licinius and Constantine were outwardly at peace during the greater part of that time (*ib.* , sq.). There is nothing in the speech itself which prevents this later date, nor is it intrinsically improbable that the great basilica reached completion only in 315 or later. In fact, it must be admitted that Eusebius may have become bishop at any time between about 311 and 318.

The persecution of Licinius, which continued until his defeat by Constantine, in 323, was but local, and seems never to have been very severe. Indeed, it did not bear the character of a bloody persecution, though a few bishops appear to have met their death on one ground or another. Palestine and Egypt seem not to have suffered to any great extent (see Görres, *ib.*sq.).

§5. *The Outbreak of the Arian Controversy. The Attitude of Eusebius.*

About the year 318, while Alexander was bishop of Alexandria, the Arian controversy broke out in that city, and the whole Eastern Church was soon involved in the strife. We cannot enter here into a discussion of Arius' views; but in order to understand the rapidity with which the Arian party grew, and the strong hold which it possessed from the very start in Syria and Asia

Minor, we must remember that Arius was not himself the author of that system which we know as Arianism, but that he learned the essentials of it from his instructor Lucian. The latter was one of the most learned men of his age in the Oriental Church, and founded an exegetico-theological school in Antioch, which for a number of years stood outside of the communion of the orthodox Church in that city, but shortly before the martyrdom of Lucian himself (which took place in 311 or 312) made its peace with the Church, and was recognized by it. He was held in the highest reverence by his disciples, and exerted a great influence over them even after his death. Among them were such men as Arius, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Asterius, and others who were afterward known as staunch Arianists. According to Harnack the chief points in the system of Lucian and his disciples were the creation of the Son, the denial of his co-eternity with the Father, and his immutability acquired by persistent progress and steadfastness. His doctrine, which differed from that of Paul of Samosata chiefly in the fact that it was not a man but a created heavenly being who became "Lord," was evidently the result of a combination of the teaching of Paul and of Origen. It will be seen that we have here, at least in germ, all the essential elements of Arianism proper: the creation of the Son out of nothing, and consequently the conclusion that there was a time when he was not; the distinction of his essence from that of the Father, but at the same time the emphasis upon the fact that he "was not created as the other creatures," and is therefore to be sharply distinguished from them. There was little for Arius to do but to combine the elements given by Lucian in a more complete and well-ordered system, and then to bring that system forward clearly and publicly, and endeavor to make it the faith of the Church at large. His christology was essentially opposed to the Alexandrian, and it was natural that he should soon come into conflict with that church, of which he was a presbyter (upon Lucian's teaching and its relation to Arianism, see Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, II.sq.).

Socrates (*H. E.* I. 5 sq.), Sozomen (*H. E.* I. 15) and Theodoret (*H. E.* I. 2 sq.), all of whom give accounts of the rise of Arianism, differ as to the immediate occasion of the controversy, but agree that Arius was excommunicated by a council convened at Alexandria, and that both he and the bishop Alexander sent letters to other churches, the latter defending his own course, the former complaining of his harsh treatment, and endeavoring

to secure adherents to his doctrine. Eusebius of Nicomedia at once became his firm supporter, and was one of the leading figures on the Arian side throughout the entire controversy. His influential position as bishop of Nicomedia, the imperial residence, and later of Constantinople, was of great advantage to the Arian cause, especially toward the close of Constantine's reign. From a letter addressed by this Eusebius to Paulinus of Tyre (Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 6) we learn that Eusebius of Cæsarea was quite zealous in behalf of the Arian cause. The exact date of the letter we do not know, but it must have been written at an early stage of the controversy. Arius himself, in an epistle addressed to Eusebius of Nicomedia (Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 5), claims Eusebius of Cæsarea among others as accepting at least one of his fundamental doctrines ("And since Eusebius, your brother in Cæsarea, and Theodotus, and Paulinus, and Athanasius, and Gregory, and Ætius, and all the bishops of the East say that God existed before the Son, they have been condemned," etc.). More than this, Sozomen (*H. E.* I. 15) informs us that Eusebius of Cæsarea and two other bishops, having been appealed to by Arius for "permission for himself and his adherents, as he had already attained the rank of presbyter, to form the people who were with them into a church," concurred with others "who were assembled in Palestine," in granting the petition of Arius, and permitting him to assemble the people as before; but they "enjoined submission to Alexander, and commanded Arius to strive incessantly to be restored to peace and communion with him." The addition of the last sentence is noticeable, as showing that they did not care to support a presbyter in open and persistent rebellion against his bishop. A fragment of a letter written by our Eusebius to Alexander is still extant, and is preserved in the proceedings of the Second Council of Nicæa, Act. VI. Tom. V. (*Labbei et Cossartii Conc.* VII. col. 497). In this epistle Eusebius strongly remonstrates with Alexander for having misrepresented the views of Arius. Still further, in his epistle to Alexander of Constantinople, Alexander of Alexandria (Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 4) complains of three Syrian bishops "who side with them [*i.e.* the Arians] and excite them to plunge deeper and deeper into iniquity." The reference here is commonly supposed to be to Eusebius of Cæsarea, and his two friends Paulinus of Tyre and Theodotus of Laodicea, who are known to have shown favor to Arius. It is probable, though not certain, that our Eusebius is one of the persons meant. Finally, many of the Fathers (above all

Jerome and Photius), and in addition to them the Second Council of Nicæa, directly accuse Eusebius of holding the Arian heresy, as may be seen by examining the testimonies quoted below onsq. In agreement with these early Fathers, many modern historians have attacked Eusebius with great severity, and have endeavored to show that the opinion that he was an Arian is supported by his own writings. Among those who have judged him most harshly are Baronius (*ad ann.* 340, c. 38 sq.), Petavius (*Dogm. Theol. de Trin.* I. c. 11 sq.), Scaliger (*In Elencho Trihæresii*, c. 27, and *De emendatione temporum*, Bk. VI. c. 1), Mosheim (*Ecclesiastical History*, Murdock's translation, I.sq.), Montfaucon (*Praelim. in Comment. ad Psalm.* c. VI.), and Tillemont (*H. E.* VII.sq. 2d ed.).

On the other hand, as may be seen from the testimonies in Eusebius' favor, quoted below onsq., many of the Fathers, who were themselves orthodox, looked upon Eusebius as likewise sound on the subject of the Trinity. He has been defended in modern times against the charge of Arianism by a great many prominent scholars; among others by Valesius in his *Life of Eusebius*, by Bull (*Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 9. 20, III. 9. 3, 11), Cave (*Lives of the Fathers*, II.sq.), Fabricius (*Bibl. Græc.* VI.sq.), Dupin (*Bibl. Eccles.* II.sq.), and most fully and carefully by Lee in his prolegomena to his edition of Eusebius' *Theophania*, p. xxiv. sq. Lightfoot also defends him against the charge of heresy, as do a great many other writers whom it is not necessary to mention here. Confronted with such diversity of opinion, both ancient and modern, what are we to conclude? It is useless to endeavor, as Lee does, to clear Eusebius of all sympathy with and leaning toward Arianism. It is impossible to explain such widespread and continued condemnation of him by acknowledging only that there are many expressions in his works which are in themselves perfectly orthodox but capable of being wrested in such a way as to produce a suspicion of possible Arianistic tendencies, for there are such expressions in the works of multitudes of ancient writers whose orthodoxy has never been questioned. Nor can the widespread belief that he was an Arian be explained by admitting that he was for a time the personal friend of Arius, but denying that he accepted, or in any way sympathized with his views (cf. Newman's *Arians*,). There are in fact certain fragments of epistles extant, which are, to say the least, decidedly Arianistic in their modes of expression, and these must be reckoned with in forming an opinion of Eusebius' views;

for there is no reason to deny, as Lee does, that they are from Eusebius' own hand. On the other hand, to maintain, with some of the Fathers and many of the moderns, that Eusebius was and continued through life a genuine Arian, will not do in the face of the facts that contemporary and later Fathers were divided as to his orthodoxy, that he was honored highly by the Church of subsequent centuries, except at certain periods, and was even canonized (see Lightfoot's article,), that he solemnly signed the Nicene Creed, which contained an express condemnation of the distinctive doctrines of Arius, and finally that at least in his later works he is thoroughly orthodox in his expressions, and is explicit in his rejection of the two main theses of the Arians, — that *there was a time when the Son of God was not*, and that he was *produced out of nothing*. It is impossible to enter here into a detailed discussion of such passages in Eusebius' works as bear upon the subject under dispute. Lee has considered many of them at great length, and the reader may be referred to him for further information.

A careful examination of them will, I believe, serve to convince the candid student that there is a distinction to be drawn between those works written before the rise of Arius, those written between that time and the Council of Nicæa, and those written after the latter. It has been very common to draw a distinction between those works written before and those written after the Council, but no one, so far as I know, has distinguished those productions of Eusebius' pen which appeared between 318 and 325, and which were caused by the controversy itself, from all his other writings. And yet such a distinction seems to furnish the key to the problem. Eusebius' opponents have drawn their strongest arguments from the epistles which Eusebius wrote to Alexander and to Euphratius; his defenders have drawn their arguments chiefly from the works which he produced subsequent to the year 325; while the exact bearing of the expressions used in his works produced before the controversy broke out has always been a matter of sharp dispute. Lee has abundantly shown his *Contra Marcel.*, his *De Eccl. Theol.*, his *Thephania* (which was written after the Council of Nicæa, and not, as Lee supposes, before it), and other later works, to be thoroughly orthodox and to contain nothing which a trinitarian might not have written. In his *Hist. Eccl.*, *Præparatio Evang.*, *Demonstratio Evang.*, and other earlier works, although we find some expressions employed which it would not have been possible

for an orthodox trinitarian to use after the Council of Nicæa, at least without careful limitation to guard against misapprehension, there is nothing even in these works which requires us to believe that he accepted the doctrines of Arius' predecessor, Lucian of Antioch; that is, there is nothing distinctly and positively Arianistic about them, although there are occasional expressions which might lead the reader to expect that the writer would become an Arian if he ever learned of Arius' doctrines. But if there is seen to be a lack of emphasis upon the divinity of the Son, or rather a lack of clearness in the conception of the nature of that divinity, it must be remembered that there was at this time no especial reason for emphasizing and defining it, but there was on the contrary very good reason for laying particular stress upon the subordination of the Son over against Sabellianism, which was so widely prevalent during the third century, and which was exerting an influence even over many orthodox theologians who did not consciously accept Sabellianistic tenets. That Eusebius was a decided subordinationist must be plain to every one that reads his works with care, especially his earlier ones. It would be surprising if he had not been, for he was born at a time when Sabellianism (monarchianism) was felt to be the greatest danger to which orthodox christology was exposed, and he was trained under the influence of the followers of Origen, who had made it one of his chief aims to emphasize the subordination of the Son over against that very monarchianism. The same subordinationism may be clearly seen in the writings of Dionysius of Alexandria and of Gregory Thaumaturgus, two of Origen's greatest disciples. It must not be forgotten that at the beginning of the fourth century the problem of how to preserve the Godhood of Christ and at the same time his subordination to the Father (in opposition to the monarchianists) had not been solved. Eusebius in his earlier writings shows that he holds both (he cannot be convicted of denying Christ's divinity), but that he is as far from a solution of the problem, and is just as uncertain in regard to the exact relation of Father and Son, as Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Dionysius, and Gregory Thaumaturgus were; is just as inconsistent in his modes of expression as they, and yet no more so (see Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, I. p sq. and 634 sq., for an exposition of the opinions of these other Fathers on the subject). Eusebius, with the same immature and undeveloped views which were held all through the third century, wrote those earlier works which have given rise to so much

dispute between those who accuse him of Arianism and those who defend him against the charge. When he wrote them he was neither Arian nor Athanasian, and for that reason passages may be found in them which if written after the Council of Nicæa might prove him an Arian, and other passages which might as truly prove him an Athanasian, just as in the writings of Origen were found by both parties passages to support their views, and in Gregory Thaumaturgus passages apparently teaching Arianism, and others teaching its opposite, Sabellianism (see Harnack, *ib.*).

Let us suppose now that Eusebius, holding fast to the divinity of Christ, and yet convinced just as firmly of his subordination to the Father, becomes acquainted through Arius, or other like-minded disciples of Lucian of Antioch, with a doctrine which seems to preserve the Godhood, while at the same time emphasizing strongly the subordination of the Son, and which formulates the relation of Father and Son in a clear and rational manner. That he should accept such a doctrine eagerly is just what we should expect, and just what we find him doing. In his epistles to Alexander and Euphrasion, he shows himself an Arian, and Arius and his followers were quite right in claiming him as a supporter. There is that in the epistles which is to be found nowhere in his previous writings, and which distinctly separates him from the orthodox party.

How then are we to explain the fact that a few years later he signed the Nicene creed and anathematized the doctrines of Arius? Before we can understand his conduct, it is necessary to examine carefully the two epistles in question. Such an examination will show us that what Eusebius is defending in them is not genuine Arianism. He evidently thinks that it is, evidently supposes that he and Arius are in complete agreement upon the subjects under discussion; but he is mistaken. The extant fragments of the two epistles are given below on . It will be seen that Eusebius in them defends the Arian doctrine that there was a time when the Son of God was not. It will be seen also that he finds fault with Alexander for representing the Arians as teaching that the "Son of God was made out of nothing, like all creatures," and contends that Arius teaches that the Son of God was begotten, and that he was not produced like all creatures. We know that the Arians very commonly applied the word "begotten" to Christ, using it in such cases as synonymous with "created," and thus not implying, as the Athanasians did when they used the word, that he was of one substance with the Father (compare, for instance,

the explanation of the meaning of the term given by Eusebius of Nicomedia in his epistle to Paulinus; Theod. H. E. I. 6). It is evident that the use of this word had deceived our Eusebius, and that he was led by it to think that they taught that the Son was of the Father in a peculiar sense, and did in reality partake in some way of essential Godhood. And indeed it is not at all surprising that the words of Arius, in his epistle to Alexander of Alexandria (see Athan. Ep. de conc. Arim. et Seleuc., chap. II. §3; Oxford edition of Athanasius' Tracts against Arianism,), quoted by Eusebius in his epistle to the same Alexander, should give Eusebius that impression. The words are as follows: "The God of the law, and of the prophets, and of the New Testament before eternal ages begat an only-begotten Son, through whom also He made the ages and the universe. And He begat him not in appearance, but in truth, and subjected him to his own will, unchangeable and immutable, a perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures." Arius' use here of the word "begat," and his qualification of the word "creature" by the adjective "perfect," and by the statement that he was "not as one of the creatures" naturally tended to make Eusebius think that Arius acknowledged a real divinity of the Son, and that appeared to him to be all that was necessary. Meanwhile Alexander in his epistle to Alexander of Constantinople (Theod. H. E. I. 4) had, as Eusebius says, misstated Arius' opinion, or at least had attributed to him the belief that Christ was "made like all other men that have ever been born," whereas Arius expressly disclaims such a belief. Alexander undoubtedly thought that that was the legitimate result to which the other views of Arius must lead; but Eusebius did not think so, and felt himself called upon to remonstrate with Alexander for what seemed to him the latter's unfairness in the matter.

When we examine the Cæsarean creed which Eusebius presented to the Council as a fair statement of his belief, we find nothing in it inconsistent with the acceptance of the kind of Arianism which he defends in his epistle to Alexander, and which he evidently supposed to be practically the Arianism of Arius himself. In his epistle to Euphrasion, however, Eusebius seems at first glance to go further and to give up the real divinity of the Son. His words are, "Since the Son is himself God, but not true God." But we have no right to interpret these words, torn as they are from the context which might make their meaning perfectly plain, without due regard to Eusebius' belief

expressed elsewhere in this epistle, and in his epistle to Alexander which was evidently written about the same time. In the epistle to Alexander he clearly reveals a belief in the real divinity of the Son, while in the other fragment of his epistle to Euphrasion he dwells upon the subordination of the Son and approves the Arian opinion, which he had defended also in the other epistle, that the "Father was before the Son." The expression, "not true God" (a very common Arian expression; see Athan. *Orat. c. Arian.* I. 6) seems therefore to have been used by Eusebius to express a belief, not that the Son did not possess real divinity (as the genuine Arians used it), but that he was not equal to the Father, who, to Eusebius' thought, was "true God." He indeed expressly calls the Son θεός, which shows — when the sense in which he elsewhere uses the word is considered — that he certainly did believe him to partake of Godhood, though, in some mysterious way, in a smaller degree, or in a less complete manner than the Father. That Eusebius misunderstood Arius, and did not perceive that he actually denied all real deity to the Son, was due doubtless in part to his lack of theological insight (Eusebius was never a great theologian), in part to his habitual dread of Sabellianism (of which Arius had accused Alexander, and toward which Eusebius evidently thought that the latter was tending), which led him to look with great favor upon the pronounced subordinationism of Arius, and thus to overlook the dangerous extreme to which Arius carried that subordinationism.

We are now, the writer hopes, prepared to admit that Eusebius, after the breaking out of the Arian controversy, became an Arian, as he understood Arianism, and supported that party with considerable vigor; and that not as a result of mere personal friendship, but of theological conviction. At the same time, he was then, as always, a peace-loving man, and while lending Arius his approval and support, he united with other Palestinian bishops in enjoining upon him submission to his bishop (Sozomen, *H. E.* I. 15). As an Arian, then, and yet possessed with the desire of securing, if it were possible, peace and harmony between the two factions, Eusebius appeared at the Council of Nicæa, and there signed a creed containing Athanasian doctrine and anathematizing the chief tenets of Arius. How are we to explain his conduct? We shall, perhaps, do best to let him explain his own conduct. In his letter to the church of Cæsarea (preserved by Socrates, *H. E.* I. 8, as well as by other authors), he writes as follows: —

“What was transacted concerning ecclesiastical faith at the Great Council assembled at Nicæa you have probably learned, Beloved, from other sources, rumour being wont to precede the accurate account of what is doing. But lest in such reports the circumstances of the case have been misrepresented, we have been obliged to transmit to you, first, the formula of faith presented by ourselves; and next, the second, which the Fathers put forth with some additions to our words. Our own paper, then, which was read in the presence of our most pious Emperor, and declared to be good and unexceptionable, ran thus: —

“As we have received from the Bishops who preceded us, and in our first catechisings, and when we received the Holy Laver, and as we have learned from the divine Scriptures, and as we believed and taught in the presbytery, and in the Episcopate itself, so believing also at the time present, we report to you our faith, and it is this: —

“We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God from God, Light from Light, Life from Life, Son Only-begotten, first-born of every creature, before all the ages, begotten from the Father, by whom also all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge quick and dead. And we believe also in One Holy Ghost; believing each of These to be and to exist, the Father truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost, as also our Lord, sending forth His disciples for the preaching, said, *Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* Concerning whom we confidently affirm that so we hold, and so we think, and so we have held aforetime, and we maintain this faith unto the death, anathematizing every godless heresy. That this we have ever thought from our heart and soul, from the time we recollect ourselves, and now think and say in truth, before God Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ do we witness, being able by proofs to show and to convince you, that, even in times past, such has been our belief and preaching.’

“On this faith being publicly put forth by us, no room for contradiction appeared; but our most pious Emperor, before any one else, testified that it comprised most orthodox statements. He confessed, moreover, that such were

his own sentiments; and he advised all present to agree to it, and to subscribe its articles and to assent to them, with the insertion of the single word, ‘One in substance’ (ὁμοούσιος), which, moreover, he interpreted as not in the sense of the affections of bodies, nor as if the Son subsisted from the Father, in the way of division, or any severance; for that the immaterial and intellectual and incorporeal nature could not be the subject of any corporeal affection, but that it became us to conceive of such things in a divine and ineffable manner. And such were the theological remarks of our most wise and most religious Emperor; but they, with a view to the addition of ‘One in substance,’ drew up the following formula: —

“We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible: — And in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Only-begotten, that is, from the Substance of the Father; God from God, Light from Light, very God from very God, begotten, not made, One in substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and cometh to judge quick and dead.

“And in the Holy Ghost. But those who say, “Once He was not,” and “Before His generation He was not,” and “He came to be from nothing,” or those who pretend that the Son of God is “Of other subsistence or substance,” or “created,” or “alterable,” or “mutable,” the Catholic Church anathematizes.’

“On their dictating this formula, we did not let it pass without inquiry in what sense they introduced ‘of the substance of the Father,’ and ‘one in substance with the Father.’ Accordingly questions and explanations took place, and the meaning of the words underwent the scrutiny of reason. And they professed that the phrase ‘of the substance’ was indicative of the Son’s being indeed from the Father, yet without being as if a part of Him. And with this understanding we thought good to assent to the sense of such religious doctrine, teaching, as it did, that the Son was from the Father, not, however, a part of His substance. On this account we assented to the sense ourselves, without declining even the term ‘One in substance,’ peace being the object which we set before us, and steadfastness in the orthodox view. In the same way we also admitted ‘begotten, not made’; since the Council alleged that

‘made’ was an appellative common to the other creatures which came to be through the Son, to whom the Son had no likeness. Wherefore, said they, He was not a work resembling the things which through Him came to be, but was of a substance which is too high for the level of any work, and which the Divine oracles teach to have been generated from the Father, the mode of generation being inscrutable and incalculable to every generated nature. And so, too, on examination there are grounds for saying that the Son is ‘one in substance’ with the Father; not in the way of bodies, nor like mortal beings, for He is not such by division of substance, or by severance; no, nor by any affection, or alteration, or changing of the Father’s substance and power (since from all such the ingenerate nature of the Father is alien), but because ‘one in substance with the Father’ suggests that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the generated creatures, but that to His Father alone who begat Him is He in every way assimilated, and that He is not of any other subsistence and substance, but from the Father.

“To which term also, thus interpreted, it appeared well to assent; since we were aware that, even among the ancients, some learned and illustrious Bishops and writers have used the term ‘one in substance’ in their theological teaching concerning the Father and Son. So much, then, be said concerning the faith which was published; to which all of us assented, not without inquiry, but according to the specified senses, mentioned before the most religious Emperor himself, and justified by the fore-mentioned considerations. And as to the anathematism published by them at the end of the Faith, it did not pain us, because it forbade to use words not in Scripture, from which almost all the confusion and disorder of the Church have come. Since, then, no divinely inspired Scripture has used the phrases, ‘out of nothing’ and ‘once He was not,’ and the rest which follow, there appeared no ground for using or teaching them; to which also we assented as a good decision, since it had not been our custom hitherto to use these terms. Moreover, to anathematize ‘Before His generation He was not’ did not seem preposterous, in that it is confessed by all that the Son of God was before the generation according to the flesh. Nay, our most religious Emperor did at the time prove, in a speech, that He was in being even according to His divine generation which is before all ages, since even before he was generated in energy, He was in virtue with the Father ingenerately, the Father being always Father, as King always and

Saviour always, having all things in virtue, and being always in the same respects and in the same way. This we have been forced to transmit to you, Beloved, as making clear to you the deliberation of our inquiry and assent, and how reasonably we resisted even to the last minute, as long as we were offended at statements which differed from our own, but received without contention what no longer pained us, as soon as, on a candid examination of the sense of the words, they appeared to us to coincide with what we ourselves have professed in the faith which we have already published."

It will be seen that while the expressions "of the substance of the Father," "begotten not made," and "One in substance," or "consubstantial with the Father," are all explicitly anti-Arianistic, yet none of them contradicts the doctrines held by Eusebius before the Council, so far as we can learn them from his epistles to Alexander and Euphratation and from the Cæsarean creed. His own explanation of those expressions, which it is to be observed was the explanation given by the Council itself, and which therefore he was fully warranted in accepting, — even though it may not have been so rigid as to satisfy an Athanasius, — shows us how this is. He had believed before that the Son partook of the Godhood in very truth, that He was "begotten," and therefore "not made," if "made" implied something different from "begotten," as the Nicene Fathers held that it did; and he had believed before that the "Son of God has no resemblance to created' things, but is in every respect like the Father only who begat him, and that He is of no other substance or essence than the Father," and therefore if that was what the word "Consubstantial" (ὁμοούσιος) meant he could not do otherwise than accept that too.

It is clear that the dread of Sabellianism was still before the eyes of Eusebius, and was the cause of his hesitation in assenting to the various changes, especially to the use of the word ὁμοούσιος, which had been a Sabellian word and had been rejected on that account by the Synod of Antioch, at which Paul of Samosata had been condemned some sixty years before.

It still remains to explain Eusebius' sanction of the anathemas attached to the creed which expressly condemn at least one of the beliefs which he had himself formerly held, viz.: that the "Father was before the Son," or as he puts it elsewhere, that "He who is begat him who was not." The knot might of course be simply cut by supposing an act of hypocrisy on his part, but the

writer is convinced that such a conclusion does violence to all that we know of Eusebius and of his subsequent treatment of the questions involved in this discussion. It is quite possible to suppose that a real change of opinion on his part took place during the sessions of the Council. Indeed when we realize how imperfect and incorrect a conception of Arianism he had before the Council began, and how clearly its true bearing was there brought out by its enemies, we can see that he could not do otherwise than change; that he must have become either an out-and-out Arian, or an opponent of Arianism as he did. When he learned, and learned for the first time, that Arianism meant the denial of all essential divinity to Christ, and when he saw that it involved the ascription of mutability and of other finite attributes to him, he must either change entirely his views on those points or he must leave the Arian party. To him who with all his subordinationism had laid in all his writings so much stress on the divinity of the Word (even though he had not realized exactly what that divinity involved) it would have been a revolution in his Christian life and faith to have admitted what he now learned that Arianism involved. Sabellianism had been his dread, but now this new fear, which had aroused so large a portion of the Church, seized him too, and he felt that stand must be made against this too great separation of Father and Son, which was leading to dangerous results. Under the pressure of this fear it is not surprising that he should become convinced that the Arian formula— “there was a time when the Son was not” — involved serious consequences, and that Alexander and his followers should have succeeded in pointing out to him its untruth, because it led necessarily to a false conclusion. It is not surprising, moreover, that they should have succeeded in explaining to him at least partially their belief, which, as his epistle to Alexander shows, had before been absolutely incomprehensible, that the Son was generated from all eternity, and that therefore the Father did not exist before him in a temporal sense.

He says toward the close of his epistle to the Cæsarean church that he had not been accustomed to use such expressions as “There was a time when he was not,” “He came to be from nothing,” etc. And there is no reason to doubt that he speaks the truth. Even in his epistles to Alexander and Euphrasion he does not use those phrases (though he does defend the doctrine taught by the first of them), nor does Arius himself, in the epistle to Alexander upon which Eusebius apparently based his knowledge of the system, use those

expressions, although he too teaches the same doctrine. The fact is that in that epistle Arius studiously avoids such favorite Arian phrases as might emphasize the differences between himself and Alexander, and Eusebius seems to have avoided them for the same reason. We conclude then that Eusebius was not an Arian (nor an adherent of Lucian) before 318, that soon after that date he became an Arian in the sense in which he understood Arianism, but that during the Council of Nicæa he ceased to be one in any sense. His writings in later years confirm the course of doctrinal development which we have supposed went on in his mind. He never again defends Arian doctrines in his works, and yet he never becomes an Athanasian in his emphasis upon the ὁμοούσιον. In fact he represents a mild orthodoxy, which is always orthodox — when measured by the Nicene creed as interpreted by the Nicene Council — and yet is always mild. Moreover, he never acquired an affection for the word ὁμοούσιος, which to his mind was bound up with too many evil associations ever to have a pleasant sound to him. He therefore studiously avoided it in his own writings, although clearly showing that he believed fully in what the Nicene Council had explained it to mean. It must be remembered that during many years of his later life he was engaged in controversy with Marcellus, a thorough-going Sabellian, who had been at the time of the Council one of the strongest of Athanasius' colleagues. In his contest with him it was again anti-Sabellianistic polemics which absorbed him and increased his distaste for ὁμοούσιον and minimized his emphasis upon the distinctively anti-Arianistic doctrines formulated at Nicæa. For any except the very wisest minds it was a matter of enormous difficulty to steer between the two extremes in those times of strife; and while combating Sabellianism not to fall into Arianism, and while combating the latter not to be engulfed in the former. That Eusebius under the constant pressure of the one fell into the other at one time, and was in occasional danger of falling into it again in later years, can hardly be cited as an evidence either of wrong heart or of weak head. An Athanasius he was not, but neither was he an unsteady weather-cock, or an hypocritical time-server.

§6. The Council of Nicæa.

At the Council of Nicæa, which met pursuant to an imperial summons in the year 325 A.D., Eusebius played a very prominent part. A description of the

opening scenes of the Council is given in his *Vita Constantini*, III. 10 sq. After the Emperor had entered in pomp and had taken his seat, a bishop who sat next to him upon his right arose and delivered in his honor the opening oration, to which the Emperor replied in a brief Latin address. There can be no doubt that this bishop was our Eusebius. Sozomen (*H. E.* I. 19) states it directly; and Eusebius, although he does not name the speaker, yet refers to him, as he had referred to the orator at the dedication of Paulinus' church at Tyre, in such a way as to make it clear that it was himself; and moreover in his *Vita Constantini*, I. 1, he mentions the fact that he had in the midst of an assembly of the servants of God addressed an oration to the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's *vicennalia*, i.e. in 325 a.d. On the other hand, however, Theodoret (*H. E.* I. 7) states that this opening oration was delivered by Eustathius, bishop of Antioch; while Theodore of Mopsuestia and Philostorgius (according to Nicetas Choniates, *Thes. de orthod. fid.* V. 7) assign it to Alexander of Alexandria. As Lightfoot suggests, it is possible to explain the discrepancy in the reports by supposing that Eustathius and Alexander, the two great patriarchs, first addressed a few words to the Emperor and that then Eusebius delivered the regular oration. This supposition is not at all unlikely, for it would be quite proper for the two highest ecclesiastics present to welcome the Emperor formally in behalf of the assembled prelates, before the regular oration was delivered by Eusebius. At the same time, the supposition that one or the other of the two great patriarchs must have delivered the opening address was such a natural one that it may have been adopted by Theodoret and the other writers referred to without any historical basis. It is in any case certain that the regular oration was delivered by Eusebius himself (see the convincing arguments adduced by Stroth, p. xxvii. sq.). This oration is no longer extant, but an idea of its character may be formed from the address delivered by Eusebius at the Emperor's *tricennalia* (which is still extant under the title *De laudibus Constantini*; see below,) and from the general tone of his Life of Constantine. It was avowedly a panegyric, and undoubtedly as fulsome as it was possible to make it, and his powers in that direction were by no means slight.

That Eusebius, instead of the bishop of some more prominent church, should have been selected to deliver the opening address, may have been in part owing to his recognized standing as the most learned man and the most

famous writer in the Church, in part to the fact that he was not as pronounced a partisan as some of his distinguished brethren; for instance, Alexander of Alexandria, and Eusebius of Nicomedia; and finally in some measure to his intimate relations with the Emperor. How and when his intimacy with the latter grew up we do not know. As already remarked, he seems to have become personally acquainted with him many years before, when Constantine passed through Cæsarea in the train of Diocletian, and it may be that a mutual friendship, which was so marked in later years, began at that time. However that may be, Eusebius seems to have possessed special advantages of one kind or another, enabling him to come into personal contact with official circles, and once introduced to imperial notice, his wide learning, sound common sense, genial temper and broad charity would insure him the friendship of the Emperor himself, or of any other worthy officer of state. We have no record of an intimacy between Constantine and Eusebius before the Council of Nicæa, but many clear intimations of it after that time. In fact, it is evident that during the last decade at least of the Emperor's life, few, if any, bishops stood higher in his esteem or enjoyed a larger measure of his confidence. Compare for instance the records of their conversations (contained in the *Vita Constantini*, I. 28 and II. 9), of their correspondence (*ib.* II. 46, III. 61, IV. 35 and 36), and the words of Constantine himself (*ib.* III. 60). The marked attention paid by him to the speeches delivered by Eusebius in his presence (*ib.* IV. 33 and 46) is also to be noticed. Eusebius' intimacy with the imperial family is shown likewise in the tone of the letter which he wrote to Constantia, the sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, in regard to a likeness of Christ which she had asked him to send her. The frankness and freedom with which he remonstrates with her for what he considers mistaken zeal on her part, reveal a degree of familiarity which could have come only from long and cordial relations between himself and his royal correspondent. Whatever other reasons therefore may have combined to indicate Eusebius as the most fitting person to deliver the oration in honor of the Emperor at the Council of Nicæa, there can be little doubt that Constantine's personal friendship for him had much to do with his selection. The action of the Council on the subject of Arianism, and Eusebius' conduct in the matter, have already been discussed. Of the bishops assembled at the Council, not far from three hundred in number (the reports of eye-witnesses vary from two hundred and fifty to three

hundred and eighteen), all but two signed the Nicene creed as adopted by the Council. These two, both of them Egyptians, were banished with Arius to Illyria, while Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nicæa, who subscribed the creed itself but refused to assent to its anathemas, were also banished for a time, but soon yielded, and were restored to their churches.

Into the other purposes for which the Nicene Council was called, — the settlement of the dispute respecting the time of observing Easter and the healing of the Meletian schism, — it is not necessary to enter here. We have no record of the part which Eusebius took in these transactions. Lightfoot has abundantly shown (sq.) that the common supposition that Eusebius was the author of the paschal cycle of nineteen years is false, and that there is no reason to suppose that he had anything particular to do with the decision of the paschal question at this Council.

§7. Continuance of the Arian Controversy. Eusebius' Relations to the Two Parties.

The Council of Nicæa did not bring the Arian controversy to an end. The orthodox party was victorious, it is true, but the Arians were still determined, and could not give up their enmity against the opponents of Arius, and their hope that they might in the end turn the tables on their antagonists. Meanwhile, within a few years after the Council, a quarrel broke out between our Eusebius and Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, a resolute supporter of Nicene orthodoxy. According to Socrates (*H. E.* I. 23) and Sozomen (*H. E.* II. 18) Eustathius accused Eusebius of perverting the Nicene doctrines, while Eusebius denied the charge, and in turn taxed Eustathius with Sabellianism. The quarrel finally became so serious that it was deemed necessary to summon a Council for the investigation of Eustathius' orthodoxy and the settlement of the dispute. This Council met in Antioch in 330 a.d. (see Tillemont, VII.sq., for a discussion of the date), and was made up chiefly of bishops of Arian or semi-Arian tendencies. This fact, however, brings no discredit upon Eusebius. The Council was held in another province, and he can have had nothing to do with its composition. In fact, convened, as it was, in Eustathius' own city, it must have been legally organized; and indeed Eustathius himself acknowledged its jurisdiction by appearing before it to answer the charges made against him. Theodoret's absurd account of the

origin of the synod and of the accusations brought against Eustathius (*H. E. I. 21*) bears upon its face the stamp of falsehood, and is, as Hefele has shown (*Conciliengeschichte*, I. 451), hopelessly in error in its chronology. It is therefore to be rejected as quite worthless. The decision of the Council doubtless fairly represented the views of the majority of the bishops of that section, for we know that Arianism had a very strong hold there. To think of a packed Council and of illegal methods of procedure in procuring the verdict against Eustathius is both unnecessary and unwarrantable. The result of the Council was the deposition of Eustathius from his bishopric and his banishment by the Emperor to Illyria, where he afterward died. There is a division of opinion among our sources in regard to the immediate successor of Eustathius. All of them agree that Eusebius was asked to become bishop of Antioch, but that he refused the honor, and that Euphronius was chosen in his stead. Socrates and Sozomen, however, inform us that the election of Eusebius took place immediately after the deposition of Eustathius, while Theodoret (*H. E. I. 22*) names Eulalius as Eustathius' immediate successor, and states that he lived but a short time, and that Eusebius was then asked to succeed him. Theodoret is supported by Jerome (*Chron.*, year of Abr. 2345) and by Philostorgius (*H. E. III. 15*), both of whom insert a bishop Eulalius between Eustathius and Euphronius. It is easier to suppose that Socrates and Sozomen may have omitted so unimportant a name at this point than that the other three witnesses inserted it without warrant. Socrates indeed implies in the same chapter that his knowledge of these affairs is limited, and it is not surprising that Eusebius' election, which caused a great stir, should have been connected in the mind of later writers immediately with Eustathius' deposition, and the intermediate steps forgotten. It seems probable, therefore, that immediately after the condemnation of Eustathius, Eulalius was appointed in his place, perhaps by the same Council, and that after his death, a few months later, Eusebius, who had meanwhile gone back to Cæsarea, was elected in due order by another Council of neighboring bishops summoned for the purpose, and that he was supported by a large party of citizens. It is noticeable that the letter written by the Emperor to the Council, which wished to transfer Eusebius to Antioch (see *Vita Const. III. 62*), mentions in its salutation the names of five bishops, but among them is only one (Theodotus) who is elsewhere named as present at the Council which deposed Eustathius, while

Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Theognis of Nicæa, as well as others whom we know to have been on hand on that occasion, are not referred to by the Emperor. This fact certainly seems to point to a different council.

It is greatly to Eusebius' credit that he refused the call extended to him. Had he been governed simply by selfish ambition he would certainly have accepted it, for the patriarchate of Antioch stood at that time next to Alexandria in point of honor in the Eastern Church. The Emperor commended him very highly for his decision, in his epistles to the people of Antioch and to the Council (*Vita Const.* III. 60, 62), and in that to Eusebius himself (*ib.* III. 61). He saw in it a desire on Eusebius' part to observe the ancient canon of the Church, which forbade the transfer of a bishop from one see to another. But that in itself can hardly have been sufficient to deter the latter from accepting the high honor offered him, for it was broken without scruple on all sides. It is more probable that he saw that the schism of the Antiochenes would be embittered by the induction into the bishopric of that church of Eustathius' chief opponent, and that he did not feel that he had a right so to divide the Church of God. Eusebius' general character, as known to us, justifies us in supposing that this high motive had much to do with his decision. We may suppose also that so difficult a place can have had no very great attractions for a man of his age and of his peace-loving disposition and scholarly tastes. In Cæsarea he had spent his life; there he had the great library of Pamphilus at his disposal, and leisure to pursue his literary work. In Antioch he would have found himself compelled to plunge into the midst of quarrels and seditions of all kinds, and would have been obliged to devote his entire attention to the performance of his official duties. His own tastes therefore must have conspired with his sense of duty to lead him to reject the proffered call and to remain in the somewhat humbler station which he already occupied.

Not long after the deposition of Eustathius, the Arians and their sympathizers began to work more energetically to accomplish the ruin of Athanasius, their greatest foe. He had become Alexander's successor as bishop of Alexandria in the year 326, and was the acknowledged head of the orthodox party. If he could be brought into discredit, there might be hopes of restoring Arius to his position in Alexandria, and of securing for Arianism a recognition, and finally a dominating influence in the church at large. To the overthrow of Athanasius therefore all good Arians bent their energies. They found ready accomplices

in the schismatical Meletians of Egypt, who were bitter enemies of the orthodox church of Alexandria. It was useless to accuse Athanasius of heterodoxy; he was too widely known as the pillar of the orthodox faith. Charges must be framed of another sort, and of a sort to stir up the anger of the Emperor against him. The Arians therefore and the Meletians began to spread the most vile and at the same time absurd stories about Athanasius (see especially the latter's Apol. c. Arian. §59 sq.). These at last became so notorious that the Emperor summoned Athanasius to appear and make his defense before a council of bishops to be held in Cæsarea (Sozomen, H. E. II. 25; Theodoret, H. E. I. 28). Athanasius, however, fearing that the Council would be composed wholly of his enemies, and that it would therefore be impossible to secure fair play, excused himself and remained away. But in the following year (see Sozomen, H. E. II. 25) he received from the Emperor a summons to appear before a council at Tyre. The summons was too peremptory to admit of a refusal, and Athanasius therefore attended, accompanied by many of his devoted adherents (see Sozomen, ib.; Theodoret, H. E. I. 30; Socrates, H. E. I. 28; Athanasius, Apol. c. Arian. §71 sq.; Eusebius, Vita Const. IV. 41 sq., and Epiphanius, Hær. LXVIII. 8). After a time, perceiving that he had no chance of receiving fair play, he suddenly withdrew from the Council and proceeded directly to Constantinople, in order to lay his case before the Emperor himself, and to induce the latter to allow him to meet his accusers in his presence, and plead his cause before him.

There was nothing for the Synod to do after his flight but to sustain the charges brought against him, some of which he had not stayed to refute, and to pass condemnation upon him. Besides various immoral and sacrilegious deeds of which he was accused, his refusal to appear before the Council of Cæsarea the previous year was made an important item of the prosecution. It was during this Council that Potamo flung at Eusebius the taunt of cowardice, to which reference was made above, and which doubtless did much to confirm Eusebius' distrust of and hostility to the Athanasian party. Whether Eusebius of Cæsarea, as is commonly supposed, or Eusebius of Nicomedia, or some other bishop, presided at this Council we are not able to determine. The account of Epiphanius seems to imply that the former was presiding at the time that Potamo made his untimely accusation. Our sources are, most of them, silent on the matter; but according to Valesius, Eusebius of Nicomedia is

named by some of them, but which they are I have not been able to discover. We learn from Socrates (*H. E. I. 28*), as well as from other sources, that this Synod of Tyre was held in the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign, that is, between July, 334, and July, 335. As the Council was closed only in time for the bishops to reach Jerusalem by July, 335, it is probable that it was convened in 335 rather than in 334. From Sozomen (*H. E. II. 25*) we learn also that the Synod of Cæsarea had been held the preceding year, therefore in 333 or 334 (the latter being the date commonly given by historians). While the Council of Tyre was still in session, the bishops were commanded by Constantine to proceed immediately to Jerusalem to take part in the approaching festival to be held there on the occasion of his tricennalia. The scene was one of great splendor. Bishops were present from all parts of the world, and the occasion was marked by the dedication of the new and magnificent basilica which Constantine had erected upon the site of Calvary (*Theodoret, I. 31; Socrates, I. 28 and 33; Sozomen, II. 26; Eusebius, Vita Const. IV. 41 and 43*). The bishops gathered in Jerusalem at this time held another synod before separating. In this they completed the work begun at Tyre, by re-admitting Arius and his adherents to the communion of the Church (see *Socrates, I. 33, and Sozomen, II. 27*). According to Sozomen the Emperor, having been induced to recall Arius from banishment in order to reconsider his case, was presented by the latter with a confession of faith, which was so worded as to convince Constantine of his orthodoxy. He therefore sent Arius and his companion Euzoius to the bishops assembled in Jerusalem with the request that they would examine the confession, and if they were satisfied with its orthodoxy would re-admit them to communion. The Council, which was composed largely of Arius' friends and sympathizers, was only too glad to accede to the Emperor's request.

Meanwhile Athanasius had induced Constantine, out of a sense of justice, to summon the bishops that had condemned him at Tyre to give an account of their proceedings before the Emperor himself at Constantinople. This unexpected, and, doubtless, not altogether welcome summons came while the bishops were at Jerusalem, and the majority of them at once returned home in alarm, while only a few answered the call and repaired to Constantinople. Among these were Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicæa, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, and other prominent Arians, and with them our Eusebius

(Athanasius, Apol. c. Arian. §§86 and 87; Socrates, I. 33–35; Sozomen, II. 28). The accusers of Athanasius said nothing on this occasion in regard to his alleged immoralities, for which he had been condemned at Tyre, but made another equally trivial accusation against him, and the result was his banishment to Gaul. Whether Constantine banished him because he believed the charge brought against him, or because he wished to preserve him from the machinations of his enemies (as asserted by his son Constantine, and apparently believed by Athanasius himself; see his Apol. c. Arian. §87), or because he thought that Athanasius' absence would allay the troubles in the Alexandrian church we do not know. The latter supposition seems most probable. In any case he was not recalled from banishment until after Constantine's death. Our Eusebius has been severely condemned by many historians for the part taken by him in the Eustathian controversy and especially in the war against Athanasius. In justice to him a word or two must be spoken in his defense. So far as his relations to Eustathius are concerned, it is to be noticed that the latter commenced the controversy by accusing Eusebius of heterodoxy. Eusebius himself did not begin the quarrel, and very likely had no desire to engage in any such doctrinal strife; but he was compelled to defend himself, and in doing so he could not do otherwise than accuse Eustathius of Sabellianism; for if the latter was not satisfied with Eusebius' orthodoxy, which Eusebius himself believed to be truly Nicene, then he must be leaning too far toward the other extreme; that is, toward Sabellianism. There is no reason to doubt that Eusebius was perfectly straightforward and honorable throughout the whole controversy, and at the Council of Antioch itself. That he was not actuated by unworthy motives, or by a desire for revenge, is evinced by his rejection of the proffered call to Antioch, the acceptance of which would have given him so good an opportunity to triumph over his fallen enemy. It must be admitted, in fact, that Eusebius comes out of this controversy without a stain of any kind upon his character. He honestly believed Eustathius to be a Sabellian, and he acted accordingly.

Eusebius has been blamed still more severely for his treatment of Athanasius. But again the facts must be looked at impartially. It is necessary always to remember that Sabellianism was in the beginning and remained throughout his life the heresy which he most dreaded, and which he had perhaps most

reason to dread. He must, even at the Council of Nicæa, have suspected Athanasius, who laid so much stress upon the unity of essence on the part of Father and Son, of a leaning toward Sabellianistic principles; and this suspicion must have been increased when he discovered, as he believed, that Athanasius' most staunch supporter, Eustathius, was a genuine Sabellian. Moreover, on the other side, it is to be remembered that Eusebius of Nicomedia, and all the other leading Arians, had signed the Nicene creed and had proclaimed themselves thoroughly in sympathy with its teaching. Our Eusebius, knowing the change that had taken place in his own mind upon the controverted points, may well have believed that their views had undergone even a greater change, and that they were perfectly honest in their protestations of orthodoxy. And finally, when Arius himself presented a confession of faith which led the Emperor, who had had a personal interview with him, to believe that he had altered his views and was in complete harmony with the Nicene faith, it is not surprising that our Eusebius, who was naturally unsuspecting, conciliatory and peace-loving, should think the same thing, and be glad to receive Arius back into communion, while at the same time remaining perfectly loyal to the orthodoxy of the Nicene creed which he had subscribed. Meanwhile his suspicions of the Arian party being in large measure allayed, and his distrust of the orthodoxy of Athanasius and of his adherents being increased by the course of events, it was only natural that he should lend more or less credence to the calumnies which were so industriously circulated against Athanasius. To charge him with dishonesty for being influenced by these reports, which seem to us so absurd and palpably calumnious, is quite unwarranted. Constantine, who was, if not a theologian, at least a clear-headed and sharp-sighted man, believed them, and why should Eusebius not have done the same? The incident which took place at the Council of Tyre in connection with Potamo and himself was important; for whatever doubts he may have had up to that time as to the truth of the accusations made against Athanasius and his adherents, Potamo's conduct convinced him that the charges of tyranny and high-handed dealing brought against the whole party were quite true. It could not be otherwise than that he should believe that the good of the Alexandrian church, and therefore of the Church at large, demanded the deposition of the seditious and tyrannous archbishop, who was at the same time quite probably Sabellianistic in his

tendencies. It must in justice be noted that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that our Eusebius had anything to do with the dishonorable intrigues of the Arian party throughout this controversy. Athanasius, who cannot say enough in condemnation of the tactics of Eusebius of Nicomedia and his supporters, never mentions Eusebius of Cæsarea in a tone of bitterness. He refers to him occasionally as a member of the opposite party, but he has no complaints to utter against him, as he has against the others. This is very significant, and should put an end to all suspicions of unworthy conduct on Eusebius' part. It is to be observed that the latter, though having good cause as he believed to condemn Athanasius and his adherents, never acted as a leader in the war against them. His name, if mentioned at all, occurs always toward the end of the list as one of the minor combatants, although his position and his learning would have entitled him to take the most prominent position in the whole affair, if he had cared to. He was but true to his general character in shrinking from such a controversy, and in taking part in it only in so far as his conscience compelled him to. We may suspect indeed that he would not have made one of the small party that repaired to Constantinople in response to the Emperor's imperious summons had it not been for the celebration of Constantine's *tricennalia*, which was taking place there at the time, and at which he delivered, on the special invitation of the Emperor and in his presence, one of his greatest orations. Certain it is, from the account which he gives in his *Vita Constantini*, that both in Constantinople and in Jerusalem the festival of the *tricennalia*, with its attendant ceremonies, interested him much more than did the condemnation of Athanasius.

§8. *Eusebius and Marcellus.*

It was during this visit to Constantinople that another synod was held, at which Eusebius was present, and the result of which was the condemnation and deposition of the bishop Marcellus of Ancyra (see Socrates, I. 36; Sozomen, II. 33; Eusebius, *Contra Marc.* II. 4). The attitude of our Eusebius toward Marcellus is again significant of his theological tendencies. Marcellus had written a book against Asterius, a prominent Arian, in which, in his zeal for the Nicene orthodoxy, he had laid himself open to the charge of Sabellianism. On this account he was deposed by the Constantinopolitan Synod, and our Eusebius was urged to write a work exposing his errors and

defending the action of the Council. As a consequence he composed his two works against Marcellus which will be described later. That Eusebius, if not in the case of Athanasius and possibly not in that of Eustathius, had at least in the present case good ground for the belief that Marcellus was a Sabellian, or Sabellianistic in tendency, is abundantly proved by the citations which he makes from Marcellus' own works; and, moreover, his judgment and that of the Synod was later confirmed even by Athanasius himself. Though not suspecting Marcellus for some time, Athanasius finally became convinced that he had deviated from the path of orthodoxy, and, as Newman has shown (in his introduction to Athanasius' fourth discourse against the Arians, *Oxford Library of the Fathers*, vol. 19,sq.), directed that discourse against his errors and those of his followers.

The controversy with Marcellus seems to have been the last in which Eusebius was engaged, and it was opposition to the dreaded heresy of Sabellius which moved him here as in all the other cases. It is important to emphasize, however, what is often overlooked, that though Eusebius during these years was so continuously engaged in controversy with one or another of the members of the anti-Arian party, there is no evidence that he ever deviated from the doctrinal position which he took at the Council of Nicæa. After that date it was never Arianism which he consciously supported; it was never the Nicene orthodoxy which he opposed. He supported those members of the old Arian party who had signed the Nicene creed and protested that they accepted its teaching, against those members of the opposite party whom he believed to be drifting toward Sabellianism, or acting tyrannously and unjustly toward their opponents. The anti-Sabellianistic interest influenced him all the time, but his post-Nicene writings contain no evidence that he had fallen back into the Arianizing position which he had held before 325. They reveal, on the contrary, a fair type of orthodoxy, colored only by its decidedly anti-Sabellian emphasis.

§9. The Death of Eusebius.

In less than two years after the celebration of his *tricennalia*, on May 22, 337 a.d., the great Constantine breathed his last, in Nicomedia, his former Capital. Eusebius, already an old man, produced a lasting testimonial of his own unbounded affection and admiration for the first Christian emperor, in his *Life*

of Constantine. Soon afterward he followed his imperial friend at the advanced age of nearly, if not quite, eighty years. The exact date of his death is unknown, but it can be fixed approximately. We know from Sozomen (*H. E.* III. 5) that in the summer of 341, when a council was held at Antioch (on the date of the Council, which we are able to fix with great exactness, see Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* I.sq.) Acacius, Eusebius' successor, was already bishop of Cæsarea. Socrates (*H. E.* II. 4) and Sozomen (*H. E.* III. 2) both mention the death of Eusebius and place it shortly before the death of Constantine the younger, which took place early in 340 (see Tillemont's *Hist. des Emp.* IV.sq.), and after the intrigues had begun which resulted in Athanasius' second banishment. We are thus led to place Eusebius' death late in the year 339, or early in the year 340.

Chapter II. The Writings of Eusebius.

§1. Eusebius as a Writer

Eusebius was one of the most voluminous writers of antiquity, and his labors covered almost every field of theological learning. In the words of Lightfoot he was “historian, apologist, topographer, exegete, critic, preacher, dogmatic writer, in turn.” It is as an historian that he is best known, but the importance of his historical writings should not cause us to overlook, as modern scholars have been prone to do, his invaluable productions in other departments. Lightfoot passes a very just judgment upon the importance of his works in the following words: “If the permanent utility of an author’s labors may be taken as a test of literary excellence, Eusebius will hold a very high place indeed. The *Ecclesiastical History* is absolutely unique and indispensable. The *Chronicle* is the vast storehouse of information relating to the ancient monarchies of the world. The *Preparation and Demonstration* are the most important contributions to theology in their own province. Even the minor works, such as the *Martyrs of Palestine*, the *Life of Constantine*, the *Questions addressed to Stephanus and to Marinus*, and others, would leave an irreparable blank, if they were obliterated. And the same permanent value attaches also to his more technical treatises. The *Canons* and *Sections* have never yet been superseded for their particular purpose. The *Topography of Palestine* is the most important contribution to our knowledge in its own department. In short, no ancient ecclesiastical writer has laid posterity under heavier obligations.”

If we look in Eusebius’ works for evidences of brilliant genius we shall be disappointed. He did not possess a great creative mind like Origen’s or Augustine’s. His claim to greatness rests upon his vast erudition and his sterling sense. His powers of acquisition were remarkable and his diligence in study unwearied. He had at his command undoubtedly more acquired material than any man of his age, and he possessed that true literary and historical instinct which enabled him to select from his vast stores of knowledge those things which it was most worth his while to tell to the world. His writings therefore remain valuable while the works of many others, perhaps no less richly equipped than himself for the mission of adding to the sum of human

knowledge, are entirely forgotten. He thus had the ability to do more than acquire; he had the ability to impart to others the very best of that which he acquired, and to make it useful to them. There is not in his writings the brilliancy which we find in some others, there is not the same sparkle and freshness of new and suggestive thought, there is not the same impress of an overmastering individuality which transforms everything it touches. There is, however, a true and solid merit which marks his works almost without exception, and raises them above the commonplace. His exegesis is superior to that of most of his contemporaries, and his apologetics is marked by fairness of statement, breadth of treatment, and instinctive appreciation of the difference between the important and the unimportant points under discussion, which give to his apologetic works a permanent value. His wide acquaintance, too, with other systems than his own, and with the products of Pagan as well as Christian thought, enabled him to see things in their proper relations and to furnish a treatment of the great themes of Christianity adapted to the wants of those who had looked beyond the confines of a single school. At the same time it must be acknowledged that he was not always equal to the grand opportunities which his acquaintance with the works and lives of other men and other peoples opened before him. He does not always reveal the possession of that high quality of genius which is able to interpret the most various forces and to discover the higher principles of unity which alone make them intelligible; indeed, he often loses himself completely in a wilderness of thoughts and notions which have come to him from other men and other ages, and the result is dire confusion.

We shall be disappointed, too, if we seek in the works of Eusebius for evidences of a refined literary taste, or for any of the charms which attach to the writings of a great master of composition. His style is, as a rule, involved and obscure, often painfully rambling and incoherent. This quality is due in large part to the desultoriness of his thinking. He did not often enough clearly define and draw the boundaries of his subject before beginning to write upon it. He apparently did much of his thinking after he had taken pen in hand, and did not subject what he had thus produced to a sufficiently careful revision, if to any revision at all. Thoughts and suggestions poured in upon him while he was writing; and he was not always able to resist the temptation to insert them as they came, often to the utter perversion of his train of thought, and to the

ruin of the coherency and perspicuity of his style. It must be acknowledged, too, that his literary taste was, on the whole, decidedly vicious. Whenever a flight of eloquence is attempted by him, as it is altogether too often, his style becomes hopelessly turgid and pretentious. At such times his skill in mixing metaphors is something astounding (compare, for instance, *H. E.* II. 14). On the other hand, his works contain not a few passages of real beauty. This is especially true of his *Martyrs of Palestine*, where his enthusiastic admiration for and deep sympathy with the heroes of the faith cause him often to forget himself and to describe their sufferings in language of genuine fire or pathos. At times, too, when he has a sharply defined and absorbing aim in mind, and when the subject with which he is dealing does not seem to him to demand rhetorical adornment, he is simple and direct enough in his language, showing in such cases that his commonly defective style is not so much the consequence of an inadequate command of the Greek tongue as of desultory thinking and vicious literary taste.

But while we find much to criticise in Eusebius' writings, we ought not to fail to give him due credit for the conscientiousness and faithfulness with which he did his work. He wrote often, it is true, too rapidly for the good of his style, and he did not always revise his works as carefully as he should have done; but we seldom detect undue haste in the collection of materials or carelessness and negligence in the use of them. He seems to have felt constantly the responsibilities which rested upon him as a scholar and writer, and to have done his best to meet those responsibilities. It is impossible to avoid contrasting him in this respect with the most learned man of the ancient Latin Church, St. Jerome. The haste and carelessness with which the latter composed his *De Viris Illustribus*, and with which he translated and continued Eusebius' *Chronicle*, remain an everlasting disgrace to him. An examination of those and of some others of Jerome's works must tend to raise Eusebius greatly in our esteem. He was at least conscientious and honest in his work, and never allowed himself to palm off ignorance as knowledge, or to deceive his readers by sophistries, misstatements, and pure inventions. He aimed to put the reader into possession of the knowledge which he had himself acquired, but was always conscientious enough to stop there, and not attempt to make fancy play the *rôle* of fact.

One other point, which was mentioned some pages back, and to which

Lightfoot calls particular attention, should be referred to here, because of its bearing upon the character of Eusebius' writings. He was, above all things, an apologist; and the apologetic aim governed both the selection of his subjects and method of his treatment. He composed none of his works with a purely scientific aim. He thought always of the practical result to be attained, and his selection of material and his choice of method were governed by that. And yet we must recognize the fact that this aim was never narrowing in its effects. He took a broad view of apologetics, and in his lofty conception of the Christian religion he believed that every field of knowledge might be laid under tribute to it. He was bold enough to be confident that history, philosophy, and science all contribute to our understanding and appreciation of divine truth; and so history and philosophy and science were studied and handled by him freely and fearlessly. He did not feel the need of distorting truth of any kind because it might work injury to the religion which he professed. On the contrary, he had a sublime faith which led him to believe that all truth must have its place and its mission, and that the cause of Christianity will be benefited by its discovery and diffusion. As an apologist, therefore, all fields of knowledge had an interest for him; and he was saved that pettiness of mind and narrowness of outlook which are sometimes characteristic of those who write with a purely practical motive.

§2. *Catalogue of his Works.*

There is no absolutely complete edition of Eusebius' extant works. The only one which can lay claim even to relative completeness is that of Migne: *Eusebii Pamphili, Cæsareæ Palestinæ Episcopi, Opera omnia quæ extant, curis variorum, nempe: Henrici Valesii, Francisci Vigeri, Bernardi Montfauconii, Card. Angelo Maii edita; collegit et denuo recognovit J. P. Migne*. Par. 1857. 6 vols. (tom. XIX.—XXIV. of Migne's *Patrologia Græca*). This edition omits the works which are extant only in Syriac versions, also the *Topica*, and some brief but important Greek fragments (among them the epistles to Alexander and Euphrasion). The edition, however, is invaluable and cannot be dispensed with. References to it (under the simple title *Opera*) will be given below in connection with those works which it contains. Many of Eusebius' writings, especially the historical, have been published separately. Such editions will be mentioned in their proper place in the Catalogue.

More or less incomplete lists of our author's writings are given by Jerome (*De vir. ill.* 87); by Nicephorus Callistus (*H. E.* VI. 37); by Ebedjesu (in Assemani's *Bibl. Orient.* III.sq.); by Photius (*Bibl.* 9–13, 27, 39, 127); and by Suidas (who simply copies the Greek version of Jerome). Among modern works all the lives of Eusebius referred to in the previous chapter give more or less extended catalogues of his writings. In addition to the works mentioned there, valuable lists are also found in Lardner's *Credibility*, Part II cha, and especially in Fabricius' *Bibl. Græca* (ed. 1714), vol. VI.sq.

The writings of Eusebius that are known to us, extant and non-extant, may be classified for convenience' sake under the following heads: I. Historical. II. Apologetic. III. Polemic. IV. Dogmatic. V. Critical and Exegetical. VI. Biblical Dictionaries. VII. Orations. VIII. Epistles. IX. Spurious or doubtful works. The classification is necessarily somewhat artificial, and claims to be neither exhaustive nor exclusive.

I. Historical Works.

Life of Pamphilus (ἡ τοῦ Παμφίλου βίου ἀναγραφὴ; see *H. E.* VI. 32). Eusebius himself refers to this work in four passages (*H. E.* VI. 32, VII. 32, VIII. 13, and *Mart. Pal.* c. 11). In the last he informs us that it consisted of three books. The work is mentioned also more than once by Jerome (*De vir. ill.* 81; *Ep. ad Marcellam*, Migne's ed. *E*; *Contra Ruf.* I. 9), who speaks of it in terms of praise, and in the last passage gives a brief extract from the third book, which is, so far as known, the only extant fragment of the work. The date of its composition can be fixed within comparatively narrow limits. It must of course have been written before the shorter recension of the *Martyrs of Palestine*, which contains a reference to it (on its relation to the longer recension, which does not mention it, see below,), and also before the *History*, (i.e. as early as 313 a.d. (?), see below,). On the other hand, it was written after Pamphilus' death (see *H. E.* VII. 32, 25), which occurred in 310.

Martyrs of Palestine (περὶ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ μαρτυρησέντων). This work is extant in two recensions, a longer and a shorter. The longer has been preserved entire only in a Syriac version, which was published, with English translation and notes, by Cureton in 1861. A fragment of the original Greek of this work as preserved by Simon Metaphrastes had previously been published by Papebroch in the *Acta Sanctorum* (June, tom. I. ; reprinted by Fabricius, *Hippolytus*, II.), but had been erroneously regarded as an extract from

Eusebius' *Life of Pamphilus*. Cureton's publication of the Syriac version of the *Martyrs of Palestine* showed that it was a part of the original of that work. There are extant also, in Latin, the *Acts of St. Procopius*, which were published by Valesius (in his edition of Eusebius' *Hist. Eccles.* in a note on the first chapter of the *Mart. Pal.*; reprinted by Cureton, *Mart. Pal.*sq.). Moreover, according to Cureton, Assemani's *Acta SS. Martyrum Orient. et Occidentalium*, part II.sq. (Romæ, 1748) contains another Syriac version of considerable portions of this same work. The Syriac version published by Cureton was made within less than a century after the composition of the original work (the manuscript of it dates from 411 a.d.; see Cureton, *ib.*, preface, p. i.), perhaps within a few years after it, and there is every reason to suppose that it represents that original with considerable exactness. That Eusebius himself was the author of the original cannot be doubted. In addition to this longer recension there is extant in Greek a shorter form of the same work which is found attached to the *Ecclesiastical History* in most mss. of the latter. In some of them it is placed between the eighth and ninth books, in others at the close of the tenth book, while one ms. inserts it in the middle of VIII. 13. In some of the most important mss. it is wanting entirely, as likewise in the translation of Rufinus, and, according to Lightfoot, in the Syriac version of the *History*. Most editions of Eusebius' *History* print it at the close of the eighth book. Migne gives it separately in *Opera*, II. 1457 sq. In the present volume the translation of it is given as an appendix to the eighth book, onsq.

There can be no doubt that the shorter form is younger than the longer. The mention of the *Life of Pamphilus* which is contained in the shorter, but is not found in the corresponding passage of the longer form would seem to indicate that the former was a remodeling of the latter rather than the latter of the former (see below,). Moreover, as Cureton and Lightfoot both point out, the difference between the two works both in substance and in method is such as to make it clear that the shorter form is a revised abridgment of the longer. That Eusebius himself was the author of the shorter as well as of the longer form is shown by the fact that not only in the passages common to both recensions, but also in those peculiar to the shorter one, the author speaks in the same person and as an eye-witness of many of the events which he records. And still further, in Cha he speaks of having himself written the *Life of Pamphilus* in three books, a notice which is wanting in the longer form and

therefore must emanate from the hand of the author of the shorter. It is interesting to inquire after Eusebius' motive in publishing an abridged edition of this work. Cureton supposes that he condensed it simply for the purpose of inserting it in the second edition of his *History*. Lightfoot, on the other hand, suggests that it may have formed "part of a larger work, in which the sufferings of the martyrs were set off against the deaths of the persecutors," and he is inclined to see in the brief appendix to the eighth book of the *History* (translated below on) "a fragment of the second part of the treatise of which the *Martyrs of Palestine* in the shorter recension formed the first." The suggestion is, to say the least, very plausible. If it be true, the attachment of the shorter form of the *Martyrs of Palestine* to the *Ecclesiastical History* was probably the work, not of Eusebius himself, but of some copyist or copyists, and the disagreement among the various mss. as to its position in the *History* is more easily explained on this supposition than on Cureton's theory that it was attached to a later edition of the latter work by Eusebius himself.

The date at which the *Martyrs of Palestine* was composed cannot be determined with certainty. It was at any rate not published until after the first nine books of the *Ecclesiastical History* (i.e. not before 313, see below,), for it is referred to as a projected work in *H. E.* VIII. 13. 7. On the other hand, the accounts contained in the longer recension bear many marks of having been composed on the spot, while the impressions left by the martyrdoms witnessed by the author were still fresh upon him. Moreover, it is noticeable that in connection with the account of Pamphilus' martyrdom, given in the shorter recension, reference is made to the *Life of Pamphilus* as a book already published, while in the corresponding account in the longer recension no such book is referred to. This would seem to indicate that the *Life of Pamphilus* was written after the longer, but before the shorter recension of the *Martyrs*. But on the other hand the *Life* was written before the *Ecclesiastical History* (see above,), and consequently before the publication of either recension of the *Martyrs*. May it not be that the accounts of the various martyrdoms were written, at least some of them, during the persecution, but that they were not arranged, completed, and published until 313, or later? If this be admitted we may suppose that the account of Pamphilus' martyrdom was written soon after his death and before the *Life* was begun. When it was later embodied with the other accounts in the one work *On the Martyrs of*

Palestine it may have been left just as it was, and it may not have occurred to the author to insert a reference to the *Life of Pamphilus* which had meanwhile been published. But when he came to abridge and in part rewrite for a new edition the accounts of the various martyrdoms contained in the work *On Martyrs* he would quite naturally refer the reader to the *Life* for fuller particulars.

If we then suppose that the greater part of the longer recension of the *Martyrs* was already complete before the end of the persecution, it is natural to conclude that the whole work was published at an early date, probably as soon as possible after the first edition of the *History*. How much later the abridgment was made we cannot tell.

The differences between the two recensions lie chiefly in the greater fullness of detail on the part of the longer one. The arrangement and general mode of treatment is the same in both. They contain accounts of the Martyrs that suffered in Palestine during the years 303–310, most of whom Eusebius himself saw.

Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms (ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίων συναγωγή). This work is mentioned by Eusebius in his *H. E.* IV. 15, V. præf., 4, 21. These notices indicate that it was not an original composition, but simply a compilation; a collection of extant accounts of martyrdoms which had taken place before Eusebius' day. The work is no longer extant, but the accounts of the martyrdom of Pamphilus and others at Smyrna, of the persecution in Lyons and Vienne, and of the defense of Apollonius in Rome, which Eusebius inserts in his *Ecclesiastical History* (IV. 15, V. 1, V. 21), are taken, as he informs us, from this collection. As to the time of compilation, we can say only that it antedates the composition of the earlier books of the *History* (on whose date, see below,).

Chronicle (χρονικοὶ κανόνες). Eusebius refers to this work in his *Church History* (I. 1), in his *Præparatio Evang.* X. 9, and at the beginning of his *Eclogæ propheticae*. It is divided into two books, the first of which consists of an epitome of universal history drawn from various sources, the second of chronological tables, which “exhibit in parallel columns the succession of the rulers of different nations in such a way that the reader can see at a glance with whom any given monarch was contemporary.” The tables “are accompanied by notes, marking the years of some of the more remarkable

historical events, these notes also constituting an epitome of history.” Eusebius was not the first Christian writer to compose a work on universal chronology. Julius Africanus had published a similar work early in the third century, and from that Eusebius drew his model and a large part of the material for his own work. At the same time his *Chronicle* is more than a simple revision of Africanus’ work, and contains the result of much independent investigation on his own part. The work of Africanus is no longer extant, and that of Eusebius was likewise lost for a great many centuries, being superseded by a revised Latin edition, issued by Jerome. Jerome’s edition, which comprises only the second book of Eusebius’ *Chronicle*, is a translation of the original work, enlarged by notices taken from various writers concerning human history, and containing a continuation of the chronology down to his own time. This, together with numerous Greek fragments preserved by various ancient writers, constituted our only source for a knowledge of the original work, until late in the last century an Armenian translation of the whole work was discovered and published in two volumes by J. B. Aucher: Venice, 1818. The Armenian translation contains a great many errors and not a few *lacunæ*, but it is our most valuable source for a knowledge of the original work.

The aim of the *Chronicle* was, above all, apologetic, the author wishing to prove by means of it that the Jewish religion, of which the Christian was the legitimate continuation, was older than the oldest of heathen cults, and thus deprive pagan opponents of their taunt of novelty, so commonly hurled against Christianity. As early as the second century, the Christian apologists had emphasized the antiquity of Judaism; but Julius Africanus was the first to devote to the matter scientific study, and it was with the same idea that Eusebius followed in his footsteps. The *Chronology*, in spite of its errors, is invaluable for the light it throws on many otherwise dark periods of history, and for the numerous extracts it contains from works no longer extant.

There are good and sufficient reasons (as is pointed out by Salmon in his article in Smith and Wace’s *Dictionary of Christian Biography*) for supposing that two editions of the *Chronicle* were published by Eusebius. But two of these reasons need be stated here: first, the chronology of the Armenian version differs from that of Jerome’s edition in many important particulars, divergencies which can be satisfactorily accounted for only on the supposition

of a difference in the sources from which they respectively drew; secondly, Jerome states directly that the work was brought down to the *vicennalia* of Constantine, — that is, to the year 325, — but the *Chronicle* is referred to as an already published work in the *Eclogæ propheticae* (I. 1), and in the *Præparatio Evang.* (X. 9), both of which were written before 313. We may conclude, then, that a first edition of the work was published during, or more probably before, the great persecution, and that a second and revised edition was issued probably in 325, or soon thereafter.

For further particulars in regard to the *Chronicle* see especially the article of Salmon already referred to. The work has been issued separately a great many times. We may refer here to the edition of Scaliger, which was published in 1606 (2d ed. 1658), in which he attempted to restore the Greek text from the fragments of Syncellus and other ancient writers, and to the new edition of Mai, which was printed in 1833 in his *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, Tom. VIII., and reprinted by Migne, *Eusebii Opera*, I. 99–598. The best and most recent edition, however, and the one which supersedes all earlier editions, is that of Alfred Schoene, in two volumes: Berlin, 1875 and 1866.

Ecclesiastical History (ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία). For a discussion of this work see below, sq.

Life of Constantine (εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως). For particulars in regard to this work, see the prolegomena of Dr. Richardson, on p–469 sq., of this volume.

II. Apologetic Works.

Against Hierocles (πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τυανέως Ἱεροκλέους λόγους, as Photius calls it in his *Bibl.* 39). Hierocles was governor of Bithynia during the early years of the Diocletian persecution, and afterwards governor of Egypt. In both places he treated the Christians with great severity, carrying out the edicts of the emperors to the fullest extent, and even making use of the most terrible and loathsome forms of persecution (see Lactantius, *De Mort. Pers.* 16, and Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* 5, Cureton's ed.). He was at the same time a Neo-Platonic philosopher, exceedingly well versed in the Scriptures and doctrines of the Christians. In a work against the Christians entitled λόγος φιλαλήθης πρὸς τοὺς χριστιανούς, he brought forward many scriptural difficulties and alleged contradictions, and also instituted a comparison

between Christ and Apollonius of Tyana, with the intention of disparaging the former. Eusebius feels called upon to answer the work, but confines himself entirely to that part of it which concerned Christ and Apollonius, leaving to some future time a refutation of the remainder of the work, which indeed, he says, as a mere reproduction of the arguments of Celsus, had been already virtually answered by Origen (see cha). Eusebius admits that Apollonius was a good man, but refuses to concede that he was anything more, or that he can be compared with Christ. He endeavors to show that the account of Apollonius given by Philostratus is full of contradictions and does not rest upon trustworthy evidence. The tone of the book is mild, and the arguments in the main sound and well presented. It is impossible to fix the date of the work with any degree of certainty. Valesius assigns it to the later years of the persecution, when Eusebius visited Egypt; Stein says that it may have been written about 312 or 313, or even earlier; while Lightfoot simply remarks, "it was probably one of the earliest works of Eusebius." There is no ground for putting it at one time rather than another except the intrinsic probability that it was written soon after the work to which it was intended to be a reply. In fact, had a number of years elapsed after the publication of Hierocles' attack, Eusebius would doubtless, if writing against it at all, have given a fuller and more complete refutation of it, such as he suggests in the first chapter that he may yet give. The work of Hierocles, meanwhile, must have been written at any rate some time before the end of the persecution, for it is mentioned in Lactantius' *Div. Inst.* V. 2.

Eusebius' work has been published by Gaisford: *Eusebii Pamph. contra Hieroclem et Marcellum libri*, Oxon. 1852; and also in various editions of the works of Philostratus. Migne, *Opera* IV. 795 sq., reprints it from Olearius' edition of Philostratus' works (Lips. 1709).

Against Porphyry (*κατὰ Πορφυρίου*). Porphyry, the celebrated Neo-Platonic philosopher, regarded by the early Fathers as the bitterest and most dangerous enemy of the Church, wrote toward the end of the third century a work against Christianity in fifteen books, which was looked upon as the most powerful attack that had ever been made, and which called forth refutations from some of the greatest Fathers of the age: from Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinaris of Laodicea; and even as late as the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century the historian Philostorgius

thought it necessary to write another reply to it (see his H. E. X. 10).

Porphyry's work is no longer extant, but the fragments of it which remain show us that it was both learned and skillful. He made much of the alleged contradictions in the Gospel records, and suggested difficulties which are still favorite weapons in the hands of skeptics. Like the work of Porphyry, and all the other refutations of it, the Apology of Eusebius has entirely perished. It is mentioned by Jerome (de vir. ill. 81 and Ep. ad Magnum, §3, Migne's ed. E), by Socrates (H. E. III. 23), and by Philostorgius (H. E. VIII. 14). There is some dispute as to the number of books it contained. In his Ep. ad Magn.

Jerome says that "Eusebius et Apollinaris viginti quinque, et triginta volumina condiderunt," which implies that it was composed of twenty-five books; while in his de vir. ill. 81, he speaks of thirty books, of which he had seen only twenty. Vallarsi says, however, that all his mss. agree in reading "twenty-five" instead of "thirty" in the latter passage, so that it would seem that the vulgar text is incorrect.

It is impossible to form an accurate notion of the nature and quality of Eusebius' refutation. Socrates speaks of it in terms of moderate praise ("which [i.e. the work of Porphyry] has been ably answered by Eusebius"), and Jerome does the same in his Ep. ad Magnum ("Alteri [i.e. Porphyry] Methodius, Eusebius, et Apollinaris fortissime responderunt"). At the same time the fact that Apollinaris and others still thought it necessary to write against Porphyry would seem to show that Eusebius' refutation was not entirely satisfactory. In truth, Jerome (Ep. ad Pammachium et Oceanum, §2, Migne's ed. E) appears to rank the work of Apollinaris above that of Eusebius, and Philostorgius expressly states that the former far surpassed the latter (ἐπὶ πολὺ κρατεῖν ἡγωνισμένων Ἐυσεβίου 251· καὶ αὐτοῦ). The date of Eusebius' work cannot be determined. The fact that he never refers to it, although he mentions the work of Porphyry a number of times, has been urged by Valesius and others as proof that he did not write it until after 325 a.d.; but it is quite possible to explain his silence, as Lardner does, by supposing that his work was written in his earlier years, and that afterward he felt its inferiority and did not care to mention it. It seems, in fact, not unlikely that he wrote it as early, or even earlier than his work against Hierocles, at any rate before his attention was occupied with the Arian controversy and questions connected with it.

On the Numerous Progeny of the Ancients (περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν πολυπαίδειας). This work is mentioned by Eusebius in his *Præp. Evang.* VII. 8. 20 (Migne, *Opera*, III. 525), but by no one else, unless it be the book to which Basil refers in his *De Spir. Sancto*, 29, as *Difficulties respecting the Polygamy of the Ancients*. The work is no longer extant, but we can gather from the connection in which it is mentioned in the *Præparatio*, that it aimed at accounting for the polygamy of the Patriarchs and reconciling it with the ascetic ideal of the Christian life which prevailed in the Church of Eusebius' lifetime. It would therefore seem to have been written with an apologetic purpose.

Præparatio Evangelica (προπαρασκευὴ εὐαγγελική) and *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Ἐυαγγελικὴ ἀπόδειξις). These two treatises together constitute Eusebius' greatest apologetic work. The former is directed against heathen, and aims to show that the Christians are justified in accepting the sacred books of the Hebrews and in rejecting the religion and philosophy of the Greeks. The latter endeavors to prove from the sacred books of the Hebrews themselves that the Christians do right in going beyond the Jews, in accepting Jesus as their Messiah, and in adopting another mode of life. The former is therefore in a way a preparation for the latter, and the two together constitute a defense of Christianity against all the world, Jews as well as heathen. In grandeur of conception, in comprehensiveness of treatment, and in breadth of learning, this apology undoubtedly surpasses all other apologetic works of antiquity. Lightfoot justly says, "This great apologetic work exhibits the same merits and defects which we find elsewhere in Eusebius. There is the same greatness of conception marred by the same inadequacy of execution, the same profusion of learning combined with the same inability to control his materials, which we have seen in his *History*. The divisions are not kept distinct; the topics start up unexpectedly and out of season. But with all its faults this is probably the most important apologetic work of the early Church. It necessarily lacks the historical interest of the apologetic writings of the second century; it falls far short of the thoughtfulness and penetration which give a permanent value to Origen's treatise against Celsus as a defense of the faith; it lags behind the Latin apologists in rhetorical vigor and expression. But the forcible and true conceptions which it exhibits from time to time, more especially bearing on the theme which may be briefly designated 'God

in history,' arrest our attention now, and must have impressed his contemporaries still more strongly; while in learning and comprehensiveness it is without a rival." The wide acquaintance with classical literature exhibited by Eusebius in the *Præparatio* is very remarkable. Many writers are referred to whose names are known to us from no other source, and many extracts are given which constitute our only fragments of works otherwise totally lost. The *Præparatio* thus does for classical much what the *History* does for Christian literature.

A very satisfactory summary of the contents of the *Præparatio* is given at the beginning of the fifteenth book. In the first, second, and third books, the author exposes the absurdities of heathen mythology, and attacks the allegorical theology of the Neo-Platonists; in the fourth and fifth books he discusses the heathen oracles; in the sixth he refutes the doctrine of fate; in the seventh he passes over to the Hebrews, devoting the next seven books to an exposition of the excellence of their system, and to a demonstration of the proposition that Moses and the prophets lived before the greatest Greek writers, and that the latter drew their knowledge from the former; in the fourteenth and fifteenth books he exposes the contradictions among Greek philosophers and the vital errors in their systems, especially in that of the Peripatetics. The *Præparatio* is complete in fifteen books, all of which are still extant.

The *Demonstratio* consisted originally of twenty books (see Jerome's *de vir. ill.* 81, and Photius' *Bibl.* 10). Of these only ten are extant, and even in the time of Nicephores Callistus no more were known, for he gives the number of the books as ten (*H. E.* VI. 37). There exists also a fragment of the fifteenth book, which was discovered and printed by Mai (*Script. vet. nova coll.* I. 2,). In the first book, which is introductory, Eusebius shows why the Christians pursue a mode of life different from that of the Jews, drawing a distinction between Hebraism, the religion of all pious men from the beginning, and Judaism, the special system of the Jews, and pointing out that Christianity is a continuation of the former, but a rejection of the latter, which as temporary has passed away. In the second book he shows that the calling of the Gentiles and the repudiation of the Jews are foretold in Scripture. In books three to nine he discusses the humanity, divinity, incarnation, and earthly life of the Saviour, showing that all were revealed in the prophets. In the remainder of

the work we may assume that the same general plan was followed, and that Christ's death, resurrection, and ascension, and the spread of his Church, were the subjects discussed in this as in nearly all works of the kind.

There is much dispute as to the date of these two works. Stroth and Cave place them after the Council of Nicæa, while Valesius, Lightfoot, and others, assign them to the ante-Nicene period. In two passages in the *History* Eusebius has been commonly supposed to refer to the *Demonstratio* (*H. E.* I. 2 and 6), but it is probable that the first, and quite likely the second also, refers to the *Eclogæ Proph.* We can, therefore, base no argument upon those passages. But in *Præp. Evang.* XII. 10 (*Opera*, III. 969) there is a reference to the persecution, which seems clearly to imply that it was still continuing; and in the *Demonstratio* (III. 5 and IV. 6; *Opera*, IV. 213 and 307), which was written after the *Præparatio*, are still more distinct indications of the continuance of the persecution. On the other hand, in V. 3 and VI. 20 (*Opera*, IV. 364 and 474) there are passages which imply that the persecution has come to an end. It seems necessary then to conclude, with Lightfoot, that the *Demonstratio* was begun during the persecution, but not completed until peace had been established. The *Præparatio*, which was completed before the *Demonstratio* was begun (see the *proæmium* to the latter), must have been finished during the persecution. It contains in X. 9 (*Opera*, III. 807) a reference to the *Chronicle* as an already published work (see above,).

The *Præparatio* and *Demonstratio* are found in Migne's edition of the *Opera*, III. and IV. 9 sq. A more recent text is that of Dindorf in Teubner's series, 1867. The *Præparatio* has been published separately by Heinichen, 2 vols., Lips. 1842, and by Gaisford, 4 vols., Oxon. 1843. The latter contains a full critical apparatus with Latin translation and notes, and is the most useful edition which we have. Seguiet in 1846 published a French translation with notes. The latter are printed in Latin in Migne's edition of the *Opera*, III. 1457 sq. The French translation I have not seen.

The *Demonstratio* was also published by Gaisford in 2 vols., Oxon. 1852, with critical apparatus and Latin translation. Hænell has made the two works the subject of a monograph entitled *De Eusebio Cæsariensi religionis Christianæ Defensore* (Gottingæ, 1843) which I know only from the mention of it by Stein and Lightfoot.

Præparatio Ecclesiastica (Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Προπαρασκευή), and

Demonstratio Ecclesiastica (Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀπόδειξις). These two works are no longer extant. We know of the former only from Photius' reference to it in *Bibl.* 11, of the latter from his mention of it in *Bibl.* 12.

Lightfoot says that the latter is referred to also in the *Jus Græco-Romanum* (lib. IV. ; ed. Leunclav.). We know nothing about the works (except that the first according to Photius contained extracts), and should be tempted to think them identical with the *Præparatio* and *Demonstratio Evang.* were it not that Photius expressly mentions the two latter in another part of his catalogue (*Bibl.* 10). Lightfoot supposes that the two lost works did for the society what the *Præp.* and *Dem. Evang.* do for the doctrines of which the society is the depository, and he suggests that those portions of the *Theophania* (Book IV.) which relate to the foundation of the Church may have been adopted from the *Dem. Ecclesiastica*, as other portions of the work (Book V.) are adopted from the *Dem. Evang.*

If there is a reference in the *Præp. Evang.* I. 3 (*Opera*, III. 33) to the *Demonstratio Eccles.*, as Lightfoot thinks there may be, and as is quite possible, the latter work, and consequently in all probability the *Præp. Eccles.* also, must have been written before 313 a.d.

Two Books of Objection and Defense (Ἐλέγχου καὶ Ἀπολογίας λόγοι δύο). These are no longer extant, but are mentioned by Photius in his *Bibl.* 13. We gather from Photius' language that two editions of the work were extant in his time. The books, as Photius clearly indicates, contained an apology for Christianity against the attacks of the heathen, and not, as Cave supposed, a defense of the author against the charge of Arianism. The tract mentioned by Gelasius of Cyzicus (see below,) is therefore not to be identified with this work, as Cave imagined that it might be.

Theophania or *Divine Manifestation* (θεοφάνεια). A Syriac version of this work is extant in the same ms. which contains the *Martyrs of Palestine*, and was first published by Lee in 1842. In 1843 the same editor issued an English translation with notes and extended prolegomena (Cambridge, 1 vol.). The original work is no longer extant in its entirety, but numerous Greek fragments were collected and published by Mai in 1831 and 1833 (*Script. vet. nov. coll.* I. and VIII.), and again with additions in 1847 (*Bibl. Nova Patrum*, IV. 110 and 310; reprinted by Migne, *Opera*, VI. 607–690. Migne does not give the Syriac version). The manuscript which contains the Syriac version

was written in 411, and Lee thinks that the translation itself may have been made even during the lifetime of Eusebius. At any rate it is very old and, so far as it is possible to judge, seems to have reproduced the sense of the original with comparative accuracy. The subject of the work is the manifestation of God in the incarnation of the Word. It aims to give, with an apologetic purpose, a brief exposition of the divine authority and influence of Christianity. It is divided into five books which handle successively the subject and the recipients of the revelation, that is, the Logos on the one hand, and man on the other; the necessity of the revelation; the proof of it drawn from its effects; the proof of it drawn from its fulfillment of prophecy; finally, the common objections brought by the heathen against Christ's character and wonderful works. Lee says of the work: "As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its Divine authority, and amazing influence, it has perhaps never been surpassed." "When we consider the very extensive range of inquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times as it was to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted."

The *Theophania* contains much that is found also in other works of Eusebius. Large portions of the first, second, and third books are contained in the *Oratio de Laudibus Constantini*, nearly the whole of the fifth book is given in the *Dem. Evang.*, while many passages occur in the *Præp. Evang.*

These coincidences assist us in determining the date of the work. That it was written after persecution had ceased and peace was restored to the Church, is clear from II. 76, III. 20, 79, V. 52. Lee decided that it was composed very soon after the close of the Diocletian persecution, but Lightfoot has shown conclusively () from the nature of the parallels between it and other writings of Eusebius, that it must have been written toward the end of his life, certainly later than the *De Laud. Const.* (335 a.d.), and indeed it is not improbable that it remained unfinished at the time of his death.

III. Polemic Works.

Defense of Origen (Ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ Ὁριγένους). This was the joint work of Eusebius and Pamphilus, as is distinctly stated by Eusebius himself in his

H. E. VI. 33, by Socrates, *H. E.* III. 7, by the anonymous collector of the *Synodical Epistles* (*E*), and by Photius, *Bibl.* 118. The last writer informs us that the work consisted of six books, the first five of which were written by Eusebius and Pamphilus while the latter was in prison, the last book being added by the former after Pamphilus' death (see above,). There is no reason to doubt the statement of Photius, and we may therefore assign the first five books to the years 307–309, and assume that the sixth was written soon afterward. The *Defense* has perished, with the exception of the first book, which was translated by Rufinus (*Rufin. ad Hieron.* I. 582), and is still extant in his Latin version. Rufinus ascribed this book expressly to Pamphilus, and Pamphilus' name alone appears in the translation. Jerome (*Contra Ruf.* I. 8; II. 15, 23; III. 12) maintains that the whole work was written by Eusebius, not by Pamphilus, and accuses Rufinus of having deliberately substituted the name of the martyr Pamphilus for that of the Arianizing Eusebius in his translation of the work, in order to secure more favorable acceptance for the teachings of Origen. Jerome's unfairness and dishonesty in this matter have been pointed out by Lightfoot (). In spite of his endeavor to saddle the whole work upon Eusebius, it is certain that Pamphilus was a joint author of it, and it is quite probable that Rufinus was true to his original in ascribing to Pamphilus all the explanations which introduce and connect the extracts from Origen, which latter constitute the greater part of the book. Eusebius may have done most of his work in connection with the later books.

The work was intended as a defense of Origen against the attacks of his opponents (see Eusebius' *H. E.* VI. 33, and the Preface to the *Defense* itself). According to Socrates (*H. E.* VI. 13), Methodius, Eustathius, Apollinaris, and Theophilus all wrote against Origen. Of these only Methodius had written before the composition of the *Defense*, and he was expressly attacked in the sixth book of that work, according to Jerome (*Contra Ruf.* I. 11). The wide opposition aroused against Origen was chiefly in consequence not of his personal character, but of his theological views. The *Apology*, therefore, seems to have been devoted in the main to a defense of those views over against the attacks of the men that held and taught opposite opinions, and may thus be regarded as in some sense a regular polemic. The extant book is devoted principally to a discussion of Origen's views on the Trinity and the Incarnation. It is not printed in Migne's edition of Eusebius' *Opera*, but is

published in the various editions of Origen's works (in Lommatzsch's edition, XXIV. 289–412). For further particulars in regard to the work, see Delarue's introduction to it (Lommatzsch, XXIV. 263 sq.), and Lightfoot's article on Eusebius, p and 341.

Against Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra (κατὰ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ Ἀγκύρας ἐπισκόπου). The occasion of this work has been already described (see), and is explained by Eusebius himself in Book II. cha. The work must have been written soon after the Council at which Marcellus was condemned. It aims simply to expose his errors, exegetical as well as theological. The work consists of two books, and is still extant (*Opera*, VI. 707–824).

On the Theology of the Church, a Refutation of Marcellus (οἱ πρὸς Μερκελλον ἡλεγχοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Θεολογίας). The occasion of this work is stated in the first chapter. In the previous work Eusebius had aimed merely to expose the opinions of Marcellus, but in this he devotes himself to their refutation, fearing that some might be led astray by their length and plausibility. The work, which consists of three books, is still extant, and is given by Migne in the *Opera*, VI. 825–1046. Both it and the preceding are published with the *Contra Hieroclem* in Gaisford's *Euseb. Pamph. contra Hieroclem et Marcellum*, Oxon. 1852. Zahn has written a valuable monograph entitled *Marcellus von Ancyra* (Gotha, 1867).

Against the Manicheans. Epiphanius (*Hær.* LXVI. 21) mentions, among other refutations of the Manicheans, one by our Eusebius. The work is referred to nowhere else, and it is possible that Epiphanius was mistaken in his reference, or that the refutation he has in mind formed only a part of some other work, but we are hardly justified in asserting, as Lightfoot does, that the work cannot have existed.

IV. Dogmatic Works.

General Elementary Introduction (Ἡ καθόλου στοιχειώδης εἰσαγωγή). This work consisted of ten books, as we learn from a reference to it in the *Eclogæ Propheticae*, IV. 35. It was apparently a general introduction to the study of theology, and covered a great variety of subjects. Five brief fragments have been preserved, all of them apparently from the first book, which must have dealt largely with general principles of ethics. The fragments were published by Mai (*Bibl. Nova Patrum*, IV. 316), and are reprinted by Migne (*Opera*, IV. 1271 sq.). In addition to these fragments, the sixth,

seventh, eighth, and ninth books of the work are extant under the title:

Prophetical Extracts (Προφητικαὶ Ἐκλογαί). Although this formed a part of the larger work, it is complete in itself, and circulated independently of the rest of the *Introduction*. It contains extracts of prophetical passages from the Old Testament relating to the person and work of Christ, accompanied by explanatory notes. It is divided into four books, the first containing extracts from the historical Scriptures, the second from the Psalms, the third from the other poetical books and from the prophets, the fourth from Isaiah alone. The personality of the Logos is the main topic of the work, which is thus essentially dogmatic, rather than apologetic, as it might at first glance seem to be. It was composed during the persecution, which is clearly referred to in Book I. cha as still raging; it must have been written therefore between 303 and 313. The date of these books, of course, fixes the date of the *General Introduction*, of which they formed a part. The *Eclogæ* are referred to in the *History*, I. 2. On the other hand, they mention the *Chronicle* as a work already written (I. 1: *Opera*,); a reference which goes to prove that there were two editions of the *Chronicle* (see above,). The four books of the *Prophetical Extracts* were first published by Gaisford in 1842 (Oxford) from a Vienna ms. The ms. is mutilated in many places, and the beginning, including the title of the work, is wanting. Migne has reprinted Gaisford's edition in the *Opera*, IV. 1017 sq.

On the Paschal Festival (περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἐ& 231·ρης). This work, as Eusebius informs us in his *Vita Const.* IV. 34, was addressed to the Emperor Constantine, who commends it very highly in an epistle to Eusebius preserved in the *Vita Const.* IV. 35. From this epistle we learn, moreover, that the work had been translated into Latin. It is no longer extant in its entirety, but a considerable fragment of it was discovered by Mai in Nicetas' *Catena on Luke*, and published by him in his *Bibl. Nova Patrum*, IV.sq. The extant portion of it contains twelve chapters, devoted partly to a discussion of the nature of the Passover and its typical significance, partly to an account of the settlement of the paschal question at the Council of Nicæa, and partly to an argument against the necessity of celebrating the paschal feast at the time of the Jewish Passover, based on the ground that Christ himself did not keep the Passover on the same day as the Jews.

Jerome, although he does not mention this work in his catalogue of

Eusebius' writings (*de vir. ill.* 81), elsewhere (*ib.* 61) states that Eusebius composed a paschal canon with a cycle of nineteen years. This cycle may have been published (as Lightfoot remarks) as a part of the writing under discussion. The date of the work cannot be determined with exactness. It was written after the Council of Nicæa, and, as would seem from the connection in which it is mentioned in the *Vita Constantini*, before the Emperor's *tricennalia* (335 a.d.), but not very long before. The extant fragment, as published by Mai, is reprinted by Migne in the *Opera*, VI. 693–706.

V. Critical and Exegetical Works.

Biblical Texts. We learn from Jerome (*Præf. in librum Paralip.*) that Eusebius and Pamphilus published a number of copies of Origen's edition of the LXX., that is, of the fifth column of the Hexapla. A colophon found in a Vatican ms., and given in facsimile in Migne's *Opera*, IV. 875, contains the following account of their labors (the translation is Lightfoot's): "It was transcribed from the editions of the Hexapla, and was corrected from the Tetrapla of Origen himself, which also had been corrected and furnished with scholia in his own handwriting; whence I, Eusebius, added the scholia, Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected [this copy]." Compare also Field's *Hexapla*, I. p. xcix.

Taylor, in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, III. , says: "The whole work [i.e. the Hexapla] was too massive for multiplication; but many copies of its fifth column alone were issued from Cæsarea under the direction of Pamphilus the martyr and Eusebius, and this recension of the LXX. came into common use. Some of the copies issued contained also marginal scholia, which gave *inter alia* a selection of readings from the remaining versions in the Hexapla. The oldest extant ms. of this recension is the Leiden *Codex Sarravianus* of the fourth or fifth century." These editions of the LXX. must have been issued before the year 309, when Pamphilus suffered martyrdom, and in all probability before 307, when he was imprisoned (see Lardner's *Credibility*, Part II. cha.

In later years we find Eusebius again engaged in the publication of copies of the Scriptures. According to the *Vita Const.* IV. 36, 37, the Emperor wrote to Eusebius, asking him to prepare fifty sumptuous copies of the Scriptures for use in his new Constantinopolitan churches. The commission was carefully executed, and the mss. prepared at great cost. It has been thought

that among our extant mss. may be some of these copies which were produced under Eusebius' supervision, but this is extremely improbable (see Lightfoot,).

Ten Evangelical Canons, with the Letter to Carpianus prefixed (κανόνες δέκα; *Canones decem harmoniæ evangeliorum præmissa ad Carpianum epistola*). Ammonius of Alexandria early in the third century had constructed a harmony of the Gospels, in which, taking Matthew as the standard, he placed alongside of that Gospel the parallel passages from the three others. Eusebius' work was suggested by this Harmony, as he tells us in his epistle to Carpianus. An inconvenient feature of Ammonius' work was that only the Gospel of Matthew could be read continuously, the sequence of the other Gospels being broken in order to bring their parallel sections into the order followed by Matthew. Eusebius, desiring to remedy this defect, constructed his work on a different principle. He made a table of ten canons, each containing a list of passages as follows: Canon I. passages common to all four Gospels; II. those common to Matthew, Mark, and Luke; III. those common to Matt., Luke, and John; IV. those common to Matt., Mark, and John; V. those common to Matthew and Luke; VI. those common to Matt. and Mark; VII. those common to Matt. and John; VIII. those common to Luke and Mark; IX. those common to Luke and John; X. those peculiar to each Gospel: first to Matthew, second to Mark, third to Luke, and fourth to John.

Each Gospel was then divided into sections, which were numbered continuously. The length of the section was determined, not by the sense, but by the table of canons, each section comprising a passage common to four, to three, to two Gospels, or peculiar to itself, as the case might be. A single section therefore might comprise even less than a verse, or it might cover more than a chapter. The sections were numbered in black, and below each number was placed a second figure in red, indicating the canon to which the section belonged. Upon glancing at that canon the reader would find at once the numbers of the parallel sections in the other Gospels, and could turn to them readily. The following is a specimen of a few lines of the first canon: —

NOT.

α

β

γ

Thus, opposite a certain passage in John, the reader finds ιβ (12) written, and beneath it, Α (1). He therefore turns to the first canon (Α) and finds that sections ια(11) in Matthew, δ (4) in Mark, and ι(10) in Luke are parallel with ιβ in John. The advantage and convenience of such a system are obvious, and the invention of it shows great ingenuity. It has indeed never been superseded, and the sections and canons are still indicated in the margins of many of our best Greek Testaments (e.g., in those of Tregelles and of Tischendorf). The date of the construction of these canons it is quite impossible to determine. For further particulars in regard to them, see Lightfoot's article on Eusebius, sq., and Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, 2d ed. sq. The canons, with the letter to Carpianus prefixed, are given by Migne, *Opera*, IV. 1275–1292.

Gospel Questions and Solutions. This work consists of two parts, or of two separate works combined. The first bears the title *Gospel Questions and Solutions addressed to Stephanus* (πρὸς Στέφανον περὶ τῶν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων), and is referred to by Eusebius in his *Dem. Evang.* VII. 3, as *Questions and Solutions on the Genealogy of our Saviour* (τῶν εἰς τὴν γενεαλογίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ζητημάτων καὶ λύσεων). The second part is entitled *Gospel Questions and Solutions addressed to Marinus* (πρὸς Μαρῖνον). The first work consisted of two books, we learn from the opening of the second work. In that passage, referring to the previous work, Eusebius says that having discussed there the difficulties which beset the beginning of the Gospels, he will now proceed to consider questions concerning the latter part of them, the intermediate portions being omitted. He thus seems to regard the two works as in a sense forming parts of one whole. In his *de vir ill.* 81, Jerome mentions among the writings of Eusebius one *On the Discrepancy of the Gospels* (*De Evangeliorum Diaphonia*), and in his *Comm. in Matt.* chap. I. vers. 16, he refers to Eusebius' *libri διαφωνίας εὐαγγελίων*. Ebedjesu also remarks, "Eusebius Cæsariensis composuit librum solutionis contradictionum evangelii." In the sixteenth century there were found in Sicily, according to the announcement of Latino Latini, "libri tres Eusebii Cæsariensis de Evangeliorum diaphonia," but nothing more has been heard or seen of this Sicilian ms. There can be no doubt that the work referred to under the title *De Evangeliorum Diaphonia* is identical with the *Gospel Questions and*

Solutions, for the discrepancies in the Gospels occupy a considerable space in the *Questions and Solutions* as we have it, and the word διαφωνία occurs frequently. The three books mentioned by Latino Latini were therefore the two books addressed to Stephanus which Eusebius himself refers to, and the one book addressed to Marinus. The complete work is no longer extant, but an epitome of it was discovered and published by Mai, together with numerous fragments of the unabridged work, two of them in Syriac (*Bibl. Nova Patrum*, IV. 217 sq.; reprinted by Migne, *Opera*, IV. 879–1016). In the epitome the work addressed to Stephanus consists of sixteen chapters, and the division into two books is not retained. The work addressed to Marinus consists of only four chapters.

The work purports to have been written in answer to questions and difficulties suggested by Stephanus and Marinus, who are addressed by Eusebius in terms of affection and respect. The first work is devoted chiefly to a discussion of the genealogies of Christ, as given by Matthew and Luke; the second work deals with the apparent discrepancies between the accounts of the resurrection as given by the different evangelists. Eusebius does not always reach a solution of the difficulties, but his work is suggestive and interesting. The question as to the date of the work is complicated by the fact that there is in the Dem.

Evang. VII. 3 a reference to the Questions and Solutions addressed to Stephanus, while in the epitome of the latter work (Quæst. VII. §7) there is a distinct reference to the Demonstratio Evang. This can be satisfactorily explained only by supposing, with Lightfoot, that the Epitome was made at a later date than the original work, and that then Eusebius inserted this reference to the Demonstratio. We are thus led to assume two editions of this work, as of the others of Eusebius' writings, the second edition being a revised abridgement of the first. The first edition, at least of the Quæstiones ad Stephanum, must have been published before the Demonstratio Evangelica. We cannot fix the date of the epitome, nor of the Quæstiones ad Marinum.

Commentary on the Psalms (εἰς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς). This commentary is extant entire as far as the 118th psalm, but from that point to the end only fragments of it have been preserved. It was first published in 1707, by Montfaucon, who, however, knew nothing of the fragments of the latter part of the work. These

were discovered and published by Mai, in 1847 (Bibl. Nov. Patrum, IV. 65 sq.), and the entire extant work, including these fragments, is printed by Migne, Opera, V. and VI. 9–76. According to Lightfoot, notices of extant Syriac extracts from it are found in Wright's Catal. Syr. mss. Brit. Mus. p sq. and 125. Jerome (de vir. ill. 96 and Ep. ad Vigilantium, §2; Migne's ed. E) informs us that Eusebius of Vercellæ translated this commentary into Latin, omitting the heretical passages. This version is no longer extant. The commentary had a high reputation among the Fathers, and justly so. It is distinguished for its learning, industry, and critical acumen. The Hexapla is used with great diligence, and the author frequently corrects the received LXX. text of his day upon the authority of one of the other versions. The work betrays an acquaintance with Hebrew, uncommon among the Fathers, but by no means extensive or exact. Eusebius devotes considerable attention to the historical relations of the Psalms, and exhibits an unusual degree of good judgment in their treatment, but the allegorical method of the school of Origen is conspicuous, and leads him into the mystical extravagances so common to patristic exegesis.

The work must have been written after the close of the persecution and the death of the persecutors (*in Psal.* XXXVI. 12). In another passage (*in Psal.* LXXXVII. 11) there seems to be a reference to the discovery of the site of the Holy Sepulchre and the erection of Constantine's basilica upon it (see *Vita Const.* III. 28, 30, &c.). The basilica was dedicated in the year 335 (see above,), and the site of the sepulchre was not discovered until the year 326, or later (see Lightfoot,). The commentary must have been written apparently after the basilica was begun, and probably after its completion. If so, it is to be placed among the very latest of Eusebius' works.

Commentary on Isaiah (ὑπομνήματα εἰς Ἡσαΐαν). This work is also extant almost entire, and was first published in 1706, by Montfaucon (*Coll. Nova Patrum et Script. Græc.* II.; reprinted by Migne, Opera, VI. 77–526). In his *de vir. ill.* 81 Jerome refers to it as containing ten books (*in Isaiam libri decem*), but in the preface to his *Comment. in Isaiam* he speaks of it as composed of fifteen (*Eusebius quoque Pamphili juxta historicam explanationem quindecim edidit volumina*). In its present form there is no trace of a division into books. The commentary is marked by the same characteristics which were noticed in connection with the one on the Psalms, though it does not seem to have

acquired among the ancients so great a reputation as that work. It must have been written after the close of the persecution (*in Is.* XLIV. 5), and apparently after the accession of Constantine to sole power (*in Is.* XLIX. 23 compared with *Vita Const.* IV. 28). If the commentary on the Psalms was written toward the close of Eusebius' life, as assumed above, it is natural to conclude that the present work preceded that.

Commentary on Luke (εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον). This work is no longer extant, but considerable fragments of it exist and have been published by Mai (*Bibl. Nova Patrum*, IV. 159 sq.; reprinted by Migne, *Opera*, VI. 529–606). Although the fragments are all drawn from Catenæ on Luke, there are many passages which seem to have been taken from a commentary on Matthew (see the notes of the editor). A number of extracts from the work are found in Eusebius' *Theophania* (see Mai's introduction to his fragments of the latter work).

The date of the commentary cannot be fixed with certainty, but I am inclined to place it before the persecution of Diocletian, for the reason that there appears in the work, so far as I have discovered, no hint of a persecution, although the passages expounded offer many opportunities for such a reference, which it is difficult to see how the author could have avoided making if a persecution were in progress while he was writing; and further, because in discussing Christ's prophecies of victory and dominion over the whole world, no reference is made to the triumph gained by the Church in the victories of Constantine. A confirmation of this early date may be found in the extreme simplicity of the exegesis, which displays neither the wide learning, nor the profound study that mark the commentaries on the Psalms and on Isaiah.

Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. This work is no longer extant, and we know of it only from a reference in Jerome's Ep. ad Pammachium, §3 (Migne's ed. E): "Origenes, Dionysius, Pierius, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Didymus, Apollinaris latissime hanc Epistolam interpretati sunt."

Exegetical Fragments. Mai has published brief fragments containing expositions of passages from *Proverbs* (*Bibl. Nova Patrum*, IV. 316; reprinted by Migne, *Opera*, VI. 75–78), from *Daniel* (*ib.* ; Migne, VI. 525–528), and

from the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (*ib.* ; Migne, VI. 605). Fabricius mentions also fragments from a commentary on the *Song of Songs* as published by Meursius, and says that other commentaries are referred to by Montfaucon in his *Epistola de Therapeutis*, . We have no references in the works of the ancients to any such commentaries, so far as I am aware, and it is quite possible that the various fragments given by Mai, as well as those referred to by Fabricius may have been taken not from continuous commentaries, but from Eusebius' *General Elementary Introduction*, or others of his lost works. According to Migne (VI. 527) some Greek Catenæ published by Cramer in Oxford in the year 1884 contain extensive fragments on Matthew and John, which, however, have been taken from Eusebius' *Quæst. Evang.* Other fragments in Catenæ on the same Evangelists and on Mark, have been taken, according to Migne, from the *Quæstiones ad Stephanum*, or from the *Commentary on Luke*.

It is, however, quite possible, as it seems to me, that Eusebius wrote a commentary on Daniel. At any rate, the exegetical fragments which we have, taken with the extended discussions of certain passages found in the *Dem. Evang.* VIII. 2 and in the *Eclogæ Proph.* III. 40 sq., show that he expounded at one time or another a considerable portion of the book.

VI. Biblical Dictionaries.

Interpretation of the Ethnological Terms in the Hebrew Scriptures. This work is no longer extant, but is known to us from Eusebius' reference to it in the preface to his work *On the Names of Places*, where he writes as follows: τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλλεδα φωνὴν μεταβαλὼν τὰς ἐν τῇ θεί& 139· γραφῇ κειμένας ἑβραίοις ὀνόμασι προσήρσεις. Jerome, in the preface to his Latin version of the same work, also refers to it in the following words: "...diversarum vocabula nationum, quæ quomodo olim apud Hebræos dicta sint, et nunc dicantur, exposuit." No other ancient authority mentions the work so far as I am aware.

Chorography of Ancient Judea with the Inheritances of the Ten Tribes. This work too is lost, but is referred to by Eusebius in the same preface in the following words: τῆς πελαί Ἰουδαίας ἀπὸ πέσης Βίβλου καταγραφὴν πεποιημένου καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν διαίρων κλήρους. Jerome (*ib.*) says: "...Chorographiam terræ Judææ, et distinctas tribuum sortes ... laboravit."

It is remarked by Fabricius that this work is evidently intended by Ebedjesu in his catalogue, where he mentions among the writings of Eusebius a *Librum de Figura Mundi* (cf. Assemani's *Bibl. Orient.* III. , note 7).

A Plan of Jerusalem and of the Temple, accompanied with Memoirs relating to the Various Localities. This too is lost, but is referred to by Eusebius (*ib.*) in the following words: ὡς ἐν γραφῆς τύπῳ τῆς πέλαι διαβοήτου μητροπόλεως αὐτῆς (λέγω δὲ τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ) τοῦ τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἱεροῦ τὴν εἰκόνα διαχαρῆζας μετὰ παραθέσεως τῶν εἰς τοὺς τύπους ὑπομνημάτων. Jerome (*ib.*) says: “ipsius quoque Jerusalem templique in ea cum brevissima expositione picturam, ad extremum in hoc opusculo laboravit.”

On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture (περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομασιῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ 139· γραφῇ). In Jerome's version this work bears the title *Liber de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum*, but in his *de vir. ill.* 81, he refers to it as τοπικῶν, *liber unus*, and so it is commonly called simply *Topica*. It is still extant, both in the original Greek and in a revised and partly independent Latin version by Jerome. Both are published by Vallarsi in *Hieronymi Opera*, III. 122 sq. Migne, in his edition of Eusebius' works, omits the *Topica* and refers to his edition of Jerome's works, where, however, he gives only Jerome's version, not the original Greek (III. 859–928). The best editions of the Greek text are by Larsow and Parthey (*Euseb. Pamph. Episc. Cæs. Onomasticon*, &c., Berolini, 1862), and by Lagarde (*Onomastica Sacra*, I. 207–304, Gottingæ, 1870). The work aims to give, in the original language, in alphabetical order, the names of the cities, villages, mountains, rivers, &c., mentioned in the Scriptures, together with their modern designations and brief descriptions of each. The work is thus of the same character as a modern dictionary or Biblical geography. The other three works were narrower than this one in their scope, but seem also to have been arranged somewhat on the dictionary plan. The work is dedicated to Paulinus, a fact which leads us to place its composition before 325 a.d., when Paulinus was already dead (see below,). Jerome, in the preface to his version, says that Eusebius wrote the work after his *History* and *Chronicle*. We are to conclude, then, either that the work was published in 324 or early in 325, within a very few months after the *History*, or, what is more probable, that Jerome is mistaken in his statement. He is proverbially careless and inaccurate, and Eusebius, neither in his preface — from which Jerome largely quotes in his own — nor in the work itself,

gives any hint of the fact that his *History* and *Chronicle* were already written.

On the Nomenclature of the Book of the Prophets (περὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν προφητῶν ὀνομασίας καὶ ἀπὸ μέρους τί περιέχει ἕκαστος). This work contains brief accounts of the several prophets and notes the subjects of their prophecies. It is thus, so far as it goes, a sort of biographical dictionary. It was first published by Curterius in his *Procopii Sophistæ Christinæ variarum in Isaiam Prophetam commentationum epitome* (Paris, 1850, under the title *De vitis Prophetarum*, by which it is commonly known. We have no means of determining the date of its composition. Curterius' text has been reprinted by Migne, *Opera*, IV. 1261–1272.

VII. Orations.

Panegyric on the Building of the Churches, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre (Πανηγυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομῇ, Παυλίνῳ Τυρίων ἐπισκόπῳ προσπεφωνημένος). This oration was delivered at the dedication of Paulinus' new church in Tyre, to which reference has already been made (see above,). It has been preserved in Eusebius' *History*, Book X. cha (see below, . sq.).

Oration delivered at the Vicennalia of Constantine. Eusebius refers to this in the Preface to his *Vita Constantini* as εἰκοσαετηρικοὶ ὕμνοι. It is to be identified with the oration delivered at the opening of the Council of Nicæa (*Vita Const.* III. 11), as stated above, on . It is unfortunately no longer extant.

Oration on the Sepulchre of the Saviour. In his *Vita Const.* IV. 33 Eusebius informs us that he delivered an oration on this subject (ἀμφὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου μνήματος λόγος) in the presence of the Emperor at Constantinople. In the same work, IV. 46, he says that he wrote a description of the church of the Saviour and of his sepulchre, as well as of the splendid presents given by the Emperor for their adornment. This description he gave in a special work which he addressed to the Emperor (ἐν οἰκείᾳ 251· συγγρῆμματι παραδόντες, αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ προσεφωνήσαμεν). If these two are identical, as has always been assumed, the *Oration on the Sepulchre* must have been delivered in 335, when Eusebius went to Constantinople, just after the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (see above,), and just before the *Oratio deo laudibus Constantini* (see *ib.* IV. 46). That the two are identical has always been assumed, and seems most probable. At the same time it is worthy of notice that in IV. 33 Eusebius speaks as if he returned to Cæsarea

immediately after delivering his oration, and gives no hint of the delivery of his *De laud. Const.* at that time. It is noticeable also that he speaks in IV. 46 of a *work* (σύγγραμμα) not of an *oration* (λόγος), and that in IV. 45 he mentions the fact that he has described the splendid edifice and gifts of the Emperor *in writing* (διὰ γρῆματος), which would seem to imply something else than an address. Finally, it is to be observed that, whereas, in IV. 46, he expressly refers to the church erected by Constantine and to his rich gifts in connection with its construction, in IV. 33 he refers only to the sepulchre. It appears to me, in fact, quite possible that Eusebius may be referring to two entirely different compositions, the one an oration delivered after the discovery of the sepulchre and before the Emperor had built the church (perhaps containing the suggestion of such a building), the other a descriptive work written after the completion of that edifice. I present this only as a possibility, for I realize that against it may be urged the unlikelihood that two separate works should have been composed by Eusebius upon subjects so nearly, if not quite, identical, and also the probability that, if there were two, both, and not one only, would have been attached to the end of the *Vita Const.* with the *De laud. Const.* (see IV. 46). Neither the *Oration on the Sepulchre of the Saviour* nor the *Work on the Church and the Sepulchre* (whether the two are the same or not) is now extant.

Oration delivered at the Tricennalia of Constantine (εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν βασιλέα τριακονταετηρικός), commonly known under the title *Oratio de laudibus Constantini*. In his *Vita Const.* IV. 46, Eusebius promised to append this oration, together with the writing *On the Church and the Sepulchre*, to that work. The *de laudibus* is still found at the end of the mss. of the *Vita*, while the other writing is lost. It was delivered in Constantinople in 335 on the occasion of the Emperor's *tricennalia*, very soon after the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (see above,). It is highly panegyrical, but contains a great deal of theology, especially in regard to the person and work of the Logos. Large portions of it were afterward incorporated into the *Vita Constantini* and the *Theophania*. The oration is published in most, if not all, editions of the *Vita Constantini*; in Migne, *Opera*, II. 1315–1440.

Oration in Praise of the Martyrs. This oration is mentioned in the catalogue of Ebedjesu (*et orationem de laudibus eorum* [i.e. *Martyrum*

Occidentalium]; see Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III.), and, according to Lightfoot, is still extant in a Syriac version, which has been published in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N. S., Vol. V.sq., with an English translation by B. H. Cowper, *ib.* VI.sq. Lightfoot finds in it an indication that it was delivered at Antioch, but pronounces it of little value or importance.

On the Failure of Rain. This is no longer extant, and is known to us only from a reference in the catalogue of Ebedjesu (*et orationem de defectu pluviae*; see Assemani, *ib.*).

VIII. Epistles.

To Alexander, bishop of Alexandria. The purpose and the character of this epistle have been already discussed (see above). A fragment of it has been preserved in the Proceedings of the Second Council of Nicæa, Act VI., Tom. V. (*Labbei et Cossartii Conc.* VII. col. 497). For a translation of the epistle, see below. This and the following epistle were written after the outbreak of the Arian controversy, but before the Nicene Council.

To Euphrat, bishop of Balaneæ in Syria, likewise a strong opponent of the Arians (see Athan. *de Fuga*, 3; *Hist. Ar. ad Mon.* 5). Athanasius states that this epistle declared plainly that Christ is not God (Athan. *de Synod.* 17). A brief fragment of it has been preserved in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa (*l.c.*), which probably contains the very passage to which Athanasius refers. Upon the interpretation and significance of the fragment, see above.

To Constantia Augusta, the sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius. Constantia had written to Eusebius requesting him to send her a certain likeness of Christ of which she had heard. Eusebius, in this epistle, rebukes her, and speaks strongly against the use of such representations, on the ground that it tends toward idolatry. The tone of the letter is admirable. Numerous fragments of it have been discovered, so that we have it now almost entire. It is printed in Migne, *Opera*, II. 1545–1550. We have no means of ascertaining the date at which it was written.

To the Church of Cæsarea. This epistle was written from Nicæa in 325 a.d., during or immediately after the Council. Its purpose and character have been discussed above onsq., where a translation of it is given. The epistle is preserved by Athanasius (*de Decret. Syn. Nic.* app.); by Socrates, *H. E.* I. 8; by Theodoret, *H. E.* I. 11, and others. It is printed by Migne, *Opera*, II. 1535–1544.

In the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa (*l.c.*) we find a mention of “all the epistles” of Eusebius, as if many were at that time extant. We know, however, only of those which have been mentioned above.

IX. Spurious or Doubtful Works.

Fourteen Latin *opuscula* were discovered and published by Sirmond in 1643, and have been frequently reprinted (Migne, *Opera*, VI. 1047–1208). They are of a theological character, and bear the following titles: —

De fide adv. Sabellium, libri duo.

De Resurrectione, libri duo.

De Incorporali et invisibili Deo.

De Incorporali.

De Incorporali Anima.

De Spirituali Cogitatu hominis.

De eo quod Deus Pater incorporalis est, libri duo.

De eo quod ait Dominus, Non veni pacem, etc.

De Mandato Domini, Quod ait, Quod dico vobis in aure, etc.

De operibus bonis et malis.

De operibus bonis, ex epist. II. ad Corinth.

Their authenticity is a matter of dispute. Some of them may be genuine, but Lardner is doubtless right in denying the genuineness of the two Against Sabellius, which are the most important of all (see Lardner’s *Credibility*, Part II. cha).

Lightfoot states that a treatise, *On the Star which appeared to the Magi*, was published by Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* (1866) from a Syriac ms. It is ascribed to Eusebius, but its genuineness has been disputed, and good reasons have been given for supposing that it was written originally in Syriac (see Lightfoot,).

Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* VI. 104) reports that the following works are extant in ms.: *Fragmentum de Mensuris ac Ponderibus* (mss. Is. Vossii, n. 179); *De Morte Herodis* (ms. in Bibl. Basil.); *Præfatio ad Canticum Mosis in Exodo* (Lambec. III.).

Chapter III. Eusebius' Church History.

§1. Date of its Composition

The work with which we are especially concerned at this time is the *Church History*, the original Greek of which is still extant in numerous mss. It consists of ten books, to which is added in most of the mss. the shorter form of the *Martyrs of Palestine* (see above,). The date of the work can be determined with considerable exactness. It closes with a eulogy of Constantine and his son Crispus; and since the latter was put to death by his father in the summer of 326, the *History* must have been completed before that time. On the other hand, in the same chapter Eusebius refers to the defeat of Licinius, which took place in the year 323 a.d. This gives a fixed *terminus a quo*. It is not quite certain from Eusebius' words whether the death of Licinius had already taken place at the time he wrote, but it seems probable that it had, and if so, the completion of the work must be put as late as the summer of 324. On the other hand, not the slightest reference is made to the Council of Nicæa, which met in the summer of 325; and still further the tenth book is dedicated to Paulinus, at one time bishop of Tyre and afterward bishop of Antioch (see Euseb. *Contra Marc.* I. 4, and Philost. *H. E.* III. 15), who was already dead in the summer of 325: for at the Nicene Council, Zeno appears as bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius as bishop of Antioch (see for further particulars Lightfoot,). We are thus led to place the completion of the *History* in the year 324, or, to give the widest possible limits, between the latter part of 323 and the early part of 325 a.d.

But the question has been raised whether the earlier books may not have been composed some years before this. Lightfoot (following Westcott) supposes that the first nine books were completed not long after the edict of Milan and before the outbreak of the quarrel between Constantine and Licinius in 314. There is considerable to be said in favor of this theory. The language used in the dedication of the tenth book seems to imply that the nine books had been completed some time before, and that the tenth is added as a sort of postscript. The close of the ninth book strengthens that conclusion. Moreover, it would seem from the last sentences of that book that Constantine and Licinius were in perfect harmony at the time it was written, a state of affairs

which did not exist after 314. On the other hand, it must be noticed that in Book IX. *cha* Licinius' "madness" is twice referred to as having "not yet" seized him (in §1 οὐπω μανέντος τότε, and in §12 οὐπω τότε ἐφ' ἣν ὕστερον ἐκπέπτωκε μανίαν, τὴν διένοιαν ἐκτραπεῖς). It is necessary either to interpret both these clauses as later insertions (possibly by Eusebius' own hand at the time when he added the tenth book; cf. also , above), or to throw the composition of the ninth book down to the year 319 or later. It is difficult to decide between these alternatives, but I am inclined on the whole to think that Westcott's theory is probably correct, and that the two clauses can best be interpreted as later insertions. The very nature of his History would at any rate lead us to think that Eusebius spent some years in the composition of it, and that the earlier books, if not published, were at least completed long before the issue of the ten books as a whole. The Chronicle is referred to as already written in I. 1; the Eclogæ Proph. (? see below,) in I. 2 and 6; the Collection of Ancient Martyrdoms in IV. 15, V. preface, 4, and 22; the Defense of Origen in VI. 23, 33, and 36; the Life of Pamphilus in VI. 32, VII. 32, and VIII. 13. In VIII. 13 Eusebius speaks also of his intention of relating the sufferings of the martyrs in another work (but see above,).

§2. The Author's Design.

That the composition of a history of the Church was Eusebius' own idea, and was not due to any suggestion from without, seems clear, both from the absence of reference to any one else as prompting it, and from the lack of a dedication at the beginning of the work. The reasons which led him to undertake its composition seem to have been both scientific and apologetic. He lived, and he must have realized the fact, at the opening of a new age in the history of the Church. He believed, as he frequently tells us, that the period of struggle had come to an end, and that the Church was now about entering upon a new era of prosperity. He must have seen that it was a peculiarly fitting time to put on record for the benefit of posterity the great events which had taken place within the Church during the generations that were past, to sum up in one narrative all the trials and triumphs which had now emerged in this final and greatest triumph, which he was witnessing. He wrote, as any historian of the present day would write, for the information and instruction of his contemporaries and of those who should come after, and yet

there was in his mind all the time the apologetic purpose, the desire to exhibit to the world the history of Christianity as a proof of its divine origin and efficacy. The plan which he proposed to himself is stated at the very beginning of his work: "It is my purpose to write an account of the successions of the holy apostles, as well as of the times which have elapsed from the days of our Saviour to our own; and to relate how many and how important events are said to have occurred in the history of the Church; and to mention those who have governed and presided over the Church in the most prominent parishes, and those who in each generation have proclaimed the divine word either orally or in writing. It is my purpose also to give the names and the number and the times of those who through love of innovation have run into the greatest errors, and proclaiming themselves discoverers of knowledge, falsely so-called, have, like fierce wolves, unmercifully devastated the flock of Christ. It is my intention, moreover, to recount the misfortunes which immediately came upon the whole Jewish nation in consequence of their plots against our Saviour, and to record the ways and the times in which the divine word has been attacked by the Gentiles, and to describe the character of those who at various periods have contended for it in the face of blood and tortures, as well as the confessions which have been made in our own days, and finally the gracious and kindly succour which our Saviour afforded them all." It will be seen that Eusebius had a very comprehensive idea of what a history of the Church should comprise, and that he was fully alive to its importance.

§3. *Eusebius as a Historian. The Merits and Defects of his History.*

The whole Christian world has reason to be thankful that there lived at the opening of the fourth century a man who, with his life spanning one of the greatest epochs that has occurred in the history of the Church, with an intimate experimental knowledge of the old and of the new condition of things, was able to conceive so grand a plan and possessed the means and the ability to carry it out. Had he written nothing else, Eusebius' *Church History* would have made him immortal; for if immortality be a fitting reward for large and lasting services, few possess a clearer title to it than the author of that work. The value of the *History* to us lies not in its literary merit, but in the wealth of the materials which it furnishes for a knowledge of the early

Church. How many prominent figures of the first three centuries are known to us only from the pages of Eusebius; how many fragments, priceless on account of the light which they shed upon movements of momentous and far-reaching consequence, have been preserved by him alone; how often a hint dropped, a casual statement made in passing, or the mention of some apparently trifling event, gives the clue which enables us to unravel some perplexing labyrinth, or to fit into one whole various disconnected and apparently unrelated elements, and thus to trace the steps in the development of some important historical movement whose rise and whose bearing must otherwise remain an unsolved riddle. The work reveals no sympathy with Ebionism, Gnosticism, and Montanism, and little appreciation of their real nature, and yet our knowledge of their true significance and of their place in history is due in considerable part to facts respecting the movements or their leaders which Eusebius alone has recorded or preserved. To understand the development of the Logos Christology we must comprehend the significance of the teaching of Paul of Samosata, and how inadequate would our knowledge of the nature of that teaching be without the epistle quoted in Book VII. ch. How momentous were the consequences of the paschal controversies, and how dark would they be were it not for the light shed upon them by our author. How important, in spite of their tantalizing brevity and obscurity, the fragments of Papias' writings; how interesting the extracts from the memoirs of Hegesippus; how suggestive the meager notices from Dionysius of Corinth, from Victor of Rome, from Melito, from Caius; how instructive the long and numerous quotations from the epistles of Dionysius of Alexandria! He may often fail to appreciate the significance of the events which he records, he may in many cases draw unwarranted conclusions from the premises which he states, he may sometimes misinterpret his documents and misunderstand men and movements, but in the majority of cases he presents us with the material upon which to form our own judgments, and if we differ with him we must at the same time thank him for the data which have enabled us independently to reach other results.

But the value of Eusebius' *Church History* does not lie solely in the fact that it contains so many original sources which would be otherwise unknown to us. It is not merely a thesaurus, it is a history in the truest sense, and it possesses an intrinsic value of its own, independent of its quotations from

other works. Eusebius possessed extensive sources of knowledge no longer accessible to us. His *History* contains the results of his extended perusal of many works which are now irrecoverably lost, of his wide acquaintance with the current traditions of his day, of his familiar intercourse with many of the chief men of the age. If we cut out all the documents which he quotes, there still remains an extensive history whose loss would leave an irreparable blank in our knowledge of the early Church. How invaluable, for instance, to mention but one matter, are the researches of our author in regard to the circulation of the books of the New Testament: his testimony to the condition of the canon in his own time, and to the more or less widespread use of particular writings by the Fathers of preceding centuries. Great as is the value of the sources which Eusebius quotes, those that he does not give are still more extensive, and it is the knowledge gained from them which he has transmitted to us.

The worth of these portions of his *History* must depend in the first place upon the extent and reliability of his sources, and in the second place upon the use which he made of them.

A glance at the list of his authorities given in the index, reveals at once the immense range of his materials. The number of books which he either quotes or refers to as read is enormous. When to these are added the works employed by him in the composition of his *Præp. Evang.*, as well as the great number which he must have perused, but does not mention, we are amazed at the extent of his reading. He must have been a voracious reader from his earliest years, and he must have possessed extraordinary acquisitive powers. It is safe to say that there was among the Fathers, with the possible exception of Origen, no more learned man than he. He thus possessed one of the primary qualifications of the historian. And yet even in this respect he had his limitations. He seems to have taken no pains to acquaint himself with the works of heretics, but to have been content to take his knowledge of them at second hand. And still further, he was sadly ignorant of Latin literature and of the Latin Church in general (see below,); in fact, we must not expect to glean from his *History* a very thorough or extended knowledge of western Christendom.

But his sources were not confined to literary productions. He had a wide acquaintance with the world, and he was enabled to pick up much from his

intercourse with other men and with different peoples that he could not have found upon the shelves of the Cæsarean or of any other library. Moreover, he had access to the archives of state and gathered from them much information quite inaccessible to most men. He was thus peculiarly fitted, both by nature and by circumstances, for the task of acquiring material, the first task of the genuine historian.

But the value of his work must depend in the second place upon the wisdom and honesty with which he used his sources, and upon the faithfulness and accuracy with which he reproduced the results thus reached. We are therefore led to enquire as to his qualifications for this part of his work.

We notice, in the first place, that he was very diligent in the use of his sources. Nothing seems to have escaped him that might in any way bear upon the particular subject in hand. When he informs us that a certain author nowhere mentions a book or an event, he is, so far as I am aware, never mistaken. When we realize how many works he read entirely through for the sake of securing a single historical notice, and how many more he must have read without finding anything to his purpose, we are impressed with his untiring diligence. To-day, with our convenient indexes, and with the references at hand which have been made by many other men who have studied the writings of the ancients, we hardly comprehend what an amount of labor the production of a *History* like Eusebius' must have cost him, a pioneer in that kind of work.

In the second place, we are compelled to admire the sagacity which our author displays in the selection of his materials. He possessed the true instinct of the historian, which enabled him to pick out the salient points and to present to the reader just that information which he most desires. We shall be surprised upon examining his work to see how little it contains which it is not of the utmost importance for the student of early Church history to know, and how shrewdly the author has anticipated most of the questions which such a student must ask. He saw what it was in the history of the first three centuries of the Church which posterity would most desire to know, and he told them. His wisdom in this respect is all the more remarkable when compared with the unwisdom of most of his successors, who filled their works with legends of saints and martyrs, which, however fascinating they may have been to the

readers of that age, possess little either of interest or of value for us. When he wishes to give us a glimpse of the persecutions of those early days, his historical and literary instinct leads him to dwell especially upon two thoroughly representative cases, — the martyrdom of Polycarp and the sufferings of the churches of Lyons and Vienne, — and to preserve for posterity two of the noblest specimens of martyrological literature which the ancient Church produced. It is true that he sometimes erred in his judgment as to the wants of future readers; we could wish that he had been somewhat fuller and clearer on many points, and that he had not so entirely neglected some others; but on the whole I am of the opinion that few historical works, ancient or modern, have in the same compass better fulfilled their mission in this respect.

In the third place, we can hardly fail to be impressed by the wisdom with which Eusebius discriminated between reliable and unreliable sources. Judged by the modern standard he may fall short as a literary critic, but judged by the standard of antiquity he must be given a very high rank. Few indeed are the historians of ancient times, secular or ecclesiastical, who can compare with Eusebius for sound judgment in this matter. The general freedom of his work from the fables and prodigies, and other improbable or impossible tales which disfigure the pages of the great majority even of the soberest of ancient historians, is one of its most marked features. He shows himself uncommonly particular in demanding good evidence for the circumstances which he records, and uncommonly shrewd in detecting spurious and unreliable sources. When we remember the great number of pseudonymous works which were current in his day we are compelled to admire his care and his discrimination. Not that he always succeeded in detecting the false. More than once he was sadly at fault (as for instance in regard to the Abgarus correspondence and Josephus' testimony to Christ), and has in consequence been severely denounced or held up to unsparing ridicule by many modern writers. But the wonder certainly is not that he erred as often as he did, but that he did not err oftener; not that he was sometimes careless in regard to the reliability of his sources, but that he was ever as careful as, in the majority of cases, he has proved himself to be. In fact, comparing him with other writers of antiquity, we cannot commend too highly the care and the skill with which he usually discriminated between the true and the false.

In the fourth place, he deserves all praise for his constant sincerity and unflinching honesty. I believe that emphasis should be laid upon this point for the reason that Eusebius' reputation has often suffered sadly in consequence of the unjust imputations, and the violent accusations, which it was for a long time the fashion to make against him, and which lead many still to treat his statements with distrust, and his character with contempt. Gibbon's estimate of his honesty is well known and has been unquestioningly accepted in many quarters, but it is none the less unjust, and in its implications quite untrue to the facts. Eusebius does dwell with greater fullness upon the virtues than upon the vices of the early Church, upon its glory than upon its shame, and he tells us directly that it is his intention so to do (*H. E.* VIII. 2), but he never undertakes to conceal the sins of the Christians, and the chapter immediately preceding contains a denunciation of their corruptness and wickedness uttered in no faint terms. In fact, in the face of these and other candid passages in his work, it is the sheerest injustice to charge him with dishonesty and unfairness because he prefers, as almost any Christian historian must, to dwell with greater fullness of detail upon the bright than upon the dark side of the picture. Scientific, Eusebius' method, in this respect, doubtless is not; but dishonest, no one has a right to call it. The most severe attack which has been made upon Eusebius in recent years is found in an article by Jachmann (see below,). The evident animus which runs through his entire paper is very unpleasant; the conclusions which he draws are, to say the least, strained. I cannot enter here into a consideration of his positions; most of them are examined below in the notes upon the various passages which he discusses. The whole article, like most similar attacks, proceeds upon the supposition that our author is guilty, and then undertakes simply to find evidence of that which is already presupposed. I submit that few writers could endure such an ordeal. If Eusebius is tried according to the principles of common justice, and of sound literary criticism, I am convinced, after long and careful study, that his sincerity and honesty of purpose cannot be impeached. The particular instances which have been urged as proving his dishonesty will be discussed below in the notes upon the respective passages, and to those the reader is referred (compare especially p, 98, 100, 111, 112, 114, 127, 194).

Eusebius' critics are wont to condemn him severely for what they are pleased to call the dishonesty displayed by him in his *Vita Constantini*. Such

critics forget, apparently, that that work pretends to be, not a history, but a panegyric. Judging it as such, I am unable to find anything in it which leads me to entertain for a moment a suspicion of the author's honesty. It is true that Eusebius emphasizes the Emperor's good qualities, and fails to mention the darker spots in his character; but so far as I am aware he misstates no facts, and does only what those who eulogize deceased friends are accustomed to do the world over. For a discussion of this matter the reader is referred to the prolegomena of Dr. Richardson, p sq. of this volume. I am pleased to learn from him that his study of the *Vita* has shown him nothing which justifies the charge of dishonesty brought against Eusebius.

One of the most decisive marks of veracity upon the part of our author is the frankness with which he confesses his lack of knowledge upon any subject (cf. IV. 5), and the care with which he distinguishes between the different kinds of evidence upon which he bases his statements. How frequently the phrases λόγος ἔχει, φασί, λέγεται, &c., occur in connection with accounts which a less scrupulous historian would not hesitate to record as undoubted fact. How particular he is to mention his sources for any unusual or startling event. If the authorities seem to him quite inadequate, he simply omits all reference to an occurrence which most of his contemporaries and successors would have related with the greatest gusto; if the testimony seems to him strong, he records the circumstance and expressly mentions his authority, whether oral tradition, the testimony of eye-witnesses, or written accounts, and we are thus furnished the material from which to form our own judgments.

He is often blamed by modern writers for what they are pleased to call his excessive credulity. Those who accuse him thus seem to forget that he lived in the fourth, not in the nineteenth century. That he believed many things which we now declare to be incredible is perfectly true, but that he believed things that other Christians of his day pronounced incredible is not true. Judged, in fact, according to the standard of his age — and indeed of eleven succeeding centuries — he must be pronounced remarkably free from the fault of overcredulity, in truth uncommonly skeptical in his attitude toward the marvelous. Not that he denies the occurrence of prodigies and wonders in his own and other ages, but that he always demands the strongest testimony before he allows himself to be convinced of their truth. Compare, e.g., the care with

which he gives his authorities for the anecdote in regard to the Thundering Legion (V. 5), and his final suspension of judgment in the matter; compare also the emphasis which he lays upon the personal testimony of the Emperor in the matter of the appearance of the sign of the cross in the sky (*Vita Const.* I. 28 sq.), a phenomenon which he himself tells us that he would have believed upon no ordinary evidence. His conduct in this matter is a sign rather of a skepticism uncommon in his age than of an excessive and unusual credulity. Gibbon himself gives our author due credit in this respect, when he speaks of his character as “less tinctured with credulity, and more practiced in the arts of courts, than that of almost any of his contemporaries” (*Decline and Fall*, chap. XVI.).

On the other hand, Eusebius as an historian had many very grave faults which it is not my wish in the least to palliate or conceal. One of the most noticeable of these is his complete lack of any conception of historiography as a fine art. His work is interesting and instructive because of the facts which it records, but that interest is seldom if ever enhanced by his mode of presentation. There is little effective grouping, almost no sense of perspective, utter ignorance of the art of suggesting by a single line or phrase a finished picture of a man or of a movement. He was not, in other words, a Thucydides or a Tacitus; but the world has seen not many such as they.

A second and still more serious fault is our author's want of depth, if I may so express myself, his failure to look beneath the surface and to grasp the real significance of things, to trace the influence of opinions and events. We feel this defect upon every page. We read the annals, but we are conscious of no masterful mind behind them, digesting and comprehending them into one organic and imposing whole. This radical weakness in our author's method is revealed perhaps most clearly in his superficial and transcendental treatment of heretics and heresies, his failure to appreciate their origin and their bearing upon the progress of Christian thought. Of a development in theology, in fact, he knows nothing, and hence his work lacks utterly that which we now look upon as the most instructive part of Church history, — the history of doctrine.

In the third place, severe censure must be passed upon our author for his carelessness and inaccuracy in matters of chronology. We should expect that one who had produced the most extensive chronological work that had ever been given to the world, would be thoroughly at home in that province, but in

truth his chronology is the most defective feature of his work. The difficulty is chiefly due to his inexcusable carelessness, we might almost say slovenliness, in the use of different and often contradictory sources of information. Instead of applying himself to the discrepancies, and endeavoring to reach the truth by carefully weighing the respective merits of the sources, or by testing their conclusions in so far as tests are possible, he adopts in many cases the results of both, apparently quite unsuspecting of the confusion consequent upon such a course. In fact, the critical spirit which actuates him in dealing with many other matters seems to leave him entirely when he is concerned with chronology; and instead of proceeding with the care and circumspection of an historian, he accepts what he finds with the unquestioning faith of a child. There is no case in which he can be convicted of disingenuousness, but at times his obtuseness is almost beyond belief. An identity of names, or a resemblance between events recorded by different authors, will often be enough to lead him all unconsciously to himself into the most absurd and contradictory conclusions. Instances of this may be seen in Book I. cha, and in II. 11. His confusion in regard to the various Antonines (see especially the note on the preface to Book V.) is not at all unusual among the writers of his day, and in view of the frequent and perplexing use of the same names by the different emperors, might be quite excusable in a less scholarly man than Eusebius, but in his case it is evidence of unpardonable want of care. This serious defect in our author's method is not peculiar to him. Many historians, critical almost to a fault in most matters, accept the received chronology without question, and build upon it as if it were the surest of foundations. Such a consideration does not excuse Eusebius; it relieves him, however, of the stigma of peculiarity.

Finally, the character of the *History* is greatly impaired by our author's desultory method. This is a characteristic of his literary work in general, and was referred to in the previous chapter. All his works are marred by it, but few suffer more noticeably than the *History*. The author does not confine himself as strictly as he should to the logical limits of the subject which he is treating, but allows himself to be led away from the main point by the suggestions that pour in upon him from all sides. As Lightfoot remarks, "We have not unfrequently to pick out from various parts of his work the notices bearing on one definite and limited subject. He relates a fact, or quotes an authority

bearing upon it, in season or out of season, according as it is recalled to his memory by some accidental connexion." This unfortunate habit of Eusebius' is one into which men of wide learning are very apt to fall. The richness of their acquisitions embarrasses them, and the immense number of facts in their possession renders a comprehension of them all into one logical whole very difficult; and yet unless the facts be thus comprehended, unless they be thoroughly digested and arranged, the result is confusion and obscurity. To exclude is as necessary as to include, if one would write history with the highest measure of success; to exclude rigidly at one time what it is just as necessary to include at another. To men like Eusebius there is perhaps nothing more difficult than this. Only a mind as intensive as it is extensive, with a grasp as strong as its reach is wide, can accomplish it, and few are the minds that are blessed with both qualities. Few are the writers whose histories stand upon our shelves that fail not sadly in the one or in the other; and in few perhaps does the failure seem more marked than in our author.

And yet, though it is apparent that the value of Eusebius' work is greatly impaired by its desultory method of treatment, I am confident that the defect is commonly exaggerated. The paragraph which Lightfoot quotes from Westcott on this subject leaves a false impression. Altogether too often our author introduces irrelevant matters, and repeats himself when repetition "mars the symmetry of his work"; and yet on the whole he follows a fairly well ordered plan with fairly good success. He endeavors to preserve a strictly chronological sequence in his arrangement of the books, and he adheres for the most part to his purpose. Though there may be disorder and confusion within the various periods, for instance within the apostolic age, the age of Trajan, of Hadrian, of the Antonines, &c., yet the periods themselves are kept reasonably distinct from one another, and having finished his account of one of them the author seldom returns to it. Even in his treatment of the New Testament canon, which is especially desultory, he says most of what he has to say about it in connection with the apostles themselves, and before passing on to the second century. I would not overlook the exceeding flagrancy of his desultoriness and repetitiousness in his accounts of the writings of many of the Fathers, especially of the two Clements, and yet I would emphasize the fact that he certainly had an outline plan which he designed to follow, and for which due credit should be given him. He compares favorably in this respect

with at least most of the writers of antiquity. Only with our modern method of dividing history into periods, separated by natural boundary lines, and of handling it under clearly defined rubrics, have we become able wholly to avoid the confused and illogical treatment of Eusebius and of others like him.

§4. Editions and Versions.

The original Greek of Eusebius' *History* has been published in many editions.

1. The *editio princeps* is that of Robert Stephanus, which appeared at Paris in 1544, and again, with a few changes, and with the Latin translation of Christophorus and the notes of Suffridus Petrus, at Geneva in 1612.

2. Henr. Valesius (de Valois) published his first edition of the Greek text, with a new Latin translation and with copious critical and explanatory notes, at Paris in 1659. His edition was reprinted at Mainz in 1672, but the reprint is full of errors. In 1677, after Valesius' death, a revised edition was issued at Paris, which in 1695 was reprinted with some corrections at Amsterdam. In 1720 Valesius' edition of Eusebius, together with his edition of Socrates, Sozomen, and the other Greek historians, was republished at Cambridge by William Reading, in three folio volumes. This is the best edition of Valesius, the commentary being supplemented by ms. notes which he had left among his papers, and increased by large additions from other writers under the head of *Variorum*. A reprint of Reading's edition was issued in 1746–1748, but according to Heinichen it is not as accurate as that of 1720. For the elucidation of Eusebius' *History* we owe more to Valesius than to any other man. His edition of the text was an immense advance upon that of Stephanus, and has formed the basis of all subsequent editions, while his notes are a perfect storehouse of information from which all annotators of Eusebius have extensively drawn. Migne's edition (*Opera*, II. 45–906) is a reprint of Valesius' edition of 1659.

3. F. A. Stroth (Halle, 1779). A new edition of the Greek text, of which, however, only the first volume appeared, comprising Books I.–VII.

4. E. Zimmermann (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1822). A new edition of the Greek text, containing also the Latin translation of Valesius, and a few critical notes.

5. F. A. Heinichen (Leipzig, 1827 and 1828). An edition of the Greek text in three volumes, with a reprint of the entire commentary of Valesius, and

with the addition of *Variorum* notes. The critical apparatus, printed in the third volume, is very meager. A few valuable excursuses close the work. Forty years later Heinichen published a second edition of the *History* in his *Eusebii Pamphili Scripta Historica* (Lips. 1868–1870, 3 vols.). The first volume contains the Greek text of the *History*, with valuable prolegomena, copious critical apparatus and very useful indices; the second volume contains the *Vita Constantini*, the *Panegyricus* or *De laudibus Constantini*, and Constantine's *Oratio ad Sanctorum coetum*, also accompanied with critical apparatus and indices; the third volume contains an extensive commentary upon the works included in the first two volumes, together with twenty-nine valuable excursuses. This entirely supersedes the first, and is on the whole the most complete and useful edition of the *History* which we have. The editor made diligent use of the labors of his predecessors, especially of Laemmer's. He did no independent work, however, in the way of collecting material for the criticism of the text, and was deficient in critical judgment. As a consequence his text has often to be amended on the basis of the variant readings, which he gives with great fullness. His commentary is made up largely of quotations from Valesius and other writers, and is valuable for the material it thus contains as well as for its references to other works. It labors under the same incompleteness, however, that mars Valesius' commentary, and, moreover, contains almost nothing of independent value.

6. E. Burton (Oxford, 1838). The Greek text in two volumes, with the translation of Valesius and with critical apparatus; and again in 1845, with the critical apparatus omitted, but with the notes of Valesius, Heinichen and others added. Burton made large contributions to the criticism of the text, and had he lived to superintend the issue of the second edition, would perhaps have succeeded in giving us a better text than any which we now possess, for he was a far more sagacious critic than Heinichen. As it is, his edition is marred by numerous imperfections, largely caused by the inaccuracy of those who collated mss. for him. His text, with the translation, notes, and critical apparatus omitted, was reprinted by Bright at Oxford in 1872, and again in 1881, in a single volume. This is a very handy edition, and for school use is unsurpassed. The typography is superb, and the admirable plan is followed of discarding quotation marks and printing all citations in smaller type, thus making plain to the eye at a glance what is Eusebius' own and what is

another's. The text is preceded by a very interesting and graphic life of the historian.

7. Schwegeler (Tübingen, 1852, in one volume). The Greek text with critical apparatus, but without translation and notes. An accurate and useful edition.

8. Laemmer (Schaffhausen, 1859–1862). The Greek text in one volume, with extensive critical apparatus, but without explanatory notes. Laemmer had unusual opportunities for collecting material, and has made larger additions to the critical apparatus than any one else. His edition was issued, however, in a most slovenly manner, and swarms with mistakes. Great care should therefore be exercised in the use of it.

9. Finally must be mentioned the text of Dindorf (Lips. 1871), which is published in the Teubner series, and like most of the volumes of that series is handy and convenient, but of little value to the critical student.

There are few writings of the Fathers which more sadly need and more richly deserve a new critical edition than the *History* of Eusebius. The material for the formation of a reliable text is extensive and accessible, but editors have contented themselves too much in the past with the results of their predecessors' labors, and unfortunately those labors have not always been accurate and thorough. As a consequence a new and more careful collation of most of the mss. of the original, together with those of Rufinus' translation, must lie at the foundation of any new work which is to be done in this line. The publication of the Syriac version will doubtless furnish much valuable material which the next editor of the *History* will be able to use to advantage. Anything less than such a thorough work as I have indicated will be of little worth. Unless the new edition be based upon extensive and independent labors, it will be little if any improvement upon that of Heinichen. It is to be hoped that a critical text, up to the standard of those of some other patristic works which we already possess, may yet be issued, which shall give us this, one of the noblest productions of the ancient Church, in a fitting and satisfactory form.

Translations of Eusebius' *History* are very numerous. Probably the earliest of all is the ancient Syriac version which is preserved in great part in two mss., one of which is at St. Petersburg and contains the entire *History* with the exception of Book VI. and large portions of Books V. and VII. The ms. is dated 462 a.d. (see Wright's description of it in his *Catalogue of the Syriac*

mss. in the British Museum acquired since the year 1838, Part III. p. xv. sq.). The second ms. is in the British Museum, and contains Books I.–V., with some mutilations at the beginning of the first book. The ms. dates from the sixth century (see Wright's description of it in his *Catalogue*,). From these mss. Wright was engaged in preparing an edition of the Syriac, which remained unfinished at the time of his death. Whether he left his work in such shape that it can soon be issued by some one else I have not yet learned. The version was probably made at a very early date, possibly within the lifetime of Eusebius himself, though of that we can have no assurance. I understand that it confirms in the main the Greek text as now printed in our best editions.

The original Latin version was made by Rufinus in the early years of the fifth century. He translated only nine books, and added to them two of his own, in which he brought the history down to the death of Theodosius the Great. He allowed himself his customary license in translating, and yet, although his version is by no means exact, it is one of our best sources for a knowledge of the true text of Eusebius, for it is possible, in many doubtful cases where our mss. are hopelessly divided, to ascertain from his rendering what stood in the original Greek. The version of Rufinus had a large circulation, and became in the Western Church a substitute for the original throughout the Middle Ages. It was first printed, according to Fabricius (*ib.*), in 1476 at Rome, afterward a great many times there and elsewhere. The first critical edition, which still remains the best, is that of Cacciari (Rome, 1740), which has become rare, and is very difficult to find. A new edition is a great desideratum. An important work upon Rufinus' version is Kimmel's *De Rufino Eusebii Interprete*, Geræ, 1838.

A new Latin translation, by Wolfgang Musculus, was published in Basle, in 1549, and again in 1557, 1562, and 1611, according to Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* VI.). I have myself seen only the edition of 1562.

Still another Latin version, from the hand of Christophorsonus, was published at Louvain in 1570. This is the only edition of Christophorsonus which I have seen, but I have notices of Cologne editions of 1570, 1581 and 1612, and of a Paris edition of 1571. According to Fabricius the Paris edition, and according to Brunnet the Cologne edition of 1581, contain the notes of Suffridus Petrus. A revision of Christophorsonus' version is said by Crusè to have been published by Curterius, but I have not seen it, nor am I aware of its

date.

Another translation, by Grynæus, was published at Basle in 1611. This is the only edition of Grynæus' version which I have seen, and I find in it no reference to an earlier one. I have been informed, however, that an edition appeared in 1591. Hanmer seems to imply, in his preface, that Grynæus' version is only a revision of that of Musculus, and if that were so we should have to identify the 1611 edition with the 1611 edition of Musculus mentioned by Fabricius (see above). I am able, however, to find no hint in Grynæus' edition itself that his version is a revision of that of Musculus.

The translation of Valesius, which was first published in 1659 (see above), was a great improvement upon all that had preceded it, and has been many times reprinted in other editions of Eusebius, as well as in his own.

The first German translation was published by Caspar Hedio. The date of publication is given by Fabricius as 1545, but the copy which I have seen is dated 1582, and contains no reference to an earlier edition. It comprises only nine books of Eusebius, supplemented by the two of Rufinus. The title runs as follows: *Chronica, das ist: wahrhaftige Beschreibunge aller alten Christlichen Kirchen; zum ersten, die hist. eccles. Eusebii Pamphili Cæsariensis, Eilff Bücher; zum andern, die hist. eccles. tripartita Sozomeni, Socratis und Theodoreti, Zwölff Bücher; zum dritten die hist. eccles. sampt andern treffenlichen Geschichten, die zuvor in Teutscher Sprache wenig gelesen sind, auch Zwölff Bücher. Von der Zeit an da die hist. eccles. tripartita aufhöret: das ist, von der jarzal an, vierhundert nach Christi geburt, biss auff das jar MDXLV, durch D. Caspar Hedion zu Strassburg verteutscht und zusammen getragen. Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn, im jar 1582.*

A second German translation of the entire *History* (with the exception of the *Martyrs of Palestine*, and the *Oration on the Building of the Churches*, X. 4), together with the *Life of Constantine*, was published by F. A. Stroth in Quedlinburg in 1777, in two volumes. Stroth prefaced the translation with a very valuable Life of Eusebius, and added a number of excellent notes of his own. The translation is reasonably accurate.

A much more elegant German version (including the *Oration*, but omitting the *Martyrs of Palestine*) was published by Closs in Stuttgart in 1839, in one volume. This is in my opinion the best translation of the *History* that exists. Its style is admirable, but pure German idiom is sometimes secured at the

expense of faithfulness. In fact the author has aimed to produce a free, rather than a literal translation, and has occasionally allowed himself to depart too far from the original. A few brief notes, most of them taken from Valesius or Stroth, accompany the translation.

More recently a German translation has been published by Stigloher (Kempten, 1880) in the Kempten *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*. It purports to be a new translation, but is practically nothing more than a poorly revised edition of Closs' version. The changes which are made are seldom improvements.

Fabricius mentions a French translation by Claudius Seysselius, but does not give the date of it, and I have not myself seen it. Dr. Richardson, however, informs me that he has a copy of this translation (which is from the Latin, not from the Greek) bearing the following title: *L'Histoire ecclesiastique translatie de Latin au Français, par M. Claude de Seyssel, evesque lors de Marseille, et depuis archevesque de Thurin*. Paris, 1532 [or '33], f°. He informs me also that there exist editions of the years 1537 and 1567.

More than a century later appeared a new French translation by Louis Cousin, bearing the following title: *Histoire de l'Eglise écrité par Eusèbe Césarée, Socrate, Sozomène, Theodoret et Evagre, avec l'abrégé de Philostorge par Photius, et de Théodore par Nicephore Calliste*. Paris, 1675–1676. 4 vol. 4°. Another edition appeared in Holland in 1686, 5 vol. 12°.

The first English translation was made by Hanmer, and was issued in 1584, and, according to Crusè, passed through five editions. The fourth edition, which lies before me, was published in London in 1636. The volume contains the *Histories* of Eusebius, of Socrates, and of Evagrius; Dorotheus' *Lives*, and Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*.

Another translation is said by Crusè to have been published about a century later by T. Shorting, and to be a decided improvement upon that of Hanmer. I have seen no copy bearing Shorting's name, but have examined an anonymous translation which bears the following title: *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus in ten books*. Made into English from that edition set forth by Valesius, and printed at Paris in the year 1659; together with Valesius' notes on the said historian, which are done into English and set at their proper place in the margin. Hereto also is annexed an account of the life and writings of the aforesaid historian, collected by Valesius and rendered

into English. Cambridge: John Hayes, 1683. This is evidently the translation of Shorting referred to by Crusè, for it answers perfectly the description which he gives of it.

An abridgment of this version, made by Parker, is mentioned both by Fabricius (*ib.*) and by Crusè, but I have not myself seen it. Fabricius gives its date as 1703, and Dr. Richardson informs me that he has seen an edition bearing the date 1729, and that he has a note of another published in 1703 or 1720.

The latest English translation was made by the Rev. C. F. Crusè, an American Episcopalian of German descent, and was published first in Philadelphia in 1833, with a translation, by Parker, of Valesius' *Life of Eusebius* prefixed. It has been reprinted a great many times both in England and America, and is included in Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library. In Bohn's edition are printed a few scattered notes from Valesius' commentary, and in some other editions an historical account of the Council of Nicæa, by Isaac Boyle, is added. The translation is an improvement upon its predecessors, but is nevertheless very faulty and unsatisfactory. The translator is not thoroughly at home in the English, and, moreover, his version is marred by many serious omissions and interpolations which reveal an inexcusable degree of carelessness on his part.

§5. Literature.

The literature upon Eusebius' *History* is very extensive. Many of the editions already mentioned discuss, in their prolegomena, the *History* itself and Eusebius' character as a historian, as do also all the lives of Eusebius referred to above, and all the larger histories of the Church. In addition to these we have numerous important monographs and essays, of which the following may be mentioned here: Möller, *de Fide Eusebii in rebus christianis enarrandis*, Havn. 1813; Danz, *de Eusebio Cæsariensi Hist. Ecclesiasticæ Scriptore*, Jenæ, 1815. This was mentioned in Chapter I. as containing a valuable discussion of the life of Eusebius. Its chief importance lies in its treatment of the sources of the *Church History*, to which the author devotes the whole of Chap. III. which bears the title, *de fontibus, quibus usus, historiam ecclesiasticam conscripsit Eusebius*, p-144. Kestner, *de Eusebii Historiæ Eccles. conditoris auctoritate, et fide diplomatica, sive de ejus*

Fontibus et Ratione qua eis usus est, Gottingæ, 1816; and by the same author, *Ueber die Einseitigkeit und Partheiligkeit des Eusebius als Geschichtschreibers*, Jenæ, 1819; Reuterdahl, *de Fontibus Historiæ Eccles. Eusebianæ*, Londini Gothorum, 1826; Reinstra, *de Fontibus, ex quibus Historiæ Eccles. opus hausit Eusebius Pamphili, et de Ratione, qua iis usus est*, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1833; F. C. Baur, *Comparatur Eusebius Historiæ Eccles. Parens cum Parente Historiæ Herodoto*, Tüb. 1834; and p-26 of the same author's *Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung*, Tüb. 1852; Dowling, *Introduction to the Critical Study of Eccles. History*, London, 1838, p-18; Hély, *Eusèbe de Césarée, premier Historien de l'Église*, Paris, 1877; J. Burckhardt, *Zeit Constantins*, 2d ed. 1880, p sq. Burckhardt depreciates Eusebius' value and questions his veracity. The review articles that have been written on Eusebius' *History* are legion. I shall mention only Engelhardt's *Eusebius als Kirchengeschichtschreiber*, in the *Zeitschrift für hist. Theol.* 1852, p-657; and Jachmann's *Bemerkungen über die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius*, *ib.* 1839, II. p-60. The latter contains one of the most unsparing attacks upon Eusebius' honesty that has ever been made (see above,).

Testimonies of the Ancients in Favor of Eusebius.

From Constantine's Letter to the Antiochians (in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III. cha).

"I confess, then, that on reading your records I perceived, by the highly eulogistic testimony which they bear to Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea (whom I have myself long well known and esteemed for his learning and moderation), that you are strongly attached to him and desire to appropriate him as your own prelate. What thoughts then do you suppose that I entertain on this subject, desirous as I am to seek for and act on the strict principles of right? What anxiety do you imagine this desire of yours has caused me? O holy faith, who givest us in our Saviour's words and precepts a model, as it were, of what our life should be, how hardly wouldst thou thyself resist the course of sin were it not that thou refusest to subserve the purposes of gain! In my own judgment, he whose first object is the maintenance of peace seems to be superior to Victory herself; and where a right and honorable course lies open to one's choice, surely no one would hesitate to adopt it. I ask then, brethren, why do we so decide as to inflict an injury on others by our choice? Why do

we covet those objects which will destroy the credit of our own character? I myself highly esteem the individual whom ye judge worthy of your respect and affection; notwithstanding, it cannot be right that those principles should be entirely disregarded which should be authoritative and binding on all alike; for example, that each should be content with the limits assigned them, and that all should enjoy their proper privileges; nor can it be right in considering the claims of rival candidates to suppose but that not one only, but many, may appear worthy of comparison with this person. For as long as no violence or harshness are suffered to disturb the dignities of the Church, they continue to be on an equal footing, and worthy of the same consideration everywhere. Nor is it reasonable that an enquiry into the qualifications of one person should be made to the detriment of others; since the judgment of all churches, whether reckoned of greater importance in themselves, is equally capable of receiving and maintaining the divine ordinances, so that one is in no way inferior to another (if we will but boldly declare the truth), in regard to that standard of practice which is common to all. If this be so, we must say that you will be chargeable, not with retaining this prelate, but with wrongfully removing him; your conduct will be characterized rather by violence than justice; and whatever may be generally thought by others, I dare clearly and boldly affirm that this measure will furnish ground of accusation against you, and will provoke factious disturbances of the most mischievous kind; for even timid flocks can show the use and power of their teeth when the watchful care of their shepherd declines, and they find themselves bereft of his accustomed guidance. If this then be really so, if I am not deceived in my judgment, let this, brethren, be your first consideration (for many and important considerations will immediately present themselves, if you adopt my advice), whether, should you persist in your intention, that mutual kindly feeling and affection which should subsist among you will suffer no diminution? In the next place remember that Eusebius, who came among you for the purpose of offering disinterested counsel, now enjoys the reward which is due to him in the judgment of heaven; for he has received no ordinary recompense in the high testimony you have borne to his equitable conduct. Lastly, in accordance with your usual sound judgment, do ye exhibit a becoming diligence in selecting the person of whom you stand in need, carefully avoiding all factious and tumultuous clamor: for such clamor is always wrong, and from

the collision of discordant elements both sparks and flame will arise.”

From the Emperor's Letter to Eusebius(in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III. cha).

“I have most carefully perused your letter, and perceive that you have strictly conformed to the rule enjoined by the discipline of the Church. Now to abide by that which appears at the same time pleasing to God, and accordant with apostolic tradition, is a proof of true piety: and you have reason to deem yourself happy on this behalf, that you are counted worthy, in the judgment, I may say, of all the world, to have the oversight of the whole Church. For the desire which all feel to claim you for their own, undoubtedly enhances your enviable fortune in this respect. Notwithstanding, your Prudence, whose resolve it is to observe the ordinances of God and the apostolic rule of the Church, has done excellently well in declining the bishopric of the Church at Antioch, and desiring to continue in that Church of which you first received the oversight by the will of God.”

From Constantine's Letter to the Council (in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book III. cha).

“I have perused the letters written by your Prudences, and highly approve of the wise resolution of your colleague in the ministry, Eusebius. Having, moreover, been informed of the circumstances of the case, partly by your letters, partly by those of our illustrious friends Acacius and Strategius, after sufficient investigation I have written to the people at Antioch, suggesting the course which will be at once pleasing to God and advantageous for the Church. A copy of this I have ordered to be subjoined to this present letter, in order that ye yourselves may know what I thought fit, as an advocate of the cause of justice, to write to that people: since I find in your letter this proposal, that, in consonance with the choice of the people, sanctioned by your own desire, Eusebius the holy bishop of Cæsarea should preside over and take the charge of the Church at Antioch. Now the letters of Eusebius himself on this subject appeared to be strictly accordant with the order prescribed by the Church.”

From a Letter of Constantine to Eusebius (in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, Book IV. cha).

“It is indeed an arduous task, and beyond the power of language itself, worthily to treat of the mysteries of Christ, and to explain in a fitting manner

the controversy respecting the feast of Easter, its origin as well as its precious and toilsome accomplishment. For it is not in the power even of those who are able to apprehend them, adequately to describe the things of God. I am, notwithstanding, filled with admiration of your learning and zeal, and have not only myself read your work with pleasure, but have given directions, according to your own desire, that it be communicated to many sincere followers of our holy religion. Seeing, then, with what pleasure we receive favors of this kind from your Sagacity, be pleased to gladden us more frequently with those compositions, to the practice of which, indeed, you confess yourself to have been trained from an early period, so that I am urging a willing man (as they say), in exhorting you to your customary pursuits. And certainly the high and confident judgment we entertain is a proof that the person who has translated your writings into the Latin tongue is in no respect incompetent to the task, impossible though it be that such version should fully equal the excellence of the works themselves.”

From a Letter of Constantine to Eusebius (in Eusebius’ Life of Constantine, Book IV. cha).

“It happens, through the favoring providence of God our Saviour, that great numbers have united themselves to the most holy Church in the city which is called by my name. It seems, therefore, highly requisite, since that city is rapidly advancing in prosperity in all other respects, that the number of Churches should also be increased. Do you, therefore, receive with all readiness my determination on this behalf. I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred scriptures (the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church) to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a commodious and portable form, by transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art. The procurator of the diocese has also received instructions by letter from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be completed with as little delay as possible. You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies when fairly written will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your Church may be intrusted with this service, who, on his arrival here, shall experience my

liberality. God preserve you, beloved brother!”

From the Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia, to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre (given by Theodoret in his *Eccles. Hist.* I. 6).

“Neither has the zeal of my lord Eusebius concerning the truth, nor thy silence in this matter been unknown, but has reached even us. And, as was fitting, on the one hand we have rejoiced on account of my lord Eusebius; but on the other, we are grieved on thy account, since we look upon the silence of such a man as a condemnation of our cause.”

From the Book of Basil, to Amphilochius, on the Holy Spirit (cha).

“If to any one Eusebius of Palestine seem trustworthy on account of his great experience, we give his own words in the *Difficulties concerning the Polygamy of the Ancients*.”

From the Book of Questions on the Old and New Testaments, which is published among the Works of Augustine (cha).

“We remember to have read in a certain pamphlet of Eusebius, a man formerly distinguished among the rest of men, that not even the Holy Spirit knows the mystery of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and I wonder that a man of so great learning should have imposed this stigma upon the Holy Spirit.”

From Jerome’s Epistle to Pammachius and Oceanus (E).

“Apollinarius wrote the very strongest books against Porphyry; Eusebius has excellently composed his *Ecclesiastical History*. Of these men, one taught an incomplete human nature in Christ; the other was a most open defender of the heresy of Arius.”

From the Apology of Jerome against Rufinus (Book I. cha).

“As I have already said, Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, formerly leader of the Arian party, has written six books in defense of Origen — a very extensive and elaborate work; with much evidence he has proved that Origen was, from his point of view, a Catholic, that is, from ours, an Arian.”

From the same book (cha).

“For Eusebius himself, a friend, eulogist and companion of Pamphilus, has written three very elegant books comprising a life of Pamphilus. In these, after extolling other things with wondrous praises and exalting his humility to the skies, he also adds this in the third book,” &c.

And a little farther on in the same book (cha).

“I have praised Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, in his *Chronological Canons*, in his *Description of the Holy Land*; and turning these same little works into Latin I have given them to those of my own tongue. Am I therefore an Arian, because Eusebius who wrote these books is an Arian?”

From Jerome's second book against Rufinus (cha).

“Eusebius, a very learned man (I have said learned, not Catholic; lest after the usual manner, even in this thing, thou heap calumny upon me), in six volumes does nothing else than show Origen to be of his own faith; that is, of the Arian heresy.”

From the Preface of Jerome's Book on Hebrew Topography.

“Eusebius, who took his surname from the blessed martyr Pamphilus, after the ten books of his *Ecclesiastical History*, after his *Chronological Canons*, which we have published in the Latin tongue, after his *Names of Various Nations*, in which he showed how these were formerly, and are now, called among the Hebrews; after his *Topography of the Land of Judea, with the inheritances of the tribes*; after his *Jerusalem*, also, and his *Plan of the Temple, with a very brief explanation*, — after all these he has finally in this little work labored that he might collect for us from Holy Scripture the names of almost all the cities, mountains, rivers, villages, and divers places, which either remain the same, or have since been changed, or else have become corrupted from some source, wherefore we also, following the zeal of this admirable man,” &c.

From Jerome's Book on Ecclesiastical Writers (cha).

“Hippolytus, bishop of a certain church (I have not indeed been able to find out the name of the city), wrote a reckoning of Easter, and chronological tables up to the first year of the Emperor Alexander, and hit upon a cycle of sixteen years which the Greeks call ἑκκαίδεκαετηρίδα; and gave an occasion to Eusebius, who also composed an Easter canon, with a cycle of nineteen years, that is ἐννεαδεκαετηρίδα.”

From the same book (cha).

“Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, a man most studious in the sacred Scriptures, and along with Pamphilus the martyr a most diligent investigator of sacred literature, has edited an infinite number of volumes, some of which are these: of the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, twenty books; of the *Præparatio Evangelica*, fifteen books; of the *Theophania*, five books; of

the *Ecclesiastical History*, ten books; a *General History in Chronological Tables*, and an *Epitome* of them; also, *On the Discrepancies of the Gospels*; *On Isaiah*, ten books; and *Against Porphyry* (who at the same time was writing in Sicily, as some think), thirty books, of which only twenty have come to my notice; of his *Topica*, one book; of the *Apologia*, in defense of Origen, six books; *On the Life of Pamphilus*, three books; *Concerning the Martyrs*, other small works; also very learned commentaries on the hundred and fifty Psalms, and many other writings. He flourished chiefly under the emperors Constantine and Constantius; and on account of his friendship with Pamphilus the martyr, he took from him his surname.”

From the same book (cha).

“Eusebius, by nation a Sardinian, and, after being reader in Rome, bishop of Vercellæ, on account of his confession of the faith banished by the Prince Constantius to Scythopolis, and thence to Cappadocia, under Julian the emperor sent back to the Church, has published the *Commentaries on the Psalms* of Eusebius of Cæsarea, which he had translated from Greek into Latin.”

Jerome in the Preface to his Commentaries on Daniel.

“Against the prophet Daniel Porphyry wrote a twelfth volume, denying that that book was composed by him with whose name it is inscribed, &c. To him Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, has replied very skillfully in three volumes, that is, in volumes XVIII., XIX., and XX. Apollinarius also in one large volume, that is, in the twenty-sixth volume, and before these, in part, Methodius.”

Jerome on the Twenty-fourth Chapter of Matthew.

“Concerning this place, that is, concerning the abomination of desolation which was spoken of by the prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, Porphyry has uttered many blasphemies against us in the thirteenth volume of his work. To whom Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, has replied in three volumes, that is, in volumes XVIII., XIX., and XX.”

The same, in his Epistle to Magnus (E).

“Celsus and Porphyry have written against us. To the former Origen, to the latter Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius have very vigorously replied. Of whom Origen wrote eight books, Methodius proceeded as far as ten thousand lines, Eusebius and Apollinarius composed twenty-five and thirty volumes respectively.”

The same, in his Epistle to Pammachius and Oceanus (E).

“What more skillful, more learned, more eloquent men can be found than Eusebius and Didymus, the advocates of Origen? The former of whom, in the six volumes of his *Apologia*, proves that he [Origen] was of the same opinion as himself.”

Jerome, in the Preface to his Commentaries on Isaiah.

“Eusebius Pamphili also has published an historical commentary in fifteen volumes.”

The same, in the Preface to the Fifth Book of his Commentaries on Isaiah.

“Shall I take upon myself a work at which the most learned men have labored hard? I speak of Origen and Eusebius Pamphili. Of these the former wanders afar in the free spaces of allegory, and his genius so interprets single names as to make out of them the sacred things of the Church. The latter, while promising in his title an historical exposition, meanwhile forgets his purpose, and yields himself up to the tenets of Origen.”

The same, in the fifth book of his Commentaries on Isaiah.

“Eusebius of Cæsarea, while promising in his title an historical exposition, strays off in divers notions: while reading his books I found much else than what he gave promise of in his title. For wherever history has failed him, he has crossed over into allegory; and in such a manner does he unite things that are distinct, that I wonder at his joining together by a new art of discourse stone and iron into one body.”

Jerome on the first chapter of Matthew.

“This [chapter] also Africanus, a writer of chronology, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, in his books on the *Discrepancies of the Gospels*, have discussed more fully.”

Rufinus in his Epistle to the Bishop Chromatius.

“You charge me to translate into Latin the *Ecclesiastical History*, which the very learned Eusebius of Cæsarea wrote in the Greek tongue.”

Augustine, in his Book on Heresies (cha).

“When I had searched through the *History* of Eusebius, to which Rufinus, after having himself translated it into the Latin tongue, has also added two books of subsequent history, I did not find any heresy which I had not read among these very ones, except that one which Eusebius inserts in his sixth book, stating that it had existed in Arabia. Therefore these heretics, since he

assigns them no founder, we may call Arabians, who declared that the soul dies and is destroyed along with the body, and that at the end of the world both are raised again. But he states that they were very quickly corrected, these by the disputation of Origen in person, and those by his exhortation.”

Antipater, Bishop of Bostra, in his First Book against Eusebius of Cæsarea’s Apology for Origen.

“Since now this man was very learned, having searched out and traced back all the books and writings of the more ancient writers, and having set forth the opinions of almost all of them, and having left behind very many writings, some of which are worthy of all acceptance, making use of such an estimation as this of the man, they attempt to lead away some, saying, that Eusebius would not have chosen to take this view, unless he had accurately ascertained that all the opinions of the ancients required it. I, indeed, agree and admit that the man was very learned, and that not anything of the more ancient writings escaped his knowledge; for, taking advantage of the imperial co-operation, he was enabled easily to collect for his use material from whatever quarter.”

From the First Book of Extracts from the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius.

“Philostorgius, while praising Eusebius Pamphili both as to whatever of worth belongs to his histories and as to other things, yet declares that with regard to religion he has fallen into great error; and that he impiously sets forth this error of his in detail, holding that the Deity is unknowable and incomprehensible. Moreover, he holds that he has also gone astray on other such things. But he unites with others in attesting that he brought his *History* down to the accession of the sons of Constantine the Great.”

Socrates in the First Book of his Ecclesiastical History (cha).

“Eusebius, surnamed Pamphilus (i.e. universally beloved), has composed a History of the Church in ten books, brought down to the time of the Emperor Constantine, when the persecution ceased which Diocletian had commenced against the Christians. But, in writing the life of Constantine, this author has very slightly treated of the Arian controversy, being evidently more intent on a highly wrought eulogium of the emperor than an accurate statement of facts.”

The same Socrates in the Eighth Chapter of the same Book, speaking of Sabinus, Bishop of Macedonia, who had written a History of the Synod, says:

“Yet he commends Eusebius Pamphilus as a witness worthy of credit, and praises the Emperor as capable in stating Christian doctrines; but he still brands the faith which was declared at Nice as having been set forth by ignorant men, and such as had no intelligence in the matter. Thus he voluntarily contemns the testimony of a man whom he himself pronounces a wise and true witness; for Eusebius declares that of the ministers of God who were present at the Nicene Synod, some were eminent for the word of wisdom, others for the strictness of their life; and that the Emperor himself being present, leading all into unanimity, established unity of judgment, and conformity of opinion among them.”

The same Socrates, in Book II. cha.

“But since some have attempted to stigmatize Eusebius Pamphilus as having favored the Arian views in his works, it may not be irrelevant here to make a few remarks respecting him. In the first place, then, he was present at the council of Nice, and gave his assent to what was there determined in reference to the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, and in the third book of the *Life of Constantine*, he thus expressed himself: ‘*The Emperor incited all to unanimity, until he had rendered them united in judgment on those points on which they were previously at variance: so that they were quite agreed at Nice in matters of faith.*’ Since, therefore, Eusebius, in mentioning the Nicene Synod, says that all differences were composed, and that unanimity of sentiment prevailed, what ground is there for assuming that he was himself an Arian? The Arians are certainly deceived in supposing him to be a favorer of their tenets. But some one will perhaps say that in his discourses he seems to have adopted the opinions of Arius, because of his frequently saying *by Christ*. Our answer is that ecclesiastical writers often use this mode of expression, and others of a similar kind denoting the *economy* of our Saviour’s humanity: and that before all these the apostle made use of such expressions without ever being accounted a teacher of false doctrine. Moreover, inasmuch as Arius has dared to say that the Son is a creature, as one of the others, observe what Eusebius says on this subject in his first book against Marcellus:

“*He alone, and no other, has been declared to be, and is the only-begotten Son of God; whence any one would justly censure those who have presumed to*

affirm that he is a Creature made of nothing, like the rest of the creatures; for how then would he be a Son? and how could he be God's only-begotten, were he assigned the same nature as the other creatures, and were he one of the many created things, seeing that he, like them, would in that case be partaker of a creation from nothing? The sacred Scriptures do not thus instruct us concerning these things.' He again adds a little afterwards: 'Whoever then determines that the Son is made of things that are not, and that he is a creature produced from nothing pre-existing, forgets that while he concedes the name of Son, he denies him to be so in reality. For he that is made of nothing cannot truly be the Son of God, any more than the other things which have been made: but the true Son of God, forasmuch as he is begotten of the Father, is properly denominated the only-begotten and beloved of the Father. For this reason also, he himself is God: for what can the offspring of God be but the perfect resemblance of him who begat him? A sovereign, indeed, builds a city, but does not beget it; and is said to beget a son, not to build one. An artificer may be called the framer, but not the father of his work; while he could by no means be styled the framer of him whom he had begotten. So also the God of the Universe is the father of the Son; but would be fitly termed the Framer and Maker of the world. And although it is once said in Scripture, The Lord created me the beginning of his ways on account of his works, yet it becomes us to consider the import of this phrase, which I shall hereafter explain; and not, as Marcellus has done, from a single passage to subvert one of the most important doctrines of the Church.'

"These and many other such expressions are found in the first book of Eusebius Pamphilus against Marcellus; and in his third book, declaring in what sense the term creature is to be taken, he says: 'Accordingly these things being established, it follows that in the same sense as that which preceded, these words also are to be understood, The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways on account of his works. For although he says that he was created, it is not as if he should say that he had arrived at existence from what was not, nor that he himself also was made of nothing like the rest of the creatures, which some have erroneously supposed: but as subsisting, living, pre-existing, and being before the constitution of the whole world; and having been appointed to rule the universe by his Lord and Father: the word created being here used instead of ordained or constituted. Certainly the apostle

expressly called the rulers and governors among men creature, when he said, Submit yourselves to every human creature for the Lord's sake; whether to the king as supreme, or to governors as those sent by him. The prophet also does not use the word ἔκτισεν created in the sense of made of that which had no previous existence, when he says, Prepare, Israel, to invoke thy God. For behold he who confirms the thunder, creates the Spirit, and announces his Christ unto men. For God did not then create the Spirit when he declared his Christ to all men, since There is nothing new under the sun; but the Spirit was, and subsisted before: but he was sent at what time the apostles were gathered together, when like thunder, There came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind: and they were filled with the Holy Spirit. And thus they declared unto all men the Christ of God in accordance with that prophecy which says, Behold he who confirms the thunder, creates the spirit, and announces his Christ unto men: the word creates being used instead of sends down, or appoints; and thunder in a similar way implying the preaching of the Gospel. Again he that says, Create in me a clean heart, O God, said not this as if he had no heart; but prayed that his mind might be purified. Thus also it is said, That he might create the two into one new man, instead of unite. Consider also whether this passage is not of the same kind, Clothe yourselves with the new man, which is created according to God; and this, if, therefore, any one be in Christ, he is a new creature, and Whatever other expressions of a similar nature any one may find who shall carefully search the divinely-inspired Scripture. Wherefore one should not be surprised if in this passage, The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, the term created is used metaphorically, instead of appointed, or constituted.'

“These quotations from the books of Eusebius against Marcellus have been adduced to confute those who have slanderously attempted to traduce and criminate him. Neither can they prove that Eusebius attributes a beginning of subsistence to the Son of God, although they may find him often using the expressions of dispensation: and especially so, because he was an emulator and admirer of the works of Origen, in which those who are able to comprehend that author's writings, will perceive it to be everywhere stated that the Son was begotten of the Father. These remarks have been made in passing, in order to refute those who have misrepresented Eusebius.”

Sozomen in the First Book of his Ecclesiastical History (cha.).

“I at first felt strongly inclined to trace the course of events from the very commencement; but on reflecting that similar records of the past, up to their own time, had been compiled by the learned Clemens and Hegesippus, successors of the apostles, by Africanus the historian and Eusebius surnamed Pamphilus, a man intimately acquainted with the sacred Scriptures and the writings of the Greek poets and historians, I merely drew up an epitome in two books of all that is recorded to have happened to the churches, from the ascension of Christ to the deposition of Licinius.”

Victorius in the Paschal Canon.

“Reviewing therefore the trustworthy histories of the ancients, namely the *Chronicles* and prologue of the blessed Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, a city in Palestine, a man pre-eminently accomplished and learned; and likewise those things which have been added to these same *Chronicles* by Jerome of sacred memory.”

Jerome, in his Epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus, prefixed to the Martyrology which bears Jerome’s Name.

“It is evident that our Lord Jesus Christ obtains triumphs at every martyrdom of his saints, whose sufferings we find described by the saintly Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea. For when Constantine Augustus came to Cæsarea and told the celebrated bishop to ask some favors which should benefit the church at Cæsarea, it is said that Eusebius answered: That a church enriched by its own resources was under no necessity of asking favors, yet that he himself had an unalterable desire, that whatever had been done in the Roman republic against God’s saints by successive judges in the whole Roman world they should search out by a careful examination of the public records; and that they should draw from the archives themselves and send to Eusebius himself, by royal command, the names of the martyrs: under what judge, in what province or city, upon what day, and with what steadfastness, they had obtained the reward of their suffering. Whence it has come about that, being an able narrator and a diligent historiographer, he has both composed an *Ecclesiastical History* and has set forth the triumphs of nearly all of the martyrs of all the Roman provinces.”

Pope Gelasius in his Decree concerning the Apocryphal Books.

“Likewise as to the *Chronicles* of Eusebius and the books of his *Ecclesiastical History*, although in the first book of his narration he has grown

cold, and has afterwards written one book in praise and in defense of Origen the schismatic, yet on account of his singular knowledge of things which pertain to instruction, we do not say that they ought to be rejected.”

The same in his book On the Two Natures.

“That saying the same thing with one heart and one mouth we may also believe what we have received from our forefathers, and, God giving them to us, that we may hand them down to posterity to be believed in, with which things the adduced testimony of the Catholic masters, being summed up, bear witness that a united faith in a gracious God endures.”

And a little farther on.

“From the exposition of the seventh psalm, by Eusebius, bishop in Palestine, by surname Pamphili, etc. Likewise from his *Præparatio Evangelica*, Book VII.”

Pope Pelagius II. in his Third Epistle to Elias of Aquileia and other Bishops of Istria.

“For, indeed, among hæresiarchs who can be found worse than Origen, and among historiographers who more honorable than Eusebius? And who of us does not know with how great praises Eusebius extols Origen in his books? But because the holy Church deals more kindly with the hearts of her faithful ones than she does severely with their words, neither could the testimony of Eusebius remove him from his proper place among heretics, nor on the other hand has she condemned Eusebius for the fault of praising Origen.”

Evagrius, in the First Book of his Ecclesiastical History (cha).

“Eusebius Pamphili — an especially able writer, to the extent, in particular, of inducing his readers to embrace our religion, though failing to perfect them in the faith — and Sozomen, Theodoret, and Socrates have produced a most excellent record of the advent of our compassionate God, and his ascension into heaven, and of all that has been achieved in the endurance of the divine Apostles, as well as of the other martyrs,” etc.

Gregory the Great in his Epistle to Eulogius, Bishop of Alexandria.

“I have now become one of the number of hearers, to whom your Holiness has taken the pains to write, that we ought to transmit the deeds of all the martyrs which have been collected by Eusebius of Cæsarea in the age of Constantine of holy memory. But I was not aware before receiving your Holiness’ letter whether these things had been collected or not. I therefore am

thankful that being informed by the writings of your most holy learning, I have begun to know what I did not know before. For excepting these things which are contained in the books of this same Eusebius *On the deeds of the holy martyrs*, I have met with nothing else in the archives of this our church, nor in the libraries of Rome, except some few collected in a single volume.”

Gelasius of Cyzicus in his Second Book On the Council of Nicæa (cha).

“Let us hear now what says this the most illustrious husbandman in ecclesiastical farming, the most truth-loving Eusebius, surnamed after the celebrated Pamphilus. Licinius, indeed, he says, having followed the same path of impiety with the ungodly tyrants, has justly been brought to the same precipice with them, etc. (which may be found at the end of the tenth book of the *Ecclesiastical History*). As to Eusebius Pamphili, the most trustworthy of ancient ecclesiastical historians, who has investigated and set forth so many struggles, having made a choice from among his simply written works, we say that in all ten books of his *Ecclesiastical History* he has left behind an accurately written work. Beginning with the advent of our Lord he has, not without much labor, proceeded as far as those times. For how else could it be with him who took so great care to preserve for us the harmony of this collection? But as I have just said, he brought to bear upon it much study and an untold amount of labor. But let no one suppose, from those things which have been alleged with regard to him, that this man ever adopted the heresy of Arius; but let him be sure, that even if he did speak somewhat of, and did write briefly concerning the conjectures of Arius, he certainly did not do it on account of his entertaining the impious notion of that man, but from artless simplicity, as indeed he himself fully assures us in his Apology, which he distributed generally among orthodox bishops.”

The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle ().

“The very learned Eusebius Pamphili has written thus: As the Jews crucified Christ at the feast, so they all perished at their own feast.”

Nicephorus in the Sixth Book of his History (cha).

“Upon whose authority also we know of the divine Pamphilus as both living the life of a philosopher and wearing the dignity of presbyter in that place. His life and every event in it, also his establishing in that place the study of sacred and profane philosophy, also his confession of his religion in divers persecutions, his struggles, and at last his wearing the martyr’s crown,

Eusebius his nephew, who had such a regard for him as to take from him his surname, has comprehended in detail in one separate book; to this we refer those who may wish to find out accurately concerning him. This Eusebius, indeed, although having prosecuted many studies, especially excels in the study of sacred literature. His life extended until the time of Constantius. Being a man pre-eminently Christian, and endowed with great zeal for Christ, he has written the *Præparatio Evangelica* in fifteen books, and in ten more the *Demonstratio Evangelica*. He was also the first one to take in hand this subject, having been the first to call his book an *Ecclesiastical History*; this work is contained in ten volumes. There is also another book of his extant which he entitled *Canons*, in which he accurately investigates chronological matters. He has also composed five books *On the Life of Constantine*, and another addressed to him which he calls τριακονταετήρικον. To Stephanus he also dedicates another concerning those things in the sacred Gospels which have been called in question; and he has also left behind divers other works which are of great benefit to the Church. Apart from being such a man as this, he in many ways seems to uphold the opinions of Arius,” etc.

From the ms. Acts of Pope Silvester.

“Eusebius Pamphili, in writing his *Ecclesiastical History*, has in every case omitted to mention those things which he has pointed out in other works; for he has put into eleven books the sufferings of the martyrs, bishops, and confessors, who have suffered in almost all the provinces. But indeed as to the sufferings of women and maidens, such as with manly fortitude suffered for the sake of Christ the Lord, he records nothing. He is, moreover, the only one who has set forth in their order the sufferings of the bishops, from the Apostle Peter down. Moreover, he drew up for the benefit of the public a catalogue of the pontiffs of those cities and apostolic seats; that is, of the great city of Rome, and the cities of Alexandria and Antioch. Of the number then of those of whom, up to his own times, the above-mentioned author wrote in the Greek tongue, this man’s life he was unable to paraphrase; that is, the life of the saint Silvester,” etc.

An ancient author in the Passion of the Holy Valerian.

“The glorious struggles of the most blessed martyrs, for the honor of Christ the Lord and of our God, are celebrated by perpetual services and an annual solemnity, that while our faithful people know the faith of the martyrs, they

may also rejoice in their triumphs, and may rest assured that it is by the protection of these that they themselves are to be protected. For it is held in repute that Eusebius the historian, of sacred memory, bishop of the city of Cæsarea, a most blessed priest of excellent life, very learned also in ecclesiastical matters, and to be venerated for his extraordinary carefulness, set forth for every city, in so far as the truth was able to be ascertained, the Holy Spirit announcing the deeds that had been done, — inasmuch as the cities of single provinces and localities or towns have merited being made famous by the heavenly triumphs of martyrs, — set forth, I say, in the time of what rulers the innumerable persecutions were inflicted at the command of officials. Who, although he has not described entire the sufferings of individual martyrs, yet has truly intimated why they ought to be described or celebrated by faithful and devoted Christians. Thus this faithful husbandman has cultivated the grace of God, which has been scattered abroad in all the earth, while, as it were, from a single grain of wheat, plenteous harvests are produced on account of the fertility of the field, and go on in multiplied abundance. So through the narration of the above-mentioned man, diffused from the fountain of a single book, with the ever-spreading writings of the faithful, the celebrating of the sufferings of the martyrs has watered all the earth.”

Usuardus in his Martyrology.

“On the twenty-first day of June, in Palestine, the holy Eusebius, bishop and confessor, a man of most excellent genius, and a historiographer.”

Notker in his Martyrology.

“On the twenty-first day of June, the deposition in Cæsarea of the holy bishop Eusebius.”

Manecharius in his Epistle to Ceraunius, Bishop of Paris.

“Unceasing in thy continual efforts to equal in merit the very excellent persons of the most blessed bishops in all the conversation of the priesthood, zealous to adorn thyself every day with holy religion, by thy zeal for reading thou hast searched through the whole of the doctrines of the sacred Scriptures. Now as an addition to thy praiseworthiness thou dost faithfully purpose, in the city of Paris, to gather together for the love of religion, the deeds of the holy martyrs. Wherefore thou art worthy of being compared in zeal with Eusebius of Cæsarea, and art worthy of being remembered perpetually with an equal

share of glory.”

From an old Manuscript Breviary of the Lemovicensian Church.

“Of the holy Eusebius, bishop and confessor.

“Lesson 1. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, on account of his friendship with Pamphilus the martyr, took from him the surname of Pamphili; inasmuch as along with this same Pamphilus he was a most diligent investigator of sacred literature. The man indeed is very worthy of being remembered in these times, both for his skill in many things, and for his wonderful genius, and by both Gentiles and Christians he was held distinguished and most noble among philosophers. This man, after having for a time labored in behalf of the Arian heresy, coming to the council of Nicæa, inspired by the Holy Spirit, followed the decision of the Fathers, and thereafter up to the time of his death lived in a most holy manner in the orthodox faith.

“Lesson 2. He was, moreover, very zealous in the study of the sacred Scriptures, and along with Pamphilus the martyr was a most diligent investigator of sacred literature. At the same time he has written many things, but especially the following books: The *Præparatio Evangelica*, the *Ecclesiastical History*, *Against Porphyry*, a very bitter enemy of the Christians; he has also composed *Six Apologies in Behalf of Origen*, a *Life of Pamphilus the Martyr*, from whom on account of friendship he took his surname, in three books; likewise very learned *Commentaries on the hundred and fifty Psalms*.

“Lesson 3. Moreover, as we read, after having ascertained the sufferings of many holy martyrs in all the provinces, and the lives of confessors and virgins, he has written concerning these saints twenty books; while on account of these books therefore, and especially on account of his *Præparatio Evangelica*, he was held most distinguished among the Gentiles, because of his love of truth he contemned the ancestral worship of the gods. He has written also a *Chronicle*, extending from the first year of Abraham up to the year 300 a.d., which the divine Hieronymus has continued. Finally this Eusebius, after the conversion of Constantine the Great, was united to him by strong friendship as long as he lived.”

In the Breviary of the same church, June twenty-first.

“Omnipotent, eternal God, who dost permit us to take part in the festivities

in honor of Eusebius, thy holy confessor and priest, bring us, we pray thee, through his prayers, into the society of heavenly joys, through our Lord Jesus Christ," etc.

From the book On the Lights of the Church.

"Eusebius of Cæsarea, the key of the Scriptures and custodian of the New Testament, is proved by the Greeks to be greater than many in his treatises. There are three celebrated works of his which truly testify to this: the *Canons of the Four Gospels*, which set forth and defend the New Testament, ten books of *Ecclesiastical History*, and the *Chronicon*, that is, a chronological summary. We have never found any one who has been able to follow in all his foot-prints."

From the Miscellanies of Theodore Metochita (cha)

"Eusebius Pamphili was also a Palestinian by birth, but as he himself says, he sojourned for quite a long time in Egypt. He was a very learned man, and it is evident indeed that he published many books, and that he used language thus."

Testimonies of the Ancients Against Eusebius.

From the Epistle of Arius to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia (in Theodoret's Eccles. Hist. I. 5).

"Eusebius, your brother bishop of Cæsarea, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregory, Ætius, and all the bishops of the East, have been condemned because they say that God had an existence prior to that of his Son."

From the Book of Marcellus of Ancyra against the Arians.

"Having happened upon a letter of Narcissus, bishop of Neronias, which he wrote to one Chrestus and to Euphronius and to Eusebius, in which it seems that Hosius, the bishop, had asked him whether or not like Eusebius of Palestine he believed in the existence of two essences, I read in the writing that he answered that he believed in the existence of three essences."

From the Synodical Epistle of the Bishops of Egypt, met in the City of Alexandria, to All the Bishops of the Catholic Church (which Athanasius gives in his second apology against the Arians).

"For what sort of a council of bishops was that? What sort of an assembly having truth for its aim? Who out of the great majority of them was not our

enemy? Did not the followers of Eusebius rise up against us on account of the Arian madness? Did not they bring forward the others who held the same opinions as themselves? Were we not continually writing against them as against those who held the opinions of Arius? Was not Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine accused by our confessors of sacrificing?”

Epiphanius in the Heresy of the Meletians (Hær. LXVIII.).

“The emperor upon hearing these things becomes very angry and orders that a synod be convoked in Phœnicia in the city of Tyre; he also gave orders that Eusebius and some others should act as judges: these persons moreover had leaned somewhat too far toward the vulgarity of the Arians. There were also summoned the bishops of the Catholic Church in Egypt, also certain men subject to Athanasius, who were likewise great and who kept their lives transparent before God, among whom was the great Potamo of blessed memory, bishop and confessor of Heraclea. But there were also present Meletians, the chief accusers of Athanasius. Being zealous for truth and for orthodoxy, the above-mentioned Potamo of blessed memory, a free-spoken man, who regarded the person of no man, — for he had been deprived of an eye in the persecution for the truth, — seeing Eusebius sitting down and acting as judge, and Athanasius standing up, overcome by grief and weeping, as is the wont with true men, he addressed Eusebius in a loud voice, saying, ‘Dost thou sit down, Eusebius, and is Athanasius, an innocent man, judged by thee? Who could bear such things? Do thou tell me, wert thou not in confinement with me at the time of the persecution? I have parted with an eye for the sake of the truth, but thou neither seemest to be maimed at all in body, nor hast thou suffered martyrdom, but art alive, and in no part mutilated. How didst thou escape from the confinement unless that thou didst promise those who have inflicted upon us the violence of persecution to perform the ungodly act, or didst actually perform it?’”

From the Epistle of the Catholic Bishops of Egypt to the Synod of Tyre (which Athanasius gives in the above-mentioned Apology).

“For ye also know, as we have said before, that they are our enemies, and ye know why Eusebius of Cæsarea has become our enemy since last year.”

Athanasius in his Epistle on the Decrees of the Council of Nicæa.

“The strange thing is that Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine, who had denied on one day, but on the next day had subscribed, sent to his church,

saying that this is the faith of the Church, and that this is the tradition of the Fathers. He plainly showed to all that before they had been in error, and had been vainly striving after the truth; for although he was then ashamed to write in just these terms, and excused himself to the Church as he himself wished, yet he plainly wishes to imply this in his Epistle, by his not denying the ‘Homoöusion,’ ‘one in substance,’ and ‘of the substance.’ He got into serious difficulty, for in defending himself, he went on to accuse the Arians, because, having written that ‘the Son did not exist before that he was begotten,’ they thereby denied that he existed before his birth in the flesh.”

The same, in his Treatise on the Synods of Ariminum and Seleucia.

“Most of all, what would Acacius say to Eusebius his own teacher? who not only signed in the synod at Nicæa, but also made it known by letter to the people under him that that was the true faith, which had been agreed upon at the council of Nicæa; for although he defended himself as he pleased through the letter, yet he did not deny the grounds taken. But he also accused the Arians, since, in saying that ‘the Son did not exist before that he was begotten,’ they also deny that he existed before Mary.”

The same, in his Epistle to the Bishops of Africa.

“This also was known all the while to Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, who, at first identifying himself with the Arian heresy, and having afterwards signed at the self-same synod of Nicæa, wrote to his own particular friends, firmly maintaining that, ‘We have known of certain learned and renowned bishops and writers among the ancients who have used the term ὁμοούσιος in reference to the divinity of the Father and Son.’”

The same, in his Treatise on the Synods of Ariminum and Seleucia.

“Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine, writing to Euphratius the bishop, did not fear to say openly that Christ is not true God.”

Jerome, in his Epistle to Ctesiphon against the Pelagians.

“He did this in the name of the holy martyr Pamphilus, that he might designate with the name of the martyr Pamphilus the first of the six books in defense of Origen which were written by Eusebius of Cæsarea, whom every one knows to have been an Arian.”

The same, in his Second Book against Rufinus.

“As soon as he leaves the harbor he runs his ship aground. For, quoting from the *Apology* of Pamphilus the Martyr (which we have proved to be the

work of Eusebius, prince of Arians),” etc.

The same, in his First Book against Rufinus.

“Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, of whom I have made mention above, in the sixth book of his *Apology* in behalf of Origen, lays this same charge against Methodius the bishop and martyr, which you lay against me in my praises [of him]; he says: ‘How did Methodius dare to write against Origen after having said this and that concerning his opinions?’ This is no place to speak in behalf of a martyr, for not all things ought to be discussed in all places. Now let it suffice to have barely touched upon the matter, that this same thing was charged against a most renowned and most eloquent martyr by an Arian, which you as a friend praise in me, and, being offended, censure me for.”

The same, in his Epistle to Minervius and Alexander.

“I both in manhood and in extreme old age am of the same opinion, that Origen and Eusebius of Cæsarea were indeed very learned men, but went astray in the truth of their opinions.”

Socrates, in the First Book of his Ecclesiastical History (cha).

“Eusebius Pamphilus says that immediately after the Synod Egypt became agitated by intestine divisions; but as he does not assign the reason for this, some have accused him of disingenuousness, and have even attributed his failure to specify the causes of these dissensions to a determination on his part not to give his sanction to the proceedings at Nice.”

Again, in the same chapter.

“Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, accuses Eusebius Pamphilus of perverting the Nicene Creed; but Eusebius denies that he violates that exposition of the faith, and recriminates, saying that Eustathius was a defender of the opinion of Sabellius. In consequence of these misunderstandings, each of them wrote volumes as if contending against adversaries: and although it was admitted on both sides that the Son of God has a distinct person and existence, and all acknowledged that there is one God in a Trinity of Persons; yet, from what cause I am unable to divine, they could not agree among themselves, and therefore were never at peace.”

Theodoritus, in his Interpretation of the Epistle of Paul to the Hebrews, speaking of the Arians, writes as follows:

“If not even this is sufficient to persuade them, it at least behooves them to believe Eusebius of Palestine, whom they call the chief advocate of their own

doctrines.”

Nicetas, in his Thesaurus of the Orthodox Faith, Book V. Cha.

“Moreover, Theodore of Mopsuestia relates that there were only nine persons out of all whom the decrees of the Synod did not please, and that their names are as follows: Theognis of Nicæa, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palestine, Narcissus of Neronias in Cilicia, which is now called Irenopolis, Paulinus of Tyre, Menophantus of Ephesus, Secundus of Ptolemaïs, which borders upon Egypt, and Theonas of Marmarica.”

Antipater, Bishop of Bostra, in his First Book against Eusebius’ Apology for Origen.

“I deny that the man has yet arrived at an accurate knowledge of the doctrines; wherefore he ought to be given place to so far as regards his great learning, but as regards his knowledge of doctrine he ought not. But, moreover, we know him to have been altogether lacking in such accurate knowledge.”

And a little farther on.

“So now, that we may not seem to be trampling upon the man, — concerning whom it is not our purpose for the present to speak, — examining into the accuracy of his *Apology*, we may go on to show that both were heretics, both he who composed the *Apology*, and he in whose behalf it was composed.”

And farther on.

“For as to your attempting to show that others as well as he [Origen] have spoken of the subordination of the Son to the Father, we may not at first wonder at it, for such is your opinion and that of your followers; wherefore we say nothing concerning this matter for the present, since it was long ago submitted and condemned at the general Council.”

From the Acts of the Seventh Œcumenical Council.

“For who of the faithful ones in the Church, and who of those who have obtained a knowledge of true doctrine, does not know that Eusebius Pamphili has given himself over to false ways of thinking, and has become of the same opinion and of the same mind with those who follow after the opinions of Arius? In all his historical books he calls the Son and Word of God a creature, a servant, and to be adored as second in rank. But if any speaking in his

defense say that he subscribed in the council, we may admit that that is true; but while with his lips he has respected the truth, in his heart he is far from it, as all his writings and epistles go to show. But if from time to time, on account of circumstances or from different causes, he has become confused or has changed around, sometimes praising those who hold to the doctrines of Arius, and at other times feigning the truth, he shows himself to be, according to James the brother of our Lord, a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways; and let him not think that he shall receive anything of the Lord. For if with the heart he had believed unto righteousness, and with the mouth had confessed the truth unto salvation, he would have asked forgiveness for his writings, at the same time correcting them. But this he has by no means done, for he remained like Æthiops with his skin unchanged. In interpreting the verse 'I said to the Lord, Thou art my Lord,' he has strayed far away from the true sense, for this is what he says: 'By the laws of nature every son's father must be his lord; wherefore God who begat him must be at the same time God, Lord, and Father of the only-begotten Son of God.' So also in his epistle to the holy Alexander, the teacher of the great Athanasius, which begins thus: 'With what anxiety and with what care have I set about writing this letter,' in most open blasphemy he speaks as follows concerning Arius and his followers: 'Thy letter accuses them of saying that the Son was made out of nothing, like all men. But they have produced their own epistle which they wrote to thee, in which they give an account of their faith, and expressly confess that "the God of the law and of the prophets and of the New Testament, before eternal ages begat an only-begotten Son, through whom also he made the ages and the universe; and that he begat him not in appearance, but in truth, and subjected him to his own will, unchangeable and immutable, a perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures." If, therefore, the letter received from them tells the truth, they wholly contradict thee, in that they confess that the Son of God who existed before eternal ages, and through whom he made the world, is unchangeable and a perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures. But thy epistle accuses them of saying that the Son was made as one of the creatures. They do not say this, but clearly declare that he was not as one of the creatures. See if cause is not immediately given them again to attack and to misrepresent whatever they please. Again thou findest fault with them for saying that He who is begat him

who was not. I wonder if any one is able to say anything else than that. For if He who is is one, it is plain that everything has been made by Him and after Him. But if He who is is not the only one, but there was also a Son existing, how did He who is beget him who was existing? For thus those existing would be two.’ These things then Eusebius wrote to the illustrious Alexander; but there are also other epistles of his directed to the same holy man, in which are found various blasphemies in defense of the followers of Arius. So also, in writing to the bishop Euphrasion, he blasphemes most openly; his letter begins thus: ‘I return to my Lord all thanks’; and farther on: ‘For we do not say that the Son was with the Father, but that the Father was before the Son. But the Son of God himself, knowing well that he was greater than all, and knowing that he was other than the Father, and less than and subject to Him, very piously teaches this to us also when he says, “The Father who sent me is greater than I.”’ And farther on: ‘Since the Son also is himself God, but not true God.’ So then from these writings of his he shows that he holds to the doctrines of Arius and his followers. And with this rebellious heresy of theirs the inventors of that Arian madness hold to one nature in hypostatic union, and affirm that our Lord took upon himself a body without soul, in his scheme of redemption, affirming that the divine nature supplied the purposes and movements of the soul: that, as Gregory the Divine says, they may ascribe suffering to the Deity; and it is evident that those who ascribe suffering to the Deity are Patripassians. Those who share in this heresy do not allow images, as the impious Severus did not, and Peter Cnaphaeus, and Philoxenus of Hierapolis, and all their followers, the many-headed yet headless hydra. So then Eusebius, who belongs to this faction, as has been shown from his epistles and historical writings, as a Patripassian rejected the image of Christ,” etc.

Photius, in his 144th Epistle to Constantine.

“That Eusebius (whether slave or friend of Pamphilus I know not) was carried off by Arianism, his books loudly proclaim. And he, feeling repentance as he pretends, and against his will, confesses to his infirmity; although by his repentance he rather shows that he has not repented. For he cannot show, by means of those writings in which he would seem to be defending himself, that he has withdrawn from his former heretical doctrines, nor can he show that he agreed with the holy and Œcumenical Synod. But he

speaks of it as a marvel that the upholders of the Homooousion should concur with him in sentiment and agree with him in opinion: and this fact both many other things and the epistle written by him to his own people at Cæsarea accurately confirm. But that from the beginning he inwardly cherished the Arian doctrines, and that up to the end of his life he did not cease following them, many know, and it is easy to gather it from many sources; but that he shared also in the infirmity of Origen, namely, the error with regard to the common resurrection of us all, is to most persons unknown. But if thou thyself examine carefully his books, thou shalt see that he was none the less truly overcome by that deadly disease than he was by the Arian madness.”

Photius, in his Bibliotheca (cha).

“Of the *Objection and Defense* of Eusebius two books have been read; also other two, which although differing in some respects from the former two, are in other respects the same with regard to both diction and thought. But he presents certain difficulties with regard to our blameless religion as having originated with the Greeks. These he correctly solves, although not in all cases. But as regards his diction, it is by no means either pleasing or brilliant. The man is indeed very learned, although as regards shrewdness of mind and firmness of character, as well as accuracy in doctrine, he is deficient. For also in many places in these books it is plain to be seen that he blasphemes against the Son, calling him a second cause, and general-in-chief, and other terms which have had their origin in the Arian madness. It seems that he flourished in the time of Constantine the Great. He was also an ardent admirer of the excellences of the holy martyr Pamphilus, for which cause some say that he took from him the surname Pamphili.”

Photius, in the Same Work (cha).

“There has been read the work of Eusebius Pamphili *In praise of the great emperor Constantine*, consisting of four books. In this is contained the whole life of the man, starting with his very boyhood, also whatever deeds of his belong to ecclesiastical history, until he departed from life at the age of sixty-four. Eusebius is, however, even in this work, like himself in diction, except that his discourse has risen to a somewhat more than usual brilliancy, and that sometimes he has made use of more flowery expressions than he is wont. However, of pleasantness and beauty of expression there is little, as indeed is the case in his other works. He inserts, moreover, in this work of his in four

books very many passages from the whole decalogue of his *Ecclesiastical History*. He says that Constantine the Great himself also was baptized in Nicomedia, he having put off his baptism until then, because he desired to be baptized in the Jordan. Who baptized him he does not clearly show. However, as to the heresy of Arius, he does not definitely state whether he holds that opinion, or whether he has changed; or even whether Arius held correct or incorrect views, although he ought to have made mention of these things, because the synod occupied an important place among the deeds of Constantine the Great, and it again demands a detailed account of them. But he does state that a ‘controversy’ arose between Arius and Alexander (this is the name he cunningly gives to the heresy), and that the God-fearing prince was very much grieved at this controversy, and strove by epistles and through Hosius, who was then bishop of Cordova, to bring back the dissenting parties into peace and concord, they having laid aside the strife existing between them with regard to such questions; and that when he could not persuade them to do this he convoked a synod from all quarters, and that it dissolved into peace the strife that had arisen. These things, however, are not described accurately or clearly; it would seem then that he is ashamed, as it were, and does not wish to make public the vote cast against Arius in the Synod, and the just retribution of those who were his companions in impiety and who were cast out together with him. Finally, he does not even mention the terrible fate which was inflicted by God upon Arius in the sight of all. None of these things he brings to the light, nor has he drawn up an account of the Synod and the things that were done in it. Whence, also, when about to write a narrative concerning the divine Eustathius, he does not even mention his name, nor what things were threatened and executed against him; but referring these things also to sedition and tumult, he again speaks of the calmness of the bishops, who having been convened in Antioch by the zeal and cooperation of the Emperor, changed the sedition and tumult into peace. Likewise as to what things were maliciously contrived against the ever-conquering Athanasius, when he set about making his history cover these things, he says that Alexandria again was filled with sedition and tumult, and that this was calmed by the coming of the bishops, who had the imperial aid. But he by no means makes it clear who was the leader of the sedition, what sort of sedition it was, or by what means the strife was settled. He also keeps up almost the same

mode of dissimulating in his account of the contentions existing among bishops with respect to doctrines, and their disagreements on other matters.”

Joannes Zonaras, in his Third Volume, in which he relates the Deeds of Constantine

“Even Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, was at that time one of those who upheld the doctrines of Arius. He is said to have afterwards withdrawn from the opinion of Arius, and to have become of like mind with those who hold that the Son is coëqual and of the same nature with the Father, and to have been received into communion by the holy Fathers. Moreover, in the Acts of the first Synod, he is found to have defended the faithful. These things are found thus narrated by some; but he makes them to appear doubtful by certain things which he is seen to have written in his *Ecclesiastical History*. For in many places in the above-mentioned work he seems to be following after Arius. In the very beginning of his book, where he quotes David as saying, ‘He spake and they were made, he commanded and they were established,’ he says that the Father and Maker is to be considered as maker and universal ruler, governing by a kingly nod, and that the second after him in authority, the divine Word, is subject to the commands of the Father. And farther on he says, that he, as being the power and wisdom of the Father, is entrusted with the second place in the kingdom and rule over all. And again, a little farther on, that there is also a certain essence, living and subsisting before the world, which ministers to the God and Father of the universe for the creation of things that are created. Also Solomon, in the person of the wisdom of God, says, ‘The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways,’ etc., and farther on he says: And besides all this, as the pre-existent word of God, who also preëxisted before all ages created, he received divine honor from the Father, and is worshipped as God. These and other things show that Eusebius agreed with Arian doctrines, unless some one say that they were written before his conversion.”

Suidas, under the word Διόδωρος

“Diodorus, a monk, who was bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, in the times of Julian and Valens, wrote divers works, as Theodorus Lector states in his *Ecclesiastical History*. These are as follows: A *Chronicle*, which corrects the error of Eusebius Pamphilus with regard to chronology,” etc.

The same Suidas, from Sophronius.

“Eusebius Pamphili, a devotee of the Arian heresy, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, a man zealous in the study of the holy Scriptures, and along with Pamphilus the martyr a most careful investigator of sacred literature, has published many books, among which are the following.”

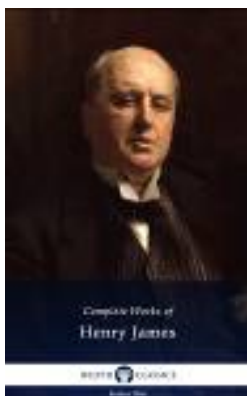
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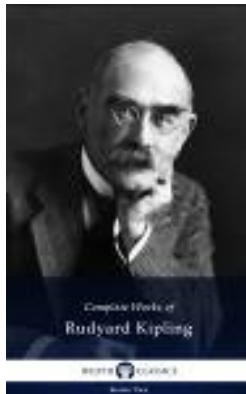
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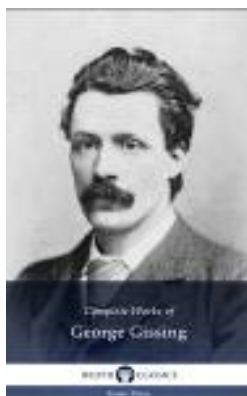
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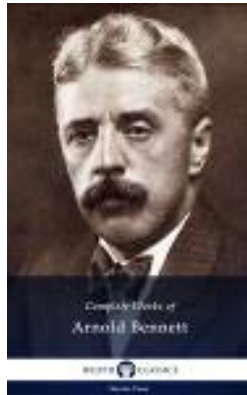
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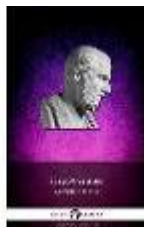
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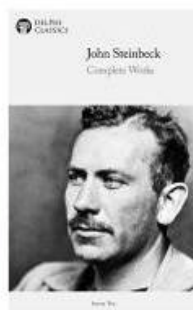
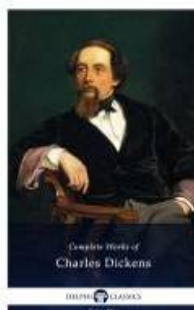
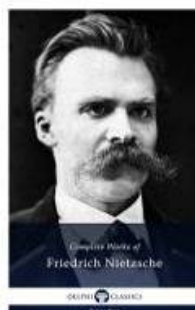
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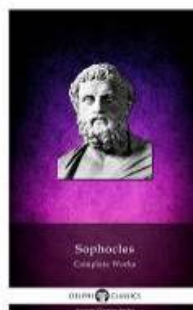
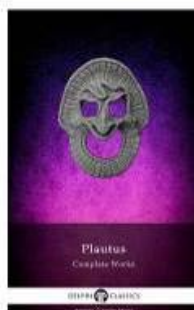
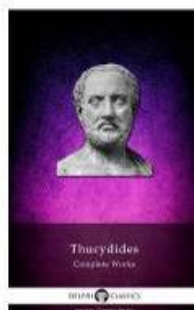
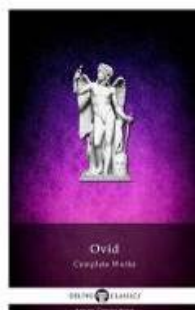
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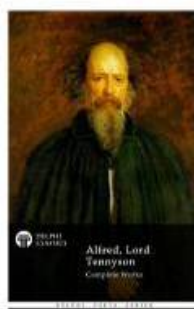
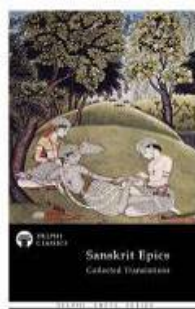
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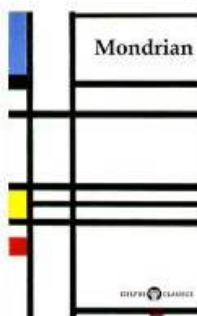
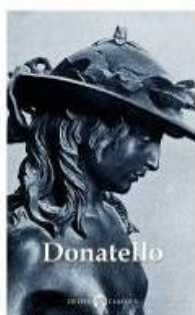
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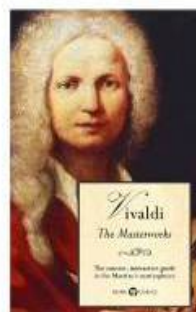
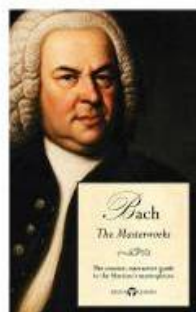
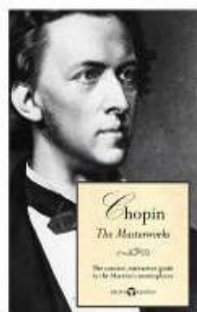
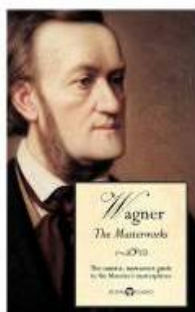
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Constantinople, modern day Istanbul — likely where Eusebius spent his final days

{1} “Fr. Alban Justinus” is the pen-name of an Orthodox monk. This translation was commissioned by Roger Pearse, Ipswich, and is released into the public domain.

{2} This may be found online at the BNF site, at <http://beta.bibliissima.fr/fr/ark:/43093/mdata5a8b7a24a5a3f243279131af418001b6499b4ed7>

{3} All of the introductory material has been translated. The titles are those found in the Greek text in Migne. [RP]

{4} Reading Ἰωβήλ for Ἰωήλ, likely a copyist's error.

{5} Νάβλα (Hebr. נָבֻלָּה) - An instrument of 10 or 12 strings which traditionally produced the melodies to which David composed his psalms.

{6} ὀρθότατον - this could also be interpreted to mean 'upright', like a harp. If this is the intended meaning, his use of the superlative would have to be rendered as 'the only completely upright of the musical instruments'.

{7} φωνή - can mean either 'sound' or 'voice'. In this brief passage used to describe the interplay between the instrument and the person singing, both meanings are employed.

{8} Eusebius makes use of the standard categories of praxis and theoria when speaking about different levels of spiritual activity.

{9} Sir. 1:26.

{10} ἀναβαθμοί - The title in Greek for the set of psalms sometimes referred to as 'songs of ascent'. The literal meaning is 'a flight of steps' or 'staircase'. They were psalms traditionally sung by Jewish pilgrims as they ascended from the plain up to Jerusalem, from which their metaphorical name was derived. Unfortunately, the use of 'song' for 'songs of ascent' slightly blur the lines he is laying for the definition of 'psalm' and 'song'.

{11} English often transliterates the Hebrew as 'selah', which originally indicated the point in the psalm at which the singing of the song ceased, while the instrument continued to play; something akin to a musical interlude.

{12} Aquila - The copyist by whose hand we have received some of the oldest Hebrew manuscripts, along with Symmachus and Theodotion. It must be noted that Eusebius may have had access to manuscripts, in both Greek and Hebrew, which have since been lost.

{13} The Greek translators of the Septuagint opted for this word instead of transliterating 'selah', the literal meaning in Greek is eternity. In lieu of the original intention of the word in Hebrew, since music did not accompany the singing of psalms in Greek, the musical interlude, in theory at least, was replaced with a slight meditative pause.

{14} The headings or titles for the psalms are written in a kind of shorthand, for the sake of brevity, and in the Greek many words were intentionally left absent, particularly articles. These omissions have been restored in the translation for the sake of clarity.

{15} ἀποκατάστασις – This word has a somewhat charged meaning theologically, because Origen uses the phrase "ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων" in various passages in his works, where it means a restoration of all things, in which all of creation will eventually be reconciled to God.

{16} Alternately, 'the betrayal'.

{17} More literally, 'overthrow' or 'ruin', but I have opted for a less severe gloss given Mt. 5:17.

{18} More literally, 'healing teaching' or 'therapeutic teaching'.

{19} Somewhat contradictory of the definition he himself gave for a song at the opening. It seems these 'definitions' are made to fit a metaphorical or typological analysis, and are not definitions of a given word, strictly speaking.

{20} Often translated as 'stringed instruments'.

[21] I have been unable to locate the Scriptural (or other) reference for 288 songs divided among the four leaders of those playing music into 72 apiece. I am even more perplexed as to the relationship between the transferal of the ark and a listing of Noah's sons. Likely, there is a portion of text missing. Perhaps, the numbers attached to each of the sons of Noah are intended to indicate the number of ethnicities which came forth from each of the sons of Noah, and in this way, singing 72 songs before the ark of the covenant symbolically takes on the meaning of singing on behalf of all the races of mankind who came forth from those in the ark of Noah. But this is just a theory.

[22] The book of the Law of Moses was found by Hilkiah the priest during the reign of Josiah (2 Chron 34:13-18). This was followed by a brief, but intense, period of repentance and reform, particularly exemplified in the keeping of Pascha, before the final fall of Jerusalem to Babylon in the next generation.

[23] A most interesting explanation for the arrangement of the psalms; it would be worth the research to confirm both his sources and the validity of such a claim.

[24] The "musical interlude" refers to "Selah". [RP]

[25] Here the introduction ends, and the text continues with the commentary on Psalm 1.

[26] This passage is of interest because it discusses the inspiration of the scripture.

[27] Here, Eusebius is likely referring to different manuscripts from the main Hebrew copyists/translators of the LXX. Though the meaning from each copyist is essentially the same, there are slight differences in the Greek which are impossible to render into English. More interestingly, he emphasizes that on this particular point they are in concord, leading us to believe that this was not true in all places. Since almost no original manuscripts exist of the LXX, we are left to infer from such statements as these the relative degree of concordance or discordance amongst varying early translations.

[28] This is the beginning of the commentary on Psalm 62. Eusebius ignores verse 1. [RP]

[29] This extract is of interest because it describes how the psalter was put together. [RP]

[30] προκειμενον ψαλμόν - Literally, 'pretext of the psalm'. In the modern Greek Orthodox usage, the word προκειμενον is used before various readings during the services both from the Old and New Testaments. But with respect to the psalms, it is the verses after the numbering, before the psalm begins, which provide either historical information about the psalm's composition, a dedication, musical instruction, etc.

[31] Following the chronology set forth in 1 Kings, after being saved by Michal, David went to Samuel in Ramah.

[32] An interesting theory, which he claims he has proved definitively elsewhere in the commentary, wherein certain sections of the Psalter are ordered neither by numerological or historical methods, but according to the intrinsic meaning of each psalm. This, together with the aforementioned reasons, brings the number of contending forces for the ordering of any given psalm in the Psalter to four; historical, numerological, by meaning, and according to the order in which they were found after the captivity. Though he here mentions ordering the psalms by reason, in the following passage he reverts to the theory espoused in the introduction, that at least for this section, they have been arranged according to their post Babylonian exile date of discovery.

[33] From here to the end of 604B the writing closely resembles section 73C-D of the introduction.

[34] This is the beginning of the commentary on Psalm 86. Eusebius again ignores verse 1. [RP]

[35] This extract is of interest because it has more material on how the psalter was put together. He explicitly denies that the psalm numbers carry inherent significance. [RP]

[36] This phrase could be rendered in a different manner: the things represent to me *something* revealed in a vision of the latter things about which we have already spoken previously.

{37} Interestingly, some versions translate this as the 'Israelite', but clearly the Greek here Esdras.

{38} I.e. coming into his possession first chronologically.

{39} I.e. The ordering of the books of the prophets.

{40} I am tempted to replace this with Jeconiah, in keeping with the sequence, but have left it as is.

{41} The interest of this passage is that for this psalm the LXX differs notably from the other Greek versions.

{42} It should be pointed out here that, once again, Eusebius is undertaking in this passage what, today, we call comparative textual analysis and criticism. Here, he is using the clarity of meaning alone to gauge the validity of a text; a method still reliable, though not entirely so, today. For this reason I have left certain passages poorly translated rather than trying to force a more interpretive meaning like 'this man and that man was born in her'. In this was the translation reflects the very fact that he says their meaning isn't quite clear. That he is interested in such work at all is an indication of the high level of intellectual cultivation in Cappadocia and particularly Caesarea in the fourth century.

{43} Both the placement and different choice of words cannot be fully conveyed for these two Greek versions of the same passage.

{44} Better known as Aquila, one of the later Jewish translators of the Old Testament into Greek. [RP]

{45} This mentions the *mnema* (tomb) and *martyrion* (shrine/church) of the Saviour in Jerusalem, where miracles are being performed among the faithful. This indicates that the *Commentary* is a late work, written after the church was built by Constantine. [RP]

{46} This quotation from Ps.87:13 is inline in the Greek text, although strangely it is omitted in the parallel Latin version printed in the PG. [RP]

{47} The Latin translator understood the aorist “accomplished” and “for us” as “nostro tempore... patrata sunt”, “have been accomplished *in our time*.” [RP]